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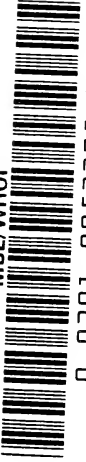
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The Principal  
Navigations Voyages Traffiques and  
Discoveries of the English Nation

In Twelve Volumes

Volume IX

GLASGOW

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SIR WALTER RALEGH

# The Principal

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## of the English Nation

Made by Sea or Over-land to the  
Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters  
of the Earth at any time within the  
compasse of these 1600 Yeeres

By

Preacher, and sometime Student of  
Christ-Church in Oxford



VOLUME IX

Glasgow  
James MacLehose and Sons  
Publishers to the University

MCMIV





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of which voyage, besides great probabilities of a North, Northwest, or Northeast passage, may evidently be gathered, that the sea betweene Japan and America is by many hundred leagues broader, and the land betweene Cape Mendocino and Cape California, is by many hundred leagues narrower, then we finde them to be in the ordinary maps and relations. . . .	326
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Sir Walter Raleigh, . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>

Sir Walter Raleigh, the son of a Devonshire country gentleman, was born near Budleigh Salterton, South Devon, about 1552. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was his half brother by his mother's first marriage. In 1569 he joined the Huguenots in France as a volunteer. He was at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1572. In September 1578 he assisted Sir Humphrey Gilbert in fitting out his first expedition at Dartmouth, and himself commanded the 'Falcon' of 100 tons. The expedition returned in 1579. From June 1580 to December 1581 he saw service in Ireland, and being then sent with despatches to the Court at Greenwich, he quickly sprang into favour with Elizabeth. He was knighted in 1584, and in 1585 was appointed Warden of the Stannaries, lord lieutenant of Cornwall and vice-admiral of Cornwall and Devon. He sat as member for Devonshire in Parliament in 1585-86, and in 1586 he was granted 40,000 acres of land in Munster. On the 25th March 1584 he was granted a patent 'for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries,' and as a result he founded the first English colony of Virginia. The accounts of the various expeditions to Virginia sent out by him are given in Hakluyt, Vol. VIII., pp. 289 *seq.* He is said to have spent over £40,000 (about £320,000 of our money) in his Virginian expeditions. About

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1586 he introduced the potato into Great Britain and is believed to have been the first English gentleman to smoke tobacco. In 1591 he was appointed second in command under Lord Thomas Howard in the expedition to the Azores in that year, but the Queen refused to let him go and Sir Richard Grenville was appointed in his place. Raleigh's account of the last fight of the 'Revenge' will be found in Hakluyt, Vol. VII., p. 38. In 1592 he contributed very largely to the expedition under Frobisher and Burgh which captured the 'Madre de Dios' (Hakluyt, Vol. VII., p. 105), but in July of that year he was disgraced and imprisoned in the Tower, but was released in October. In 1593 he was returned to Parliament for Michael, in Cornwall. In 1594 he sent Jacob Whiddon to explore the Orinoco, and early in 1595 he headed an expedition to Guiana himself. He ascended the Orinoco for about 450 miles in quest of the gold mine of Manoa, but was unsuccessful in his search. On his return to England he wrote his 'Discoverie of Guiana' (Hakluyt, Vol. IX.). In June 1596 he commanded, with great distinction, the 'Warspite' in the Cadiz expedition and was severely wounded. In 1597 he sailed, as second in command under Essex, to the Azores and took Fayal. He was elected member for Dorset in 1597 and for Cornwall in 1601. In September 1600 he was appointed Governor of Jersey. On the accession of James I. Raleigh was stripped of all his posts and monopolies, sent to the Tower for alleged complicity in Lord Cobham's conspiracy, and condemned to be executed on 11th December 1603. On the 10th December, however, he was reprieved. From 1603 to 1616 he was a prisoner in the Tower, and there wrote his 'History of the World.' About 1610 Raleigh requested permission to organise another expedition to Guiana. In March 1616 he was released from the Tower

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and began to make preparations for this expedition. He sailed from Plymouth with 14 ships on 12th June 1617. The expedition was a complete failure, and in an attack on the town of San Thomas Raleigh's son Walter was killed. Raleigh returned to Plymouth with four ships in June 1618. Shortly after he was arrested, chiefly on the representation of the Spanish Ambassador. He was taken to London and, attempting to escape, was again sent to the Tower. On the 28th of October, 1618, he was condemned on his former sentence and was beheaded on Tower Hill on the following morning. He was buried in St. Margaret's Church Westminster. The portrait here reproduced is taken from the original, attributed to Zuccharo, in the Dublin Gallery.

René Laudonnière, . . . . . 48

René Goulaine de Laudonnière, a French Captain, was one of the first explorers of Florida. In 1561 Admiral Coligny wishing to find a safe retreat for the persecuted Huguenots formed the project of founding a Protestant colony in the New World. A first expedition to Brazil had been a complete failure, and Coligny next cast his eyes on Florida, from which the Spanish had been driven by the natives. The expedition, which had the approval of Charles IX., sailed from Dieppe on the 15th February 1562 under the command of Ribaut and Laudonnière. The fortunes of the colonists, and of the relief expedition which left Havre on the 22nd April 1564 are recorded very fully by Hakluyt. On his final return to France in 1566 Laudonnière was very coldly received by the Court, and he died in obscurity. The portrait is taken from the *Effigies Regum* of Crispin de Passe in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

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Map of Florida by James Le Moyne, A.D. 1564, . . . . .	112
<p>‘The skillful painter’ James Le Moyne de Mourgues, ‘sometime living in the Black-fryers in London’ accompanied the second expedition under Laudonnière in 1564 for the relief of the French colonists in Florida. He was sent out by ‘Monsieur Chastillion, then Admiral of France,’ and his sketches ‘lively drawn in colours’ were engraved and published in De Bry’s <i>Collections of Travels and Voyages, Grands (America) Voyages</i>, Part II., Frankfort 1591. The Map here reproduced is taken from the copy in the British Museum of De Bry’s <i>Collections</i>.</p>	

Map of the Coasts of China . . . . .	336
<p>This map, which shows the ‘trew description of all the coasts of China, Cauchinchina, Camboya, Syao, Malacca, Arraacan, Pegu, together with all the Islands thereabowts, both great and smale, with the cliffes, breaches, sands, droughts and shallowes, all perfectly drawn and examined with the most expert cardes of the Portingales Pilots’ was engraved by Robert Becket and printed in London by John Wolfe in 1598. The reproduction is taken from the copy in the British Museum of <i>John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and Weste Indies</i>, London, 1598.</p>	

Sir John Hawkins, . . . . .	400
<p>Sir John Hawkins or Hawkyms was born in Plymouth in 1532. While a young man he made ‘divers voyages to the Isles of the Canaries’ and learnt ‘that Negros were very good merchandise in Hispaniola and that store of Negros might easily bee had upon the coast of Guinea.’ About 1559 he married Katharine, daughter of Benjamin Gonson, treasurer of the Navy. In October 1562 he commanded an expedition to Guinea and got into</p>	



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his possession 'partly by the sworde, and partly by other means to the number of 300 Negroes at the least, besides other merchandises which that country yieldeth.' He then sailed for Hispaniola, sold his cargo and loaded his three ships and two other hulks with hides, ginger, sugar and pearls and arrived home in September 1563. In 1564 he set out with a larger fleet on the same route and coasting along Florida he found Laudonnière's French colony, which he relieved, winning 'the reputation of a good and charitable man, deserving to be esteemed as much of us all as if he had saved all our lives.' He arrived at Padstow on the 20th September 1565. On the 2nd October 1567 he set out on his 'third troublesome voyage,' during which he was attacked by the Spaniards in the harbour of San Juan d'Ulloa and very narrowly escaped. After suffering great hardships on the voyage home, 'for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten,' he arrived in Mounts Bay on 25th January 1569. In 1572 he was Member of Parliament for Plymouth. On 11th October 1573 he was stabbed whilst riding in the Strand and was dangerously wounded, the Queen sending her own surgeon to attend him. About this time he was made treasurer and comptroller of the Navy, and it was largely owing to his skill and experience that the Navy was thoroughly equipped to meet the Armada. Hawkins was third in command of the English fleet on the 'Victory' during the struggle with the Armada. He was in the thick of the fighting and was knighted by Lord Howard of Effingham for his bravery. In 1590 he, with Fro-bisher, commanded a squadron sent to the coast of Portugal. In November 1591 he was one of the commissioners for the proper division of prizes taken at sea. On 28th August 1595 he sailed with Drake in the expedition 'chiefly pretended for

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some special service on the Islands and maine of the West Indies,' but died off Porto Rico on the 12th November. The portrait reproduced is taken from the copy of Holland's *Heroologia* in the British Museum.

### The Jesus of Lubeck, . . . . . 416

The 'Jesus of Lubeck' was a ship of 700 tons. She was bought by Henry VIII. for his Navy from the Merchants of Lubeck in 1544. On the accession of Elizabeth, the 'Jesus' was condemned, but was afterwards retained, and in 1564 was, in accordance with the custom of the times, lent to Sir John Hawkins for a voyage to Guinea (Hakluyt, Vol. VI., p. 263). In 1567 she was again lent to Hawkins for his voyage to the West Indies by way of Guinea. On the 12th August, 1568, Hawkins' fleet was caught by 'an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure days, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake that we were rather upon the point to leave her then to keepe her any longer.' On the 16th September the fleet entered San Juan d'Ulloa; on the 23rd the fight with the Spaniards took place during which the 'Jesus' was abandoned. She was the first of only two ships of Elizabeth's Navy to fall into Spanish hands, the other being Sir Richard Grenville's 'Revenge.' The armament of the 'Jesus' was as follows: Cannons (50 or 60 pounders), 2; culverins (long 18 pounders), 2; demi-culverins (long 9 pounders), 8; sacres (long 5 pounders), 8; falcons (3 pounders), 2. Her breach-loading pieces were: slings, 2; fowlers, 10; bases, 30 (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Vol. I., p. 114 note). The illustrations of the 'Jesus' and the 'Minion' are taken from the original water-colour paintings by Anthony Anthony in the Pepys

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Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, and are inserted by permission of the College authorities.

### The Minion, . . . . . 432

The 'Minion' 'of the Queenes' was built in 1523 for Henry VIII.'s navy. She was originally of 180 tons but was rebuilt about 1536 as a 300 ton ship. She was given to Sir Thomas Seymour about 1549, but about 1560 her name reappears in the Navy Lists. (Oppenheim, *Administration of the Royal Navy*.) In 1561 she was lent to the Guinea merchants and was damaged in an action with the Portuguese (Hakluyt, Vol. VI., p. 260). In 1564 she was again employed in the Guinea trade and in 1567-68 she formed one of Hawkins' fleet in his third expedition to Guinea and the West Indies. She was so badly damaged at San Juan d'Ulloa and 'so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and brused with shooting off our own ordinance' that with the greatest difficulty she was brought into Mounts Bay in Cornwall on the 25th of January 1569. She was condemned in 1570.

### Map of the World by Peter Plancius A.D. 1594, . . . 474

Peter Plancius was born in 1552. He was a Calvinistic preacher, pastor of the church at Amsterdam, but his chief title to fame is his service to geography. He maintained the existence of an open polar sea, and he induced the people of Amsterdam to despatch an expedition to seek a passage north of Novaya Zemlya under Willem Barents. He died on 25th May 1622 (Markham, *John Davis the Navigator*, Hakluyt Society, 1880). The Map is interesting as being one of the few attempts to apply the principles of Mercator's 'projection' before their correct demonstration by Edward Wright. The engraved margin shows the inhabitants and products

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of the various divisions of the globe, 'Mexicana' representing North America, 'Peruana' South America, and 'Magallanica' the supposed great Southern Continent. The celestial circles, with the quaint drawings of the principal constellations, are also of great interest. The Map is reproduced from a copy of Linschoten's *Itinerario* (published at Amsterdam in 1604-5) in the British Museum.

# THE NINTH VOLUME

OF THE

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques  
and Discoveries of the English Nation

Made to Florida and New Mexico ; certeine  
Voyages made for the discovery of the Gulfe  
of California, and to the famous city of  
Mexico, with the Discourses and  
Letter depending upon the  
Voyages of this ninth  
Volume



The second voyage unto Florida, made and written by Captaine Laudonniere, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers and one whole Winter.



After our arrivall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our first voyage (which was the twentieth of July 1562) we found the civil warres begun, which was in part the cause why our men were not succoured, as Captaine John Ribault had promised them: whereof it followed that

*The civill warres the cause why the Frenchmen were not supplied, which were left behinde in their first voyage.*

Captaine Albert was killed by his souldiers, and the country abandoned, as heretofore we have sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be understood by those men which were there in person. After the peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral De Chastillon shewed unto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine John Ribault had left in Florida, & that it were pity to suffer them to perish. In which respect, the king was content he should cause 3 ships to be furnished, the one of sixe score tunnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to seeke them out, and to succour them.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull service which I had done, aswell unto his Majestie as to his predecessors kings of France, advertised the king how able I was to doe him service in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me chiefe Captaine over these 3 shippes, and charged me to

A.D.  
1564.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

*Laudonniers  
second voyage  
to Florida,  
with three  
ships the 22  
of Aprill  
1564.*

*The Isle of  
Teneriffa, or  
the Pike.*

depart with diligence to performe his commandement, which for mine owne part I would not gainesay, but rather thinking my selfe happy to have bene chosen out among such an infinite number of others, which in my judgement were very well able to have quitted themselves in this charge, I embarked my selfe at New Haven the 22 of Aprill 1564, and sayled so, that we fell neere unto the coast of England: and then I turned towards the South, to sayle directly to the fortunate Islands, at this present called the Canaries, one of which called the Isle Salvage (because as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the first that our ships passed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Isle of Teneriffa, otherwise called the Pike, because that in the middest thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riseth up like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go up but from the middest of May untill the middest of August, by reason of the over great colde which is there all the yere: which is a wonderfull strange thing, considering that it is not past 27 degrees and an half distant from the Equator. We saw it all covered over with snow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Isle being heretofore pursued by the Spaniards, retired themselves into this mountaine, where for a space they made warre with them, and would not submit themselves to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they disdained so much the losse of their Island. For those which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their carkases there, so that not so much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithstanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to live in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commoditie of their livelyhood, did all die there. After I had furnished my selfe with some fresh water, very good and excellent, which



sprang out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my course toward the West, wherein the windes favoured me so well, that 15 dayes after our ships arrived safe and sound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Isle of Martinino, one of the first of them, the next day we arrived at Dominica, twelve leagues distant from the former.

*The Isle of  
Martinino.  
Dominica an  
Island.*

Dominica is one of the fayrest Islands of the West, full of hilles, and of very good smell. Whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking also to refresh our selves with fresh water, I made the Mariners cast anker, after wee had sayled about halfe along the coast thereof. As soone as we had cast anker, two Indians (inhabitants of that place) sayled toward us in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas. As they approached unto our Barke, there was one of them which being in some misdoubt of us, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much speede as he could possibly. Which our men perceived and entred with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, & brought him unto me. But the poore fellow became so astonied in beholding us, that he knew not which way to behave himselfe, because that (as afterward I understood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he shewed us, had cut of his stones. At length this poore Indian was secure of us, and discoursed unto us of many things, wherof we received very small pleasure, because we understood not his minde but by his signes. Then he desired me to give him leave to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would have patience untill the next day, when I purposed to goe on land, where I suffered him to depart after I had given him a shirte, and certaine small trifles, wherewith he departed very well contented from us.

*Ananas a  
fruite of great  
excellencie.*

[III. 320.]

A.D.  
1564.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle river of sweet and excellent good water: by which river we stayed certaine dayes to discover the things which were worthy to be seene, and traffiqued dayly with the Indians: which above all things besought us that none of our men should come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwise that we should give them great cause of jelousie, and that in so doing, wee should not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered us very liberally, receiving in recompence certaine things of small value. This notwithstanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods: and following still the litle rivers side, they spied two serpents of exceeding bignes, which went side by side overthwart the way. My souldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the serpents nothing at all astonished at these gestures glanced into the bushes with fearful hyssings: yet for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them afterward 9 great foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more undiscrete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any discretion: and not therewithall contented they went toward their dwellings; whereat the Indians were so much offended, that without regarding any thing they rushed upon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men named Martine Chaveau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner: for those of his company had inough to doe to save themselves without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieuetenant being advertised, sent unto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush

for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether hee should go directly to their dwellings to know the truth. I sent unto him after good deliberation hereupon, that he should not attempt any thing, and that for divers occasions: but contrariwise that he should embarke himself with al diligence, & consequently al they that were on land: which he did with speed. But as he sayled towards our ships he perceived along the shore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to surprise them: for which cause he quite forsooke them, and came unto our ship. Where staying untill the next day morning we set sayle following our wonted course, and keeping the same, we discovered diverse Isles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Isles of S. Christopher, and of the Saintes, of Monserrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we passed between Anguilla and Anegada, sayling toward New France. Where we arrived 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thursday the 22 of June about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litle river which is 30 degrees distant from the Equator, and 10 lagues above Cape François drawing toward the South, and about thirtie leagues above the River of May. After wee had strooken sayle and cast anker athwart the River, I determined to goe on shore to discover the same. Therefore being accompanied with Monsieur Ottigni, with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, & a certaine number of Gentlemen and souldiers, I embarked my selfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the evening. And being arrived at the mouth of the river, I caused the chanell to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that farther within the same the water was there found reasonable deepe, which separateth it selfe into two great armes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other

*His arrival  
in Florida the  
22 of June  
1564.  
Cape Francois  
being between  
the river of  
Dolphins and  
the river of  
May, maketh  
the distance 30  
leagues about,  
which is but  
10 leagues  
over land.*

A.D.  
1564.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

toward the North. Having thus searched the River, I went on land to speake with the Indians which waited for us upon the shore, which at our comming on land, came before us, crying with a loude voyce in their Indian language, Antipola Bonassou, which is as much to say, as brother, friend, or some such like thing. After they had made very much of us, they shewed us their Paracoussy, that is to say, their King and Governour, to whom I presented certaine toyes, wherewith he was well pleased. And for mine owne part, I prayse God continually, for the great love which I have found in these Savages, which were sory for nothing, but that the night approached, and made us retire unto our ships.

[III. 321.]

*The great love  
and courtesie of  
the Floridians.*

For though they endeavoured by al meanes to make us tary with them, and shewed by signes the desire that they had to present us with some rare things, yet neverthesse for many just and reasonable occasions I would not stay on shore all night: but excusing my selfe for all their offers, I embarked my selfe againe and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this River, the river of Dolphines, because that at mine arrivall, I saw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (because that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for us to inhabit, and to build a fort) I gave commandement to weigh anker, & to hoise our sailes to saile toward the river of May, where we arrived two dayes after, & cast anker. Afterward going on land, with some number of Gentlemen and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the singularities of this place, we espyed the Paracoussy of the countrey, which came towards us (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captaine John Ribault) which having espyed us, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being so joyful that he could not containe himselfe, he came to meet us, accompanied then

*The river of  
Dolphins,  
called Selo by  
the Savages.*

*Their arrivall  
at the river of  
May.*

with two of his sonnes, as faire and mightie persons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to say, friend, friend: yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to use this speech unto them. There was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which stil made very much of us, and by evident signes made us understand how glad they were of our arrivall. This good entertainment past, the Paracoussy prayed me to goe see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of John Ribault (as we have declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

Having yeilded unto him and being come to the place where it was set up, wee found the same crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of Mill which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola. Then when they came thither they kissed the same with great reverence and besought us to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with us. This done, the Paracoussy tooke me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me understand some great secret, & by signes shewed me very well up within the river the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called Paracoussy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children have the selfe same title of Paracoussy: The eldest is named Athore, a man, I dare say, perfect in beautie, wisdom, and honest sobriety, shewing by his modest gravitie that he deserveth the name which he beareth, besides that he is gentle and tractable. After we had sojourned a certaine space with them, the Paracoussy prayed one of his sonnes to present unto me a wedge of silver, which hee did & that with a good wil: in recompence whereof I gave him a cutting hooke and some other better present: wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased. Afterward we tooke our leave of them, because the night approached, & then

*The pillar set up before by Ribault crowned with garlands of Lausell and invironed with small paniers full of corne, worshipped by the Savages.*

*Paracoussy Satourioua.*

*A wedge of silver.*

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returned to lodge in our shippes. Being allured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my selfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of souldiers to returne toward the Paracoussy of the river of May, which of purpose waited for us in the same place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him under the shadow of an arbour accompanied with fourescore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion, to wit, with a great Harts skinne dressed like Chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colours, but of so lively a portrature, and representing antiquity, with rules so justly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided that without any ayd and favour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea even of those which by their industry are able to aspire unto things most absolute.

Then I advertised Paracoussy Satourioua, that my desire was to discover farther up into the river, but that this should be with such diligence that I would come againe unto him very speedily: wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was: and for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skinne, which I refused then, and promised to receive it of him at my returne. For my part I gave him certaine small trifles, to the intent to retaine him in our friendship.

[III. 322.] Departing from thence, I had not sayled three leagues up the river, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me a long the river, crying still, Amy, Amy, that is to say friende, friende: but I discovered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were sowed with mil, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, which keepe and garde the mill: for there are such numbers of Cornish choughes in this Countrey, which continually devoure

*Grosses.*

and spoyle the mill, that the Indians are constrained to keepe and watch it, otherwise they should be deceived of their harvest. I rested my selfe in this place for certaine houres, & commanded Monsieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to search out the dwellings of the Indians: where after they had gone awhile, they came unto a Marish of Reeds, where finding their way to be stopped, they rested under the shadow of a mightie Bay tree to refresh themselves a little and to resolve which way to take. Then they discovered, as it were on the suddaine, five Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, untill they said unto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonassou, to the end that understanding their speech they might come unto us more boldely, which they did incontinently. But because they sawe, that the foure that went last, bare up the traine of the skinne wherewith he that went formost was apparelled our men imagined that the foremost must needes bee some man of greater qualitie then the rest, seeing that withal they called him Paracoussy, Paracoussy, wherfore, some of our company went towards him, and using him courteously shewed him, Monsieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian fashion, to the ende that by such signes the Savages might thinke the Frenchmen had compained with such as they at other times.

The Indian Paracoussy drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen very earnestly to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight for pledge of better amitie, he gave unto my Lieuetenant Ottigni, the very skinne that he was clad with.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Marishes, over which the Paracoussy, Monsieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne

*Monsieur de  
Ottigni.*

*The curtesie  
of the Flori-  
dians to the  
French.*

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upon the Indians shouldiers: and the rest which could not passe because of the myre and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them fourth untill they came unto the Paracoussyes dwelling; out of which there came about fiftie Indians to receive our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great vessell of earth, made after a strange fashion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This vessell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little vessell of wood, and presented thereof to every one to drinke, observing in doing the same, a certaine order and reverence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gave drinke. Our thirst well quenched by this meanes, and our men beeing sufficiently refreshed, the Paracoussy brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldest men that lived upon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, using this speech, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friende, friende, wherent the olde sier shewed himselfe very glad.

*Men of exceeding olde age.*

Afterward they questioned with him concerning the course of his age: whereunto he made answeere, shewing that he was the first living originall, from whence five generations were descended, as he shewed unto them by another olde man that sate directly over against him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a living body: for his sinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared so cleerely thorow his skinne, that a man might easily tell them, and discern them one from another. Also his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monsieur de Ottigni having seene so strange a thing, turned to the yoonger of these two olde men, praying him to vouchsafe to answeere him to that which he demanded touch-



ing his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and striking twice upon his thigh, and laying his hand upon two of them, he shewed him by signes, that these two were his sonnes: againe smiting upon their thighs, he shewed him others not so olde, which were the children of the two first, which he continued in the same maner untill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father alive more olde then himselfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was possible, yet it was tolde them, [III. 323.] that they might yet live thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the course of nature: although the younger of them both was not lesse then two hundred and fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commaunded two young Egles to be given to our men, which he had bred up for his pleasure in his house. Hee caused also little Paniers made of Palme leaves full of Gourds red and blew to bee delivered unto them. For recompence of which presents he was satisfied with French toyes.

*Savages in  
Florida of  
250. yeeres  
olde.  
Egles in  
Florida.*

These two olde men caused our men to bee guided backe againe to the place from whence they came, by the young Paracoussy which hath brought them thither. And having taken leave of the Paracoussy, they came and sought me out in the place where I stayed, and rehearsed unto mee all that they had seene, praying mee also that I would rewarde their guide, which so frankely and heartily had received them into his house, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Nowe was I determind to search out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing else but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of so soveraigne odour, that Baulme smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were environed rounde about with Vines bearing grapes in such quantitie, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Besides this fertilitie of the soyle for Vines, a man may see Esquine wreathed about the shrubs in

*Cedars,  
Palmes,  
Bayes exceed-  
ing sweete.  
Abundance  
of grapes.  
Esquine a  
drugge excel-  
lent against  
the pockes.*

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great quantitie. Touching the pleasure of the place, the Sea may bee seene plaine and open from it, and more then sixe great leagues off, neere the River Belle, a man may beholde the medowes divided asunder into Iles and Islets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be inforced to change their humour.

After I had stayed there a while, I imbarked againe my people to sayle towards the mouth of the River, where wee found the Paracoussy, which according to his promise waited for us. Wherefore to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reverence that on our part was requisite. Then hee gave me the skinne so richly painted, and I recompensed him with somewhat of our marchandise. I forgot not to demaund of him the place whence the wedge of silver came which he had given me before: whereunto he made me a very sudden answere, which notwithstanding I understood not, which he well perceived. And then he shewed me by evident signes that all of it came from a place more within the River by certaine dayes journeyes from this place, and declared unto us that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of this place, named by them Thimogoa, their most ancient and naturall enemies, as hee largely declared. Whereupon when I sawe with what affection hee spake when hee pronounced Thimogoa, I understoode what he would say. And to bring my selfe more into his favour, I promised him to accompany him with all my force, if hee would fight against them: which thing pleased him in such sorte, that from thenceforth hee promised himselfe the victorie of them, and assured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a short space, would cause store of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furnish themselves with such store of arrowes, that nothing should bee wanting to give battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earnestly not to faile of

*Silver certain  
dayes journey  
up within the  
river of May.*

*Thimogoa mor-  
tall enemies to  
Satourioua.*

my promise, and in so doing, hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Silver in such good quantitie, that mine affaires shoulde take effect according to mine owne and his desire.

The matter thus fully resolved upon, I tooke my leave of him to returne unto my shippes, where after wee had rested our selves all the night following, wee hoysed sayles the next day very earely in the morning, and sayled towarde the River of Seine, distant from the River of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our course towarde the North, wee arrived at the mouth of Somme, which is not past sixe leagues distant from the River of Seine: where wee cast Anker, and went on shoare to discover that place as wee had done the rest. There wee were graciously and courteously received of the Paracoussy of the Countrey, which is one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may bee founde. His wife sate by him, which besides her Indian beautie, wherewith shee was greatly endewed, had so vertuous a countenance and modest gravitie, that there was not one amongst us but did greatly commend her; shee had in her traine five of her daughters of so good grace and so well brought up, that I easily perswaded my selfe that their mother was their Mistresse, and had taught them well and straightly to preserve their honestie. After that the Paracoussy had received us as I have sayde, hee commaunded his wife to present mee with a certaine number of bullets of silver, for his owne part hee presented mee with his bowe and his arrowes, as hee had done unto Captaine John Ribault in our first voyage, which is a signe of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with those which they honour with such a kinde of present. In our discoursing with one another, wee entred into speach as touching the exercise of armes. Then the Paracoussy caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a prooffe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this prooffe pleased him very little; for assoone as he knew that our Harguebuzes did easily

*The river of  
Seine.*

*The river of  
Somme.*

*The courtesie  
of the Para-  
coussy of the  
river of  
Somme.*

[III. 324.]

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pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he seemed to be sorie, musing with himselfe how this thing might bee done. Neverthelesse going about to dissemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, hee began to fall into another matter, and prayed us very earnestly to stay with him that night in his house or lodging, affirming that no greater happinesse could come unto him then our long abode, which he desired to recompence with a thousand presents.

*Laudonnières  
consultation  
with his com-  
pany where it  
might be best  
for them to  
plant.*

Neverthelesse wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leave of him to returne to our shippes: where soone after I caused all my companie to bee assembled, with the Masters and Pilots of my shippes, to consult together of the place whereof wee should make choise to plant our habitation. First I let them understand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was towarde the Cape of Florida, was altogether a marish Countrey, and therefore unprofitable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to us, if peradventure we would inhabite there. On the other side if wee passed further toward the North to seeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor convenient: at the least if wee should give credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Haven were one of the fairest of the West Indies: but that in this case the question was not so much of the beautie of the place, as of things necessary to sustaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for us to plant in places plentifull of victuall, then in goodly Havens, faire, deepe and pleasaunt to the view. In consideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it seemed good unto them, to seate our selves about the River of May: seeing also that in our first voyage wee found the same onely among all the rest to abounde in Maiz and corne, besides the Golde and Silver that was found there: a thing that

*Gold and sil-  
ver found at  
the river of  
May.*

put me in hope of some happie discoverie in time to come.

After I had proposed these things, every one gave his opinion thereof: and in fine all resolved, namely those which had beene with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seate themselves rather on the River of May then on any other, untill they might heare newes out of France. This poynt being thus agreed upon, wee sayled toward the River, and used such diligence, that with the favour of the windes wee arrived there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thursday the 29. of the moneth of June. *June the 29.* Having cast anker, I embarked all my stufte and the souldiers of my companie, to sayle right toward the opening of the River: wherein we entred a good way up, and found a Creeke of a reasonable bignesse, which invited us to refresh our selves a little, while wee reposed our selves there. Afterward wee went on shoare to seeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceived from the Creeke.

But because wee found it not very commodious for us to inhabite there: wee determined to returne unto the place which wee had discovered before, when wee had sayled up the River. This place is joyning to a mountaine, and it seemed unto us more fit and commodious to build a fortresse, then that where we were last. Therefore we tooke our way towards the forrests being guided therein by the young Paracoussy which had ledde us before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine covered with high Pinetrees distant a little from the other: under which wee perceived an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidst the plaine, athwart the which we passed: then wee discovered a little hill adjoyning unto a great vale very greene and in forme flat: wherein were the fairest medowes of the world, and grasse to fede cattel. Moreover it is invironed with a great number of brookes of fresh water, & high woods, which make the vale

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*The Vale of  
Laudonniere.*

*An Herma-  
phrodite.*

[III. 325.]

more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the view thereof at mine ease, I named it at the request of our souldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon having gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was an Hermaphrodite, who came before us with a great vessel full of cleere fountaine water, wherwith she greatly refreshed us. For we were exceeding faint by reason of the ardent heate which molested us as we passed through those high woods. And I beleeve that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not bene for the great desire which we had to make us resolute of our selves, we had taken up our lodging all night in the wood. Being therefore refreshed by this meane, wee gathered our spirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had chosen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that instant neere the rivers brinke we strowed a number of boughes and leaves, to take our rest on them the night following, which wee found exceeding sweete, because of the paine which before we had taken in our travell.

*They began  
their planting  
with prayer to  
God.*

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commaunded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled we might give God thanks for our favourable and happie arrivall. There wee sang a Psalm of thanksgiving unto God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodnesse toward us his poore servaunts, and ayde us in all our enterprises, that all might turne to his glory and the advancement of our King. The prayer ended, every man began to take courage.

Afterward having measured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indevoured our selves of all sides, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to raise and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a shovell, or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the

trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did hasten w<sup>t</sup> such cheerfulness, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane space the Paracoussy Satourioua our neerest neighbour, & on whose ground wee built our Fort, came usually accompanied with his two sonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe us all courtesie. And I likewise for my part bestowed divers of our trifles frankly on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that as the dayes increased, so our amitie and friendship increased also.

After that our Fort was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things necessarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracoussy to command his subjects to make us a covering of Palme leaves, and this to the ende that when that was done, I might unfraight my shippes, and put under coverture those things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracoussy commaunded in my presence all the Indians of his companie to dresse the next day morning so good a number of Palme leaves, that the Grange was covered in lesse then two dayes: so that businesse was finished. For in the space of those two dayes, the Indians never ceased from working, some in fetching Palme leaves, others in interlacing of them: in such sort that their Kings commandement was executed as he desired.

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The side toward the West, which was toward the lande, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with turves made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other side which was toward the River, was inclosed with a Pallisado of planks of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South side there was a kinde of bastion within which I caused an house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, saving about two or three foot high with turfes, whereof the battlements were made. In the midst I caused a great

*In Florida  
they cover  
their houses  
with Palme  
leaves.*

*The forme of  
the Fort Caro-  
line.  
The West side.*

*The South side.*

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*High building  
is not good for  
this Country.*

*Nota.*

*Caroline.*

Court to be made of eighteene paces long and broad, in the midst whereof on the one side drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an house on the other side toward the North, which I caused to be raised somewhat too high: for within a short while after the wind beat it down: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this Countrey, by reason of the windes whereunto it is subject. One of the sides that inclosed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached unto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other side towards the River was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all covered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the midst of the great place, and the other was towarde the River. A good distance from the Fort I built an Oven to avoyde the danger against fire, because the houses are of Palme leaves, which will soone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, so that with much adoe a man shall have leasure to quench them. Loe here in brieve the description of our Fourtesse, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

[III. 326.]

*The first voy-  
age twentie  
leagues.*

After wee were furnished with that which was most necessarie, I would not lose a minute of an houre, without imploying of the same in some vertuous exercise: therefore I charged Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant, a man in trueth worthy of all honour for his honestie and vertue, to search up within the River, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracoussy Satourioua had spoken to us so often at our comming on shoare. For execution hereof the Paracoussy gave him two Indians for his guides, which taking upon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to goe unto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

Being imbarked they hoised sayle, and having sayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which still looked on this side and that side to espie some of their enemies, discovered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to



crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and spake nothing else but to hasten forward to goe fight with them: which the Captaine seemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in such a rage, that hee would have leapt into the water to have fought with them alone. Neverthelesse Ottigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gave the others respite to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the shoare, and so to escape into the woods. Againe, the meaning of Ottigni was not to make warre upon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friendes, and to make them thenceforth to live in peace one with another if it were possible, hoping by this meane to discover dayly some new thing, & especially the certaine course of the River. For this purpose he caused the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men towarde the Canoas which were on the Rivers side. Being come unto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to understand by this signe, that those of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus assured of us, they called to our men to come neere unto them: which they did incontinently and set foote on lande, and spake freely unto them, with divers ceremonies over long to recount. In the ende Ottigni demaunded of them by signes if they had any Golde or Silver among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might have some. Ottigni seeing them so willing, delivered them one of his men which seemed very resolute, to undertake this voyage: this fellow stayed with them untill tenne of the clocke the next morning, so that Captaine Ottigny somewhat offended with his long stay, sayled ten great leagues

*Ten leagues  
further.*

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*Mayrra a king  
rich in golde  
and silver.*

further up the River: although he knew not which way he should goe, yet he went so farre up that hee espied the Boate wherein his souldier was: which reported unto him, that the Indians would have carried him three great dayes journey further, & told him that a King named Mayrra rich in Gold and Silver, dwelt in those quarters, and that for small quantitie of marchandise enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himselfe without his leave, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the souldier with the Indians to enforme himselfe more and more of such things as he might discover more at leasure.

*The second  
voyage.*

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I dispatched Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant also to returne againe into this Countrey, and to seeke out the souldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they sayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Rivers side, which were expresly sent unto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surprise them, as they did usually.

*King Molloua.  
Olata Ouae  
Utina a great  
king.*

When they perceived Captaine Vasseur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere unto the Barke, and shewed him by signes that the Souldier which they sought was not in that place, but was at that present in the house of King Molloua which was vassall unto another great King named by them Olata Ouae Utina: and that if the Captaine would sayle thitherward, hee should come thither very quickly: wherwith he was content, and caused his men to rowe to that part which the Indians shewed him: wherat they were so glad, that they ranne quickly before by land to declare his arrivall, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not past halfe a

league. While king Molloua had ended intertaining Captaine Vasseur and his men, the souldier came in with five or sixe pounds weight of silver which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians.

*Five or sixe  
pound weight  
of silver.*

This King caused bread to bee made, and fish to bee dressed after the Indian fashion to feast our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a discourse of divers other Kings his friends & allies, reckoning up to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Cadecha, Chilili, Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omitaqua, Aequara, Moquoso: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee assured us to bee the vassals of the most renowned Olata Ouae Utina.

*Fortie kings  
vassals to  
Utina.*

[III. 327.]

This done, hee went about likewise to discover the enemies of Ouae Utina, in which number hee placed as the first the Paracoussy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the river of May, which hath under his obey-sance thirtie other Paracoussies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly esteemed in those partes: then hee named three others no lesse puissant then Satourioua, whereof the first dwelt two dayes journey from his lord Olata Ouae Utina, and ordinarily made warre upon him, whose name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like unto a seale, and so imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches, and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere unto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, & infinite quantitie of a kinde of slate stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleave their wood. The occasion which (as he sayd) mooved Potanou to wage warre against Olata Ouae Utina, was the feare that he had, lest he and his companions should get of that hard

*King Potanou.*

*An exceeding  
rich place.*

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stone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

Besides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vasseur, that the kings allies the vassals of the great Olata, armed their brests, armes, thighes, legs & foreheads with large plates of gold and silver: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were discharged upon them could do them no maner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon Captaine Vasseur inquired whether the Kings Onetheaqua and Houstaquas were like unto us. For by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that they were not, but that they were Indians like the rest, saving that they painted their faces with blacke, and that the rest as Molloua, painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vasseur, and my Sergeant promised him, that one day I should march with my forces into those Countreys, and that joyning my selfe with his Lord Olata, I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountaines. Hee was very glad of this speach, and answered that the least of these Kings which hee had named, should present unto the Generall of these succours the height of two foot of gold and silver, which by force of armes they had already gotten of those two Kings, Onathequa, and Houstaquas.

The good cheere being done, and the discourses ended, my men imbarked themselves againe, with intention to bring mee those good newes unto the Fort Caroline. But after they had sayled a very long while downe the River, and were come within three leagues of us, the tyde was so strong against them, that they were constrained to goe on lande, and to retire themselves because of the night, unto the dwelling of a certaine Paracoussy named Molona, which shewed himselfe very glad of their arrivall: for hee desired to know some newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occasion but for to invade

*Large plates  
of gold and  
silver.*

*Some paint  
their faces  
with blacke,  
and some with  
red.*

them. Which Captaine Vasseur perceiving, dissembled so wel, that he made him beleve that he went to Thimogoa with none other intention, but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sworde without mercy, but that their purpose had not such successe as they desired, because that the people of Thimogoa being advertised of this enterprise, retired into the woods, and saved themselves by flight: that neverthesse they had taken some as they were fleeing away, which carried no newes thereof unto their fellowes.

The Paracoussy was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked Vasseur of the beginning and maner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would shew him by signes howe all things passed. Immediatly Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his sword in his hand, saying, that with the point thereof he had thrust through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no lesse for their partes. And that if fortune had so favoured them, that they had not beene discovered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie most glorious and worthie of eternall memorie. Hereupon the Paracoussy shewed himselfe so well satisfied, that he could not devise how to gratifie our men, which hee caused to come into his house to feast them more honourably: and having made Captaine Vasseur to sit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians esteeme for the chiefest honour) and then underneath him two of his sonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the rest to place themselves as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good custome, to present their drinke Cassine to the Paracoussy, and then to certaine of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it set the cup aside, and drew out a little dagger stucke up in the roofe of the house, and like a mad man he lift his head aloft, and ranne apace, and went and smote an Indian which sate

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alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian stirring not at all for the blowe, which he seemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the same in his former place, and began againe to give us drinke as hee did before : but he had not long continued, and had scarce given three or foure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned unto him which hee had strocken before, to whom he gave a very sore blow on the side, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and set himselfe downe among the rest. A little while after he that had bene stricken fell downe backwards, stretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld up the latter gaspe. And then the younger sonne of the Paracoussy apparelled in a long white skinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre : after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was so stricken, and began to sigh pitifully. Their mother bearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her sonnes were, at the first shee used infinite numbers of outcries, then one while lifting up her eyes to heaven, another while falling downe unto the ground, shee cryed so dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would have moved the most hard and stony heart in the world with pitie. Yet this sufficed not, for there came in a companie of young gyrls, which did never leave weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom afterward they tooke, and with the saddest gestures they could devise, carried him away into another house a little way off from the great hall of the Paracoussy, and continued their weepings and mournings by the space of two long houres : in which meane while the Indians ceased not to drinke Cassine, but with such silence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

Vasseur being grieved that he understood not these ceremonies, demanded of the Paracoussy what these things meant: which answered him slowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa, without saying any more. Being more displeased then he was before with so sleight an answer, he turned unto another Indian the Paracoussyes brother, who was a Paracoussy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like answer as hee did at the first, praying him to aske no more of these matters, and to have patience for that time. The subtill old Paracoussy prayed him within a while after, to shew him his sword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would have beheld the fashion of his weapons: but he soone perceived that it was to another ende: for the old man holding it in his hand, behelde it a long while on every place, to see if he could finde any blood upon it, which might shew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are woont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies have beene defeated, with some blood upon them, for a token of their victories. But seeing no signe thereof upon it, he was upon the point to say unto him, that he had killed none of the men of Thimogoa: when as Vasseur preventing that which hee might object, declared and shewed unto him by signes, the maner of his enterprise, adding, that by reason of the two Indians which he had slaine, his sword was so bloody, that hee was inforced to wash and make it cleane a long while in the River: which the olde man beleevved to be like to be true, and made no maner of replie thereunto.

*King Malica.*

Vasseur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to go into the roome whither they had carried the Indian: there they found the Paracoussy sitting upon tapistries made of small reedes, which was at meate after the Indian fashion, and the Indian that was smitten hard by him, lying upon the selfe same tapistry, about whom stode the wife of the Paracoussy, with all the young damsels which before bewailed him in

*Tapistry made  
of small reeds.*

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*They lappe  
mosse about  
their woundes  
and use it in  
stead of nap-  
kins.*

*A ceremonie  
to call to mind  
the death of  
their ancesters  
slaine by their  
enemies.*

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the hall ; which did nothing else but warme a great deal of mosse instead of napkins to rub the Indians side. Hereupon our men asked the Paracoussy againe for what occasion the Indian was so persecuted in his presence: hee answered, that this was nothing else but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and persecutions of the Paracoussies their ancestours executed by their enimie Thimogoa: alleaging moreover, that as often as he himselfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home some prisoner, hee used for a perpetuall memorie of all his predecessors, to beate the best beloved of all his children with the selfe same weapons wherewith they had bene killed in times past: to the ende that by renewing of the wound their death should be lamented afresh. Now when they were thus informed of those ceremonies, they thanked the Paracoussy for their good intertainment which they had received, & so setting saile came to me unto the fort: where they declared all unto me as I have recited it heretofore. The eight and twentieth of July our shippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two moneths after our arrivall in Florida, the Paracoussy Satourioua sent certaine Indians unto mee to knowe whether I would stande to my promise which I had made him at my first arrivall in that Countrey, which was that I would shewe my selfe friend to his friendes, and enimie unto his enemies, and also to accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he should see it expedient, and should finde a fit occasion to goe to warre. Now seeing he rested upon this promise, he prayed mee not to deferre the same: seeing also that making accompt thereof, hee had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprise, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage: I made him answeare, that for his amitie I would not purchase the enmitie of the other, and

[III. 329.]

*The returne of  
their ships  
toward France  
the 28. of  
July.*



that albeit I would, yet notwithstanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it behoved mee at that present to make provision of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort. On the other side, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterprise would require time: Moreover, that the Paracoussy Satourioua might holde himselfe ready to depart within two moneths, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promise to him.

The Indians caried this answer to their Paracoussy, which was litle pleased with it, because hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aswell because all his victuals were ready, as also because tenne other Paracoussies were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprise. The ceremonie which this Savage used before hee embarked his armie deserveth not to be forgotten. For when hee was set downe by the Rivers side, being compassed about with ten other Paracoussies, hee commaunded water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking up into heaven, he fell to discourse of divers things with gestures that shewed him to be in exceeding great choller, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. Hee oftentimes looked upon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of his enemies. Which when hee had done by the space of halfe an houre, hee sprinkled with his hand a little of the water which hee helde in a vessell upon the heads of the Paracoussies, and cast the rest as it were in a rage and despite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpose. This done, hee cried out thrise, He Thimogoa, and was followed with five hundreth Indians at the least, which were there assembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ceremonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiarly, signified nothing else, but that Satourioua besought the Sunne to graunt unto him so happy a victory, that hee might shed his enemies blood, as he had shed that water at his pleasure.

*The ceremonie  
which they use  
before they goe  
to warre.*

*Satourioua fol-  
lowed with  
five hundreth  
Indians.*

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Moreover, that the Paracoussies which were sprinckled with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and chiefe triumph of their victories.

The Paracoussy Satourioua had no sooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all his company, but he embarked himselfe, and used such diligence with his Almadies or boates, that the next day two houres before the Sunnes set, he arrived on the territories of his enemies about eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward causing them all to goe on land, hee assembled his counsell, wherein it was agreed that five of the Paracoussies should saile up the River with halfe of the troupes, and by the breake of the day should approche unto the dwelling of theiremie: for his owne part, that hee would take his journey through the woods and forrests as secretly as hee coulde: that when they were come thither, as well they that went by water as hee which went by land should not faile by the breake of the day to enter into the village, and cut them all in pieces, except the women and little children.

These things which were thus agreed upon, were executed with as great fury as was possible: which when they had done, they tooke the heades of their enemies which they had slaine, and cut off their haire round about with a piece of their skulles: they tooke also foure and twentie prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselves immediatly unto their Boates which wayted for them. Being come thither, they beganne to singe praises unto the Sunne, to whom they attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the skins of those heads on the end of their javelings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracoussy Omoloa, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they devided their prisoners equally to each of the Paracoussies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which straightway dispatched an Indian his subject, to carry newes before of the victory to them which stayed at home to guard their

*Consultation  
before they  
assault their  
enemies.*

*How they use  
their enemies  
which they  
take in warre.*

*King Omoloa.*

houses, which immediatly beganne to weepe. But as-soone as night was come, they never left dancing and playing a thousand gambols in honour of the feast.

The next day the Paracoussy Satourioua came home, who before hee entred into his lodging caused all the hairie skuls of his enemies to bee set up before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, shewing by this glorious spectacle the triumph of the victory which hee had obtained. Straightway beganne lamentation and mournings, which as-soone as the night beganne were turned into pleasures and dances. [III. 330.]

*Their maner  
of triumph.*

After that I was advertised of these things, I sent a Souldier unto Satourioua, praying him to sende mee two of his prisoners : which hee denied mee, saying that hee was nothing beholding unto mee, and that I had broken my promise, against the oath which I had sworne unto him at my arrivall. Which when I understoode by my Souldier, which was come backe with speede, I devised howe I might be revenged of this Savage, and to make him know how dearely this bolde bravado of his should cost him : therefore I commanded my Sergeant to provide mee twentie Souldiers to goe with mee to the house of Satourioua : Where after I was come and entered into the hall without any maner of salutation, I went and sate mee downe by him, and stayed a long while without speaking any woorde unto him, or shewing him any signe of friendship, which thing put him deeply in his dumps : besides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had given expresse commaundement to suffer no Indian to goe forth : having stode still about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the prisoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them presently to bee brought unto me.

Whereunto the Paracoussy angry at the heart, and astonied wonderfully, stode a long while without making any answer, notwithstanding at last hee answered me very stoutly, that being afraide to see us comming

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thither in such warrelike maner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe; Then I seemed to make as though I understood not what he saide, and asked for his prisoners againe, and for some of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his sonne Athore to seeke out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracoussy, they humbly saluted mee, and lifting up their hands before me, they would have fallen downe prostrate as it were at my feet: but I would not suffer them, and soone after ledde them away with me unto my owne Fort. The Paracoussy being wonderfully offended with this bravado, bethought himselfe by all meanes how hee might be revenged of us. But to give us no suspition thereof, and the better to cover his intention, hee sent his messengers oftentimes unto us bringing alwayes with them some kinde of presents. Among others one day hee sent three Indians, which brought us two baskets full of great Pumpions, much more excellent then those which we have in France, and promised me in their Kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I should never want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and signified unto them the great desire which I had, aswell for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subjects, to make a peace betweene him and those of Thimogoa: which thing coulde not choose but turne to their great benefite, seeing that being allied with the Kings of those parts, hee had an open passage against Onatheaqua his ancient enemy, which otherwise he could not set upon. Moreover that Olata Ouae Utina was so mightie a Paracoussy, that Satourioua was not able to withstand his forces: but being agreed together they might easily overthrow all their enemies, and might passe the confines of the farthest Rivers that were towards the South. The messengers prayed mee to have patience untill the morowe,

*Excellent  
Pumpions.*

at what time they would come againe unto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, advertising me that Paracoussy Satourioua was the gladdest man in the world to treat of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he besought mee to be diligent therein, promising to observe and performe whatsoever I should agree upon with those of Thimogoa: which things the messengers also rehearsed unto the prisoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I resolved within two dayes to sende backe againe the prisoners to Olata Ouæ Utina, whose subjects they were: but before I embarked them, I gave them certaine small trifles, which were little knives or tablets of glasse, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawen very lively, for which they gave me very great thankes, as also for the honest entertainment which was given them at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themselves, with Captaine Vasseur, and with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, which I had sent of purpose to remaine a certaine time with Ouæ Utina, hoping that the favour of this great Paracoussy would serve my turne greatly to make my discoveries in time to come. I sent with him also one of my Sergeants, and sixe gallant Souldiers.

Thus things passed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracoussy Satourioua against mee did still continue, until that on the nine and twentieth of August a lightning from heaven fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleeve to be wondered at, and to be put in writing, then all the strange signes which have bene seene in times past, and whereof the histories have never written. For although the medowes were at that season all greene, and halfe covered over with water, nevertheless the lightning in one instant consumed above five hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which tooke their pastime in the medowes, which thing continued for three dayes space, which caused us not a little to muse, not being

[III. 331.]  
*A wonderfull  
lightning the  
29. of August.*

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*King Sar-  
ranay.*

*King Allima-  
cany.*

*The Savages  
thinke the  
lightning to be  
discharging of  
the Christians  
Ordinance.*

able to judge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places for feare of us: another while wee thought that they had discovered some shippes in the Sea, and that according to their custome they had kindled many fires here and there, to signifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neverthelesse being not assured, I determined to sende to Paracoussy Serrany to knowe the trueth thereof. But even as I was upon the point to sende one by boate to discover the matter, sixe Indians came unto mee from Paracoussy Allimacany, which at their first entrie made unto mee a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented mee with certaine baskets full of Maiz, of Pompions and of Grapes) of the loving amitie which Allimacany desired to continue with mee, and that hee looked from day to day when it would please mee to employ him in my service. Therefore considering the serviceable affection that hee bare unto mee, hee found it very strange, that I thus discharged mine Ordinance against his dwelling, which had burnt up an infinite sight of greene medowes, and consumed even downe unto the bottome of the water, and came so neere unto his mansion, that hee thought hee sawe the fire in his house: wherefore hee besought mee most humbly to commaund my men that they would not shoote any more towards his lodging, otherwise that hereafter he should be constrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himselfe into some place further off from us.

Having understood the foolish opinion of this man, which notwithstanding coulde not choose but bee very profitable for us, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cheerefull countenance, that the relation which they made unto mee of the obedience of their Paracoussy did please mee right well, because that before hee had not behaved himselfe in such sort towards mee, especially when I summoned him to sende mee the prisoners of great Olata Ouae

Utina which he detained, whereof notwithstanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cause wherefore I had discharged mine Ordinance against him: not that I meant to reach unto his house (as I might have done easily, if it had pleased me) but that I was content to shoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: assuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more ordinance should be discharged against him hereafter: and besides that I would become his faithfull protectour against his greatest enemies.

*Laudonniere used the present occasion to his profite.*

The Indians contented with mine answer returned to assure their Paracoussy, which notwithstanding the assurance withdrew himselfe from his dwelling twentie or five and twentie leagues off and that for the space of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguished. But for two dayes after there followed such an excessive heate in the aire, that the River neere unto which we planted our habitation, became so hoat, that I thinke it was almost ready to seeth. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many divers sorts, that in the mouth of the River onely there were founde dead ynough to have loaden fiftie Carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diseases amongst us, insomuch that most of my men fell sicke, and almost ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithstanding it pleased our mercifull God so to provide by his providence, that all our men recovered their health without the losse of any one of them.

*A wonderfull heate.*

*Fiftie cart load of fish dead in the River with this heat.*

Monsieur de Arlac, Capitaine Vasseur, and one of my Sergeants being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September, to cary backe the prisoners unto Utina, sailed so farre up the River, that they discovered a place called Mayarquá distant from our Fort about fourescore leagues, where the Indians gave them good entertainment, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwell-

*The thirde voyage the tenth of September.*

*Mayarquá a place 80. leagues up the River of May.*

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*King Patanou.* ling of Paracoussy Utina, which after hee had feasted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monsieur de Arlac and all his Souldiers to stay a while with him, to ayde and assist him in battaile against one of his enemies called Potanou, whereunto Monsieur de Arlac consented willingly. And because hee knew not how long he might have occasion to stay in these parts, hee sent mee Captaine Vasseur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely five Souldiers with him.

*The Indians  
maner of war.* [III. 332.] Now because the custome of the Indians is alwayes to wage war by surprise, Utina resolved to take hisemie Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day: to bring this to passe, hee made his men to travaile all the

*Two hundreth  
Indians.* night, which might be in number two hundred persons, so well advised, that they prayed our French-shot to be in the fore-front, to the ende (as they saide) that the noyse of their pieces might astonish their enemies: notwithstanding they coulde not march so secretly, but that those of the village of Potanou, distant from the dwelling of Utina about five and twentie leagues, were ware of them: which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endeavour to defend their village enclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies: but finding themselves charged with shotte, (a thing wherewith they never had bene acquainted) also beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their skirmish, with a shot of an Harquebuse which strooke him in the forehead, discharged by the hande of Monsieur de Arlac, they left the place: and the Indians of Utina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children prisoners. Thus Paracoussy Utina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost in this conflict one of their companions, wherewith Utina was very much grieved. Eight or tenne dayes after, I sent Captaine Vasseur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monsieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine presents from Utina, as

*A village in-  
closed with  
trees.*

*Utina getteth  
the victory of  
Potanou by the  
helpe of the  
French.*



## RENE LAUDONNIERE

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some silver, a small quantitie of golde, painted skinnes, and other things, with a thousand thanks, which the Paracoussy gave me, which promised that if in any enterprise of importance I should have neede of his men, he would furnish mee with three hundreth and above.

*Silver, and gold, and painted skinnes.*

While I thus travailed to purchase friends, & to practise one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were suborned under hand by one named la Roquette of the Countrey of Perigort, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the secrets of Art-magicke he had discovered a Mine of golde and silver farre up within the River, whereby (upon the losse of his life,) every Souldier should receive in ready Bullion the value of tenne thousand Crownes, beside and above fifteene hundred thousand which should be reserved for the Kings Majestie: wherefore they allied themselves with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whose name was Le Genre, in whom notwithstanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding desirous to enrich himselfe in those parts, and seeking to be revenged, because I would not give him the carriage of the Paquet into France, secretly enfourmed the Souldiers that were already suborned by La Roquette, that I would deprive them of this great gaine, in that I did set them dayly on worke, not sending them on every side to discover the Countreys: therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee understand so much, to seeke meanes to dispatch mee out of the way, and to choose another Captaine in my place, if I would not give them victuals according to their disordinate appetite. Hee also brought mee word hereof himselfe, making a large discourse unto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all besought mee that I would conduct them to the Countreys where the Mine was: I made him answer that all could not goe thither, and that it was necessary before their departure to settle our Fortresse in such estate, that

*La Roquettes conspiracie.*

*Monsieur de Genre.*

*Genres message to Laudoniere in the Souldiers name.*

*His answer.*

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those which were to stay at home behind should remaine in securitie against the Indians which might surprize them. Furthermore, that their maner of proceeding seemed strange unto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Majestie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their first arrivall, in as much as they shewed themselves much more given unto covetousnesse, then unto the service of their Prince: But seeing mine answere tended unto none other ende but to make our Fortresse strong and defensible, they determined to travaile in the worke, and made an ensigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare upon the rampart when they went to woorke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themselves to worke the better. But as I perceived afterwards, and that by the confession of Genre sent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, these gentle Souldiers did the same for none other ende, but to have killed mee, and my Lieutenant also, if by chance I had given them any hard speches.

*A dangerous  
practice  
against the  
Captaine and  
his Lieutenant.*

About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppises to finish the building of my Fort, (and that according to my usuall maner, I marched first to give encouragement unto my Soldiers) I chafed my selfe in such sort, that I fell into a sore and grievous sicknesse, whereof I thought I should have died: During which sicknesse, I called Le Genre often unto mee, as one that I trusted above all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane while assembling his complices, sometime in his chamber and sometime in the woods to consult with them, hee spake unto them to choose another Captaine besides mee, to the intent to put mee to death: but being not able by open force to execute his mischievous intention, hee gate him unto mine Apothecarie praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receive one or two dayes after, some drugge

*Laudonniere's  
sicknesse.*

*Laudonniere's  
Apothecarie.  
[III. 333.]*

that should make mee pitch over the pearch, or at the least that hee would give him a little Arsenike or quicke Silver, which hee himselfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecary denied him, as did in like maner Master S. which was Master of the fire-workes. Thus wholly disappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others resolved to hide a little barrell of gunne-powder underneath my bed, and by a traine to set it on fire.

*The Master of  
the fireworks.*

Upon these practises a Gentleman which I had dispatched to returne into France, being about to take his leave of me, advertised me, that Genre had given him a booke full of all kinde of lewde invectives and slanders against me, against Monsieur de Ottigny, and against the principal of my company: upon which occasion I assembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arrived in the roade, and were come into our River. In their presence I caused the contents of the booke to bee read alowde, that they might beare record of the untruths that were written against mee. Genre, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he lived for a while after with the Savages by my permission,) writ unto mee often, and in many of his letters confessed unto mee, that hee had deserved death, condemning himselfe so farrefoorth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

*Captaine  
Bourdet ar-  
rived in  
Florida the 4.  
of September.*

The seventh or eighth day of November, after I had caused sufficient provision of such victuals as were needefull to bee made, I sent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and an other towarde King Utina, to discover every day more and more of the Countrey: where hee was the space of five or sixe moneths, during which hee discovered many small villages, and among others one named Hostaquia, the King whereof being desirous of my friendship, sent unto mee a quiver made of a Luserns skinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or five skinnes painted after their maner, and a cheine of Silver weying about a pounce weight. In

*The 4. voyage  
the 7. of No-  
vember.*

*Hostaquia a  
village.*

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recompence of which presents I sent him two whole sutes of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

After these things therefore in this sort passed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leave mee and to returne into France. Then I requested him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him some sixe or seven Souldiers, whom I coulde not trust by any meanes: which hee did for my sake, and would not charge himselfe with Genre, which offered him a great summe of money, if it would please him to carry him into France: hee transported him onely to the other side of the River. Three dayes after his departure thirteene Mariners which I had brought out of France, suborned by certaine other Mariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, stole away my Barkes in maner following. These Mariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had such Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Isles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Hereupon they beganne to devise howe they might steale away my Barkes, and consulted that when I should command them to goe unto the village of Sarauahi distant about a league and an halfe from our Fort, and situated upon an arme of the River, (whither according to my maner I sent them dayly to seeke clay, to make bricke and morter for our houses) they would returne no more, but would furnish themselves with victuals as well as they might possibly: and then would embarke themselves all in one vessell, and would goe their way: as indeede they did. And that which was worse, two Flemish Carpenters, which the saide Bourdet had left mee, stole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the cables of the Barke, and of the shipboate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not pursue them: so that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as unluckily for mee as was possible. For I was

*One of his  
Barks stolne  
away by his  
Mariners.*

*The village of  
Sarauahi.*

*Another of his  
Barks stolne  
away by two  
Carpenters.*

ready to imbarke my selfe with all speede, to discover as farre up our River, as I might by any meanes. Nowe my Mariners, (as I understood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a passenger of the Spaniards neere the Isle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and silver, which they seized upon. And having this bootie they lay a while at Sea, untill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cause, that oppressed with famine they came unto Havana the principall Towne of the Isle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that mischiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I saw my Barkes returned not at their wonted houre, and suspecting that which fell out in deed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to search those Rivers for some newes of these Mariners. The boate dispatched within a day and a night, by reason that my Carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as commonly I caused my Sawyers to provide it, I sent men to seeke some newes of my thieves: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cause two great Barkes to be built, eche of which might be thirtie five, or thirtie sixe foote long in the keele.

*One of these Mariners named Francis Jean betrayed his own country men to the Spaniards, and brought them into Florida.*

*A Saw-mill necessary here.*

And now the worke was very well forward which I set my workemen about, when ambition and avarice, the mother of all mischiefe, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or five souldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from hence forward (namely one Fourneaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steven le Geneuois, the three principall authors of the sedition) beganne to practise with the best of my troupe, shewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to moyle themselves thus with abject and base worke, seeing they had the best occasion of the worlde offered them to make themselves all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and

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*The thirde sedition.*

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*By Peru the  
French meane  
the coast of  
Carthageana  
and Nombre  
de Dios.*

to furnish them with good men: and then to saile unto Peru, and the other Isles of the Antilles, where every Souldier might easily enrich himselfe with tenne thousand Crownes. And if their enterprise should bee misliked withall in France, they should bee alwayes able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gaine, to retire themselves into Italy, untill the heate were overpassed, and that in the meane season some warre would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten.

This word of riches sounded so well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threescore and sixe: which to colour their great desire which they had to goe on stealing, they caused a request to bee presented unto mee by Francis de la Caille Sergeant of my company, contayning in sum a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintaine us, until the time that shippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it necessary to sende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Isles adjoyning, which they besought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them answer, that when the Barkes were finished, I would take such good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandise, without sparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Country: seeing also that wee had ynough to serve us for foure moneths to come. For I feared greatly, that under pretence of searching victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spaines Subjects, which in time to come might justly bee layde to my charge, considering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expresly, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subjects, nor any thing whereof he might conceive any jelousie.

They made as though they were content with this

*The captaines  
charge at his  
setting forth.*

answere. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working upon our Fort, and on my Barkes, I fell sicke. Then my seditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, beganne to practise afresh their former designes, handling their businesse so well, during my sicknesse, that they openly vowed that they would seaze on the Corps de gard, and on the Fort, yea, and force mee also, if I woulde not consent unto their wicked desire. My Lieutenant being hereof advertised, came and tolde mee that he suspected some evill practise: and the next day in the morning I was saluted at my gate with men in complet harnesse, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a shrewde tricke: then I sent to seeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I most trusted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a request unto me: But I tolde them that this was not the fashion to present a request unto a Captaine in this maner, and therefore they should send some few unto me to signifie unto mee what they would have. Hereupon the five chiefe authours of the sedition armed with Corslets, their Pistolles in their handes already bent, prest into my chamber, saying unto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to seeke their adventure. Then I warned them to bee well advised what they meant to doe: but they foorthwith replied, that they were fully advised already, and that I must graunt them this request. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will sende Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, which will make answeere and give mee an accompt of every thing that shall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of every chamber, that they may accompany Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the Name of God, they answered that they must goe thither: and that there

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lacked nothing, but that I should deliver them the armour which I had in my custodie, for feare least I might use them to their disadvantage (being so villainously abused by them:) wherein notwithstanding I would not yeeld unto them. But they tooke all by force, and caried it out of my house, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which spake against their doings, they layd hands on mee, and caried mee very sicke, as I was, prisoner into a shippe which rode at ancker in the middest of the River, wherein I was the space of fifteene dayes, attended upon with one man onely without permission for any of my servants to come to visite mee: from every one of whom, as also from the rest that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they sent mee a passeport to signe, telling me plainly after I had denied them, that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the shippe. Thus was I constrained to signe their Passe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honest and skilfull Pilot. When the barks were finished, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, asmuch as they needed, and chose one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Ensigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vasseur to deliver them the flag of his ship. Then having determined to saile unto a place of the Antilles called Leaguave, belonging unto the king of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Christmase night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Masse was sayd after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set saile the eight of December. But because the greatest part of them by this time repented them of their enterprise, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themselves, when they came foorth of the mouth of the river, the two barks divided themselves; the one kept

*Laudonniere  
kept 15. dayes  
prisoner by his  
owne souldiers.*

[III. 335.]

*Trenchant a  
skilfull pilot.*



along the coast unto Cuba, to double the Cape more easily, and the other went right forth to passe athwart the Isles of Lucaya: by reason whereof they mette not untill sixe weeks after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coast, wherein one of the chiefe conspiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere unto a place called Archaha, tooke a Brigantine laden with a certaine quantity of Cassavi, which is a kinde of bread made of roots, and yet neverthesse is very white, and good to eat, and some little Wine, which was not without some losse of their men: for in one assault that the inhabitants of Archaha made upon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steven Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, besides two more that were slaine in the place, namely Nicolas Master and Doublet: yet neverthesse they tooke the Brigantine, wherein they put all their stuffe that was in their owne Barke, because it was of greater burthen and better of saile then their owne. Afterward they sailed right unto the Cape of Santa Maria nere to Leaguave, where they went on land to calke and bray their ship which had a great leake. In this meane while they resolved to saile to Baracou, which is a village of the Isle of Jamaica: where at their arrivall they found a Caravel of fifty or threescore tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the space of five or sixe dayes, they embarked themselves in it, leaving their second ship: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the governour of Jamaica was taken, with great store of riches, aswell of golde and silver as of merchandise and wine, and many other things; wherewith our seditious companions not content, determined to seeke more in their caravell, and their governour of Jamaica also. After they were come to Jamaica, they missed of another caravel which did save

*Cassavi, bread  
made of roots.*

*Baracou a vil-  
lage in the Isle  
of Jamaica.*

*The cape of  
Tiburon.*

*The governour  
of Jamaica  
taken.*

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it selfe in the haven. The governour being fine and subtile, seeing himselfe brought unto the place which he desired and where he commanded, obtained so much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little boyes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and send them to his wife into the village, to advertise her that she should make provision of victuals to send unto him. But in stead of writing unto his wife, he spake unto the boyes secretly that with all diligence she should send the vessels that were in the havens neere that place to succour and rescue him. Which she did so cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our seditious companions were at the havens mouth (which reacheth above two leagues up within the land) there came out of the haven a malgualire which maketh saile both forward and backward, and then two great shippes, which might be ech of them of fourescore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good store of ordinance, and well furnished with men: at whose comming our mutinous fellowes were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, aswell because of the darknesse of the weather, as also by reason of the length of the haven, considering also they mistrusted nothing. True it is that five or six & twenty that were in the brigantine discovered these ships when they were nere them, which seeing themselves pressed for want of leasure to weigh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it advertised the rest: whereupon the Spaniards seeing themselves descried, discharged a volley of canon shot against the French men, which they followed by the space of three leagues, and recovered their own ships: the brigantine which escaped away, passed in the sight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony situate in the Isle of Cuba, & from thence passed within the sight of Havana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elsewhere we have declared) desired nothing

*Malgualire a kinde of vessell that will saile forward and backward.*

*The Cape of S. Antony in Cuba. Havana.*

more then to returne to me: wherefore these men agreed together (if peradventure the wind served them well) to passe the chanell of Bahama, while their seditious companions were asleepe: which they did accomplish with such good successe, that in the morning toward the breake of the day about the five and twentieth of March they arrived upon the coast of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfaieted the Judges: but they played not this pranke untill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Judge, another presented my person: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cause you not to be hanged, I will never take him for an honest man: others thought that my choler being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their saile was no sooner descried upon our coast, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to advertise me that he had descried a shippe upon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon the brigantine oppressed with famine, came to an anker at the mouth of the river of May, when at the first blush we thought they had beene shippes come from France; which gave us occasion of great joy: but after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was advertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore I sent them word by Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, that they should bring up their brigantine before the fortresse: which they promised to doe. Now there was not above two leagues distance from the mouth of the river where they cast anker unto the fortresse. The next day I sent the same Captaine and Sergeant with thirty souldiers, because I saw they much delayed their comming. Then they brought them: and because certaine of them had sworne at their departure, that they would never come

*The chanell of Bahama.*

[III. 336.]

*King Patica.*

*The returne of part of Laudonnières seditious souldiers.*

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againē within the fort, I was well pleased they should keepe their oth. For this purpose I waited for them at the rivers mouth, where I made my barks to be built, and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on shore; whom I caused immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my councill expresly assembled for this purpose had concluded that these foure only should die, to serve for an example to the rest. In the same place I made an Oration unto them in this maner.

*Laudonnières  
oration to his  
mutinous soul-  
diers.*

**M**Y friends, you know the cause why our king sent us unto this countrey; you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the commandement of God, in such sort, that we ought neither to spare our goods nor lives to do those things that concerne his service: ye know, or at least you cannot be ignorant, that besides this general and naturall obligation, you have this also joyned thereunto, that in receiving of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established over you to be your governours, and to command you in his name, having for this purpose given him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes revoke for any faire apparance which you have to doe the contrary: for this is reason, that seeing you live upon his charges on this condition, (this is reason I say) that you should be faithfull unto him. Notwithstanding you have had more regard unto your unbridled affections then unto vertue, which invited you to the observance of your oth, in such sort that being become contemners of all honesty, you have passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out, that while you thought to escape the justice of men, you could not avoid the judgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be avoided hath led you, and in spight of you hath made you to arrive in this place, to make you confesse

how true his judgements are, and that he never suffereth so foule a fault to escape unpunished.

After that I had used unto them these or the like speeches, following that which wee had agreed upon in councell, in respect of the crimes which they had committed, aswel against the kings Majesty as against mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no starting hole, nor meanes at all to save themselves from this arrest, they tooke themselves unto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raise a mutiny among my souldiers, sayd thus unto them: What, brethren and companions, will you suffer us to die so shamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I sayd unto him, that they were not companions of authours of sedition and rebels unto the kings service. Heereupon the souldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot thorow, & then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged upon certaine gibbets along the havens mouth: which I caused presently to be put in execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous souldiers, without which I had alwayes lived peaceably, and enjoyed the good desire which I had to make an happy and quiet voyage. But because I have spoken of nothing but their accidentes and adventures which happened unto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will returne to the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure. First I began to consider to the end I might confirme and make my selfe more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition upon want of victuals: for from the time of our arrivall, every souldier dayly unto this day, and besides untill the eight and twentieth of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Againe I recounted with my selfe that all new conquests by sea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are easie to be raised, aswell in respect of the distance of

*The sentence  
of death.*

*Execution.*

[III. 337.]  
*The continua-  
tion of the his-  
tory.*

*New conquests  
subject to re-  
bellions and  
mutinies.*

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place, as in respect of the hope that the souldiers have to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient histories and also by the troubles which lately happened unto Christopher Columbus, after his first discovery, to Francis Pizarro, & Diego de Almagro in Peru, & to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thousand other things came unto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lieutenant Ottigny, and my Sergeant of my band came to seeke me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and caried me from thence in a barke assoone as our rebels were departed. After I was come unto the fort, I caused all my company that remained, to be assembled in the midst of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared unto them the faults which they that had forsaken us had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witness thereof when need should require. Foorthwith I ordained new Captaines to command the troupes; and prescribed them an order, according whereunto they were to governe themselves from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greatest part of the souldiers, of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promised mee all with one accord to obey mee most humbly, and to doe whatsoever I should command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings service; wherein assuredly they never after failed: so that I dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as ever was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne unto the fort, I assembled my men together againe, to declare unto them that our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needfull that all of us should put thereto our helping hands, to assure our selves against the Indians: wherein having willingly agreed unto mee, they raised it all with turfes from the gate unto the river which is on the West side. This done, I set my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the same bignesse that

*Laudonniere setteth things in order after his returne out of prison to the fort.*

*Reparation of the West side of the fort.*



*Laudibus intactus num Laudionerus abibo?  
 Florida regnorum comprehendit America quae nunc  
 haud minimum cuius Francis virtute subactum.  
 Perfida quem si non sociorum turpiter hos ti  
 Factio prodisset (cuius tamen, omnibus vitis,  
 Elapsus manibus) quae, qualia, quanta patrassem!*

RENE LAUDONNIERE





the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they should prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nailes, and certaine others to make coales: so that the barke was finished in eighteene dayes. Afterward I made another lesser then the first, the better to discover up the river. In this meane space the Indians visited me, and brought me dayly certaine presents, as Fish, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certaine Hatchets, Knives, Beads of glasse, Combes, and Looking-glasses. Two Indians came unto me one day to salute me on the behalfe of their King, whose name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort some forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the house of King Onathaqua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the house of King Mathiaca another man whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation: whereupon I conceived that these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Christian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought unto mee, and that I would make them double recompense. They which love rewards, tooke so much paine, that the two men, whereof we have spoken, were brought unto the fort unto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long unto their hammes as the Savages use to do, and were Spanyolds borne, yet so well accustomed to the fashion of the countrey that at the first sight they found our maner of apparell strange. After that I had questioned of certaine matters with them, I caused them to be apparelled, and to cut their haire; which they would not loose, but lapped it up in a linnen cloth, saying that they would cary it into their countrey to be a testimony of the misery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to

*King Marra-  
cou.*

*King Onatha-  
qua.  
King Mathi-  
aca.*

*Two Span-  
yards brought  
unto Lau-  
donniere by  
the Savages.*

the value of five and twenty crownes, which he gave unto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they answered me that fifteene yeeres past, three shippes, in one of which they were, were cast away over against a place named Calos upon the Flats which are called The Martyres, and that the king of Calos recovered the greatest part of the riches which were in the sayd shippes, travelling in such sort that the greatest part of the people was saved, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women married, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this king of Calos. I desired to learne what this king was. They answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the country, a mighty man, a warriar, and having many subjects under his obedience. They tolde me moreover, that he had great store of golde and silver, so farre forth that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a tunne: all which wealth the Spanyards fully perswaded themselves that they could cause me to recover, if I were able to march thither with an hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had also great store thereof. They further also advertised me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a sawcer, and in such number; that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they sayd, out of the Spanish shippes, which commonly were cast away in this straight; and the rest by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reverence of his subjects; and that hee made them beleve that his sorceries and charmes were the causes that made the earth bring forth her fruit: and that hee might the easier perswade them that it was so, he retired himselfe once or twice a yeere to a certaine

*Calos a place upon ye Flats called The Martyres neere the Cape of Florida.*

*The King of Calos.*

*Great quantitie of golde and silver.*

[III. 338.]

*Plates of gold as broad as a sawcer.*

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house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where hee used certaine enchantments ; and if any man intruded himselfe to goe to see what they did in this place, the king immediatly caused him to be put to death. Moreover, they tolde me, that every yeere in the time of harvest, this Savage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expresly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spanyards which by tempest were cast away upon that coast. One of these two declared unto me, that hee had served him a long time for a messenger ; and that often times by his commandement he had visited a king named Oathcaqua, distant from Calos foure or five dayes journey, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend : but that in the midway there was an Island situate in a great lake of fresh water, named Sarrope, about five leagues in bignesse, abounding with many sorts of fruits, specially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique ; yet not so great as of a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, so good to make bread of, that it is unpossible to eate better, and that for fifteene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith : which is the cause that the inhabitants of the Isle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit : for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good prooffe when the king of Calos, having made alliance with Oathcaqua, was deprived of Oathcaquaes daughter, which he had promised to him in mariage. He tolde me the whole matter in this sort : As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people caried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, unto king Calos, to give her unto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Isle advertised of the matter, layed an ambush for him in a place where he should passe, and so behaved themselves, that Oathcaqua

*One of these  
Spanyards  
names was  
Martin  
Gomes.*

*King Oath-  
caqua or  
Houathca.*

*Sarrope an  
Island.*

*Abundance of  
Dates.*

*A root of great  
price to make  
bread of.*

*The greatest  
victory among  
the Floridians.*

*The situation  
of Calos.*

*Cannaveral  
in 28 degrees.*

*The Flor-  
idians great  
traitours and  
dissemblers.*

was discomfited, the betrothed yong spouse taken, and all the damosels that accompanied her; which they caried unto their Isle; which thing in all the Indians countrey they esteeme to be the greatest victory: for afterward they marry these virgins, and love them above all measure. The Spanyard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had bene with him full eight yeeres, even untill the time that he was sent unto me. The place of Calos is situate upon a river which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the Southwest: and the dwelling of Oathcaqua is on this side the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the Chart Cannaveral, which is in 28 degrees.

About the five and twentieth of January Paracoussy Satourioua my neighbour sent me certaine presents by two of his subjects, to perswade me to joyne with him, and to make warre upon Ouae Utina which was my friend: and further besought me to retire certaine of my men which were with Utina; for whom if it had not bene, he had often times set upon him, and defeited him. He besought me heerein by divers other kings his allies, which for three weekes or a moneths space sent messengers unto mee to this end and purpose: but I would not grant unto them that they should make warre upon him; yea rather contrariwise I endeoured to make them friends; wherein they condescended unto me, so farre forth that they were content to allow of any thing that I would set downe: whereupon the two Spanyards which of long time knew well the nature of the Indians, warned me that in any case I should not trust unto them, because that when they shewed good countenance and the best cheere unto men, then was the time that they would surprise and betray them; and that of their nature they were the greatest traitours and most deepe dissemblers of the world. Besides I never trusted them but upon good ground, as one that had discovered a thousand of their crafts and subtilties, aswell

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by experience as by reading of the histories of late yeres. Our two barks were not so soone finished, but I sent Captaine Vasseur to discover along the coast lying toward the North, and commanded him to saile unto a river, the king whereof was called Audusta, which was lord of that place, where those of the yere 1562 inhabited. I sent him two sutes of apparell, with certaine hatchets, knives, and other small trifles, the better to insinuate my selfe into his friendship. And the better to win him, I sent in the barke with captaine Vasseur a souldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned home in the first voyage, hoping that king Audusta might remember him. But before they were imbarked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which remained alone in those parts when Nicolas Masson and those of the first voyage imbarked themselves to returne into France. They understood at their arrivall there, that a barke passing that way had caried away the same souldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Havana. The king Audusta sent me backe my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two stags, some skinnes painted after their maner, and certaine pearles of small value, because they were burnt: and sent me word that if I would dwel in his quarters, he would give me a great cuntry: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would have. In the meane while there came unto our fort a flocke of stocke-doves in so great number, and that for the space of seven weeks together, that every day wee killed with harquebush shot two hundred in the woods about our fort. After that Captaine Vasseur was returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished againe with souldiers & mariners, and sent them to cary a present from me unto the widow of king Hiocaia, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelve legues Northward. She courteously received our men, sent me backe my barks full of mill and acornes with

[III. 339.]

*Nicolas Masson otherwise called Nicolas Barre.*

*King Audustias great humanity.*

*Pearles burned.*

*Peter Martyr writeth cap. 1. decad. 7. that the like flocks of pigeons are in the Isles of the Lucayos.*

*The widow of King Hiocaia, or Hihou-hacara.*

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*This queenes  
name was Nia  
Cubacani.*

*The fift voyage  
up the river  
of May.*

*Mathiaqua.  
The discovery  
of a mighty  
lake, on the one  
side whereof  
no land can be  
seene.*

*The Isle of  
Edelano.*

*An excellent  
worke of  
nature.  
Eneguape.  
Chilily.  
Patica.  
Coya.*

certaine baskets full of the leaves of Cassine, wherwith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the most plentifull of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought that the queene is the most beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account: yea, and her subjects honour her so much, that almost continually they beare her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, she sent to visit me by her Hiatiqui, which is as much to say, as her interpreter. Now while I thought I was furnished with victuals untill the time that our ships might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I sent my two barks to discover along the river, and up toward the head thereof, which went so far up that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they discovered the entrance of a lake, upon the one side whereof no land can be seene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the highest trees in the countrey to see land, and notwithstanding could not discern any: which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to see the Island of Edelano situated in the midst of the river, as faire a place as any that may be seene thorow the world: for in the space of some three leagues, that it may conteine in length and bredth, a man may see an exceeding rich countrey, and marvellously peopled. At the comming out of the village of Edelano to go unto the rivers side a man must passe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both sides wherof great tres are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together so artificially that a man would thinke it were an harbour made of purpose, as faire I say, as any in all christendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, & lastly they came unto Coya: where

leaving their barks in a litle creeke of the river with men to guard them, they went to visit Utina, which received them very courteously : and when they departed from his house, he intreated them so earnestly, that sixe of my men remained with him ; of which number there was one gentleman, named Groutald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to discover the countrey, with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came unto me to the fort, and tolde me that he never saw a fairer countrey.

Among other things, he reported unto me that he had seene a place named Hostaquia, and that the king thereof was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thousand Savages to the field ; with whom if I would joyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants unto our obedience : besides

*The king of Hostaquia or Oustaca able to bring three or foure thousand Savages to the field.*

that this king knew the passages unto the mountaine of Apalatci, which the French men desired so greatly to attein unto, and where the enemy of Hostaquia made his abode ; which was easie to be subdued, if so be wee would enter into league together. This king sent me

*The mountaine of Apalatci.*

a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foote whereof there runneth a streame of golde or copper, as the Savages thinke, out of which they dig up the sand with an hollow and drie cane of reed untill the cane be full ; afterward they shake it, and finde that there are many small graines of copper and silver among this sand : which giveth them to understand, that some rich mine must needs be in the mountaine. And because

*There is a mine of golde or rich coper in the mountaine of Apalatci.*

the mountaine was not past five or sixe dayes journey from our fort, lying toward the Northwest, I determined assoone as our supply should come out of France, to remooove our habitation unto some river more toward the North, that I might be nerer thereunto. One of

[III. 340.]

my souldiers whose name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long space before in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the last came to the village of Edelano, where having gotten

*Peter Gamby slaine.*

*The village of Edelano.*

*Gold &  
silver.*

together a certaine quantity of golde and silver, and purposing to returne unto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a vessell made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians use to fish withal, and to row upon the rivers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him & bring him the merchandise and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanously executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to seethe fish.

*Utina sendeth  
to Laudonniere  
for his helpe.*

The Paracoussy Utina sent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my shot, to invade his enemy Potanou, and sent me word, that this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage, yea, and would conduct me unto the mountaines in such sort, that no man should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their advice, as I was wont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion, that I should do well to send succour unto this Paracoussy, because it would be hard for me to discover any further up into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spanyards when they were employed in their conquests, did alwayes enter into alliance with some one king to ruine another. Notwithstanding, because I did alwayes mistrust the Indians, and that the more after the last advertisement that the Spanyards had given me, I doubted lest the small number which Utina demanded might incurre some danger; wherefore I sent him thirty shot under the charge of my Lieutenant Ottigny, which stayed not above two dayes with Utina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the custome of the countrey are caried by women and yong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. Utina setting forward with three hundred of his subjects, having ech of them their bowe and quiver full of arrowes, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the foreward, and

*A good note.*

*Three hundred  
Indians.*



made them march all the day, until that the night approaching, and having not gone past halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, nere a great lake, and there to incampe themselves: they separated themselves by sixe and sixe, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they ordeined a certeine number of those archers, in whom he put most confidence. Assoone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Utina requested my Lieutenant to grant him foure or five of his men to go and discover the countrey; which departed immediatly, and had not gone farre, but they perceived upon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fished in a canoa. Now the custome is that when they fish in this lake, they have alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fishers. Our men being hereof advertised by those of the company, durst not passe any further, for feare of falling into some ambush: wherefore they returned towards Utina, which suddenly sent them backe with a greater company to surprise the fishers, before they might retire and advertise their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute so politikely, but that two of them escaped; the third also did the best he could to save himselfe by swimming, in which meane while he was stayed with shot of arrowes, and they drew him starke dead unto the banks side, where our Indians flayed off the skinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reserving his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy. Utina fearing least Potanou advertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himselfe in armes to withstand him valiantly, asked counsell of his Jawa, which is asmuch to say in their language as his Magician, whether it were best to goe any further. Then his Magician made certeine signes, hidious and fearefull to

*A lake three  
leagues distant  
from the vil-  
lage of  
Potanou.*

*Jawa signi-  
fieth their  
Priest or  
Magician.*

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beholde, and used certeine words ; which being ended, he sayd unto his king, that it was not best to passe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians at the least stayed in such and such a place for him, to bidde him battell : and besides this, that all the sayd Indians were furnished with cords to binde the prisoners which they made full account to take.

This relation caused Utina to be unwilling to passe any further : whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as ever he might be, because hee had taken so great paines without doing of any thing of account, sayd unto him, that hee would never thinke well of him nor of his people, if hee would not hazzard himselfe : and that if he would not doe it, at the least, that he would give him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Heereupon Utina was ashamed, and seeing the good affection of Monsieur de Ottigny determined to go forward : and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had named : where the skirmish beganne, which lasted three long houres : wherein without doubt Utina had beene defeated, unlesse our harquebusiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and slaine a great number of the souldiers of Potanou, upon which occasion they were put to flight. Wherewithall Utina being content for the present, caused his people to retire and returne homeward to the great discontentment of Monsieur de Ottigny, which desired nothing more, then to pursue his victorie. After he was come home to his house he sent messengers to eightene or twentie villages of other kings his vassals, and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances which he purposed to celebrate because of his victorie. In the meane while Monsieur de Ottigny refreshed himselfe for two dayes : and then taking his leave of the Paracoussi, and leaving him twelve of his men to see that Potanou, bethinking himselfe of his late losse,

*Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians.*

*The prediction of the Magician found true.*

[III. 341.]

*Utina hath 18 or 20 kings to his Vassals.*

should not come to burne the houses of Utina, he set forward on his way to come unto me unto our Fort, where he up and told me how every thing had passed: and withall that he had promised the twelve souldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Utina, being advertised of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to visite me with presents and to enquire how things had passed, praying me all to receive them into my favour, and to become enemy to Utina, which notwithstanding I would not grant them for many reasons that mooved me.

The Indians are wont to leave their houses and to retire themselves into the woods the space of three moneths, to wit January, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can see one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselves, living upon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not beene that I had made good provision thereof, while my men had store, untill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the uttermost, we hoped to have had succour out of France) I should have beene greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the souldiers tooke no great care to looke well unto their victuals, although I devided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reserving unto my selfe any more then the least souldier of al the company. The moneth of May approching and no manner of succour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, constrained to eate the rootes of the earth and certaine sorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Savages were returned by this time unto their villages, yet they succoured us with nothing but certaine fish, without which assuredly wee had perished with famine. Besides they had given us before the greatest part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandise. This famine held us from the beginning

*A custome of the Indians to leave their houses for 3 or 4 moneths and to live in the woods.*

*They looke for succour out of France by the end of April at the uttermost.*

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*Extreme famine for sixe weekes space.*

of May untill the middest of June. During which time the poore souldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after another in Centinel unto the clift of an hill, situate very neere unto the Fort, to see if they might discover any French ship. In fine being frustrated of their hope, they assembled altogether, & came to beseech me to take some order that they might returne into France, considering that if we let passe the season to embarke our selves, we were never like to see our countrey, where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made unto us, and that no succour was come from thence. Thereupon it was consulted and resolved by all the company, that the barke Breton should be trimmed up, whereof Captaine Vasseur had charge. But because the ship was not bigge enough to receive us all, some thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our mutinous souldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men should hazard themselves to passe therein into France. The rest being better advised said that it should be farre better to build a faire shippe upon the keele of the Galiote which I had caused to be made, promising to labour courageously therupon. Then I enquired of my shipwrights to knowe in what space they could make this shippe readie. They assured the whole company that being furnished with all things necessarie, they would make it readie by the 8. of August. Immediatly I disposed of the time to worke upon it, I gave charge to Monsieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cause timber necessary for the finishing of both the vessels to be brought, and to Monsieur de Arlac my Standart-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make planks, and to cause the sawiers which he carried with him to saw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cause fifteene or sixteene men to labour in making coales: and to Master Hance keeper of the Artillery, & to the gunner to gather

*Promise broken.*

store of rosen to bray the vessels: wherein he used such diligence, that in lesse then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogsheds of the same together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recover victuals to sustaine us while our worke endured: which I undertooke to doe with ye rest of my company & the Mariners of the ship. To this end I embarked my selfe making up the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, having with us no provision at all of victuals: whereby it may easily be gathered how simply those of our Fort were provided. True it is that certaine souldiers being better husbandes then the rest, and having made some provision of mast, solde a little measure thereof for fifteene and twentie sous unto their companions. During our voyage we lived of nothing else but raspices, of a certaine round graine little and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the river sides: wherein after we had sayled a long time in vaine, I was constrained to returne to the Fort: where the souldiers beginning to be wearie of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselves and declared unto me, that seeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the saving of their lives, to seaze upon the person of one of the Kings of the Countrie: assuring themselves that one being taken, the subjects would not suffer our men to want victuals. I made them answer that this enterprise was not rashly to be attempted: But that wee ought to have good regarde unto the consequence that might insue thereof. Hereupon they replied unto me, that seeing the time was past of our succour from France, & that we were resolved to abandon the Countrie, that there was no danger to constraene the Savages to furnish us with victuals: which for the present I would not grant unto them, but promised them assuredly that I would send to advertise the Indians that they should bring me victuals for exchange of marchandise and apparell: which they also did for the space of certaine daies, during which

*Two hogsheds  
of rosen.*

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*The vile nature of the Indians.*

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they brought of their mast and of their fish: which these Indians being traiterous, & mischievous of nature, and knowing our exceeding strange famine, sold us at so deere a price, that for lesse then nothing they had gotten from us al the rest of our marchandise which remained. And which was worse, fearing to be forced by us and seeing that they had gotten all from us, they came no neerer to our Fort then the shot of an Harquebuze. Thither they brought their fish in their little boats, to which our poore souldiers were constrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I have seene) to give away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed unto the Savages the excessive price which they tooke, these villaines would answere them roughly & churlishly: if thou make so great account of thy marchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out a laughing and mocked us with open throat. Wherupon our souldiers utterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their foolish arrogancie. Notwithstanding considering the importance hereof, I tooke paines to appease the impatient souldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into question with the Savages, & it sufficed me to delay the time. Wherefore I devised to send unto Utina to pray him to deale so farre forth with his subjects, as to succour me with mast and maiz: which he did very sparingly, sending me 12 or 15 baskets of mast, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the river, and are as big as cheries: yea, & this was not but by giving of them in exchange twice as much marchandise and apparell as they were worth. For the subjectes of Utina perceived evidently the necessitie wherein we were, & began to use the like speech unto us, as the others did: as it is commonly seene that neede altereth mens affections. While these things were in doing, a certain breathing space presented it selfe for Utina gave me to understand that there was a king his

*A cruell answer of the Savages.*

*Pinocke a certaine kinde of fruit as bigge as cheries.*

subject whose name was Astina, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience: that for this cause, if I would give him aide with a certaine number of my souldiers, he would bring them to the village of Astina, where there was meanes to recover mast and maiz. In the meane season he excused himselfe unto me because he had sent me no more maiz, and sent me word that the little store that he had left, was scarcely sufficient for his seede-corne. Now being somewhat relieved, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to send him the men which he desired of me, which neverthesse were very evill intreated: for he deceived them, and in stead of leading them against Astina, he caused them to march against his other enemies. My Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterprise with Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant was determined to be revenged of Utina and to cut him in pieces & his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing against my wil, without all doubt they would have put their enterprise in execution. Therefore they would not passe any further without advertising me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe unto the Fort, angry & pricked deeply to the quicke for being so mocked, they made their complaints unto me, declaring unto me that they were almost dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the rest of the souldiers, which were very glad that they had not entred into that action, & resolved, assembling themselves againe together, to let me understand that they did persist in their first deliberation, which was, to punish the boldnesse and maliciousnes of the Savages, which they could no longer endure, & were determined to take one of their kings prisoner: which thing I was enforced to grant unto them, to ye end to avoid a greater mischief, and the sedition which I foresaw would ensue, if I had made refusall thereof. For, sayd they, what occasion have you to deny us, considering the necessitie wherein we are, and the small account

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that they make of us. Shall it not be lawfull for us to punish them for the wrongs which they doe unto us, besides that we know apparantly how little they respect us? Is not this sufficient although there were no necessitie at all, since they thus delude us, and have broken promise with us? After I had therefore resolved with them to seaze on the person of Utina, which besides that he had given us occasion hereof, was also most able to help us to recover victuals, I departed with fiftie of my best souldiers all embarked in two Barkes & we arrived in the dominions of Utina, distant from our Fort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on shore we drew towards his village situated 6 great leagues from the river, where we tooke him prisoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, having first signified unto his Father in law and his chiefe subjects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to doe him any harme, but onely to relieve my necessitie and want of victuals which oppressed me, and that in case they would helpe me to some, I would find meanes to set him againe at libertie: that in the meane space I would retire my selfe into my Barkes (for I feared least they would there assemble themselves together, and that some mischief might thereof insue) where I would stay for him two dayes to receive his answeare: notwithstanding that my meaning was not to have any thing without exchange of marchandise. This they promised they would doe. And in very deede the very same evening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came unto the Rivers brinke, and cryed unto me to enter into the barke, to see her husband and her sonne, which I held both prisoners. I discovered the next day five or sixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere unto the river side, and came to me to signifie unto me how that during the absence of their king, their enemie Potanou, being thereof advertised,

*Utina taken  
prisoner in his  
village by  
Laudonniere  
and 50 of his  
soldiers.*

*Five or sixe  
hundred In-  
dians.*



was entred into their village, and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succour them: neverthelesse in the meane while they had one part of their troope in ambush, with intent to set upon me if I had come on land, which was easie for mee to discern. For seeing that I refused so to doe, they greatly doubted that they were discovered, and sought by all meanes to remooove out of my minde that evill opinion which I had conceived of them. They brought mee therefore fish in their little boates and of their meale of Mast, they made also of their drinke which they call cassine, which they sent to Utina and me.

*The deepe dissembling of the Indians.*

Now albeit I had gotten this point of them that I held their king prisoner, yet neverthelesse I could not get any great quantitie of victuals for the present: the reason was, because they thought that after I had drawen victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they measured my will according to their custome, whereby they put to death all the men prisoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they assembled themselves in the great house, and having called all the people together they proposed the election of a new King, at which time the Father in lawe of Utina set one of the kings young sonnes upon the Royall throne: and tooke such paynes that every man did him homage by the major part of the voyces. This election had like to have bene the cause of great troubles among them. For there was a kinsman of the kings neere adjoyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the subjects: notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect, forasmuch as by a common consent of the chiefe, it was consulted and concluded, that the sonne was more meete to succede the Father then any other. Now all this while I kept Utina with me, to whom I had given some of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewise done unto his sonne. But his subjects which before had an opinion that I would have killed him,

*The Indians kill all the men prisoners that they take in warre.*

*The election of a new king.*

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being advertised of the good entertainment which I used towards him, sent two men which walked along the river, and came to visite him, and brought us some victuals. These two men at their comming were received by me with all courtesie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While these things thus passed, there arrived from all quarters many Savages of the countries adjoining, which came to see Utina, and sought by all meanes to perswade me to put him to death, offering that if I would do so, they would take order that I should want no victuals. There was also a King my neighbour whose name was Saturioua, a subtill and craftie man, and one that shewed by prooffe that he was greatly practised in affaires. The King sent ordinarily messengers unto me, to pray me to deliver Utina unto him: and to win me the more easily, he sent twise seven or eight baskets of Maiz or of Mast, thinking by this way to allure me, & to make me come to composition with him: in the end notwithstanding when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visite me with ambassages & victuals: & in the meane while I was not able with ye same store of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the travaile upon the ships which we built to returne into France, but that in the end we were constrained to indure extreme famine, which continued among us all the moneth of May: for in this latter season, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Mast was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sowe their fields, insomuch that we were constrayned to eate rootes, which the most part of our men punned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to us from other places: some tooke the wood of Esquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others went with their harquebusies to seeke to kill some foule. Yea this miserie was so great, that one was found that gathered up among the filth of my house, all the fish bones that he could finde,

*The hatred among the Savage kings of Florida.*

*Note.*

[III. 344.]

*Note.*

*Rootes.*

*Esquine.*

which he dried and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among us, for our bones eftsoones beganne to cleave so neere unto the skinne, that the most part of the souldiers had their skinnes peirced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in such sort that my greatest feare was, least the Indians would rise up against us, considering that it would have bene very hard for us to have defended our selves in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarsitie of all victuals, which fayled us all at once. For the very river had not such plentie of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against us. Now as we were thus upon termes of dispayre, about the end of the moneth of May, and the beginning of June, I was advertised by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey up above the river, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was most forward of all. This caused me to take upon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went up the river to a place called Enecaque: where I met the sister of Utina in a village where she made us very good cheere and sent us fish. We found that which was tolde us to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one shrewde turne happened unto me. For the most part of my souldiers fell sicke with eating more of it then their weakened stomackes could digest. We had also beene the space of foure dayes since we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, saving little pinockes, and a little fish, which we got of the fishers which wee met sometimes along the river. And yet this was so little that certaine souldiers eate privily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purposed to go into ye Ile of Edelano to take the king which had caused one of my men to be slaine, as I have mentioned before: but being advertised of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke up the river, he feared that I went foorth

*New corne by  
the end of  
May in  
Florida.*

*The village of  
Enecaque.*

*A little greene  
fruite that  
groweth in the  
rivers as big  
as cherries.  
The Ile of  
Edelano.*

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with a purpose to be revenged of the evill turne which he played: so that when I came thither, I found the houses emptie, for he was retyred a little before with all his people: & I could not by any meanes keepe my souldiers, being angry because they had lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I passed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could possibly: which with great diligence I conveyed to our Fort to succour my poore men, which I had left in great necessitie. They therefore seeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that side of the river where they thought I would come on land: for hunger so pinched them to the heart, that they could not stay untill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well shewed assoone as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maiz among them, which I had given to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they ate it before they had taken it out of the huske. But seeing my selfe in this extreme neede, I tooke paines day by day to seeke some villages where there was some food. And as I travailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two sonnes of king Emola, and by one whose name was Casti, as they went on walking to the village called Athore. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refraine themselves as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the maner: wherof I was presently advertised by an Indian which a little before had brought me a present from Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Upon receipt of this advertisement, I sent my Sergeant with a number of souldiers which found nothing else but the 2 dead corpses, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foule fact. As these things thus passed, & that by

*Two Carpenters killed for gathering the Indians maiz. The village Athore.*

*Nia Cubacani a Queene.*

this time we had almost driven out the moneth of May, two subjects of king Utina came unto me with an Hermaphrodite, which shewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon Utina signified unto me that in case I would carrie him home to his house, he would take such good order that I should have plentie of maiz & beanes: and withall, that the field which he had caused to be sowed for me, should be reserved to my use. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the advice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying, that he had meanes to succour us with food sufficient to serve our turnes for our embarkement, and that therefore I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I caused the two barks forthwith to be made readie, wherin I sailed to Patuca, a place distant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no bodie, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not shew themselves, albeit Utina shewed himselfe unto them, for as much as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But seeing no body to shew themselves, I was constrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the state of the countrie, to whom I delivered the young sonne of Utina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Utina, unto his father in law and his wife, to advertise them that if they would have their king againe, they should bring me victuals unto the side of the little river whither I was gone. At my mans comming every one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himselfe well appaide to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of these newes came presently towards our barkes, and brought bread which they gave unto my souldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which presently I discovered, and therefore stood diligently upon my gard. Wherefore perceiving they could not have their purpose, and that they were already

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*Patuca a  
village.*

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discovered, they sent to advertise me that as yet they could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was constrained to returne and to carry backe Utina home, where I had much adoe to save him from the rage of my souldiers: which perceiving the maliciousnes of the Indians, went about to have murdered him. Moreover it seemed they were content that they had gotten the sonne, & that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope fayling me on this side, I devised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe; I went to divers places, and continued so doing 15 daies after, when as Utina besought me again to send him unto his village, assuring himselfe that his subjects would not sticke to give me victuals: and that in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I undertooke this voyage the second time with the two barkes furnished as before. At my comming unto the little river, we found his subjects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantitie of bread, beanes, and fish, to give my souldiers. Neverthelesse returning againe to their former practise they sought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king, if they might have gotten the victorie of me. But after that they sawe the small meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and offered that if I would give them their king with certaine of my souldiers, they would conduct them unto the village, and that the subjects seeing him, would be more willing to give us victuals. Which thing notwithstanding I would not grant unto them (mistrusting their subtilitie, which was not so covert, but that one might espie day at a little hole) untill they had first given me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gave mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to doe. Foure dayes were spent in these conferences, at the end

*Desire of re-  
venge rooted  
in the savages.*

whereof they declared unto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promise: and that the uttermost that they could doe for the present, was to cause ech subject to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe so on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him above all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: because I knew them to be very subtile and craftie to enterprize and execute any thing to our disadvantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the small river whereinto we were accustomed to enter to approach as neere as we could unto the village of Utina, being sixe French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew streight towards the great house that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they spent notwithstanding three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together, to set upon us in our retreat. They used therefore many meanes to holde us still in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (seeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, untill such time as they had brought the victuals unto the boats; according to the agreement passed betwene us) they signified unto him that the women and young children were affraide out of all measure to see fire in their matches so neere their harquebuses: and that therefore they most earnestly besought them to put them out, that they might more easily get people ynough to carry the victuals, and that they for their partes would leave their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their servants should carrie them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former: For it was an easie matter to smel out their intention. But while these things were thus in handling, Utina by no meanes was to be

*A necessarie  
admonition.*

*The  
Floridians  
subilities.*

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seene, but hid and kept himselfe secret in a little house apart, where certaine chosen men of mine went to see him shewing themselves agreed with him for the long delayes of his subjects: whereunto he answered, that his subjects were so much incensed against us, that by no meanes possible he was able to keepe them in such obedience as he willingly would have done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre against Monsieur de Ottigny. That he also called to minde, that even while he was prisoner, at what time our men ledde him into his Country to obtaine some victuals, he saw along the high wayes arrowes stucke up, at the endes whereof long hairees were fastened, which was a certaine signe of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine also carried with him to the fort. He said further that in respect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his subjects were determined to cut downe the trees, and cause them to fall a thwart the little river where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease, and that if it thus fell out, he assured him for his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspicion of warre was, that as my messengers departed from Utina, they heard the voyce of one of my men, which during the voyage had alwayes beene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would never render, untill they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out a maine because two Indians would have carried him into the woods to have cut his throat: whereupon he was succoured and delivered. These admonitions being well understood, after ripe deliberation thereof Monsieur de Ottigny resolved to retire himselfe the seven and twentieth of July. Wherefore he set his souldiers in order, and delivered to ech of them a sacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to prevent the enterprise of the savages. There is at the

*A certaine  
signe of warre.*



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comming fourth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is covered on both sides with great trees. My Lieutenant disposed his men in this alley and set them in such order as they desired to march : for he was well assured that if there were any ambush, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he caused Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne to march somewhat before with 8 harquebusiers to discover whether there were any danger : besides he commanded one of my Sergeants & Corporals to march on the out side of the alley with foure harquebusiers while he himselfe conducted the rest of his company through it. Now as he suspected, so it fell out : for Monsieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, & with such furie that it was easie to see with what desire they sought to charge us. Howbeit they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine Ensigne gave them, that they which fell downe dead, did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained alive. This done my Lieutenant hasted to gaine ground in such sort as I have already said. After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afresh with a newe troope of Savages which were in number about 300, which assayed him before, while the rest of the former set upon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustayned, that I may justly say that Monsieur de Ottigny so well discharged his dutie, as was possible for a good Captaine to doe. And so it stood them upon : for he had to deale with such kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe so well to behave themselves in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not prevented their practise, he had beene in danger to have bene defeated. Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retyred themselves and gave place to the rest that were behind, and all

*An alley of 3  
or 4 hundred  
paces long.*

*A skirmish  
betwene the  
Savages and  
the French.*

*A second fresh  
charge of  
Savages.*

*The Floridians  
maner of fight.*

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the while had their eye and foot so quicke and readie, that assoone as ever they saw the harquebuze laide to the cheeke, so soone were they on the ground, and eftsoone up to answere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceived we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare so much, because of our swords and daggers. This conflict continued and lasted from nine of the clocke in the morning, untill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himselfe to cause his men to breake the arrowes which they found in the way, & so to deprive the Savages of the means to beginne againe, without all doubt he should have had very much to do: for by this meane they lacked arrowes, and so were constrained to retire themselves. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made signes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cause but to be revenged on the souldiers, which were their mortall enemies. My Lieutenant being come unto his boates tooke a review of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called James Sale, and the others name was Mesureur. He found moreover 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he caused to be brought unto the boates. All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he devided equally among them. For assoone as the conflict began, every man was constrained to leave his sacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the Forte, and caused every man diligently to travell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring us victuals. But seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope frustrate on that side, I made my prayer unto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had shewed unto my poore souldiers which were escaped: Afterward I thought

*The Floridians  
chiefe feare.*

*Two slaine.*

*Two & twenty  
wounded.*

[III. 347.]

*Prayer and  
thanks unto  
God for their  
deliverance.*

upon new meanes to obtaine victuals, aswell for our returne into France, as to drive out the time untill our embarking. I was advertised by certaine of our company, which usually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi situated on the other side of the river, and two leagues distant from the Forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fields wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was thereof in those partes in great abundance. Wherefore I caused my boates to be made ready, and sent my Sergeant thither with certaine souldiours, which used such diligence, that wee had good store of mill. I sent also to the river which the Savages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the River of Somme, where Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant arrived with two boates and their ordinary furniture, and found there a great assembly of the Lords of the countrey, among whome was Athore the sonne of Satourioua, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there assembled to make merrie: because that in this place are the fairest maids and women of all the countrey. Captaine Vasseur in my name gave certaine small trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Whereupon the boates were foorthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could devise. The Queene sent me two small Mats so artificially wrought as it was impossible to make better. Nowe finding our selves by this meane sufficiently furnished with victuals, we began each of us in his place, to travaile and use such diligence, as the desire to see our native countrey might moove us. But because two of our Carpenters were slaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) John de Hais, master Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired unto me, and tolde me that by reason of want of men hee was not able to make me up the ship against the time that he had promised me: which speech caused such a mutinie among the souldiers that very hardly he escaped killing: howbeit I appeased them aswell as I

*The village  
Sarauahi.*

*The village  
Emoloa.*

*The river of  
Iracana called  
by Ribault ye  
river of  
Somme.*

*Courtesie and  
liberalitie the  
best meanes to  
deale with the  
savages.  
Most artificiall  
mattes.*

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could, and determined to worke no more from thenceforth upon the shippe, but to content our selves to reparaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houses that were without the Fort, and caused coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewise the souldiers beate downe the pallsade which was toward the waters side, neither was I ever able to keepe them from doing it. I had also determined to beat downe the Fort before my departure and to set it on fire, for feare least some new-come guest should have enjoyed and possessed it. In the meane while there was none of us to whom it was not an extreme grieffe to leave a countrey, wherein wee had endured so great travailes and necessities, to discover that which we must forsake through our owne countrey-mens default. For if wee had bene succoured in time & place, & according to the promise that was made unto us, the warre which was between us and Utina, had not fallen out, neither should wee have had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aswell with merchandise and apparel, as with promise of greater matters, and with whom I so behaved myself, that although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually succoured and ayded me with whatsoever they were able to afford. Yea this was the principall scope of all my purposes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might advance our enterprise, and principally while I discovered the commodities of the countrey, and sought to strengthen my selfe therein. I leave it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leave a place abounding in riches (as we were throughly enformed thereof) in comming whereunto, and doing service unto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wives, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea, and were therein

*The beating  
downe of the  
houses without  
the fort, & the  
Pallsade.*

*The cause why  
the French lost  
Florida.*

*Eight kings  
Laudonniers  
friends and  
allies.*

*The principall  
scope of plan-  
ters in strange  
countreys.  
Florida a rich  
countrey.*

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arrived, as in a plentiful treasure of all our hearts desire. As each of us were much tormented in mind with these or such like cogitations, the third of August I descried foure sayles in the sea, as I walked upon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I sent immediately one of them which were with me to advertise those of the Fort thereof, which were so glad of those newes, that one would have thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for joy. After these ships had cast anker, we descried that they sent one of their ship boates to land: whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed with diligence to send to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my souldiers in order and in readinesse, attending the returne of Captaine Vasseur and my Lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whose name was Martine Atinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their service, which on the behalfe of Master John Hawkins their Generall came to request mee that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great neede, signifying unto me that they had bene above fifteene dayes on the coast to get some. Hee brought unto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as for seven moneths space I never tasted a drop of wine: neverthesse it was all divided among the greatest part of my souldiers. This Martine Atinas had guided the Englishmen unto our coast, wherewith he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the Generall sent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his request, hee signified the same unto the Generall, which the next day following caused one of his small shippes to enter into the river, and came to see me in a great shipboate, accompanied with gentle-

*Aug.* 1565.

[III. 348.]

*M. John  
Hawkins ye  
English  
Generall.*

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men honourably apparelled, yet unarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute thereof to every one: On my part I made him the best cheere I could possibly, and caused certaine sheepe and poultry to be killed, which untill this present I had carefully preserved hoping to store the countrey withall. For notwithstanding all the necessities and sicknesse that happened unto me, I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a short time I had gathered together above an hundred pullets. Nowe three dayes passed, while the English General remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me whether he were my brother: I tolde them he was so, and signified unto them, that he was come to see me and ayde me with so great store of victuals, that from thence forward I should have no neede to take any thing of them. The brute hereof incontinently was spread over all the countrey, in such sort as Ambassadors came unto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters desired to make alliance with me: and even they, which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their friendship and service unto me: Whereupon I received them and gratified them with certaine presents. The General immediately understood the desire & urgent occasion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to transport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt upon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knewe not how the case stood betweene the French and the English: and although hee promised me on his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his mistresse. Wherefore I flatly refused his offer: whereupon there arose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which sayd that I sought to destroy them all, and that the Brigandine, wherof I spake before,

*Sheepe and  
poultre caried  
into Florida.*

*An advantage  
wisely taken.*

*The French  
mistrusted that  
the English-  
men would  
plant in  
Florida.*

was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruite and mutiny increased more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I say unto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had: and that in case we should enterprise the same, we should no doubt be in great jeopardy: notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leave me a small ship to transport the rest. The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer unto their companions, which incontinently consented together that in case I would not accept the same, they would embarke themselves with him and forsake mee, so that he would receive them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselves all together and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified unto me their intencion, wherunto I promised to answere within one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, answered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented it selfe, and that they could not thinke evill of it in France, if being forsaken, as we were, we aided our selves with such means as God had sent us. After sundry debates of this matter, in conclusion I gave mine advise, that wee ought to deliver him the price of the ship which he was to leave us, and that for my part I was content to give him the best of my stuffe, and the silver which I had gathered in the countrey. Wherupon notwithstanding it was determined that I should keepe the silver, for feare lest the Queene of England seeing the same, should the rather bee encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired: that it was far better to carie it into France

*Silver found  
in Florida.*

*Note.*

A.D.  
1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

*The great  
importance of  
this enterprise.*

[III. 349.]

to give encouragement unto our Princes not to leave off an enterprize of so great importance for our commonwealth, and that seeing wee were resolved to depart, it was farre better to give him our Artillerie, which otherwise we should be constrained to leave behind us, or to hide it in the ground by reason of the weakenesse of our men, being not able to embarke the same. This point being thus concluded and resolved on, I went my selfe unto the English Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vasseur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in such affaires and knowing sufficiently how to drive such a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ship which the Generall would sell, whom we drew to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine owne mens judgement, who esteemed it to be worth seven hundreth crowns, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I delivered him in earnest of the summe, two bastards, two mynions, one thousand of iron, & one thousand of powder. This bargaine thus made, he considered the necessity wherin we were, having for all our sustenance but mill and water: wherupon being moved with pitie, he offred to relieve me with 20 barels of meale, sixe pipes of beanes, one hogshhead of salt, and a hundred of waxe to make candels. Moreover forasmuch as he sawe my souldiers goe barefoote, hee offred me besides fifty paires of shoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gave him a bill of mine hand for the same, for which untill this present I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he bestowed upon my selfe a great jarre of oyle, a jarre of vineger, a barell of Olives, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barell of white Biscuit. Besides he gave divers presents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: so that I may say that we received as many courtesies of the Generall, as it was possible to receive of any man living. Wherein doubtlesse he hath wonne

*The great  
humanity and  
bounty of  
Master John  
Hawkins to  
the French.*



## RENE LAUDONNIERE

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1565.

the reputation of a good and charitable man, deserving to be esteemed asmuch of us all as if he had saved all our lives. Incontinent after his departure I spared no paine to hasten my men to make biscuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caske to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we used, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well, that the fifteenth day of August the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, & all the souldiers stuffe was brought aboard: so that from that day forward wee did nothing but stay for good windes to drive us into France: which had freed us from an infinite number of mischiefes which afterward wee suffred, if they had come as we desired: but it was not Gods good pleasure, as shall appeare hereafter. Being thus in a readinesse to set sayle, we bethought our selves that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the end that if this voyage should be taken in hand againe they might declare unto their Kings the greatnesse of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodnesse of our Countrey, and the maner of living of the Frenchmen: and that they might also learne our language, to serve our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke so good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the countrey, if our intentions had succeeded as I hoped they would have done. In the meane season the Kings my neighbours came often to see and visite me: which, after that they understood that I would returne into France, demanded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it should be in short time. I signified unto them that within tenne Moones (so they call their Moneths) I would visite them againe with such force, that I would be able to make them Conquerours over all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leave them my house, that I would forbid my souldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodg-

*The departure  
of the English  
Generall.*

*August 15.*

*The Floridians  
measure their  
moneths by the  
revolutions of  
the Moone.*

A.D.  
1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

ings, and that I would leave them a boate to ayde them withall in their warre against their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant unto them, to the end I might alwaies remaine their friend until my last departure.

The third voyage of the Frenchmen made by Captaine John Ribault unto Florida.

*The arrival  
of Captaine  
John Ribault  
at the Fort  
the 28 of  
August 1565.*



*Note.*

[III. 350.]

S I was thus occupied in these conferences, the winde and the tide served well to set sayle, which was the eight and twentieth of August, at which instant Captaine Vasseur which commanded in one of my shippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe foorth, began to descry certaine sayles at sea, whereof they advertised mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme foorth a boate in good order to goe to discrie and know what they were. I sent also to the Centinels, which I caused to be kept on a little knappe, to cause certaine men to climbe up to the toppe of the highest trees the better to discover them. They descried the great boate of the shippes, which as yet they could not perfectly discerne, which as farre as they could judge, seemed to chase my boate, which by this time was passed the barre of the river: so that we could not possibly judge whether they were enemies which would have caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to judge the trueth thereof. Upon this doubt I put my men in order and in such array as though they had beene enemies: and indeede I had great occasion to mistrust the same: for my boate came unto their ship about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and sent me no newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I saw seven boates (among which mine owne was one) full of souldiers enter into the river, having every man his

## RENE LAUDONNIERE

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harquebuze and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the cliffes where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answere, notwithstanding all the demandes that were made unto them, insomuch as one of my souldiers was constrained to bestowe a shot at them without doing hurt neverthesse to any of them, by reason of the distance between him and the boates. The report hereof being made unto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend our selves, if they had bene enemies, as in trueth wee thought them to have bene: likewise I caused the two small field-pieces which I had left me, to be trimmed in such sort, as if in approching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to have discharged the same upon them. Afterward I understood that the cause why they entred in this maner, proceeded of the false reports which had bene made unto my Lord Admirall by those which were returned into France in the first shippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly suffer that any other save my selfe should enter in thither to governe there. Thus we see how the good name of the most honest is oftentimes assayed by such, as having no meanes to win themselves credit by vertuous and laudable endeavours, thinke by debasing of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neverthesse is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in government. For it is very hard, yea utterly impossible, that in governing of a company of men gathered out of divers places and sundry Nations, and namely such as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I say, impossible, but there will be alwayes some of evill conditions and hard to be ruled, which easily conceive an hatred against him, which by admonitions and light corrections endevoureth to reduce them to the discipline of warre. For they seeke nothing else, but

*False reports  
of Laudonniere  
to the Admirall  
of France.*

*The danger of  
backbiting.*

A.D.  
1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

*Alcibiades  
banished by  
backbiters.*

*Laudonnières  
receiving of  
Captaine  
Ribault.*

for a small occasion grounded upon a light pretext to sound into the eares of great Lords that which mischievously they have contrived against those, whose execution of justice is odious unto them. And albeit I will not place my selfe in the ranke of great and renowned Captaines, such as lived in times passed, yet we may judge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters have bene unto commonwealths. I will onely take Alcibiades for witness in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefes: insomuch as in the end they were constrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good services, and rather beleeving a false report, then having had regard unto so many notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieved. But that I loose not my selfe in digressing so farre in this my justification, I will returne againe to my first course. Being therefore advertised that it was Captaine Ribault, I went forth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to do him all the honour I could by any meanes, I caused him to be welcomed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot, whereunto he answered with his. Afterward being come on shore and received honourably with joy, I brought him to my lodging, rejoycing not a little because that in this company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the best sorte that I was able, with such victuals as I could get in the countrey, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English General. Howbeit I marveled not a little when as all of them with one voice began to utter unto me these or the like speeches. My Captaine, we praise God that we have found you alive, and chiefly because we know, that the reports which have bene made of you, are false. These speeches mooved me in such sort, that I would needes out of hand know more, mistrusting some evill. Wherefore having accosted Captaine John

Ribault, & going both of us aside together out of the Fort, he signified unto me the charge which he had, praying mee not to returne into France, but to stay with him my selfe and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replied that out of this place I would do him all service: that for the present I could not nor ought not accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place which I before possessed, that I could have no credite to be there commanded: that my friends would never like of it, and that he would hardly give me that counsaile, if in good earnest I should demand his advise therein. He made me answer, that he would not command me, that we should be companions, & that he would build another fortresse, & that he would leave mine owne unto me. This notwithstanding I fully advertised him that I could not receive a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into France: and farther that though I should stay there, yet it must needes be that one of us both was to command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather have it cast in my teeth to be the poorest begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured so much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by some great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in these respects I prayed him very hartily to deliver me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written unto me, which he performed. [III. 351.]

The contents of those letters were these.

Captaine Laudonniere, because some of them which are returned from Florida speake indifferently of the Countrey, the King desireth your presence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may resolve to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leave it: and therefore I send Captaine John Ribault to bee governour there, to whom you shall deliver whatsoever you have

*Letters of the  
Lord Admirall  
unto Laudon-  
niere.*

A.D.  
1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

in charge, and informe him of all things you have discovered. And in a postscript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I send for you, it is for any evill opinion or mistrust that I have of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and assure your selfe that during my life you shall find me your good Master.

CHASTILLON.

*Accusations  
against him.*

1. Now after I had long discoursed with Captaine Ribault, Captaine la Grange accosted mee, and told me of an infinite number of false reports which had bene made of mee to my great hinderance: and among other things he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very
2. evill that I had caried a woman with mee: likewise that some bodie had tolde him that I went about to counter-
3. feit the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too
4. cruell unto the men that went with mee: that I sought to be advanced by other meanes then by my Lord
5. Admirall: and that I had written to many Lords of the
1. Court, which I ought not to have done. Whereunto I answered, that the woman was a poore chambermayd, which I had taken up in an Inne, to oversee my household businesse, to looke to an infinite sort of divers beasts, as sheepe and poultrie which I caried over with me to store the countrey withall: that it was not meete to put a man to attend this businesse: likewise, considering the length of the time that I was to abide there, mee thought it should not offend any body to take a woman with me, aswell to help my souldiers in their sickeneses, as in mine owne, whereinto I fell afterward. And how necessary her service was for us, ech one at that time might easily perceive: That all my men thought so well of her, that at one instant there were sixe or seven which did demand her of me in mariage; as in very
2. deede one of them had her after our returne. Touching that which was sayd that I playd the King, these reports were made, because I would not beare with any thing which was against the duety of my charge, and the

*Laudonnières  
answere there-  
unto.*

Kings service. Moreover, that in such enterprises it is necessary for a Governour to make himselfe knowen and obeyed, for feare least every body would become a master, perceiving themselves far from greater forces. And that 3.  
 if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it rather proceeded of their disobedience, then of my nature lesse subject to cruelty then they were to rebellion. For the two 4.  
 last points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the Court but by the advice & commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure to send part of such things as I should find in the country unto the Lords of the Counsel: to the end that being mooved by this meane, they might deale with the Queene mother for the continuance of this enterprize: that having bene so small time in the country, continually hindred with building of fortresses, and unlading of my ships, I was not able to come by any newe or rare things to send them, whereupon I thought it best to content them in the meane while with letters, untill such time as I might have longer space to search out the Countrey, and might recover something to sende them: the distribution of which letters I meant not otherwise but to referre to my Lord Admirals good pleasure: that if the bearer had forgot himselfe so farre, as that he had broken the covering of the letters, and presented them himselfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commandement. And 5.  
 that I never honoured noble man so much, nor did to any man more willing and faithfull service then to my Lord Admirall, nor ever sought advancement but by his meanes. You see how things passed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were: to whom I signified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arrived in this country, and erected the pillar which stood at the entrie of the river. Some of them knew him: for in trueth he was easie to be knowen by reason of the great bearde which he ware. He received many presents of them which were of the villages neere adjoining,

[III. 352.]  
Five Indian  
kings.

among whom there were some that he had not yet forgotten. The kings Homoloa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Malica, and Casti came to visit him and welcome him with divers gifts according to their manner. I advertised them that hee was sent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I was sent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that hee had brought with him to be delivered them, and that in fewe daies they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they had promised to conduct me, and that in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In those mountaines, as they sayd, is found redde copper, which they call in their language Sieroa Pira, which is as much to say as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very instant I shewed to Captaine Ribault, which caused his gold-finer to make an assay thereof, which reported unto him that it was perfect golde. About the time of these conferences, commings and goings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former travaile, and fallen into a melancholy upon the false reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall fever, which held me eight or nine dayes: during which time Captaine Ribault caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my Lieutenant had built about two hundred pases without the forte: which hee did to the ende they might bee the better defended from the weather, and likewise to the intent that the meale might bee neerer to the bake-house, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to avoide the danger of the fire, as I sayd before. But loe howe oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue us, even then when we thinke to be at rest! loe see what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought up three of his small ships into the river, which was the fourth of September! Sixe great Spanish ships arrived in the rode, where four

*The mountains  
of Apalatcy  
wherein are  
mines of  
perfect gold.*

*Sieroa Pira  
red mettall.*

*Perfect gold.*

*Good meanes  
to avoid the  
danger of fire.*

*September 4.*



of our greatest ships remained, which cast anker, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chiefe captaine of the enterprise did, & called them all by their names and surnames. I report me to you if it could be otherwise but these men before they went out of Spaine must needs be informed of the enterprise & of those that were to execute the same. About the breake of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which trusted them never a deale, had hoysed their sailes by night, being ready to cut the strings that tyed them. Wherefore perceiving that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe them any pleasure, and knowing wel that their furniture was too smal to make head against them, because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their ankers, and set saile. The Spaniards seeing themselves discovered, lent them certaine volleys of their great ordinance, made saile after them, and chased them all day long: but our men got way of them still toward the sea. And the Spaniards seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French ships were better of saile then theirs, and also because they would not leave the coast, turned backe and went on shore in the river Seloy, which we cal the river of Dolphines 8 or 10 leagues distant from the place where we were. Our men therefore finding themselves better of saile then they, followed them to descry what they did, which after they had done, they returned unto the river of May, where captaine Ribault having descried them, embarked himselfe in a great boat to know what newes they had. Being at the entry of the river he met with the boat of captaine Cousets ship, wherein there was a good number of men which made relation unto him of all the Spaniards doings: and how the great ship named the Trinitie had kept the sea, and that she was not returned with them. They told him moreover that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the river of Dolphins, & the other

*The Spaniards  
undermining  
and surprizing  
of the French.*

*The river  
Seloy or the  
river of Dol-  
phins but 8 or  
10 leagues  
over land from  
the fort: but  
it is thirty  
doubling the  
Cape by sea.*

A.D.  
1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their souldiers, their victuals & munition on land. After he understood these newes hee returned to the fortresse, and came to my chamber where I was sick, and there in the presence of the captaines, La Grange, S. Marie, Ottigny, Visty, Yonville, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was necessary for the kings service, to embarke himselfe with all his forces, and with the three ships that were in the rode to seeke the Spanish flecte, whereupon he asked our advise. I first replied, and shewed unto him the consequence of such an enterprise, advertising him among other things of the perilous flawes of windes that rise on this coast, and that if it chanced that hee were driven from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recover it againe, that in the meane while they which should stay in the Forte should be in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange declared unto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise in execution, that it was farre better to keepe the land, & do their best indeavour to fortifie themselves: And that after that the Trinitie (which was the principall ship) were returned, there would be much more likelyhood to enterprise this voyage. This notwithstanding he resolved to undertake it, and that which more is, after he understoode by king Emola, one of our neighbours which arrived upon the handling of these matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on shore, which had taken possession of the houses of Selay, in the most part whereof they had placed their Negros, which they had brought to labour, and also lodged themselves and had cast divers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spanyards would encampe themselves there to molest us, and in the ende to chase us out of the Countrey, he resolved and continued in his embarkment, caused a Proclamation to be made, that all souldiers that were under his charge

*Dangerous  
flawes of wind  
on the coast of  
Florida in  
September.*

*King Emola.*

[III. 353.]  
*A village and  
river both of  
that name.*

should presently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two ensignes should march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieutenant, mine ensigne, and my sergeant, and to let all my good souldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, because my selfe being sicke, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon he answered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane space Monsieur de Lys should stay behind to looke to all things. Then I shewed unto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good advisement what hee did, for feare least some inconvenience might ensue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no lesse, then to continue this enterprize, and that in the letter which he had received from my Lord Admirall, there was a postscript, which hee shewed mee written in these wordes: Captaine John Ribault, as I was enclosing up this letter, I received a certaine advice, that Don Pedro Melendes departeth from Spaine to goe to the coast of Newe France: see you that you suffer him not to encroch upon you, no more then he would that you should encroch upon him. You see (quoth he) the charge that I have, and I leave it unto your selfe to judge, if you could do any lesse in this case, considering the certaine advertisement that we have, that they are already on lande, and will invade us. This stopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obstinate in this enterprize, and having regard rather unto his particular opinion then unto the advertisments which I had given him, and the inconveniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himselfe the eight of September, and tooke mine ensigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to those that know what warres meane, if when an ensigne marcheth, any souldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind, to forsake his ensigne: Thus no man

*An advertisement of my Lord Admiral to Captaine Ribault.*

*Captaine Ribaults embarkment Sept. 8.*

A.D.  
1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

of commandement stayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whose name straight after his arrivall, all cries and proclamations were made. Captaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterprise, was unto the tenth of the moneth with mee, and would not have gone aborde, if it had not beene for the instant requestes that Captaine Ribault made unto him, which staid two dayes in the rode attending untill La Grange was come unto him: Who being come aboard, they set sayle altogether, and from that time forward I never saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there rose so great a tempest accompanied with such stormes, that the Indians themselves assured me that it was the worst weather that ever was seene on the coast: whereupon two or three dayes after, fearing least our ships might be in some distresse, I sent for Monsieur du Luys unto mee, to take order to assemble the rest of our people to declare unto them what neede wee had to fortifie our selves: which was done accordingly: and then I gave them to understand the necessity and inconveniences whereinto we were like to fall, aswel by the absence of our ships, as by the neerenesse of the Spanyards, at whose hands we could looke for no lesse then an open and sufficient proclamed war, seeing they had taken land and fortified themselves so neere unto us. And if any misfortune were fallen unto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with our selves that wee were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus every one promised mee to take paines: and therefore considering that their proportion of victuals was small, and that so continuing, they would not bee able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arrivall of Captaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted unto mee as unto a common souldier, neither was I able to give so much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deserved it: for I was so farre from

*The tenth of  
September.*

*A mighty  
tempest the  
tenth of Sept.*

*Laudonniere  
hardly used by  
Ribault.*

having meanes to doe so, that the Captaine himselfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the rest of the meale was, which was left me of the biscuits which I caused to bee made to returne into France: so that if I shoulde say that I received more favour at the handes of the Englishmen beeing Strangers unto mee, I shoulde say but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our selves and to reparaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water side, where I caused threescore foote of trees to be planted, to reparaire the Palissado with the planks which I caused to bee taken of the Shippe which I had builded. Neverthelesse notwithstanding all our diligence and travaile, wee were never able fully to reparaire it by reason of the stormes, which commonly did us so great annoy, that wee could not finish our inclosure. Perceiving my selfe in such extremitie I tooke a muster of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or ten of them whereof not past two or three had ever drawn sword out of a scabbard, as I thinke. Let them which have bene bold to say, that I had men ynough left me, so that I had meanes to defend my selfe, give eare a little now unto mee, and if they have eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong striplings, which served Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of threescore yeeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Crosse-bow maker, two Shoemakers, and foure or five men that had their wives, a player on the Virginals, two servants of Monsieur du Luys, one of Monsieur de Beauhaire, one of Monsieur de la Grange, and about fourescore and five or sixe in all, counting aswel Lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troupe so sufficient to defend themselves, and so couragious as they have esteemed them to be: and for my part I leave it to

*Laudonniere  
and his com-  
pany begin to  
fortifie them-  
selves.*

[III. 354.]  
*A muster of  
the men left  
in the fort by  
Ribault.*

*Fourescore  
and five left in  
the fort with  
Laudonniere.*

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## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

others consideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault woulde have left them with me to have borrowed my men, if they had bene such. Those that were left me of mine owne company were about sixteene or seventeene that coulde beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the reste were sicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had against Utina. This view being thus taken, wee set our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the souldiers might have one night free. Then wee bethought our selves of those which might bee most sufficient, among whome wee chose two, one of whom was named Monsieur Saint Cler, and the other Monsieur de la Vigne, to whom we delivered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch, because of the foule and foggie weather. I delivered them also a sandglasse or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceased not, for all the foule weather nor my sicknesse which I had, to oversee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he used all endeavour, although it rayned without ceasing. When the day was therefore come, and that hee saw that it rayned still worse then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels so too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spanyardes woulde not have come in such a strange time, hee let them depart, and to say the trueth, hee went himselfe unto his lodging. In the meane while one which had something to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went up unto the rampart perceived a troupe of Spanyards which came downe from a little knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter also: Which assoone as ever I understoode, foorthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and gatte mee into the middest of the Court, where I beganne to crie upon my souldiers. Some of them which were of the forward sort went toward the breach, which was on the

*The Spanyards  
discryed the 20  
of September.*

## RENE LAUDONNIERE

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Southside, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulsed and slaine. By the selfe same place two ensignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other ensignes also entred on the other side toward the West, where there was another breach: and those which were lodged in this quarter, & which shewed themselves, were likewise defeated. As I went to succour them which were defending the breach on the southwest side, I encountered by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men and were now entred, which drave me backe unto the court of the fort: being there I espied with them one called Francis Jean, which was one of the Mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spaniards thither. Assoone as he sawe me, he began to say, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whose name, as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: these made certain pushes at me with their pikes which lighted on my tarket. But perceiving that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already wonne, and their ensignes planted on the ramparts, & that I had never a man about me, saving one only whose name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was set up, I had bin taken: but the Spaniards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I saved my selfe by the breach which was on the West side neere unto my Lieutenants lodging, and gate away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were escaped, of which number there were three or foure which were sore hurt. Then spake I thus unto them: Sirs, since it hath pleased God that this mischance is happened unto us, we must needs take the paines to get over the marshes unto the ships which are at the mouth of the river. Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the rest fol-

*The Spaniards  
enter the fort.*

*Francis Jean  
a traitour to  
his nation.*

*Don Pedro  
Melendes cap-  
taine of the  
Spaniards.*

*Laudonniers  
escape.*

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1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

[III. 355.]

*John du Chemin a faithful servant.*

*The diligence of the Mariners to save them that escaped out of the fort.*

*Among these was Jaques Morgues painter sometime living in the Black-fryers in London.*

lowed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reason of my sicknesse which I had, I sent two of my men which were with me, which could swim well, unto the ships, to advertise them of that which had happened, and to send them word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get unto the ships to certifie them thereof: so I was constrained to stand in the water up to the shoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would never forsake me. The next day morning, being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the souldier which was with mee, whose name was John du Chemin: for I felt my selfe so feeble, that I was afraid I should die suddenly: and in truth if he had not imbraced me in both his armes, and so held me up, it had not bene possible to save me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my judgement was one of theirs which I had sent, which were over against the ships and called for the ship boat, which was so in deed: and because those of the ships had understanding of the taking of the fort by one called John de Hais, master Carpenter, which fled unto them in a shallop; they had set saile to run along the coast to see if they might save any: wherin doubtlesse they did very well their endeavour. They went straight to the place where the two men were which I had sent, and which called them. Assoone as they had received them in and understood where I was, they came and found me in a pitifull case. Five or sixe of them tooke me and caried me into the shallop: for I was not able by any means to go one foot. After I was brought into the shallop some of the Mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would have caried me presently to their ships to give me a little Aqua vitæ. Howbeit I would not goe thither, untill I had first gone with the boat along the reeds, to seeke out the poore soules which were scattered abroad, where we gathered up 18 or 20 of them. The last that I took



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in was the nephew of the Treasurer le Beau. After we were all come to the ships, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat againe with speed to see if they could find yet any more. Upon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine James Ribault which was in his ship about two muskets shot distant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Jean came unto his ship, where hee staid a long space, whereat they greatly marveiled, considering hee was the cause of this enterprize, how hee would let him escape. After I was come into the ship called the Greyhound, captaine James Ribault & captaine Valvot came to see me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now forasmuch as I found the ship unfurnished of Captaine, Pilot, Master, and Masters-mate, I gave advice to choose out one of the most able men among all the mariners, & that by their owne voices. I tooke also sixe men out of another small ship, which we had sunke because it wanted ballast and could not be saved. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was my selfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Masters-mate in the foresaid small ship, Master of mine. And because I lacked a pilot, I prayed James Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ship, which I should name unto him, to serve me for a Pilot: he promised to give me them, which neverthelesse he did not at the instant when wee were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I used to him, in declaring that it was for the kings service. I was constrained to leave the ship behind me which I had bought of the English Captaine, because I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine James Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordinance onely, which was all dismantled, whereof I gave nine pieces to James Ribault to carrie into France, the other five I put into my ship. The 25 of September wee set sailes to returne into France, and Captaine James Ribault and I kept company all that

*Francis Jean  
cause of this  
enterprize.*

*The bad deal-  
ing of James  
Ribault.*

*Our returne  
into France  
the 25. of  
September  
1565.*

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1565.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

day and the next untill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but because his ship was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left us the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marveilous flawes of wind. And about the

*October 28.* eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we discried the Isle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediatly upon our approaching to the land we had a mightie gust of wind which came from the Northeast, which caused us to beare against it foure dayes: afterward the wind came South and Southeast, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our passage we had none other foode saving biscuit and water. About the tenth or eleventh of

*November 10.* November, after we had sailed a long time, and supposing we were not farre from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found threescore and fifteene fathoms water, whereat we all rejoyced, and praised God because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediatly after I caused them to set saile again and so we continued our way: but forasmuch as we had borne too much toward the Northeast we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and whereas many ships are cast away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred in it when the weather was cleare. We sailed all the night, supposing wee had bene shot into the narrow Sea betweene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceived of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked upon the hatches, I discried land round about me, whereat wee were astonished. Immediatly I caused them to strike saile and sound: we found we had not under us past

[III. 356.] 8 fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till breake of day: which being come, and seeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approach unto it. Being neere thereunto I made them cast anker, & sent the boat on

## RENE LAUDONNIERE

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shore to understand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a province of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the ayre, a sicknesse tooke mee whereof I thought I should have dyed. In the meane while I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of a small towne called Swansey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my selfe and part of my company that was with me : and because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two Oxen, and salted them, and a tunne of Beere, which I delivered into his hands which had charge of the ship, praying him to cary it into France, which he promised me to doe : for mine owne part I purposed with my men to passe by land, and after I had taken leave of my Mariners, I departed from Swansey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, understanding what I was, stayed me with him for the space of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure mooved with pitie to see me goe on foot, especially being so weake as I was, gave me a litle Hackny. Thus I passed on my journey first to Bristoll, & then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monsieur de Foix, which for the present was the kings Ambassador, and holpe me with mony in my necessitie. From thence I passed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to sojourne there : incontinently, & with all the hast I could possibly make, I gate me thither with part of my company. Thus briefly you see the discourse of all that happened in New France since the time it pleased the kings Majesty to send his subjects thither to discover those parts. The indifferent and unpassionate readers may easily weigh the truth of my doings, and be upright judges of the endeavor which I there used. For mine owne part I wil not accuse nor excuse any : it sufficeth mee to have followed the trueth of the history, whereof many are able to beare witnessse, which

*Laudonnieres  
arrivall in  
Swansea Bay  
in Glamorgan-  
shire in South  
Wales.*

*The courtesie  
of one Master  
Morgan.*

*Bristoll.  
London.  
Monsieur de  
Foix Amba-  
sadour for the  
French king  
in England.*

*The conclusion.*

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1565.

*The causes why  
the French  
lost Florida.*

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

were there present. I will plainly say one thing, That the long delay that Captaine John Ribault used in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he spent in roving along the coast of Florida, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cause of the losse that we susteined. For he discovered the coast the 14 of August, and spent the time in going from river to river, which had bene sufficient for him to have discharged his ships in, and for me to have embarked my selfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was upon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he should have had more regard unto his charge, then to the devises of his owne braine, which sometimes hee printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which also turned to his utter undoing: for hee was no sooner departed from us, but a tempest tooke him, which in fine wrackt him upon the coast, where all his shippes were cast away, and he with much adoe escaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

*The French  
Fleete cast  
away on the  
coast of  
Florida.*

The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into Florida, under the conduct of Captaine Gourgues, in the yeere, 1567.



Captaine Gourgues a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere unto Bourdeaux incited with a desire of revenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borrowed of his friends and sold part of his owne goods to set forth and furnish three ships of indifferent burthen with all things necessary, having in them an hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fourescore chosen Mariners under Captaine Cazenove his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Master over the Mariners. He set forth the 22 of August 1567. And having endured contrary winds and stormes for a season, at length hee arrived and went

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on shore in the Isle of Cuba. From thence he passed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Ile of Cuba, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captaine disclosed unto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leave him being so neere the enemy, so well furnished, and in such a cause : which they all sware unto him, and that with such courage that they would not stay the full Moone to passe the channell of Bahama, but speedily discovered Florida, where the Spanyards saluted them with two Canon shot from their fort, supposing that they had beene of their nation, and Gourgues saluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour, that hee might surprise them at more advantage, yet sailing by them, & making as though he went to some other place until he had sailed out of sight of the place, so that about evening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the River Tacatacouru, which the Frenchmen called Seine, because they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiving the shore to bee covered with Savages with their bowes and arrowes, (besides the signe of peace and amitie which he made them from his ships) he sent his Trumpetter, to assure them, that they were come thither for none other ende but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his message so well (by reason he had bene there before under Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satourioua, the greatest of all the other kings, a kidde and other meat to refresh us, besides the offer of his friendship and amitie. Afterward they retired dansing in signe of joy, to advertise all the kings Satouriouaes kinsmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Whereupon in the meane space our generall went about to sound the chanel of the river to bring in his ships, and the better to traffike and deale with the Savages, of whom the chiefe the next day in the morning

*The channell of Bahama betweene Florida and the Isles of Lucayos.*

*The Frenchmens landing at the River Tacatacouru.*

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*Eight savage  
kings.*

presented themselves, namely the great king Satourioua, Tacatacourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinsmen and allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to intreat the French general to come on shore, which he caused his men to do with their swords and harquebusies, which he made them leave behind them, in token of mutuall assurance, leaving his men but their swords only, after that the Savages complaining thereof had left and likewise sent away their weapons at the request of Gourgues. This done Satourioua going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand in a seat of wood of lentisque covered with mosse made of purpose like unto his owne. Then two of the eldest of the company pulled up the brambles & other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all sate round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to speake, Satourioua prevented him, declaring at large unto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Savages, their wives and children had received of the Spanyards since their comming into the Countrey and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall desire if we would assist them throughly to revenge so shamefull a treason, aswell as their owne particular griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne unto the Frenchmen. Whereupon Gourgues giving them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gave them certaine presents of daggers, knives, looking glasses, hatchets, rings, belles, and such other things, trifles unto us, but precious unto these kings: which moreover, seeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a shirt of him to weare onely on their festivall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after that they had received, and Satourioua had given in recompense to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of silver graines which hung about his necke, and ech of the kings certaine deere skinnes dressed after their manner, they retired

*The kings  
seate.*

*Complaints of  
the Savages  
against the  
Spanyards.*

*Two chaines  
of silver given  
to Gourgues.*

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themselves dancing and very jocond, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring unto the sayd place good companies of their subjects all well armed to be avenged throughly on the Spanyards. In the meane space Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré borne in Newhaven, which being but a yong stripling escaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the rest of the French, & was afterward brought up with Satourioua, which at that time bestowed him on our generall, whose advise stode him in great steade: Whereupon he sent to discover the fort and the estate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Olotacara Satouriouaes nephew which hee had given him for this purpose and for assurance of Estampes a gentleman of Cominges, and others which he sent to discry the state of the enemies. Moreover he gave him a sonne of his starke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loved best of all the rest, of eightene yeeres olde, apparelled with the mosse of trees, which for 3 dayes space were in the ships, untill our men returned from discrying the state of the enemy, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rendezvous. Their marching being concluded, and the Savages rendezvous being appointed them beyond the river Salinacani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great solemnitie their drinke called Cassine, made of the juice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he drank thereof for company. Afterward they lift up their handes and sware all that they would never forsake him. Olotocara followed him with pike in hand. Being all met at the river of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reason of the raine and places full of water which they must needes passe, which hindred their passage, they were distressed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their Bark of provision being not arrived,

*Peter de Bré had lived above two yeeres with Satourioua.*

*Three pledges delivered to Gourgues by Satourioua.*

*The river of Salinacani, called Somme by the French.*

*The river of Sarauahi.*

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1567.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

*The estate of  
the Spanyards  
in Florida.*

[III. 358.]

*The river of  
Saracary, or  
Sarauahi.*

which was to come unto him from the ships, the oversight and charge whereof he had left unto Burdelois with the rest of the Mariners. Now he had learned that the Spanyards were foure hundred strong, devided into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified upon the river of May, the great fort especially begunne by the French, and afterward repaired by them : upon the most dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two leagues lower and neerer towarde the Rivers mouth, they had made two smaller Forts, which were defended, the river passing betweene them, with sixe score souldiers, good store of artillery and other munition, which they had in the same. From Saracary unto these smal forts was two leagues space, which he found very painful, because of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the river Catacouru with 10, shot, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, because of the foule weather, and darknesse of the night. King Helicopile seeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easie way, though it were farther about. In-somuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had sounded the small river that falleth downe thereby, hee stayed untill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might passe over there, unto a place where he had seene a litle grove between the river & the fort (that he might not be seene to passe and set his souldiers in array) causing them to fasten their flasks to their Morions, & to hold up their swords and kalivers in their hands, for feare least the water, which reached up to their girdles, should not wet them : where they found such abundance of great oysters, and shels which were so sharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others lost their shoes. Notwithstanding assoone as



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they were passed over, with a French courage they prepared themselves to the assault on the Sunday eve next after Easter day, in Aprill 1568. Insomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gave twenty shot to his Lieutenant Cazenove, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild fire to burne the gate: and then he assaulted the Fort on another side, after he had made a short speech unto his men of the strange treasons which the Spanyards had plaid their companions. But being discried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred paces from the Fort, the Gunner being upon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, these be French men, discharged twice upon them a colverine, whereon the Armes of France were graven, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moved with rage, lept on the platforme, and thrust him through the bodie with his pike and slew him. Whereupon Gourgues advanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenove cry, that the Spaniards which issued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and so hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threescore there escaped not a man, saving only fiftene reserved unto the same death which they had put the French unto. The Spanyards of the other fort in the meanwhile ceased not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the assailants: although to answere them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the first Fort. Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourescore shot went aboard the barke which met him there to good purpose to passe into the wood neere unto the Fort, out of which he supposed the Spanyards would issue to save themselves thorow the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from ye same. Afterward the Savages not staying for the returne of

*The assault  
and taking of  
the first Fort.*

*The valure of  
Olotocara.*

*The assault  
and taking of  
the second fort.*

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1568.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

*The savages  
great swim-  
mers.*

the bark, leapt al into the water holding up their bowes & arrowes in one hand, & swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards seing both ye shores covered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulsed by the Savages, toward whom they would have retired, they were sooner then they would bereft of their lives. To conclude they al there ended their dayes saving 15 of those which were reserved to be executed for the example of others. Wherupon Captaine Gourgues having caused al that he found in the second fort to be transported unto the first, where he ment to strengthen himselfe to take resolution against the great Fort, the state whereof hee did not understand: in fine a Sergeant of a band one of the prisoners assured him that they might be there very neere 300 wel furnished under a brave Governor, which had fortified there, attending farther succours. Thus having obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and passages unto it, and having prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the Countrey against the Spanyard, that he neither might have newes, nor succours, nor retract on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meane while the Governour sent a Spanyard disguised like a Savage to spie out the state of the French. And though he were discovered by Olotocara, yet he used all the cunning he could possibly to perswade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which having escaped, and seeing none but savages on every side, he hoped more in ye Frenchmens then their mercy, unto whom he came to yeeld himself disguised like a savage, for feare lest if he should have bin knowen, he should have bin massacred by those Barbarians: but the spie being brought face to face with the sergeant of the band, & convicted to be one of the great fort, was reserved until an other time: after that he had assured Gourgues that the bruit was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare of whom the 200 and

*The Spaniards  
of the second  
Fort allslaine.*

*Note.*

*A notable  
Spanish  
subtiltie.*

[III. 359.]

threescore Spaniards which remained in the great fort, were greatly astonied. Whereupon Gourgues being resolved to set upon them, while they were thus amazed, and leaving his Standard-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene shot to keepe the Fort, and the entry of the River, he caused the Savages to depart by night to lye in ambush within the woods on both sides of the river, then he departed in the Morning, leading the Sergeant and the spy fast bound along with him, to shew him that in deede, which they had only made him understand before in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a resolute Savage which never left the Captaine, said unto him, that he had served him faithfully, and done whatsoever hee had commaunded him, that he was assured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neverthesse he would not faile, though it were to save his life: but he prayed him to give that unto his wife, if hee escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that shee might bury the same with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome unto the village of the soules or spirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues answered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the love toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he desired rather to honour him alive then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the discoverie of the Fort, the Spaniards were no niggards of their Canon shotte, nor of two double Colverines, which being mounted upon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the River, which made captaine Gourgues to get to the hill covered with wood, at the foot whereof the Fort beginneth, and the forrest or wood continueth and stretcheth fourth beyond it: so that he had sufficient coverture to approch thereunto without offence. He purposed also to remaine there untill the Morning, wherein hee was resolved to assault the Spaniards by scaling their walles on the side toward the hill, where the Trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from

*The cause why  
the Floridians  
bury their  
goods with  
them.*

*Note.*

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whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should shew themselves to defend the rampart while the rest were comming up. But the Governour hastened his unhappy destinie, causing three-score shotte to sallie foorth, which passing through the Trenches, advanced forward to descrye the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie under the conduct of Cazenove, getting betweene the Fort and them which now were issued foorth, cut off their repassage, while Gourgues commanded the rest to charge them in the Front, but not to discharge but neere at hand, and so that they might be sure to hitte them, that afterward with more ease they might cut them in pieces with their swordes. So that turning their backs assoone as they were charged and compassed in by his Lieutenant, they weremayned all slaine upon the place. Whereat the rest that were besieged were so astonied, that they knew none other meane to save their lives, but by fleeing into the Wooddes adjoyning, where neverthelesse being incoun- tred againe by the arrowes of the Savages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spanyard, which therewithall fell downe starke dead) some were constrayned to turne backe, choosing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which pursued them: assuring themselves, that none of them could finde any favour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and so out of measure cruelly intreated, saving those which were reserved to be an example for the time to come. The Fort when it was taken, was found well provided of all necessaries: namely of five double Colverines, and foure Mynions, with divers other small pieces of all sorts, and eightene grosse cakes of gunnepowder, all sorts of weapons, which Gourgues caused with speede to be imbarked, saving the powder and other moveables, by reason it was all consumed with fire through the negligence of a Savage, which in seething of his fish, set fire on a traine of powder which was made and hidden by

*The slaughter  
of the Span-  
iards of the  
third Fort.*

*The taking of  
the third Fort.*





## DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES

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the Spanyardes, to have feasted the French at the first assault, thus blowing up the store house, and the other houses buylt of Pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards being led away prisoners with the others, after that the Generall had shewed them the wrong which they had done without occasion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughes of the same trees, whereon the French hung: of which number five were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiving himselfe in the like miserable estate, confessed his fault, and the just judgement which God had brought upon him. But in stead of the writing which Pedro Melendes had hanged over them, importing these wordes in Spanish, I doe not this as unto French men, but as unto Lutherans, Gourgues caused to be imprinted with a searing iron in a table of Firrewood, I doe not this as unto Spaniardes, nor as unto Mariners, but as unto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward considering he had not men inough to keepe his Forts which he had wonne, much lesse to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adjoining should renew his forces, or the Savages should prevaile against the French men, unlesse his Majestie would send thither, hee resolved to raze them. And indeede, after he had assembled, and in the ende perswaded all the Savage kings so to doe, they caused their subjects to runne thither with such affection, that they overthrew all the three Forts flatte even with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that hee might returne to his Shippes which were left in the River of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fiftene leagues distant from thence, he sent Cazenove and the artillery by water: afterward with fourescore harquebusiers, armed with corslets, and matches light, followed with fortie Mariners bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to have in so many Savages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes covered with Savages, which came to honour him with presents and prayses, as the deliverer of all the countries round about adjoining.

*The writings  
hanged over  
the French  
and Spaniards  
slaine in  
Florida.*

[III. 360.]

*The three  
Forts razed.*

*Great honour  
done by the  
Savages to  
Gourgues.*

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An old woman among the rest sayd unto him, that now she cared not any more to dye, since she had seene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chased out. Briefly being arrived, and finding his ships set in order, and every thing ready to set sayle, hee counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them against all Nations: which they all promised, shedding teares because of his departure. Olocotara especially: for appeasing of whom he promised them to returne within twelve Moones, (so they count the yeeres) and that his king would send them an army, and store of knives for presents, and all other things necessary. So that after he had taken his leave of them, and assembled his men, he thanked God of all his successe since his setting foorth, and prayed to him for an happy returne. The third of May 1568, all things were made ready, the Rendez-vous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to set sayle so prosperously, that in seventeene dayes they ranne eleven hundred leagues: continuing which course they arrived at Rochel the sixt of June, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the River of May, having lost but a small Pinnesse and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were slaine in the assaulting of the Forts. After the cheere and good intertainment which he received of those of Rochel, hee sayled to Burdeaux to informe Monsieur Monluc of the things above mentioned, albeit hee was advertised of eighteene Pinnesses, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spanyardes, which being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de Bois, the same day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholicke king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not easily be taken, offered a great summe of

*Knives in  
great estima-  
tion.*

*The third of  
May.*

*The arrivall  
of Gourgues at  
Rochel, the  
sixt of June.*

*Che-de Bois.*



## DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES

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1582.

money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreover king Charles to doe justice on him as of the authour of so bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendship. In so much as comming to Paris to present himselfe unto the King, to signifie unto him the successe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to subdue this whole Countrey unto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainment and answere so contrary to his expectation, that in fine hee was constraigned to hide himselfe a long space in the Court of Roan, about the yeere 1570. And without the assistance of President Marigny, in whose house he remayned certaine dayes, and of the Receiver of Vacqueiulx, which alwayes was his faithfull friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieved not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, considering the services which hee had done aswell unto him as to his predecessours kings of France. Hee was borne in Mount Marsan in Guyenne, and imployed for the service of the most Christian Kings in all the Armies made since these twentie five or thirtie yeeres: at last he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere unto Siene, with thirtie Souldyers sustayned the brunt of a part of the Spanish Armie, by which beeing taken in the assault, and having all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and singular favour which the Spanyard is woont to shew us. But as the Galley was going toward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkes, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople, it was shortly afterwarde recovered by Romeguas, commaunder over the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coast of Africa, whence hee tooke his course to Bresil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing desirous to rapayre the honour of France, he set upon Florida with such successe as you have heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no lesse valiant Captaine then skilfull Mariner, hee hath

*The birth,  
life and death  
of captaine  
Gourgues.*

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made himselfe feared of the Spanyard, and acceptable unto the Queene of England for the desert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the yeere 1582, to the great griefe of such as knew him.

[III. 361.] The relation of Pedro Morales a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustines in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those partes, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt 1586.



*Wateri a  
goodly river.*

Hree score leagues up to the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci.

The river of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S. Helena Northward, which is able to receive any Fleete of ships of great

burden.

Wateri and Caiowa are two kings, and two rivers to the North of Saint Helena.

Oristou,  
Ahoia,  
Ahoiaue,  
Isamacon,  
Icosa or Dicosa

} Kings and Rivers to the South of  
Saint Helena.

The Spaniards have killed three hundred of the subjects of Potanou.

The greatest number of Spaniards that have bene in Florida this sixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

*La grand  
Copal a rich  
cittie.*

There is a great City sixteene or twentie dayes journey from Saint Helena Northwestward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and have bene within the sight of it, some of them.

They have offered in generall to the King to take no





wages at all of him, if he will give them leave to discover this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes travel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that river which the French called Port-royal.

He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye up in the cuntry Westward from S. Helena. These hills seeme wholly to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Savages advertised Laudonniere, and it may bee they are the hills of Chaunis Temoatam, which Master Lane had advertisement of.

The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon, aliâs Holy, whom sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine also in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, in mine and Master Heriots hearing.



His Nicholas Burgoignon sayth, that betweene S. Augustine and S. Helen there is a Casique whose name is Casicôla, which is lord of ten thousand Indians, and another casique whose name is Dिकास, and another called Toupekyne toward the North, and a fourth named Potanou toward the South, and another called Moscita toward the South likewise. Besides these he acknowledgeth Oristou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Isamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Christal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth five thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes

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the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault, & is now governer of Florida, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage unto these mountaines, it is needefull to have store of Hatchets to give unto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they travell unto them by night. Also corslets of Cotton, which the Spanyards call Zecopitz, are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Savages.

He sayth farther, that a Tunne of the sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates: and that they have there great store of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards have all demaunded leave at their owne costs, to discover these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once knowen.

[III. 362.] All the Spaniards would passe up by the river of Saint Helena unto the mountaines of golde and Chrystall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues up Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrels and eares. They found also Oxen, but lesse then ours.

*Oxen.*

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a river fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may ride safely. I take this river to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585. the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discover where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things.

The Spaniards of S. Augustine have slaine three hundred of the subjects of Potanou. One Potassi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French history calleth Olata Outina.

Caluai is another casique which they knowe.

Sundry Voyages made from Nueva Galicia, and Nueva Viscaia in new Spaine, to the 15. Provinces of new Mexico, and to Quivira and Cibola, all situate on the backside of Guastecan, Florida, and Virginia, as farre as 37. degrees of Northerly latitude: with a description of the rivers, lakes, cities, townes, nations, fertile soyle, and temperate ayre in those partes; and most certaine notice of many exceeding rich silver mines, and other principall commodities.

A discourse of the famous Cosmographer John Baptista Ramusius, concerning the three voyages of Frier Marco de Nica, Francis Vasquez de Coronado, and Ferdinando Alorchon next following: taken out of his third volume of Navigations and Voyages.



He right honourable Don Antonio de Mendoça being sent by Charles the Emperour to be viceroy of Mexico and Nueva Espanna, and having understood that Don Ferdinando Cortez had sent many ships along the coast of Nueva Espanna to discover countries, and to find out the Isles of the Malucos, began himselfe to desire to do the like, as viceroy of Nueva Espanna; and hereupon they fell out: for Cortez said that he was general and discoverer of the South sea, and that it belonged to him to set forth those voyages. On

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the other side, the lord Don Antonio alledged that it belonged to him to make that discovery, as being viceroy of Nueva Espanna. So that they fell at great variance, and Cortez returned into Spaine to complaine unto the Emperour. Don Antonio in the meane season having obtained knowledge of the voiage, which Andrew Dorantez (who was one of the company of Pamphilo Narvaez that escaped, as you may reade in the relation of Alvaro Nunnez, called Cabeça de Vaca) made; sent Frier Marco de Niça with a Negro of the said Dorantez to discover that country. Which Frier Marco de Niça being returned, & having informed his lordship of all his discovery, he sent captain Francis Vasquez de Coronado with many Spaniards on horsebacke and Indians on foot: likewise he sent a fleete by sea, whereof Ferdinando Alorchon was captaine, as may be seene in the relations following.

An extract of a letter of captaine Francis Vasques de Coronado, written to a Secretary of the right noble Don Antonio de Mendoça, viceroy of Nueva Espanna. Dated in Culiacan, the 8. of March 1539.

**H**E saith that Frier Marcus de Niça arrived in the Province of Topira, where he found all the Indians fled unto the mountaines for feare of the Christians, and that for his sake they came all downe to see him, with great joy & boldnesse. They are men of good making, and whiter then others, and their women are more beautifull then others of the neighbour-provinces. There are no great cities there, yet are the houses built of stone, and are very good, and in them they have great store of gold, which is as it were lost, because they know not what use to put it to. The people weare Emeralds and other precious jewels upon their bodies: they are valiant, having very strong armour made of silver, fashioned after divers shapes

*Store of golde,  
silver, and  
precious stones  
in Topira.  
[III. 363.]*



of beasts. They worship for their gods such things as they have in their houses, as namely hearbes, and birdes, and sing songs unto them in their language, which differeth but litle from that of Culiacan. They told the Frier that they were willing to become Christians, and the Emperors subjects, for they were without a governour; with condition that no man should hurt them: and that they would change their golde for such things as they wanted. Commandement was given, that they should bee received without doing them any displeasure. Neere unto this countrey there is another Province heretofore discovered by our men, where the people go naked without any thing before them: they are very hardly reduced to Christianitie, and they are valiant and stoute. Their houses are covered with straw: They seeke no other riches but to feede cattel. They goe at certaine seasons to their sacrifices into a valley situate in that Province, which is inhabited with people, esteemed by those of the countrey as saints and priests, whom they call Chichimecas, which dwell in the woods without houses: and they eat such things as they of the countrey give them of almes. They goe naked, and are tanned in the smoke, and tye their privie member with a string unto their knee, and the women likewise goe starke naked. They have certain temples covered with strawe, with small round windowes full of the skuls of dead men; before their temple is a great round ditch, the brim whereof is compassed with the figure of a serpent made of gold and silver, and with another mixture of unknowen metals: and this serpent holdeth his tayle in his mouth. They of this valley from time to time cast lots, whose lucke it shal be to be sacrificed, and they make him great cheere, on whom the lotte falleth, and with great joy they crowne him with flowers upon a bed prepared in the sayd ditch all full of flowres and sweete hearbes, on which they lay him along, and lay great store of dry wood on both sides of him, and set it on fire on eyther part, and so

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he dyeth. Where he continueth so quietly without being bound, as though hee did something, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And they say that hee is a Saint, and doe worshippe him for that yeere, and sing prayses, and Hymnes unto him, and afterward set up his head with the rest in order within those windowes. Also they sacrifice their prisoners, whom they burne in another deeper ditch, and not with the foresayde ceremonies. The Spanyards which are in Xalisco write, that having good assistance, they hope that those people will become Christians. The Countrey is very good and fruitfull, and hath great store of good and wholesome waters.

A Letter of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Governour of Nueva Galicia, to the lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Viceroy of Nueva Espanna. Dated in Saint Michael of Culiacan the 8. of March, 1539.

Of the hard passage from Saint Michael of Culiacan to Topira. The description of that Province, and of another neere unto the same, very rich in gold and precious stones. The number of the people which Vazquez caried with him in his journey thither; and how greatly Frier Marcus of Niça is honoured by the Indians of Petatlan.



**B**Y the helpe of God I meane to set forward from this City of S. Michael of Culiacan toward Topira the 10. of April: neither can I any sooner set forward, because the powder and match which your Lordship sendeth mee, cannot be brought thither before that time, and I thinke it be now in Compostella. Besides this, I am to passe many leagues over mightie high mountaines, which reach up to the skyes, and over a River, which at this present is so bigge and swolne, that it can in no place be waded over.

## VASQUEZ DE CORONADO

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And if I depart at the time aforesayde, they say wee may wade over it. They tolde mee that from hence to Topira was not above 50. leagues ; and I have learned since that it is above foure score leagues. I doe not remember that I have written to your Lordshippe the information which I have of Topira : and though I had written thereof unto you, yet because that since that time I have learned something more, I thinke it meete to signifie the same unto your Lordship in these my letters. It may please your honour therefore to understand, that they tell mee, that Topira is a very populous Province, lying betweene two rivers, and that there are above 50. inhabited townes therein. And that beyond the same there is another Countrey greater then it, the name whereof the Indians could not tell mee, wherein there is great store of victuals of Maiz, French peason, Axi or Pepper, Melons, and Gourds, and great store of Hennes of the countrey. The people weare on their bodies golde, Emeralds, and other precious stones, and are served commonly in golde and silver, wherewith they cover their houses : and the chiefe men weare great chaines of golde well wrought, about their necks, and are apparelled with paynted garments, and have store of wilde kine ; and they say they enter not into their countrey, because themselves have no great store of people : those Indians being many in number, and very valiant. That which here I say, I learned by two other relations of Indians dwelling neere unto them. I meane to set forward at the time before mentioned, and I carrie with me 150. horsemen, and twelve spare horses, and 200. footmen, crossebowmen, and gunners. I take also with mee live hogs, sheepe, and all such things as I can get for money : assure your Lordship that I meane not to returne to Mexico, until I be able to informe your honour more perfectly, what the state of that place is : and if I find ought that we may doe good in, I will stay there, untill I have advertised your Lordship, that you may command what you will have done : and if it fall out so unluckily,

*Topira.*

*Another  
greater  
province.*

[III. 364.]  
*These may  
seeme to be  
the Pintados  
mentioned by  
Frier Marco  
de Niza in  
his 2. Chap.*

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that there be nothing of importance, I will seeke to discover 100. leagues farther, wherein (I hope in God) there will be something found in which your Lordship may imploy all these gentlemen, and those which shall come hither hereafter. I thinke I cannot chuse but stay there : and the waters, the seasons, and disposition of the countrey, and other accidents wil direct mee what is best to be done. Frier Marco de Niça entred a good way into the country, accompanied with Stephan Dorantez, the 7. of February last past : when I departed from them, I left them with above 100. Indians of Petatlan, and from the time of their comming thither they greatly honoured the father, shewing him all the courtesies they could possibly. I cannot send you, nor describe unto you his entrance among them better then I have done in all my relations which I wrote in my letters from Compostella, and I signified unto you all things to the full from the citie of S. Michael : and though there be but the tenth part of those things, it is a great matter. Herewithall I have sent your Lordship a Letter, which I received from the said father : the Indians tell me, that all the people of the countrey doe greatly reverence him : and I beleeve he may travel many leagues farther in that sort. He saith, that if he finde any good countrey, he will write to me thereof : I will not goe thither without informing your Lordship of my journey. I hope in God, that by one way or other wee shall discover some good thing.

A Letter written by the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, Vice-roy of Nueva Espanna, to the Emperors Majestie.

Of certaine Noblemen which sought to discover the end of the firme land of Nueva Espanna toward the North. The arrivall of Vazquez de Coronado with Frier Marco at S. Michael of Culiacan, with commission to the Governors of those partes, to pacifie the Indians, and not to make them slaves any more.



**I**N the ships that went last from hence (wherof Michael de Usnago was Admiral) I wrote unto your Majestie, how I had sent two Franciscan Friers to discover the end of this firme land, which stretcheth to the North. And because their journey fell out to greater purpose then was looked for, I will declare the whole matter from the beginning. It may please your Majestie to call to mind how often I wrote unto your Highnesse, that I desired to know the ende of this Province of Nueva Espanna, because it is so great a countrey, and that we have yet no knowledge thereof. Neither had I onely this desire; for Nunno de Guzman departed out of this city of Mexico with 400. horsemen, and 14000. Indians footemen borne in these Indias, being the best men, & the best furnished, which have bene seene in these parts: and he did so litle with them, that the most part of them were consumed in the enterprize, & could not enter nor discover any more then already was discovered. After this the saide Nunno Guzman beeing Governour of Nueva Galicia, sent Captaines and Horsemen forth divers times, which sped no better then he had done. Likewise the Marques de valle Hernando Cortez sent a captaine with 2. ships to discover the coast: which 2. ships and the captaine perished. After that he sent againe 2. other ships, one of the which

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was divided from her consort, and the Master and certaine mariners slue the captaine, & usurped over the ship. After this they came to an Island, where the Master with certaine mariners going on land, the Indians of the country slew them, and tooke their boat: and the ship with those that were in it, returned to the coast of Nueva Galicia, where it ran on ground. By the men which came home in this ship, the Marques had knowledge of the country which they had discovered: and then, either for the discontentment which hee had with the bishop of Saint Domingo, and with the Judges of this royal audience in Mexico, or rather because of his so prosperous succeſſe in all things here in Nueva Espanna, without seeking any farther intelligence of the state of that Island, he set forward on that voyage with 3. Ships, and with certaine footemen and horsemen, not throughly furnished with things necessary; which fell out so contrary to his expectation, that the most part of the people which he carryed with him, dyed of hunger. And although he had ships, and a Country very neere him abounding with victuals, yet could hee never finde meanes to conquer it, but rather it seemed, that God miraculously did hide it from him: and so he returned home without atchieving ought else of moment. After this, having heere in my company Andrew Dorantez, which is one of those who were in the voyage of Panphilo Narvaez, I often was in hand with him, supposing that he was able to doe your Majestie great service, to imploy him with fortie or fiftie horses, to search out the secret of those parts: and having provided all things necessary for his journey, and spent much money in that behalfe, the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterprise was given over. Yet of the things which were provided for that purpose, I had left mee a Negro, which returned from the foresayde voyage of Narvaez, with Dorantez, and certaine slaves which I had bought, and certaine Indians which I had gathered together, who were borne in those North partes, whome I sent with

*This was the Port of Santa Cruz, in the Isle of California.*

[III. 365.]

Frier Marco de Niça, and his companion a Franciscan Frier, because they had bene long travelled, and exercised in those partes, and had great experience in the affaires of the Indies, and were men of good life and conscience, for whom I obtained leave of their superiours: and so they went with Francis Vazquez de Coronado, governour of Nueva Galicia unto the Citie of Saint Michael of Culiacan, which is the last Province subdued by the Spaniards towarde that quarter, being two hundred leagues distant from this Citie of Mexico. Assoone as the governour, and the Friers were come unto that Citie, hee sent certaine of those Indians which I had given him, home into their Countrey, to signifie, and declare to the people of the same, That they were to understand, that your Majestie had commaunded they should not hereafter bee made slaves, and that they should not be afrayd any more, but might returne unto their houses, and live peaceably in them, (for before that time they had bin greatly troubled by the evill dealings which were used toward them) and that your Majestie would cause them to be chastened, which were the causes of their vexation. With these Indians about twentie dayes after returned about 400 men; which comming before the governour said unto him, that they came on the behalfe of al their Countrey-men, to tell him, that they desired to see and know those men which did them so great a pleasure as to suffer them to returne to their houses, and to sow Maiz for their sustenance: for by the space of many yeres they were driven to flee into the mountaines, hiding themselves like wild beasts, for feare lest they should be made slaves, and that they and all the rest of their people were ready to doe whatsoever should bee commaunded them. Whom the governour comforted with good wordes, and gave them victuals, and stayed them with him three or foure dayes, wherein the Friers taught them to make the signe of the Crosse, and to learne the name of our Lorde Jesus Christ, and they with great diligence sought to learne

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the same. After these dayes hee sent them home againe, willing them not to be afraid, but to be quiet, giving them apparel, beades, knives, and other such like things, which I had given him for such purposes. The sayde Indians departed very well pleased, and said, that whensoever hee would send for them, they and many others would come to doe whatsoever he would command them. The entrance being thus prepared, Frier Marco and his companion, with the Negro and other slaves, and Indians which I had given him, went forward on their voyage 10. or 12. dayes after. And because I had likewise advertisement of a certaine Province called Topira situate in the mountaines, and had appoynted the governour Vazquez de Coronado, that he should use meanes to learne the state thereof; he supposing this to be a matter of great moment, determined himselfe to goe and search it, having agreed with the sayd Frier, that he should returne by that part of the mountaine, to meete with him in a certaine valley called Valle de los Coraçones, being 120. leagues distant from Culiacan. The governour travelling into this province (as I have written in my former letters) found great scarcity of victuals there, and the mountaines so craggy, that he could finde no way to passe forward, and was inforced to returne home to Saint Michael: so that aswell in chusing of the entrance, as in not being able to finde the way, it seemeth unto all men, that God would shut up the gate to all those, which by strength of humane force have gone about to attempt this enterprise, and hath reveiled it to a poore and bare-footed Frier. And so the Frier beganne to enter into the Land, who because he found his entrance so well prepared, was very well received; and because he wrote the whole successe of his voyage, according to the instruction which I had given him to undertake the same, I wil not write any more at large, but send your Majestie this copy of all such things as he observed in the same.

*Valle de los  
Corazones  
mentioned by  
Vazquez de  
Coronado  
cap. 1.*



A relation of the reverend father Frier Marco [III. 366.] de Niça, touching his discovery of the kingdome of Cevola or Cibola, situate about 30. degrees of latitude, to the North of Nueva Espanna.

Chap. 1.

Frier Marco de Niça departeth from Saint Michael in the Province of Culiacan, standing in 24. degrees of Northerly latitude: and comming to the Towne of Petatlan, receiveth many courtesies of the Indians there. Departing from thence, he had information of many Islands, and of a great countrey inhabited with civil people; he commeth to Vacupa: where during his abroad, he heard newes of Cevola, and of the state of the 7. Cities, and of other provinces, & of the rich Islands of perles, which extent northward upon the coast.



Frier Marco de Niça of the order of S. Francis, for the execution of the instruction of the right honourable lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, Vice-roy and captaine Generall for the Emperors Majestie in New Spaine, departed from the towne of S. Michael in the province of Culiacan on Friday the 7. of March, in the yeere 1539. having for my companion Frier Honoratus, and carying with me Stephan a Negro, belonging to Andrew Dorantez, and certaine of those Indians which the sayde lord Vice-roy had made free, and bought for this purpose: whom Francis Vazquez de Coronado governour of Nueva Galicia delivered me, and with many other Indians of Petatlan, and of the towne called Cuchillo, which is some 50. leagues from Petatlan, who came to the valley of Culiacan, shewing themselves to bee exceeding glad, because they were certified by the

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Indians which had bin set free, whom the said governour had sent before to advertise them of their libertie, that none of them from thenceforth should be made slaves, and that no man should invade them, nor use them badly; signifying unto them, that the Emperors Majesty had willed and commanded that it should be so. With the foresaid company I went on my voyage untill I came to the towne of Petatlan, finding all the way great intertainment, and provision of victuals, with roses, flowres, and other such things, and bowers which they made for me of chalke and boughs platted together in all places where there were no houses. In this towne of Petatlan I rested 3. dayes, because my companion Honoratus fell so sicke, that I was constrained to leave him there behinde.

*Petatlan a  
towne.*

Then, according to my said instruction, I followed my journey as the holy Ghost did leade me, without any merit of mine, having in my company the said Stephan the Negro of Dorantez, and certaine of the Indians which had bin set at liberty, and many of the people of the countrey, which gave me great intertainment and welcome in all places where I came, and made mee bowers of trees, giving me such victuals as they had, although they were but small: because (as they said) it had not rained there in 3 yeres, and because the Indians of this countrey sought meanes rather to hide themselves, then to sowe corne, for feare of the Christians of the Towne of S. Michael, which were wont to make in-roades even to that place, and to warre upon them, and to cary them away captives. In all this way, which may be about 25 or 30. leagues from that part of Petatlan, I saw nothing worthy the noting, save that there came to seeke me certaine Indians from the Island, where Fernando Cortez the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an island, & not firme land, as some suppose it to be. They came to ye firme land upon certaine rafts of wood: and from the maine to the island is but halfe a league by sea, litle more or lesse. Likewise cer-

*The island of  
Saint Iago.*

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taine Indians of another island greater then this came to visit me, which island is farther off, of whom I was informed that there were 30. other smal islands, which were inhabited, but had smal store of victuals, saving 2. which have Maiz or corne of the countrey. These Indians had about their necks many great shels which were mother of Pearle. I shewed them pearles which I carryed with me for a shew, and they told me that there were in the Islands great store of them, and those very great: howbeit I saw none of them. I followed my voyage through a desert of 4. dayes journey, having in my company both the Indians of the islands, & those of the mountaines which I had passed, and at the end of this desert I found other Indians which marvelled to see me, because they had no knowledge of any Christians, having no traffike nor conversation with those Indians which I had passed, in regard of the great desert which was between them. These Indians interteined me exceeding courteously, & gave me great store of victuals, & sought to touch my garments, and called me Hayota, which in their language signifieth A man come from heaven. These Indians I advertised by my interpreter, according to my instructions, in the knowledge of our Lord God in heaven, & of the Emperour. In these countries & in all places els by all wayes and meanes possible, I sought information where any Countreys were of more Cities and people of civilitie and understanding, then those which I had found: and I could heare no newes of any such: howbeit they tolde mee, that foure or five dayes journey within the Countrey, at the foote of the mountaines, there is a large and mightie plaine, wherein they tolde mee, that there were many great Townes, and people clad in Cotton: and when I shewed them certaine Metals which I carryed with mee, to learne what riche Metals were in the Lande, they tooke the minerall of Golde and tolde mee, that thereof were vesselles among the people of that plaine, and that they carryed certaine round greene stones hanging at their nostrilles, and at their eares,

*A great island, and 30. small islands, which seeme to be the newe islands of California rich in pearles.*

*A desert foure daies journey.*

[III. 367.]

*This was the valley of Coracones.*

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and that they have certaine thinne plates of that Golde, wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walles of their Temples are covered therewith, and that they use it in all their household vessels. And because this Valley is distant from the Sea-coast, and my instruction was not to leave the Coast, I determined to leave the discovery thereof untill my returne; at which time I might doe it more commodiously.

Thus I travelled three dayes journey through Townes inhabited by the sayde people, of whome I was received as I was of those which I had passed, and came unto a Towne of reasonable bignesse, called Vacupa, where they shewed mee great courtesies, and gave mee great store of good victuals, because the soyle is very fruitfull, and may bee watered. This Towne is fortie leagues distant from the Sea. And because I was so farre from the Sea, it being two dayes before Passion Sunday, I determined to stay there untill Easter, to informe my selfe of the Islandes, whereof I sayde before that I had information. And so I sent certaine Indians to the Sea by three severall wayes, whom I commaunded to bring mee some Indians of the Sea-coast and of some of those Islandes, that I might receive information of them: and I sent Stephan Dorantez the Negro another way, whom I commaunded to goe directly Northward fiftie or threescore leagues, to see if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee sought to discover, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peopled and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee should goe no further, but should returne in person, or should sende mee certaine Indians with that token which wee were agreed upon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee should sende mee a white Crosse of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfulls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueva Espanna, hee should send mee a great crosse. So the

*Vacupa a town  
40. leagues  
from the Bay  
of California.*

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sayde Stephan departed from mee on Passion-sunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the messengers of Stephan returned unto me with a great Crosse as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan, that I should forthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gave him information of a very mighty Province, and that he had certaine Indians in his company, which had bene in the sayd Province, and that he had sent me one of the said Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes journey from the Towne where Stephan was, unto the first Citie of the sayde Province, which is called Cevola. Hee affirmed also that there are seven great Cities in this Province, all under one Lord, the houses whereof are made of Lyme and Stone, and are very great, and the least of them with one lofte above head, and some of two and of three loftes, and the house of the Lorde of the Province of foure, and that all of them joyne one unto the other in good order, and that in the gates of the principall houses there are many Turques-stones cunningly wrought, whereof hee sayth they have there great plentie: also that the people of this Citie goe very well apparelled: and that beyond this there are other Provinces, all which (hee sayth) are much greater then these seven cities. I gave credite to his speach, because I found him to bee a man of good understanding: but I deferred my departure to follow Stephan Dorantes, both because I thought hee would stay for mee, and also to attend the returne of my messengers which I had sent unto the Sea, who returned unto me upon Easter day, bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coast, and of two of the Islands. Of whom I understoode, that the Islandes above mentioned were scarce of victuals, as I had learned before, and that they are inhabited by people, which weare shelles of Pearles upon their foreheads, and they say that they have great Pearles, and much Golde. They informed mee of foure and thirtie Islandes, lying one neere unto another: they say that the people on the Sea-coast

*From Vacupa  
to Cevola are  
32. dayes  
journey.*

*Great pearles  
and much gold  
in the Isles of  
California,  
which are 34.  
in number.*

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have small store of victuals, as also those of the Islandes, and that they traffique one with the other upon raftes. This coast stretcheth Northward as is to bee seene. These Indians of the Coast brought me certaine Targets made of Cow-hydes very well dressed, which were so large, that they covered them from the head to the very foote, with a hole in the toppe of the same to looke out before: they are so strong, that a Crossebow (as I suppose) will not pierce them.

[III. 368.]

Chap. 2.

He hath new information of the seven Cities by certaine Indians called Pintados, and of three other kingdomes called Marata, Acus, and Totontec, being Countreys very rich in Turqueses and Hides of cattel. Following his voyage through those countries, he taketh possession thereof for the Emperors Majestie, and of the Indians is much honoured and served with victuals.

**T**He same day came three Indians of those which I called Pintados, because I saw their faces, breasts and armes painted. These dwel farther up into the countrey towards the East, and some of them border upon the seven cities, which sayd they came to see mee, because they had heard of me: and among other things, they gave me information of the seven cities, and of the other Provinces, which the Indian that Stephan sent me had tolde mee of, almost in the very same maner that Stephan had sent mee worde; and so I sent backe the people of the sea-coast: and two Indians of the Islandes sayde they would goe with mee seven or eight dayes.

So with these and with the three Pintados above mentioned, I departed from Vacupa upon Easter tuesday, the same way that Stephan went, from whom I received new messengers with a Crosse of the bignesse of the first which he sent me: which hastened mee forward,

and assured me that the land which I sought for, was the greatest and best countrey in all those partes. The sayd messengers told mee particularly without fayling in any one poynt, all that which the first messenger had tolde mee, and much more, and gave mee more plaine information thereof. So I travelled that day being Easter tuesday, and two dayes more, the very same way that Stephan had gone: at the end of which 3 dayes they tolde mee, that from that place a man might travell in thirtie dayes to the citie of Cevola, which is the first of the seven. Neither did one onely tell me thus much, but very many; who tolde me very particularly of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the fashion of them, as the first messengers had informed me. Also they told me, that besides these seven Cities, there are 3. other kingdomes which are called Marata, Acus, and Totontec. I enquired of them wherefore they travelled so farre from their houses? They said that they went for Turqueses, and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all these there was great abundance in this Countrey. Likewise I enquired how, and by what meanes they obtained these things? They tolde me, by their service, and by the sweat of their browes, and that they went unto the first citie of the Province which is called Cevola, and that they served them in tilling their ground, and in other businesses, and that they give them Hydes of oxen, which they have in those places, and turqueses for their service, and that the people of this city weare very fine and excellent turqueses hanging at their eares and at their nostrils. They say also, that of these turqueses they make fine workes upon the principall gates of the houses of this citie. They tolde mee, that the apparell which the inhabitants of Cevola weare, is a gowne of cotten downe to the foote, with a button at the necke, and a long string hanging downe at the same, and that the sleeves of these gownes are as broad beneath as above. They say, they gyrd themselves with gyrdles of turqueses, and that over these

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coates some weare good apparell, others hides of kine very well dressed, which they take to bee the best apparell of that countrey, whereof they have there great quantitie. Likewise the women goe apparelled, and covered downe to the foote. These Indians gave me very good intertainment, and curiously enquired the day of my departure from Vacupa, that at my returne they might provide me of foode and lodging. They brought certaine sicke folkes before mee, that I might heale them, and sought to touch my apparell, and gave mee certaine Cow-hydes so well trimmed and dressed, that by them a man might conjecture that they were wrought by civile people, and all of them affirmed, that they came from Cevola.

*Another  
village.*

The next day I followed my journey, and carrying with mee the Pintados, I came to another Village where I was well received by the people of the same: who likewise sought to touch my garments, and gave mee as particular knowledge of the Lande aforesayde, as I had received of those which mette mee before: and also tolde mee, that from that place certaine people were gone with Stephan Dorantez foure or five dayes journey. And here I found a great crosse, which Stephan had left me for a signe, that the newes of the good Countrey increased, and left worde, that with all haste they should sende mee away, and that hee would stay for mee at the ende of the first Desert that he mette with. Heere I set up two Crosses, and tooke possession according to mine instruction, because that the Countrey seemed better unto mee then that which I had passed, and that I thought it meete to make an acte of possession as farre as that place.

[III. 369.]

In this maner I travailed five dayes, alwayes finding inhabited places with great hospitalitie and intertainments, and many Turqueses, and Oxe-hides, and the like report concerning the countrey. Heere I understood, that after two dayes journey I should finde a desert where there is no foode; but that there were certaine gone before to



build mee lodgings, and to carrie foode for mee: whereupon I hastened my way, hoping to finde Stephan at the ende thereof, because in that place hee had left worde that hee would stay for mee. Before I came to the desert, I mette with a very pleasant Towne, by reason of great store of waters conveighed thither to water the same. Heere I mette with many people both men and women clothed in Cotton, and some covered with Oxe-hydes, which generally they take for better apparell then that of cotton. All the people of this Village goe in Caconados, that is to say, with Turqueses hanging at their nostrilles and eares: which Turqueses they call Cacona. Amongst others, the Lord of this Village came unto me, and two of his brethren very well apparelled in Cotton, who also were in Caconados, each of them having his collar of Turqueses about his necke: and they presented unto mee many wilde beastes, as Conies, Quailes, Maiz, nuttes of Pine trees, and all in great abundance, and offered mee many Turqueses, and dressed Oxe-hydes, and very fayre vessels to drinke in, and other things: whereof I would receive no whit. And having my garment of gray cloth, which in Spaine is called çaragoça, the Lord of this Village, and the other Indians touched my gowne with their handes, and tolde mee, that of such Cloth there was great store in Totontec, and that the people of that Countrey wore the same. Whereat I laughed, and sayde that it was nothing else but such apparell of Cotton as they wore. And they replied: We would have thee thinke that we understand, that that apparell which thou wearest, and that which we weare are of divers sortes. Understand thou, that in Cevola all the houses are full of that apparell which we weare, but in Totontec there are certaine litle beastes, from whom they take that thing wherewith such apparell as thou wearest, is made. I prayed them to informe mee more playnely of this matter. And they tolde mee that the sayde beastes were about the bignesse of the two

*A pleasant  
village.*

*Store of wool-  
len cloth and  
sheepe in  
Totontec.*

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braches or spaniels which Stephan caryed with him, and they say that there is great store of that cattell in Totontec.

### Chap. 3.

He entreth into a desert, and the Indians suffer him to want nothing necessary. Following his Voyage, he commeth into a fertile valley, and hath certaine knowledge given him (as he had before) of the state of Cevola and of Totontec; and that the coast of the sea in 35. degrees trendeth much to the Westward: and also of the kingdomes of Marata and Acus.

*A desert of  
four dayes  
journey.*

**T**He next day I entred into the Desert, and where I was to dine, I found bowers made, and victuals in abundance by a rivers side: and at night I found bowers and victuals in like sort, and after that maner I found for 4. dayes travell: all which time the wilderness continueth.

*A very popu-  
lous valley.*

At the ende of these foure dayes, I entred into a valley very well inhabited with people. At the first Village there mette me many men and women with victuals, and all of them had Turqueses hanging at their nostrils and eares, and some had collars of turqueses like those which the Lord of the Village before I came to the Desert, and his two brethren wore: saving that they ware them but single about their neckes, and these people weare them three or foure times double, and goe in good apparell, and skinnes of Oxen: and the women weare of the sayd Turqueses at their nostrils and eares, and very good wast-coats and other garments. Heere there was as great knowledge of Cevola, as in Nueva Espanna of Temistitan, and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde us particularly the maner of their houses, lodgings, streetes and market-places, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as those which were furnished from thence with things necessary for the service of their housholde, as those also had done, which I already had passed. I tolde them it was impossible that the houses should be

*Collars of tur-  
queses two or  
three times  
double.*

made in such sort as they informed mee, and they for my better understanding tooke earth or ashes, and powred water thereupon, and shewed me how they layd stones upon it, and how the buylding grewe up, as they continued laying stones thereon, untill it mounted aloft. I asked them whether the men of that Countrey had wings to mount up unto those loftes: whereat they laughed, and shewed mee a Ladder in as good sort as I my selfe was able to describe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it over their heads, and said that the lofts were so high one above another. Likewise heere I had information of the woollen cloth [III. 370.] of Totonteac, where they say are houses like those of Cevola, and better and more in number, and that it is a great Province, and hath no governour.

Here I understood that the coast of the sea trended much toward the West: for unto the entrance of this first desert which I passed, the coast still stretched Northward: and because the trending of the coast is a thing of great importance, I was desirous to knowe and see it: and I saw plainely, that in 35. degrees the coast stretcheth to the West, whereat I rejoyced no lesse, then of the good newes within land, and so I returned backe to procede on my journey.

*This graduation is mistaken by 6. or 7. degrees at the least.*

Through the foresayd valley I travailed five dayes journey, which is inhabited with goodly people, and so aboundeth with victuals, that it sufficeth to feede above three thousand horsemen: it is all well watered and like a garden: the burroughs and townes are halfe and a quarter of a league long, and in all these villages, I found very ample report of Cevola, whereof they made such particular relation unto me, as people which goe yeerely thither to earne their living. Here I found a man borne in Cevola, who told me that he came thither, having escaped from the governour or Lieutenant of the towne; for the Lord of these seven Cities liveth and abideth in one of those townes called Ahacus, and in the rest he appoynteth lieu-tenants *Ahacus.*

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under him. This townesman of Cevola is a white man of a good complexion, somewhat well in yeeres, and of farre greater capacitie then the inhabitants of this valley, or then those which I had left behind me. Hee sayde that hee would goe with mee, that I might begge his pardon: and of him I learned many particulars: he tolde me that Cevola was a great Citie, inhabited with great store of people, and having many Streetes and Market-places: and that in some partes of this Citie there are certaine very great houses of five stories high, wherein the chiefe of the Citie assemble themselves at certaine dayes of the yeere. He sayeth that the houses are of Lyme and Stone, according as others had tolde mee before, and that the gates, and small pillars of the principall houses are of Turqueses, and all the vessels wherein they are served, and the other ornaments of their houses were of golde: and that the other sixe Cities are built like unto this, whereof some are bigger: and that Ahacus is the chieftest of them. Hee sayth that toward the Southeast there is a kingdome called Marata, and that there were wont to be many, and those great Cities, which were all built of houses of Stone, with divers lofts; and that these have and doe wage warre with the Lord of the seven cities, through which warre this kingdome of Marata is for the most part wasted, although it yet continueth and mainteineth warre against the other.

*Marata lieth  
toward the  
Southeast.*

Likewise he saith, that the kingdome called Totanteac lyeth toward the West, which he saith is a very mightie Province, replenished with infinite store of people and riches: and that in the sayde Kingdome they weare woollen cloth like that which I weare, and other finer sorts of woollen cloth made of the fleeces of those beastes which they described before unto me: and that they are a very civile people. Moreover hee tolde me, that there is another great Province and kingdome called Acus; for there is Acus, and Ahacus with an aspiration, which is the principall of the seven cities: and Acus without an aspiration is a kingdome and Province of it selfe. He told me

*Totanteac  
lyeth West.*

also, that the apparel which they weare in Cevola is after the same maner as they before had certified me, and that all the inhabitants of the Citie lie upon beddes raysed a good height from the ground, with quilts and canopies over them, which cover the sayde Beds: and hee tolde mee that he would goe with me to Cevola and farther also, if I would take him with me. The like relation was given unto me in this towne by many others, but not so particularly. I travelled three dayes journey through this valley: the inhabitants whereof made mee exceeding great cheere and intertainment. In this valley I saw above a thousand Oxe-hides most excellently trimmed and dressed. And here also I saw farre greater store of Turqueses and chaines made thereof, then in all places which I had passed; and they say, that all commeth from the city of Cevola, whereof they have great knowledge, as also of the kingdome of Marata, and of the kingdomes of Acus and Totontec.

## Chap. 4.

Of a very great beast with one horne upon his forehead; and of the courtesies which the Indians shewed Frier Marcus of Niça, in his Voyage. Also how cruelly Stephan Dorantez and his companions were used upon their arrivall at Cevola, by the Lorde thereof.

**H**ere they shewed me an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great oxe, and tolde me that it was the skin of a beast which had but one horne upon his forehead, & that this horne bendeth toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath so great strength, that it will breake any thing how strong so ever it be, if he runne against it, and that there are great store of these beasts in that Countrey. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-skin, and the haire is a finger thicke. Here I had messengers from Stephan which brought me word, that by this time he was come to

*A mightie  
beast with  
one horne.*

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the farthest part of the desert, and that he was very joyfull, because the farther he went, the more perfect knowledge he had of the greatnesse of the countrey, and sent me word, that since his departure from me, hee never had found the Indians in any lye; for even unto that very place he had found al in such maner as they had informed him, & hoped that he should find the like at his arrivall in the valley which he was going unto, as he had found in the villages before passed. I set up crosses, and used those acts and ceremonies, which were to be done according to my instructions. The inhabitants requested me to stay here three or foure daies, because that from this place there were foure dayes journey unto the desert, and from the first entrance into the same desert unto the citie of Cevola are 15 great dayes journey more; also that they would provide victuals for me and other necessaries for that voyage. Likewise they told me, that with Stephan the Negro were gone above 300 men to beare him company, and to carry victuals after him, and that in like sort many of them would go with me to serve me, because they hoped to returne home rich. I thanked them, and willed them to set things in order with speede, and so I rested there three dayes, wherein I alwayes informed my selfe of Cevola, and of as many other things as I could learne, and called many Indians unto mee, and examined them severally, and all of them agreed in one tale, and told me of the great multitude of people, and of the order of the streetes, of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the strength of the gates, agreeing altogether with that which the rest before had told me. After three dayes many assembled themselves to go with me, 30 of the principal of whom I tooke, being very well appavelled, and with chaines of turqueses, which some of them weare five or sixe times double, and other people to cary things necessary for them and me, and so set forward on my voyage.

*Fiftene daies  
journey from  
the end of the  
desert to  
Cevola or  
Civola.*

## FRIAR MARCO DE NIÇA

A.D.

1539.

*The second de-  
sert entred the  
9. of May.*

Thus I entred into the second desert on the 9 of May, and travelled the first day by a very broad and beaten way, & we came to diner unto a water, where the Indians had made provision for me: and at night we came to another water, where I found a house which they had fully made up for me, and another house stood made where Stephan lodged when he passed that way, and many old cottages and many signes of fire which the people had made that travelled to Cevola by this way. In this sort I travelled 12 dayes journey being alway well provided of victuals, of wild beasts, Hares, and Partridges of the same colour and tast with those of Spaine although they are not so big, for they be somewhat lesse.

*Twelve dayes  
journey.*

Here met us an Indian the sonne of one of the chiefe men that accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, having his face and body all covered with sweat, and shewing exceeding sadnesse in his countenance; and he told mee that a dayes journey before Stephan came to Cevola he sent his great Mace made of a gourd by his messengers, as he was alwayes woont to send them before him, that hee might knowe in what sort hee came unto them, which gourd had a string of belles upon it, and two feathers one white and another red, in token that he demanded safe conduct, and that he came peaceably. And when they came to Cevola before the Magistrate, which the Lord of the citie had placed there for his Lieutenant, they delivered him the sayde great gourd, who tooke the same in his hands, and after he had spyed the belles, in a great rage and fury hee cast it to the ground, and willed the messengers to get them packing with speed, for he knew well ynough what people they were, and that they should will them in no case to enter into the citie, for if they did hee would put them all to death. The messengers returned and tolde Stephan how things had passed, who answered them, that it made no great matter, and would needes proceed on his voyage till he came to

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the citie of Cevola : where he found men that would not let him enter into the towne, but shut him into a great house which stooode without the citie, and straightway tooke all things from him which hee caried to truck and barter with them, and certaine turqueses, and other things which he had received of the Indians by the way, and they kept him there all that night without giving him meate or drinke, and the next day in the morning this Indian was a thirst, and went out of the house to drinke at a river that was neere at hand, and within a little while after he saw Stephan running away, and the people followed him, and slew certaine of the Indians which went in his company. And when this Indian saw these things, he hid himselfe on the banks of the river, and afterward crossed the high way of the desert. The Indians that went with me hearing these newes began incontinently to lament, and I thought these heavie and bad newes would cost mee my life, neither did I feare so much the losse of mine owne life, as that I should not bee able to returne to give information of the greatnesse of that Countrey, where our Lord God might be glorified : and streightway I cut the cords of my budgets which I carried with me full of merchandise for traffique, which I would not doe till then, nor give any thing to any man, and began to divide all that I carried with mee among the principall men, willing them not to be afraid, but to goe forward with me, and so they did. And going on our way, within a dayes journey of Cevola wee met two other Indians of those which went with Stephan, which were bloody and wounded in many places : and assoone as they came to us, they which were with mee began to make great lamentation. These wounded Indians I asked for Stephan, and they agreeing in all poynts with the first Indian sayd, that after they had put him into the foresayd great house without giving him meat or drinke all that day and all that night, they tooke from Stephan all the things which hee carried with him. The next day when



the Sunne was a lance high, Stephan went out of the house, and some of the chiefe men with him, and suddenly came store of people from the citie, whom assoone as hee sawe he began to run away and we likewise, and foorthwith they shot at us and wounded us, and certaine dead men fell upon us, and so we lay till night and durst not stirre, and we heard great rumours in the citie, and saw many men and women keeping watch and ward upon the walles thereof, and after this we could not see Stephan any more, and wee thinke they have shot him to death, as they have done all the rest which went with him, so that none are escaped but we onely.

## Chap. 5.

The situation and greatnesse of the Citie of Cevola, and how frier Marcus tooke possession thereof and of other provinces, calling the same. The new kingdome of S. Francis, and how after his departure from thence being preserved by God in so dangerous a voyage, he arrived at Compostella in Nueva Galicia.

**H**AVING considered the former report of the Indians, and the evill meanes which I had to prosecute my voyage as I desired, I thought it not good wilfully to loose my life as Stephan did: and so I told them, that God would punish those of Cevola, and that the Viceroy when he should understand what had happened, would send many Christians to chastise them: but they would not beleeve me, for they sayde that no man was able to withstand the power of Cevola. And herewithall I left them, and went aside two or three stones cast, and when I returned I found an Indian of mine which I had brought from Mexico called Marcus, who wept and sayde unto me: Father, these men have consulted to kill us, for they say, that through your and Stephans meanes their fathers are slaine, and that neither man nor woman of them shall remaine unslaine.

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Then againe I devided among them certaine other things which I had, to appease them, whereupon they were somewhat pacified, albeit they still shewed great griefe for the people which were slaine. I requested some of them to goe to Cevola, to see if any other Indian were escaped, with intent that they might learne some newes of Stephan; which I could not obtaine at their handes. When I saw this, I sayd unto them, that I purposed to see the citie of Cevola, whatsoever came of it. They sayde that none of them would goe with me. At the last when they sawe mee resolute, two of the chiefe of them sayde they would goe with me; with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Cevola, which is situate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh shew to bee a faire citie, and is better seated then any that I have seene in these partes. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone with divers stories, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could discerne from a mountaine, whither I ascended to viewe the citie. The people are somewhat white, they weare apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they have Emralds and other jewels, although they esteeme none so much as turqueses, wherewith they adorne the walles of the porches of their houses, and their apparell and vessels, and they use them in stead of money through all the Countrey. Their apparell is of cotton and of oxen hides, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparell. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other mettall, whereof there is greater use and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the same for turqueses in the province of the Pintados, where there are sayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdomes I could not obtaine so particular instruction. Divers times I was tempted to goe thither, because I knewe I could but hazard my life, and that I had offered unto God the first day that I began my journey: in the ende I began to bee afraid, considering in what danger I

*Most rich  
mines of gold  
and silver in  
the province of  
the Pintados.*

should put my selfe, and that if I should dye, the knowledge of this Countrey should be lost, which in my judgement is the greatest and the best that hitherto hath beene discovered : and when I tolde the chief men, what a goodly citie Cevola seemed unto mee, they answered me that it was the least of the seven cities, and that Totontec is the greatest and best of them all, because it hath so many houses and people, that there is no ende of them. Having seene the disposition and situation of the place, I thought good to name that Countrey El Nuevo reyno de san Francisco : in which place I made a great heape of stones by the helpe of the Indians, and on the toppe thereof I set up a small slender crosse because I wanted meanes to make a greater, and sayd that I set up that crosse and heape in the name of the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoca Viceroy and Captaine generall of Nueva Espanna, for the Emperour our Lord, in token of possession, according to mine instruction. Which possession I sayd that I tooke in that place of all the seven cities, & of the kingdomes of Totontec, of Acus, and of Marata. Thus I returned with much more feare then victuals, and went untill I found the people which I had left behind mee, with all the speede that I could make, whome I overtooke in two dayes travell, and went in their company till I had passed the desert, where I was not made so much of as before : for both men and women made great lamentation for the people which were slaine at Cevola, and with feare I hastened from the people of this valley, and travelled tenne leagues the first day, and so I went daily eight or ten leagues, without staying untill I had passed the second desert. And though I were in feare, yet I determind to go to the great plaine, wherof I said before, that I had information, being situate at the foote of the mountaines, and in that place I understoode, that this plaine is inhabited for many dayes journey toward the East, but I durst not enter into it, considering, that if hereafter

[III. 373.]  
*Totontec the greatest and most populous province.*

*He returneth.*

*A desert.*

*A valley.*

*A second desert.*

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wee shoulde inhabite this other Countrey of the seven cities, and the kingdomes before mentioned, that then I might better discover the same, without putting my selfe in hazard, and leave it for this time, that I might give relation of the things which I had now seene. At the entrance of this plaine I sawe but seven Townes onely of a reasonable bignesse, which were a farre off in a lowe valley beeing very greene and a most fruitfull soyle, out of which ranne many Rivers. I was informed that there was much golde in this valley, and that the inhabitants worke it into vessels and thinne plates, wherewith they strike and take off their sweat, and that they are people that will not suffer those of the other side of the plaine to traffique with them, and they could not tell me the cause thereof. Here I set up two crosses, and tooke possession of the plaine and valley in like sort and order, as I did at other places before mentioned. And from thence I returned on my voyage with as much haste as I coulde make, untill I came to the citie of Saint Michael in the province of Culiacan, thinking there to have found Francis Vazquez de Coronado governour of Nueva Galicia, and finding him not there, I proceeded on my journey till I came to the Citie of Compostella, where I found him. I write not here many other particularities, because they are impertinent to this matter: I only report that which I have seene, and which was told me concerning the Countreys through which I travelled, and of those which I had information of.

*Compostella in  
21. degrees of  
latitude.*

The relation of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Captaine generall of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperours majestie to the Countrey of Cibola newly discovered, which he sent to Don Antonio de Mendoça Vice-roy of Mexico, of such things as happened in his voyage from the 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from Culiacan forward, and of such things as hee found in the Countrey which he passed.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vazquez departeth with his armie from Culiacan, and after divers troubles in his voyage, arriveth at the valley of the people called Los Caracones, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee sendeth to the valley called The valley of the Lord: he is informed of the greatnesse of the valley of the people called Caracones, and of the nature of those people, and of certaine Islands lying along that coast.



He 22. of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the province of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned unto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterprise: because the troubles have bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterprise, & if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote unto your Lordship, I was fourescore dayes in travailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs,

[III. 374.]  
*This was but  
200. leagues  
from Mexico.*

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and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with us, that was above a pound weight: and all this notwithstanding, and though wee put our selves to such a small proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that possibly wee could take, wee were driven to our shifts. And no marvayle, because the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Harquebuses downe the mountaines and hilles, and in the passage of Rivers, the greater part of our corne was spoyled. And because I send your Lordship our voyage drawn in a Mappe, I will speake no more thereof in this my letter.

*Frier Marcus  
of Niza.*

Thirtie leagues before wee arrived at the place which the father provincially tolde us so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horses, giving him order to make but one dayes journey of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arrivall: who travailed foure dayes journey through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, saving that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee understoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, utterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write unto your Lordship thereof.

It grieved the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceived I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that wee should fixe our cogitation upon those seven Cities, and other provinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprise: and

with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passable but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattell which your Lordship sent us for the provision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voyage through the roughnesse of the rockes. The lambes and sheepe lost their hooves in the way: and of those which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the River of Lachimi, because they could not keepe company with us, and because they might come softly after us, foure men on horsebacke remained with them which are nowe come unto us, and have brought us not past foure and twentie lambes, and foure sheepe, for all the rest were dead with travailing through that rough passage, although they travailed but two leagues a day, and rested themselves every day.

*The river of  
Lachimi.*

At length I arrived at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan untill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, save onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leave them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more store of people then in any other part of the Countrey which wee had passed, and great store of tillage. But I understood that there was store thereof in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not disturbe with force, but sent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure some, and to give the sayde Maiz to the

*The valley of  
the people  
called Caracones.*

*Valle del  
Sennor.*

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Indians our friendes which wee brought with us, and to some others that had lost their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals so farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleased God that wee gate some small quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releived and some Spanyards.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, some tenne or twelve of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being overcharged with great burdens, and having but little meate, they could not endure the travaile. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here; which was no small want unto us for the performance of our enterprise. They tolde me that this valley of the Caracones is five dayes journey from the Westernne Sea. I sent for the Indians of the Sea coast to understand their estate, and while I stayed for them the horses rested: and I stayed there foure dayes, in which space the Indians of the Sea coast came unto mee: which told mee, that two dayes sayling from their coast of the Sea, there were seven or eight Islands right over against them, well inhabited with people, but badly furnished with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had seene a Shippe passe by not farre from the shore: which I wote not what to thinke whither it were one of those that went to discover the Countrey, or else a Ship of the Portugals.

*The valley de los Caracones distant five dayes journey from the Westernne sea.*

[III. 375.]  
*Seven or eight Isles, which are the Isles of California.*

*A ship seene on the sea coast.*



## Chap. 2.

They come to Chichilticale: after they had rested themselves two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to travaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleasant, and a river called Rio del Lino, they fight with the Indians being assaulted by them, and with victorie vanquishing their citie, they relieved themselves of their pinching hunger.

**I** Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could judge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arrived at Chichilticale I found my selfe tenne dayes journey from the Sea: and the father provinciall sayd that it was onely but five leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceived great grieffe and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found every thing contrary to the information which he had given your Lordship.

The Indians of Chichilticale say, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they goe traversing, and are tenne dayes journey in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians give me should be true. The sea returneth toward the West right over against the Caracones the space of tenne or twelve leagues. Where I found that your Lordships ships were seene, which went to discover the haven of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Niça sayd to bee in five and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what grieffe of mind I have sustained: because I am in doubt that some mishappe is fallen unto them: and if they follow the coast, as they sayde they would, as long as their victuals last which they carry with them, whereof I left them store in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into some misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they have made some good discoverie, and in this respect their long staying out may be pardoned.

*Chichilticale  
ten dayes journey  
from the  
sea.*

*This Chichil-  
ticale is indeede  
but in 28. deg.*

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I rested my selfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to have done well I should have stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred : but because wee wanted victuals, wee had no leasure to rest any longer : I entred the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Johns eve, and to refresh our former travailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worsere way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed alreadie : and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith : so that in this last desert wee lost more horses then wee had lost before : and some of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa ; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certayne herbes for lacke of victuals. From this place I sent before mee one dayes journey the master of the felde Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with fifteene horses to discover the Countrey, and prepare our way : wherein hee did like himselfe, and according to the confidence which your Lordship reposed in him. And well I wote he fayled not to do his part : for as I have enformed your Lordship, it is most wicked way, at least thirtie leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountaines.

*The 23. of  
June.*

*Don Garcia  
Lopez de Car-  
denas.*

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh rivers, and grasse like that of Castile, and specially of that sort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from those of Spayne in the leafe : and there was Flaxe, but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne river which therefore wee called El Rio del Lino, that is say, the river of Flaxe : wee found no Indians at all for a dayes travaile, but afterward foure Indians came out unto us in peaceable maner, saying that they were sent even to that desert place to signifie unto us that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meete us on the way with victuals : and the master of the felde gave them a crosse, willing them to signifie to those of their citie that they should not feare, and they should

*A godly and  
fruitfull coun-  
trety found.*

*Rio del Lino.*

## VASQUEZ DE CORONADO

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rather let the people stay in their houses, because I came onely in the name of his majestie to defend and ayd them.

And this done, Fernando Alvarado returned to advertise mee, that certaine Indians were come unto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them stayed for my comming with the master of the fielde. Whereupon I went unto them and gave them beades and certaine short clokes, willing them to returne unto their citie, and bid them to stay quiet in their houses, and feare nothing. And this done I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keepe against us, and that hee should take and defend it untill the next day that I shoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where wee might have sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they assaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the master of the fielde was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreate sounded on a certaine small trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spanyards. The very same night the master of the fielde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day longer without foode, wee should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among us all we had not two bushels of corne: wherefore it behooved mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and their made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our lives could have done, to give their fellows understanding, how wee marched and where we arrived.

Assoone as I came within sight of this citie of Granada, I sent Don Garcias Lopez Campe-master, frier Daniel,

[III. 376.]

*A wise forecast.*

*The treason of the Indians.*

*Great forecast and diligence of the Campe-master.*

*They arrive at the citie of Cibola.*

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## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine horsemen, to seeke the Indians and to advertise them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his majestie had given us in charge: which message was delivered to the inhabitants of that cuntry by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy us without any difficultie; and they strooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

*The arrogancie of the people of Cibola.*

*Commandement to use gentlenesse to the Savages.*

In the meane space I arrived with all the rest of the horsemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at us with their arrowes: and because I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set upon them, in any wise to provoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to set upon so fewe people. On the other side the Indians perceiving that wee stirred not, tooke great stomacke and courage unto them: insomuch that they came hard to our horses heeles to shoote at us with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set upon them without any danger: for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had bene if I would have suffered them to have bene pursued.

*There were 800 men with- in the towne. Gomara, Hist. gen. cap. 213.*

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that were without, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had so great neede, I assembled my people, and divided them as I thought best to assault

the citie, and I compassed it about: and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay, my selfe with certaine of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selves on foote, and commaunded that the crossebowes and harquebusiers shoulde give the assault, and shoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt us, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they tolde me there was a scaling ladder set up, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen suddenly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all: for they came thither so weake and feeble, that scarcely they coulde stand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing us all the mischief they could: so that twice they stroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neverthesse my companie tooke mee up with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding over mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yeluded themselves unto us, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found therein, as our necessitie [III. 377.] required. The Master of the fiede, and Don Pedro de Tovar, and Fernando de Alvarado, and Paul de Melgosa Captaines of the footemen escaped with certaine knocks with stones: though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arme with the shot of an arrowe, and one Torres a townesman of Panuco was shot into the face with another, and two footemen more had two small woundes with arrowes. And because my armour was gilded and glittering, they

*They defend  
the wals with  
stones like those  
of Hochelaga.*

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## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded then the rest, not that I did more then they, or put my selfe forwarder then the rest, for all these Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselves as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recovered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones. Likewise in the skirmish which wee had in the fieldes, two or three other souldiers were hurt, and three horses slaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliaga and the third of Don Alonso Manrique, and seven or eight other horses were wounded; but both the men and horses are whole and sound.

### Chap. 3.

Of the situation and state of the seven cities called the Kingdome of Cibola, and of the customes and qualities of those people, and of the beasts which are found there.

**I**T remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seven cities, and of the kingdomes and provinces whereof the Father provinciall made report unto your Lordship. And to bee briefe, I can assure your honour, he sayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving onely the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor bricke, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or foure or five lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers in stead of staires, and certaine cellers under the ground very good and paved, which are made for winter, they are in maner like stoves: and the lathers which they have for their houses are all in a maner mooveable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be. The seven cities are seven small townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure leagues together, and they

*Excellent  
houses foure or  
five loftes high.*

## VASQUEZ DE CORONADO

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are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and every one of them have their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I have named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like unto it, as also in remembrance of your lordship. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may bee some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together five hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the seven, & it is somewhat bigger then this, and another of the same bignesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted unto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. The people of this towne seeme unto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet they seeme not to bee such as they should bee, of that judgement and wit to builde these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they goe all naked, except their privie partes which are covered: and they have painted mantles like those which I send unto your lordship. They have no cotton wooll growing, because the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantels thereof as your honour may see by the shewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houses certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and condicioned: And they have Turqueses I thinke good quantitie, which with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conveyed away before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth under fifteene yeeres olde, nor no olde folkes above sixtie, saving two or three olde folkes, who stayed behinde to governe all the rest of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emrals, and certaine small stones broken which are in colour some-

*Cibola is a province containing seven townes.*

*Five hundred houses in Granada.*

*A painter necessary in a new discovery.*

*Painted mantles.*

*Store of Turqueses.*

*Emrals.*

*Granates.  
Christall.*

*Excellent and  
very great  
Guinie cocks.*

what like Granates very bad, and other stones of Christall, which I gave one of my servaunts to lay up to send them to your lordship, and hee hath lost them as hee telleth me. Wee found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe. The Indians tell mee in all these seven cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them onely for their feathers. I beleeve them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then those of Mexico. The season which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of Mexico: for sometime it is hotte, and sometime it raineth: but hitherto I never sawe it raine, but once there fell a little showre with winde, as they are wont to fall in Spaine.

[III. 378.]

*Gomara hist.  
gen. Cap. 213.  
sayth that the  
colde is by rea-  
son of the high  
mountaines.*

*A wood of  
Cedars.  
Excellent  
grasse.*

*Deere, hares,  
and conies.*

The snow and cold are wont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely so to bee, both in respect to the maner of the Countrey, and by the fashion of their houses, and their furies and other things which this people have to defend them from colde. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no side mountainous: albeit there are some hillie and bad passages. There are small store of Foules: the cause whereof is the colde, and because the mountaines are not neere. Here is no great store of wood, because they have wood for their fuell sufficient foure leagues off from a wood of small Cedars. There is most excellent grasse within a quarter of a league hence, for our horses as well to feede them in pasture, as to mowe and make hay, whereof wee stode in great neede, because our horses came hither so weake and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey have, is Maiz, whereof they have great store, and also small white Pease: and Venison, which by all likelyhood they feede upon, (though they say no) for wee found many skinned Deere, of Hares, and Conies. They eate the best cakes that ever I sawe, and every body generally eateth of them. They have the finest order and way to grinde that wee ever sawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey



will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They have most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes journey from hence. They have no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Westerne Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee nearest: But in reason they should seeme to bee neerest to the Westerne Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see howe broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkepickes, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tailes, I have seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse. Here are also wilde goates whose heads likewise I have seene, and the pawes of Beares, and the skins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stagges: and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger then that beast which your lordship bestowed upon me, which once belonged to John Melaz. They travell eight dayes journey unto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine skinnes well dressed, and they dresse them and paint them where they kill their Oxen, for so they say themselves.

*Very good  
salte.  
The Westerne  
sea within  
150. leagues  
from Cibola.  
Beares,  
Tigers, Lions,  
Porkepickes,  
mightie sheep,  
wilde goates.  
Wilde Bores.  
Deere.  
Ounces.  
Stagges.  
They travaile  
8. dayes jour-  
ney toward  
the North sea.  
Oxe hides  
dressed and  
painted very  
cunningly.*

Chap. 4.

Of the state and qualities of the kingdomes of Totontec, Marata, and Acus, quite contrary to the relation of Frier Marcus. The conference which they have with the Indians of the citie of Granada which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres past foreseene the coming of the Christians into their countrey. The relation which they have of other seven cities, whereof Tucano is the principall, and how he sent to discover them. A present of divers things had in these countreys sent unto the Viceroy Mendoça by Vasques de Coronado.

**T**HE kingdome of Totontec so much extolled by the Father provinciall, which sayde that there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are five or sixe houses; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruined by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be found, neither have the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. And I say that this is a towne. For Acus with an aspiration nor without, is no word of the countrey. And because I gesse that they would derive Acucu of Acus, I say that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of Acus is converted. Beyond this towne they say there are other small townes which are neere to a river which I have seene and have had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write unto your lordship: neverthelesse I must say the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordship from Culiacan, I am nowe to advertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would have you bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were heere, I could have done no more in the service of his Majestie and of your

*Totontec is an hotte lake. Tadouac seemeth because it is a lake, and endeth in ac to have some affinitie herewith.*

*Other townes neere a river.*

lordshippe, then I have done in comming hither whither you have sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals upon our shoulders and upon our horses three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote travailling over hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart unto the death, if it please his Majestie and your lordship that it shall be so.

Three dayes after this citie was taken, certaine Indians [III. 379.] of these people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueses and badde mantles, and I received them in his Majesties name with all the good speaches that I could devise, certifying them of the purpose of my comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Majestie, and by the commaundement of your Lordship, that they and all the rest of the people of this province should become Christians, and should knowe the true God for their Lorde, and receive his Majestie for their King, and earthly Sovereigne: And herewithall they returned to their houses, and suddenly the next day they set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hilles, leaving their townes as it were abandoned, wherein remained very fewe of them. When I sawe this, within eight or tenne dayes after being recovered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I sayde to bee greater then this where I am, and found there some fewe of them, to whom I sayde that they should not bee afrajd, and that they should call their governour unto mee: howbeit, forasmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any governour: for I sawe not there any chiefe house, whereby any preeminence of one over another might bee gathered. After this an olde man came, which sayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reasoned that small while that hee stayed with mee, and hee sayd that within three dayes after, hee and the rest of the chiefe of that towne would come and visite mee, and give order what course should

*Turqueses.  
Mantles.*

*The Indians  
flee to the hills  
with their  
wives, children  
and goods.*

*A citie greater  
then Granada.*

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1540.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine mantles and some Turqueses. I advised them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne with their wives and children to their houses, and to become Christians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperours majestie for their King and lorde. And even to this present they keepe in those strong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they have. I commaunded them that they should paint mee out a cloth of all the beastes which they knowe in their country: And such badde painters as they are, foorthwith they painted mee two clothes, one of their beastes, another of their birdes and fishes. They say that they will bring their children, that our religious men may instruct them, and that they desire to knowe our lawe: And they assure us, that above fiftie yeeres past it was prophecied among them, that a certaine people like us should come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they should subdue all that country.

*Two tables painted by the Indians, one of beastes another of birdes and fishes.*

*An old prophetic that those parts should be subdued by Christians.*

*They worship the water.*

*Seven cities farre from Granada.*

*Tucano.*

That which these Indians worship as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they say it causeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other reason, but that their ancestors did so. I have sought by all meanes possible to learne of the inhabitants of these townes, whether they have any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities: And they tell mee of seven cities which are farre distant from this place, which are like unto these, though they have not houses like unto these, but they are of earth, and small: and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of these townes whereof they have knowledge, they say is called Tucano: and they gave mee no perfect knowledge of the rest. And I thinke they doe not tell me the trueth, imagining that of necessitie I must speedily depart from them, and returne home. But herein they shall soone finde themselves deceived. I sent Don Pedro de Tovar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horsemen to see this towne: And I would not

have dispatched this packet unto your lordship, untill I had knowen what this towne was, if I had thought that within twelve or fifteene dayes I might have had newes from him: for hee will stay in this journey thirtie dayes at least. And having examined that the knowledge hereof is of small importance, and that the colde and the waters approach: I thought it my duety to doe according as your lordship gave mee charge in your instructions, which is, that immediatly upon mine arrivall here, I should signifie so much unto your lordship, and so I doe, sending withall the bare relation of that which I have seene. I have determined to send round about the cuntry from hence to have knowledge of all things, and rather to suffer all extremitie, then to leave this enterprise to serve his majestie, if I may find any thing wherein I may performe it, and not to omit any diligence therein, untill your lordship send mee order what I shall doe. Wee have great want of pasture: and your lordship also shal understand, that among all those which are here, there is not one pound of raisins, nor suger, nor oyle, nor any wine, save only one pinte which is saved to say Masse: for all is spent & spilt by the way. Now your lordship may provide us what you thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to send us cattell, your lordship must understand that they will bee a sommer in comming unto us: for they will not be able to come unto us any sooner. I would have sent your lordshippe with this dispatch many musters of things which are in this cuntry: but the way is so long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe so: neverthesse I send you twelve small mantles, such as the people of the cuntry are woont to weare, and a certaine garment also, which seemeth unto me to bee well made: I kept the same, because it seemed to mee to bee excellent well wrought, because I beleeve that no man ever sawe any needle worke in these Indies, except it were since the Spaniards inhabited the same. I send your Lordshippe also two clothes painted with the beasts of this cuntry, although as I have sayde, the picture bee

*The Spaniards victualling in discoveries.*

[III. 380.]  
*A garment excellently imbroidered with needle worke.*

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*An oxhide.  
Certaine Tur-  
queses.*

very rudely done, because the painter spent but one day in drawing of the same. I have seene other pictures on the walles of the houses of this citie with farre better proportion, and better made. I send your honour one Oxe-hide, certaine Turqueses, and two earerings of the same, and fifteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets set with these Turqueses, and two small baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians have great store. I send your lordship also two rolles which the women in these parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee use to doe in Spaine. And one of these Indian women with one of these rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the same with her hande up a lather. I send you also a muster of the weapons wherewith these people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as these conquerours say, have never beene seene. I can say nothing unto your lordshippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them so carefully from us, that hitherto I have not seene any of them, saving onely two olde women, and these had two long robes downe to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton. I requested the Indians to give me one of these robes, which they ware, to send your honour the same, seeing they would not shewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which are these, which I send you as it were painted: they have two pendants like the women of Spaine, which hang somewhat over their shoulders. The death of the Negro is most certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, because the Indians of Chichilticale tolde them that hee was a wicked villaine, and not like unto the Christians: because the Christians kill no women: and hee killed women; and also he touched their women, which the Indians love more then themselves; therefore

*The death of  
Stephan the  
Negro.*

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they determined to kill him: But they did it not after such sort as was reported, for they killed none of the rest of those that came with him: neither slewe they the young lad which was with him of the province of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in safe custodie untill nowe. And when I sought to have him, they excused themselves two or three dayes to give him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and sometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in conclusion, when I tolde them that I should bee very angry if they did not give him mee, they gave him unto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well speake their language, yet hee understandeth the same very well. In this place there is found some quantitie of golde and silver, which those which are skilfull in minerall matters esteeme to be very good. To this houre I could never learne of these people from whence they have it: And I see they refuse to tell mee the trueth in all things, imagining, as I have sayde, that in short time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they shall no longer excuse themselves. I beseech your lordship to certifie his Majestie of the successe of this voyage. For seeing wee have no more then that which is aforesayd, and untill such time as it please God that wee finde that which wee desire, I meane not to write my selfe. Our Lorde God keepe and preserve your Excellencie.

*Acucu.*

*Gold and silver found in Cibola.*

From the province of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of August 1540. Francis Vasques de Coronado kisseth the hands of your Excellencie.

The rest of this voyage to Acuco, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira, and unto the Western Ocean, is thus written in the generall historie of the West Indies by Francis Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 214.

**B**Ecause they would not returne to Mexico without doing something, nor with emptie hands, they agreed to passe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to

*Acuco.* Acuco a towne upon an exceeding strong hill. And from thence Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas with his companie of horsemen went unto the Sea: and Francis Vasques went to Tiguex, which standeth on the banke of a great river. There they had newes of Axa and Quivira. There they sayde was a King whose name was Tatarrax, with a long beard, horie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed upon a payre of beades, which worshipped a Crosse of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heaven. This newes did greatly rejoyce and cheere up the armie: although some thought it to bee false, and the report of the Friars. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in so rich a cuntry as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians ranne away, and in the morning they found thirtie horses dead, which put the armie in feare. In their journey they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they assaulted, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded fiftie horses, and the inhabitants drewe into their towne Francis de Ovando wounded or dead, to eate and sacrifice him as they thought, or peradventure to see more perfectly, what maner of men the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any signe of sacrificing men. Our people layde siege unto the towne, but could not take it in more then five and fortie dayes space. The townesmen that were besieged, dranke snowe in stead of water: and seeing themselves forlorne they made a fire, wherein they cast their mantles, feathers, Turqueses and precious things, that those strangers might not enjoy them. They issued out in a squadron with their women and children in the middest, to make way by force, and to save themselves, but fewe escaped the edge of our swordes and the horses, and a certaine river which was nere the towne. Seven Spaniards were slaine in this conflict, and fourescore were wounded, and many horses: whereby a man may see of what force resolution is in necessitie.

*The Westerne  
sea discovered.  
Tiguex.*

*Axa and  
Quivira.*

[III. 381.]

*A towne  
burnt.  
Another towne  
assaulted.*

*Mantles.  
Turqueses.  
Feathers.  
Precious  
things.*



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Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themselves, untill our men set fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tigues they went in foure dayes journey to Cicuic, which is a small towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of oxen wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourescore, which sufficed the armie with flesh. From Cicuic they went to Quivira, which after their accompt, is almost three hundred leagues distant, through mighty plaines, and sandie heathes so smooth, and wearisome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of oxen-dung for want of stones and trees, that they might not lose themselves at their returne: for three horses were lost on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his companie on hunting. All that way & plaines are as full of crookebacked oxen, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of sheepe: but there is no people but such as keepe those cattell. They were a great succour for the hunger and want of bread which our people stode in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great showre of haile, as bigge as Orenge, which caused many teares, weakenesse, and vowes. At length they came to Quivira and found Tatarax, whome they sought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a jewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards seeing the false report of so famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without seeing either crosse or shewe of Christianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vasquez fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which some tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, because hee peopled not the countrey.

*Melons.  
Cotton.  
Large mantles.  
Cicuic foure  
dayes journey  
from Tigues.*

*Quivira.*

*Heapes of oxen  
dung made for  
markes to know  
the way.*

*The Spaniards  
returne to Ti-  
guex, and so to  
Mexico 1542.  
The Spaniards  
would have in-  
habited the  
countrey.*

Quivira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much grasse,

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*Ships seene on  
the sea coast  
of Quivira,  
which were  
30. dayes in  
sayling  
thither.*

plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton : and they apparell themselves with oxehides and deeresseskinnes. They sawe shippes on the sea coast, which bare Alcatrazes or Pellicanes of golde and silver in their prows, and were laden with marchandises, and they thought them to be of Cathaya, and China, because they shewed our men by signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes.

Frier John de Padilla stayed behinde in Tigues, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quivira, with some dozen Indians of Mechuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis : Hee tooke with him horses and mules with provision. Hee tooke sheepe and hennes of Castile, and ornaments to say Masse withall. The people of Quivira slewe the Friers, and the Portugall escaped with certaine Indians of Mechuan. Who albeit at that time he escaped death, yet could hee not free himselfe out of captivitie : for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captive, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee travailed, hee blessed the people with a crosse, whereunto they offered much, and wheresoever hee came, they gave him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas, and arrived at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee ware his haire very long, and his beard tyed up in a lace, and reported strange things of the lands, rivers and mountaines that he had passed.

*Andrew de  
Campo tra-  
vailed from  
Quivira to  
Panuco.*

It grieved Don Antonio de Mendoça very much that the army returned home : for hee had spent above threescore thousand pesos of golde in the enterprize, and ought a great part thereof still. Many sought to have dwelt there ; but Francis Vasquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not consent, saying, that they could not maintaine nor defend themselves in so poore a countrey, and so farre from succour. They travailed above nine hundred leagues in this countrey.

*The cause why  
the Spaniards  
peopled not in  
Cibola.*

[III. 382.]

The foresayd Francis Lopez de Gomara in his generall historie of the West Indies, Chap. 215. writeth in maner following of certaine great and strange beasts never seene nor heard of in our knowen world of Asia, Europe, and Africa : which somewhat resembling our oxen, having high bunches on their backes like those on the backes of Camels, are therefore called by him Vacas corcobados, that is to say, Crooke-backed oxen, being very deformed & terrible in shewe, and fierce by nature : which notwithstanding for foode, apparell, and other necessarie uses, are most serviceable and beneficiall to the inhabitants of those countreys. He reported also in the same chapter of certaine strange sheepe as bigge as horses, and of dogs which use to carie burthens of 50. pound weight upon their backes.

**A**Ll the way betweene Cicuic and Quivira is a most plaine soyle, without trees and stones, and hath but fewe and small townes. The men clothe and shooe themselves with lether ; and the women which are esteemed for their long lockes, cover their heads and secrets with the same. They have no bread of any kinde of graine, as they say : which I account a very great matter. Their chiefest foode is flesh, and that oftentimes they eate rawe, either of custome or for lacke of wood. They eate the fatte as they take it out of the Oxe, and drinke the blood hotte, and die not therewithall, though the ancient writers say that it killeth, as Empedocles and others affirmed, they drinke it also colde dissolved in water. They seeth not the flesh for lacke of pots, but rost it, or to say more properly, warme it at a fire of Oxe-dung : when they eate, they chawe their meate but little, and raven up much, and holding the flesh with their teeth, they cut it with rasors of stone, which seemeth to be great bestialitie : but such is their maner of living and fashion. They goe together in companies, and moove from one place to

*These are much like the people that Captain Frobisher brought into England from Meta Incognita.*

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another, as the wilde Moores of Barbarie called Alarbes doe, following the seasons and the pasture after their Oxen.

*The description of the oxen of Quivira.*

These Oxen are of the bignesse and colour of our Bulles, but their hornes are not so great. They have a great bunch upon their fore shoulders, and more haire on their fore part then on their hinder part: and it is like wooll. They have as it were an horse-mane upon their backe bone, and much haire and very long from the knees downward. They have great tuffes of haire hanging downe their foreheads, and it seemeth that they have beardes, because of the great store of haire hanging downe at their chinnes and throates. The males have very long tailes, and a great knobbe or flocke at the end: so that in some respect they resemble the Lion, and in some other the Camell. They push with their hornes, they runne, they overtake and kill an horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foule and fierce beast of countenance and forme of bodie. The horses fledde from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had never seene them. Their masters have no other riches nor substance: of them they eat, they drinke, they apparel, they shooe themselves: and of their hides they make many things, as houses, shooes, apparell and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their sinewes and haire, threed: of their hornes, mawes, and bladders, vessels: of their dung, fire: and of their calves-skinnes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee short, they make so many things of them as they have neede of, or as many as suffice them in the use of this life.

*Sheepe as big as horses.*

There are also in this countrey other beastes as big as horses, which because they have hornes and fine wool, they cal them sheepe, and they say that every horne of theirs weigheth is fiftie pound weight.

*Mightie dogs carrying 50. pound weight.*

There are also great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carrie fiftie pound weight in sakes when they

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goe on hunting, or when they remoove from place to place with their flockes and heards.

El Viaje que Hizo Antonio de Espejo en el [III. 383.]  
anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con sus com-  
panneros descubrieron una tierra en que  
hallaron quinze Provincias todas llenas de  
pueblos, y de casas de quatro y cinco altos,  
a quien pusieron por nombre El Nuevo  
Mexico, por parecerse en muchas cosas al  
viejo. Esta à la parte del norte, y se cree  
que por ella, y por poblado, se puede venir  
hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman del  
Labrador.

Del Nuevo Mexico, y de su descubrimiento, y lo que del  
se sabe.



A dixen en el titulo del libro, que el anno  
de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, se  
avian descubierto quinze Provincias,  
a quien los inventores llamaron El nuevo  
Mexico en la tierra firme de Nueva  
España, y prometi de dar noticia del  
descubrimiento, como lo hare con la  
mayor brevedad que sea possible, porque si  
uviera de poner diffusamente todo lo que  
vieron y supieron, fuera menester hazer  
dello nueva historia. La substancia dello  
es, que el anno de mil y quinientos y  
ochenta y uno, teniendo noticia un Religioso  
de la Orden de sant Francisco, que se  
llamava fray Augustin Ruyz, que morava  
en el valle de sant Bartholome, por relation  
de ciertos Indios. Conchos que se comunicavan  
con otros sus convezinos llamados Passaguates:  
que hazia la parte del Norte (caminando  
siempre por tierra) avia ciertas poblaciones  
grandes, y nunca sabidas de nuestros  
Españoles, ni descubiertas, con zelo de  
caridad, y de salvacion de las almas, pidio  
licencia al

*Nuevo  
Mexico.*

*Augustin  
Ruyz.*

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*Tiguas.*

Conde de Corunna Virey de la dicha Nueva Espanna, y a sus mayores, para yr a ellas, a procurar aprender su lengua, y sabida, bautizarlos, y predicarles el santo Evangelio. Alcançada la licentia de los sobredichos, tomando otros dos companneros de su mesma Orden, se partio con ocho soldados, que de voluntad le quisieron acompañar, a poner en execution su Christiano y zeloso intento. Los quales a pocos dias de camino toparon con una Provincia, que se llamava de los Tiguas, distante de las minas de sancta Barbola (de donde començaron la jornada) dozientas y cinquenta leguas hazia el Norte, en la qual por cierta ocasion los naturales le mataron al dicho padre uno de sus dos companneros. El qual, los soldados que yvan con el, viendo, y sintiendo el successo, y temiendo que del se podria seguir otro mayor danno, acordaron de comun consentimiento de bolverse a las minas de donde avian salido, con consideracion de que la gente que yva era muy poca para resistir a los successos que se podian offercer en tanta distancia de la vivienda de los Espannoles, y tan lexos del necessario socorro. Los dos Religiosos que havian quedado, no solo no vinieron en su parecer, mas antes viendo la ocasion para poner en execution su buen desseo, y tanta mies madura para la mesa de Dios, viendo que no podian persuadir a los soldados a passar adelante en el descubrimiento, se quedaron ellos en la dicha Provincia con tres muchachos Indios, y un mestizo, que avain llevado consigo, pareciendoles que aunque quedassen solos, estavan alli seguros, por la affabilidad y amor con que los naturales della los tratan. Llegados los ocho soldados adonde desseavan, embiaron luego la nueva al dicho Virey delo sucedido a la ciudad de Mexico, que dista de las dichas minas de santa Barbora ciento y sesenta leguas. Sintieron mucho los religiosos de sant Francisco la quedada de sus hermanos: y timiendo no los matassen viendo los solos, començaron a mover los animos de algunos soldados, para que en compannia de otro Religioso de la mesma Orden llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, tornassen à la dicha

*Fray Bernardino Beltran.*

Provincia, a sacar de peligro a los dichos dos Religiosos, y proseguir con la empresa començada.

En esta sazón estava en las dichas minas por cierta ocasion un vezino de la ciudad de Mexico, llamado Antonio de Espejo, hombre rico, y de mucho animo y industria, y zeloso del servicio de la majestad del Rey Don Philippe nuestro sennor, natural de Cordova. El qual como entendiesse el desseo delos dichos religiosos, y la importancia del negocio, se ofrecio a la jornada y a gastar en ella parte de su hazienda, y a riesgar su vida, siendo le para ello concedida licencia de alguna persona que representasse a su majestad, la qual procurandola los dichos religiosos, le fue dada por el Capitan Juan de Ontiveros Alcalde mayor por su magestad en los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas, que son en la gouvernation de la Nueva Vizcaya, setenta leguas de las dichas minas de santa Barbora, assi para que el pudiesse yr, como para que juntasse la gente y soldados que pudiesse, para que le acompañassen, y ayudassen a conseguir su Christiano intento.

*Antonio de  
Espejo morio  
en la Havana  
1589.*

[III. 384.]  
*Nueva  
Bizcaya.*

El dicho Antonio de Espejo tomo el negocio con tantas veras, que en muy pocos días juntò los soldados y bastimentos necesarios para hazer la jornada, gastando en ello buena parte de su hazienda: y partio con todos ellos del valle de sant Bartholome a los diez de Noviembre de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, llevando para lo que se ofreciesse ciento y quinze cavallos, y mulas, y muchas armas, municiones, y bastimentos, y alguna gente de servicio.

Endereço su camino hazia el Norte, y a dos jornadas topo mucha cantidad de Indios de los que llaman Conchos en Rancherías o poblaciones de casas pagicas. Los quales como lo supiesen, y tuviessen dello relacion muy de atras, los salieron a recibir con muestras de alegria. La comida destes, y delos de la Provincia, que es grande, es de carne de conejos, liebres, y venados que matan, y lo ay todo en grandissima cantidad. Tienen mucho maiz, que es el trigo de las Indias, calabças, y melones, y en

*Conchos  
Indios.*

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abundancia : y ay muchos rios que crian mucha cantidad de pescado muy bueno, y de diversas suertes : andan casi todos desnudos, y las armas que usan son arco y flecha, y viven debaxo de gobierno, y sennorio de Caciques, como los Mexicanos, y no les hallaron Idolos, ni pudieron entender que adorassen à nadie, por lo qual facilmente consintieron en que les pusiessen los Christianos cruces, y quedaron muy contentos con ellas, despues de aversido informados de los nuestros dela significacion dellas, que se hizo por interpretes que llevavan, por cuyo medio supieron de otras poblaciones, para adonde los dichos Conchos los guiaron, accompannandolos mas de veinte y quatro leguas, que todas estavan poblades de gente de su nacion, y los salian a recibir de paz, por aviso que embiavan los Caciques de unos pueblos a otros.

Andadas las veinte y quatro leguas dichas, toparon otra nacion de Indios, llamados Passaguates, los quales vivian al modo que los ya dichos Conchos sus convezinos, y hizieron con ellos lo proprio, guiandolos adelante otras quatro jornadas, con los avisos de los Caciques, de la manera ya dicha : hallaron los nuestros en este camino muchas minas de plata, al parecer de los que lo entendian, de mucho, y muy rico metal. Una jornada destas toparon otra nacion, llamada los Tobosos, los quales en viendo el rastro de los nuestros, se huyeron a las sierras, dexando sus casas y pueblos desiertos. Suppose despues que algunos annos antes avian acudido por alli ciertos soldados que yvan en busca de minas, y avian llevado cautivos a ciertos naturales, lo qual tenia temerosos y abispados a los demas. El Capitan dio orden como los fuessen a llamar, assegurandolos de que no les seria hecho ningun mal, y diose tan buena manna que hizo venir a muchos, a quien regalò, y dio dones, acariciandolos, y declarandoles por el interprete, que no yvan a hazer mal a nadie, con lo qual se bolvieron todos a sossegar, y consintieron les pusiessen Cruces, y declarassen el mysterio dellas, mostrando recibir della gran contentamiento, en cuya demostracion los fueron accompannando, como

*Passaguates  
Indios.**Muchas minas  
de plata.**Tobosos Indios.*



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lo avian hecho sus vezinos, hasta que los metieron en tierra poblada de otra nacion diferente, que distavan de la suya cosa de doze leguas: usan arco, y flecha, y andan desundos.

Prosiguese del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico.

**L**A nacion hasta donde los dicho Tobosos los guiaron se llamava Jumanos, a quien por otro nombre llaman los Espannoles Patarabueyes: tienen una Provincia grande, y de muchos pueblos con mucha gente, y las casas eran con açoteas, y de calicanto, y los pueblos traçados por buen orden: tienen todos los hombres y mugeres los rostros rayados, y los braços, y piernas: es gente corpulenta, y de mas policia, que los que hasta alli avian visto, y tenian muchos mantenimientos, y mucha caça de pie y de buelo, y gran cantidad de pescado, a causa de tener grandes rios que vienen de hazia el Norte, y alguno tan grande como Guadalquivir, el qual entra en la propria mar del Norte. Tiene muchas lagunas de agua salada que se quaja cierto tiempo del anno, y se haze muy buena sal. Es gente bellicosa, y mostraronlo luego, porque la primera noche que los nuestros assentaron real, les flecharon, y mataron cinco cavallos, hiriendo muy mal otros tantos, y no dexaran ninguno a vida, sino por las guardas que los defendieron. Hecho este mal recado, despoblaron el lugar, y se subieron a una sierra que estava cerca, adonde fue luego por la mannana el Capitan con otros cinco soldados bien armados con un interprete llamado Pedro, Indio de su mesma nacion, y con buenas razones los quieto y dexo de paz, haziendolos baxar a su pueblo y casas, y persuadiendolos a que diesten aviso asus vezinos de que no eran hombres que hazian mal a nadie, ni les yvan a tomar sus haziendas: que lo alcanço facilmente con su prudencia, y con darles a los Caciques algunas sartas de quantas de vidrio que llevaba para este effeto, y sombreros, y otras ninnerias: con este, y con el buen tratamiento que les hazian, se fueron muchos dellos en

*Jumanos  
Indios.*

*Rio del Norte.*

*Buena sal.*

[III. 385.]

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*Rio grande.*

compañia de los nuestros algunos dias, caminando siempre por la ribera del rio grande arriba dicho, por-toda la qual havia muchos pueblos de Indios desta nacion, que duraron por espacio de doze jornadas, en todas las quales avisados los unos Caciques de los otros salian a recibir a los nuestros sin arcos, ni flechas, y les trayan muchos mantenimientos, y otros regalos y dadivos, en especial cueros y camuças muy bien adereçados, y que no les excedian en esto las de Flandes. Es gente toda vestida, y hallaron que tenian alguna lumbre de nuestra sancta Fee, porque sennalavan a Dios mirando al cielo, y le llaman en su lengua Apalito, y le conocen por sennor, de cuya larga mano, y misericordia confessan aver recibido la vida, y el ser natural, y los bienes temporales. Venian muchos dellos, y las mugeres y ninnos, a que el Religioso, que diximos que yva con el dicho Capitan y soldados, los santiguasse, y echasse la benedicion: el qual como les preguntasse de quien avian entendido aquel conocimiento de Dios que tenian: respondieron, que de tres Christianos, y un negro, que avian passado por alli, y detenidose algunos dias en su tierra, que segun las sennas que dieron, eran Alvar Nunnes Cabeça de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Castillo Maldonado, y un negro, que todos ellos avian escapado de la armida con que entro Panfilo de Narbaez en la Florida, y despues de aver sido muchos dias esclavos, vinieron a dar a estos pueblos, haziendo Dios por medio dellos muchos milagros, y sanando con el tocamento solo de sus manos muchos enfermos, por lo qual dexaron gran nombre en toda aquella tierra. Toda esta Provincia quedo de paz, y muy sossegada, en cuya demonstracion fueron acompañando y sirviendo a los nuestras algunos dias por la orilla del rio que diximos arriba.

*Otra Pro-  
vincia.*

A pocas dias toparon con una gran poblacion de Indios, adonde los salieron a recibir por nueva que tuvieron de sus vezinos, y les sacaron muchas cosas muy curiosas de pluma de diferentes colores, y muchas mantas de algodón barretadas de azul y blanco, como

las que traen de la China, para rescatarlas, y trocarlas por otras cosas. Y van todos, assi hombres como mugeres, y ninnos vestidos de camuças muy buenas y bien adobadas, y nuncapudieron los nuestros entender que nacion era por falta de interprete que entendiese su lengua, aunque por sennas tratavan con ellos, à los quales como les mostrassen algunas piedras de metal rico, y les preguntassen si havia de aquello en su tierra: Respondieron por las mesmas sennas que cinco dias de camino de alli hazia el Poniente, avia de aquello en muy gran cantidad, y que ellos los guiarian para alla, y se lo mostrarian, como lo cumplieron despues, acompañandolos por espacio de veynte y dos leguas, todas pobladas de gente de su mesma nacion: a quien inmediatamente se seguia por el mesmo rio arriba otra de mucha mas gente que la de la passada, de quien fueron bien recibidos, y regalados con muchos presentes, especialmente de pescado que havia infinito, a causa de unas lagunas grandes que cerca de alli havia, que lo crian en la abundancia dicha. Estuvieron entre estos tres dias, en los quales de dia, y de noche les hizieron muchos bayles a su modo, con particular signification de alegria: no se supo como se llamava esta nacion por falta de interprete, aunque entendieron que se extendia mucho, y que era muy grande. Entre estos hallaron un Indio Concho de nacion, que les dixo, y sennalo, que quinze jornadas de alli hazia el Poniente havia una laguna muy ancha, y cerca della muy grandes pueblos, y casas de tres y quatro altos, y la gente bien vestida, y la tierra de muchos bastimentos, el qual se offrecio de llevarlos alla, y holgaran los nuestros dello, y solo lo dexaron de poner en effecto, pro proseguir el intento con que avian comenzado la jornada, que era yr al Norte a dar socorro a los Religiosos arriba dichos.

En esta Provincia lo que particularmente notaron fue, que havia muy buen temple, y muy ricas tierras, y mucha caça de pie y buelo, y muchos metales ricos, y otras cosas particulares, y de provecho.

*Metal rico.*

*Otra provincia.  
Lagunas grandes.*

*Laguna muy ancha.*

*Muchos Metales ricos.*

*Sal blanca.*

*Rio Turbioso  
del Norte.*

*Nuevo  
Mexico.*  
[III. 386.]

*Casas de  
quatro altos.*

*Estafas.*

*Suelas de vaca.*

Destá Provincia fueron siguiendo su derrota por espacio de quinze dias, sin topar en todos ellos ninguna gente por entre grandes pinales de pinnas y pinones, como los de Castilla: al cabo de los quales aviendo caminado a su parecer ochenta leguas, toparon una pequenna Rancheria, o pueblo de poca gente, y en sus casas, que eran pobres, y de paja, gran cantidad de cueros de venados tan bien aderçados como los de Flandes, y mucha sal blanca, y muy buena. Hizieronles muy buen hospedaje dos dias que alli estuvieron, despues delos quales los accompanaron como doze leguas a unas poblaciones grandes, caminando siempre por el rio del Norte ya dicho, hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman el Nuevo Mexico. Estava toda la ribera del dicho rio llena de grandissimas alamedas de alamos blancos y en partes tomavan quatro leguas de ancho, y ansi mesmo de muchos nogales, y parrales como los de Castilla. Aviendo caminado dos dias por estas alamedas, y noguerales, toparon diez pueblos que estavan assentados en la ribera del dicho rio por ambas partes, sin otros que se mostravan mas desviados, en los quales les parecio avia mucha gente, y la que ellos vieron passavan en numero de diez mil animas. En esta Provincia los regalaron mucho con recebimientos, y con llevarlos a sus pueblos, donde les davan mucha comida, y gallinas de la tierra, y otras cosas, y todo con gran voluntad. Aqui hallaron casas de quatro altos, y bien edificadas, y con galanos aposentos, y en las mas dellas avia estufas para tiempo de invierno. Andavan vestidos de algodón, y de cuero de venado, y el traje, assi de los hombres, como de las mugeres, es al modo del de los Indios del reyno de Mexico: y lo que les causo mas estranneza, fue ver que todos ellos, y ellas andavan calçados con çapatos y botas de buen cuero con suelas de vaca, cosa que hasta alli nunca la avian visto. Las mugeres trayan el cabello muy peynado, y compuesto, y sin cosa sobre la cabeça. En todos estos pueblos avia Caciques que los governavan como entre los Indios Mexicanos, con Alguaziles para executar sus mandami-

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entos, los cuales van por el pueblo, diciendo à voces la voluntad de los Caciques, y que la pongan por obra. En esta Provincia hallaron los nuestros muchos Idolos que adoravan, y en especial que tenian en cada casa un templo para el Demonio, donde le llevavan de ordinario de comer, y otra cosa, que de la manera que entre los Christianos tenemos en los caminos cruces: assi tienen ellos unas como capillas, altas, donde dizen, descansa, y se recrea el Demonio, quando va de un pueblo a otro: las cuales estan muy adornadas y pintadas. En todas las sementeras, o labranças, que las tienen muy grandes, tienen a un lado dellas un portal con quatro pilares, donde comen los trabajadores, y passan la siesta, porque es la gente muy dada ala labor, y estan de ordinario en ella: es tierra de muchos montes y pinales. Las armas que usan son arcos muy fuertes, y flechas con las puntas de pedernal con que passan una cota, y macanas, que son unos palos de media vara de largo, y llanos todos de pedernales agudos, que bastan a partir por medio un hombre, y ansi mesmo unas como adargas de cuero de vaca crudo.

*Cuero de vaca.*

Prosiguese del Nuevo Mexico, y de las cosas que en el se vieron.

**D**Espues de aver estado en esta Provincia quatro dias, y a poca distancia toparon son otra, que se llamava la Provincia de los Tiguas, en la qual avia diez y seys pueblos: en el uno de los cuales, llamado por nombre Poala, hallaron que avian muerto los indios à los dichos dos padres fray Francisco Lopez, y fray Augustin, a quien yvan a buscar, y juntamene a tres muchachos, y un mestizo. Quando los deste pueblo, y sus convezinos vieron a los nuestros, remordiendo les la propria consciencia, y temiendose que yvan a castigarlos, y tomar vengança de las muertes de los dichos padres, no los osaron esperar, antes dexando sus casas desiertas se subieron a las sierras mas cercanas, de donde nunca los pudieron hazer baxar, aunque lo procuraron con alagos y

*Tiguas.*

*Poala.*

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*Metales muy  
buenos.*

mannas. Hallaron en los pueblos y casas muchos mantenimientos, y gran infinidad de gallinas de la tierra, y muchas suertes de metales, y algunos que parecian muy buenos. No se pudo entender claramente que tanta gente fuesse la desta Provincia, por causa de averse (como ya dixé) subido a la sierra.

*Nueva  
Vizcaya.  
Nota diligenti-  
sissime.*

Aviendo hallado muertos a los que buscavan, entraron en consulta sobre si se bolverian à la Nueva Vizcaya, de donde havian salido, o passarian adelante : en lo qual uvo diversos pareceres : pero como alli entendiessen, que a la parte de Oriente de aquella Provincia, y muy distante de alli havian grandes pueblos y ricos, hallandose alli tan cerca, acordo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo de consentimiento de Religioso ya dicho, llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, y de la mayor parte de sus soldados, y companneros, de proseguir con el descubrimiento hasta ver en que parava, para poder dar dello noticia cierta y clara a su Megestad, como testigos de vista : y assi conformes determinaron que quedandose alli el Real, fuessen el Capitan con dos companneros en demanda de su desseo, que lo pusieron por obra. Y a dos dias de camino toparon con una Provincia donde vieron onze pueblos, y en ellos mucha gente, que a su parecer passava en numero de quarenta mil animas : era tierra muy fertil y bastecida, cuyos confines estan inmediatamente juntas con las tierras de Cibola, donde ay muchas vacas, de cuyos cueros se visten, y de algodón : siguiendo en la manera del gobierno el orden que guarden sus convezinos : ay sennales de muchas minas ricas, y assi hallavan metales dellas en algunas casas de los Indios, los quales tienen, y adoran Idolos : recibieronlos de paz, y dieron les de comer. Visto esto, y la disposicion de la tierra, se bolvieron al real de donde avian salido, a dar noticia a sus companneros de todo lo sobredicho.

*Otra pro-  
vincia.*

*Minas ricas.*

[III. 387.]

*Quires.*

Llegados al Real (como esta dicho) tuvieron noticia de otra Provincia, llamada los Quires, que estava el rio del Norte arriba seys leguas de distancia, y como se partiessen para alla, y llegassen una legua della, les

salieron a recibir de paz mucha cantidad de Indios, y a rogar que se fuessen con ellos a sus pueblos, que como lo hiziessen, fueron muy bien recibidos y regalados. Vieron solamente cinco pueblos en esta Provincia, en los quales avia muy gran cantidad de gente, y la que ellos vieron passava de quinze mil animas, y adoran Idolos como sus vezinos. Hallaron en uno destos pueblos una Urraca en una jaula, como se usa en Castilla, y tira soles, como los que se traen de la China, pintados en ellos el sol y la luna, y muchas estrellas. Donde como tomassen la altura, se hallaron en treynta y siete grados y medio debaxo del Norte.

Salieron desta Provincia, y caminando por el proprio rumbo, y a catorze leguas, hallaron otra Provincia, llamada los Cunames, donde vieron otros cinco pueblos, y el principal dellos, y mas grande se llamava Cia, que era tan grande que tenia ocho plaças, cuyas casas eran encaladas, y pintadas de colores, y mejores que las que havian visto en las Provincias atras: parecioles que la gente que vieron passavan de veynte mil animas: hizieron presente a los nuestros de muchas mantas curiosas, y de cosas de comer muy bien guisadas, y juzgaron ser la gente mas curiosa, y de mayor policia, de quantas hasta alli havian visto, y de mejor gobierno: mostraronles ricos metales, y unas sierras alli cerca de donde de los sacavan. Aqui tuvieron noticia de otra Provincia, que stava hazia el Nordueste, que se determinaron de yr a ella.

*Cunames  
Indios.  
Cia.*

*Ricos metales.*

Como uviessen andado como seys leguas, toparon con la dicha Provincia, que se llamava de los Ameies, en la qual havia siete pueblos muy grandes, y en ellos a su entender mas de treynta mil animas. Uno destos siete pueblos dixeron era muy grande y hermoso, que le dexaron de yr a ver, assi por estar detras de una sierra, como por temor de algun ruyñ successo, si a caso se dividian los unos de los otros. Es gente al modo de la Provincia su vezina, y tan abastada como ella, y de tan buen gobierno.

*Ameies.*

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15 Leguas.

*Acoma.*

A quinze leguas desta Provincia, caminando siempre hazia el Poniente, hallaron un pueblo grande llamado Acoma, era de mas de seys mil animas, y estava essentado sobre uno penna alta que tenia mas de cinquenta estados en alto, no teniendo otra entrada sino por una escalera que estava hecha en la propria penna, cosa que admiro mucho a los nuestros: toda el agua que en el pueblo avia era de cisternas.

*Metales.*

Vinieron los principales de paz a ver a los Espanoles, y traxeron les muchas mantas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas, y gran cantidad de bastimentos. Tienen sus sembrados dos leguas de alli, y sacan el agua para regarlos de un rio pequenno que esta cerca, en cuya ribera vieron muy grandes rosales como los de aca de Castilla. Ay muchas sierras con sennales de metales, aunque no subieron a verlo, por ser los Indios dellas muchos, y muy bellicosos. Estuvieron los nuestros en este lugar tres dias, en uno de los quales los naturales les hizieron un bayle muy solenne, saliendo a el con galannos vestidos, y con juegos muy ingeniosos, con que holgaron en se extremo.

24 leguas.

*Zunyo Cibola.*

Veynte y quatro leguas de aqui, hazia el Poniente, dieron con una Provincia, que se nombra en lengua de los naturales Zunyo, y la llaman los Espanoles Cibola, ay en ella gran cantidad de Indios, en la qual estuvo Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y dexo muchas Cruces puestas, y otras sennales de Christianidad que siempre se estavan en pie. Hallaron ansi mesmo tres Indios Christianos que se avian quedado de aquella jornada, cuyos nombres eran Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaspar de Mexico, y Antonio de Guadalajara, los quales tenian casi olvidada su mesma lengua, y sabian muy bien la delos naturales, aunque a pocas bueltas que les hablaron se entendieron facilmente. De quien supieron que sesenta jornadas de alli avia una laguna, o lago muy grande, en cuyas riberas estavan muchos pueblos grandes y buenos, y que los naturales tenian mucho oro, de lo qual era indicion el traer todos braceletes y orejeras

60 Jornadas.

*Lago muy grande mucho oro.*



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dello: y que como el sobredicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado tuviesse noticia muy cierta dello, havia salido desta Provincia de Cibola para yr alla, y aviendo andado doze jornadas le faltó el agua, y se determinó de bolver, como lo hizo, con determinación de tornar otra vez mas de proposito a ello, que despues no lo puso en execucion, porque la muerte le atajo los passos y pensamientos.

### Prosigue del Nuevo Mexico.

**A** La nueva de la riqueza dicha, quiso a cudir el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo, y aunque eran de su parecer algunos de sus companneros, la mayor parte, y el Religioso fue de contrario: diziendo, era ya tiempo de bolverse à la nueva Viscaya de donde havian salido, a dar cuenta de lo que avian visto: que lo pusieron por obra dentro de pocos dias la mayor parte, dexando al Capitan, con nueve companneros que lo quisieron seguir: el qual, despues de haverse certificado muy por entero de la riqueza arriba dicha, y de mucha abundancia de metales que en ello avia muy buenos, salio con los dichos sus companneros desta provincia, y caminando hazia el proprio Poniente, despues de haver andado veinte y ocho leguas, hallaron otra muy grande, en la quel les parecia havia mas de cinquenta mil animas, cuyos moradores como supiesen su llegada, les embiaron un recado, diziendo, que si no querian que los matassen, no se acercassen mas a sus pueblos: a lo qual respondió el dicho Capitan, que ellos no les yvan a hazer mal, como lo verian, y que assi les rogavan no se pusiessen en llevar adelante su intento, dando al mensajero algunas cosas de las que llevaba: el qual supo tan bien abonar a los nuestros, y allanar los pechos alborotados de los Indios, que les dieron lugar de voluntad para que entrassen, que lo hizieron con ciento y cinquenta Indios amigos de la provincia de Cibola ya dicha, y los tres Indios Mexicanos, de quien queda hecha mencion. Una legua antes que llegassen al primer pueblo, les salieron a

*Nueva  
Viscaia.*  
[III. 388.]

*28 Leguas.  
Otra  
Provincia.*

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*Zaguato o  
Ahuato pueblo.*

recebir mas de dos mil Indios cargados de bastimentos, a quien el dicho Capitan dio algunas cosas de poco precio, que a ellos les parecio ser de mucho, y las estimaron mas que si fueran de oro. Llegando mas cerca del pueblo, que se llamava Zaguato, salio a recibirlos gran mucho dumbre de Indios, y entre ellos los Caciques, haziendo tanta demostracion de plazer y regozijo, que echavan mucha harina de maiz por el suelo, para que la pisassen los cavallos : con esta fiesta entraron en el, y fueron muy bien hospedados, y regalados, que se lo pago en parte el Capitan, con dar a todos los mas principales sombreros, y quantas de vidrio, y otras muchas cosas que llevaba para semejantes offrecimientos.

Despacharon luego los dichos Caciques recados a todos los de aquella Provincia, dandoles noticia de la venida de los huespedes, y de como eran hombres muy corteses, y no les hazian mal : lo qual fue bastante para hazer los venir a todos cargados de presentes para los nuestros, y de que los importunassen, fuessen con ellos a holgarse a sus pueblos, que lo hizieron, aunque siempre con recado de lo que podia succeder. Por lo qual el dicho Capitan uso de una cautela, y fue dezir a los Caciques, que por quanto los cavallos eran muy bravos, y les avian dicho que los querian matar, seria necessario hazer un fuerte de calicanto donde meter lospara evitar el danno que querian hazer en los Indios. Creyeronlo los Caciques tan de veras que dentro de pocas horas juntaron tanta gente que hizieron el dicho fuerte que los nuestros querian con una presteza increyble. Demas desto, diziendo el Capitan que se queria yr, le traxeron un presente de 40. mil mantas de algodón pintadas y blancas, y mucha cantidad de pannos de manos con borlas en las puntas, y otras muchas cosas, y entre ellas metales ricos, y que mostravan tener mucha plata. Hallaron entre estos Indios muy gran noticia de la laguna grande arriba dicha, y conformaron con los otros en lo tocante a las riquezas, y mucha abundancia de oro.

*Metales ricos.  
La laguna  
grande arriba  
dicha.*

Fiado el Capitan desta gente, y de sus buenos animos,

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a cordo a cabo de algunos dias de dexar alli cinco de sus copanneros con los demas Indios amigos, para que se bolviessen a la provincia de Zuny con el bagaje, y de yrse el con los quatro que quedavan a la ligera en descubrimiento de cierta noticia que tenia de unas minas muy ricas. Lo qual puesto por obra se partio con las guias que llevaba, y como uviessse caminado hazia el proprio Poniente quarenta y cinco leguas, topo con las dichas minas, y saco con sus proprias manos riquissimos metales, y de mucha plata: y las minas, que eran de una veta muy ancha, estavan en una sierra adonde se podia subir con facilidad, a causa de haver para ello camino abierto. Cerca delas avia algunos pueblos de Indios serranos que les hizieron amistad, y los salieron a recibir con Cruces en las cabeças, y otras sennales de paz. Aqui cerca toparon dos rios razonables, a cuyas orillas havia muchas patras de unas muy buenas, y grandes noguerales, y mucho lino como lo de Castilla, y dixeron por sennas que detras de aquellas sierras estava uno que tenia mas de ocho leguas de ancho, pero no se pudo entender que tan cerca, aunque hizieron demonstracion que corria hazia la mar del Norte, y que en las riberas del de una y orta banda ay muchos pueblos tan grandes, que en su comparacion a aquellos en que estava eran barrios.

45 Leguas.  
Riquissimos  
metales.

Rio grandissi-  
mo.

Mar del  
Norte.

Despues de haver tomado toda esta relacion, se partio el dicho Capitan para la Provincia de Zuny, adonde havia mendado yr a los dichos companneros: y como llegasse a ella con salud, haviendo ydo por muy buen camino, hallo con ella a sus cinco companneros, y al dicho padre Fray Bernardino con los soldados que se avian determinado de bolver, como ya diximos, que aun no se avian partido, por ciertas ocasiones: a los quales los naturales havian hecho muy buen tratamiento, y dadoles todo lo necesario muy complida mente, haziendo despues lo mesmo con el capitan, y los que con el venian, a quien salieron a recibir con demonstracion de alegria, y dieron muchos bastimentos para la jornada que havian de hazer, rogandoles que bolvissen con brevedad, y traxessen

Zuni, o Cibola.

[III. 389.]

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muchos Castillas (que assi llaman a los Espannoles) y que a todos les darian de comer. Por lo qual para poderlo hazer con comodidad avian sembrado a quel anno mas trigo y semillas, que en todos los passados.

En este tiempo se retificaron en su primera determinacion el dicho religioso, y los soldados arriba dichos, y acordaron de bolverse a la provincia de donde avian salido con el designio que queda dicho, a quien se junto Gregorio Hernandez que avia sido Alferes en la jornada : los quales partidos, quedando el Capitan con solos ocho soldados, se resolvió de seguir lo comenzado y correr por el Rio del Norte arriba, que lo puso por obra. Y habiendo caminado como sesenta leguas hazia la provincia de los Quires ya dicha, doze leguas de alli hazia la parte del Oriente, hallaron una provincia que se llamava los Hubates, donde los Indios los recibieron de paz, y les dieron muchos mantenimientos, y noticia de que cerca de alli havia unas minas muy ricas, que las hallaron, y sacaron dellas metales reluzientes y buenos, con los quales se bolvieron al pueblo de donde avian salido. Juzgaron esta provincia por de hasta veynte y cinco mil animas, todos muy bien vestidos de mantas de algodón pintadas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas. Tienen muchos montes de pinales y cedros, y las casas de los pueblos son de quatro y cinco altos. Aqui tuvieron noticia que otra provincia que estava una jornada de alli, que se llamava de los Tamos, en que havia mas de quarenta mil animas, donde como llegassen no les quisieron dar de comer los moradores della, ni admitirlos en sus pueblos : por lo qual, y por el peligro en que estaban, y estar algunos soldados enfermos, y ser tan pocos (como havemos dicho) se determinaron de yrse saliendo para tierra de Christianos, y lo pusieron en execucion a principio de Julio del anno de ochenta y tres, siendo guiados por un Indio que se fue con ellos, y los llevo por camino diferente del que a la venida havian traydo, por un rio abaxo, a quien llamaron de las vacas, por aver gran mucho dumbre dellas en toda su ribera, por

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donde caminaron ciento y veynte leguas, topando las ordinariamente : de aqui salieron al rio de los Conchos por donde avian entrado, y del al Valle de Sant Bertholome de donde havian salido para dar principio al descubrimiento : y ya quando llegaron, hallaron que el dicho fray Bernardino Beltran, y sus companneros avian llegado a salvamento al dicho pueblo muchos dias havia, y que de alli se avian ydo a la villa de Guadiana. Hizo en este pueblo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo informacion muy cierta de todo lo arriba dicho, laqual embio luego al Conde de Corunna Virey de aquel Reyno, y el a su Magestad, y a los Sennores, de su Real Consejo de las Indias, para que ordenassen lo que fuessen servidos, que lo han ya hecho con mucho cuydado. Nuestro Sennor se situa de ayudar este negocio, de modo que tantas almas redemidas con su sangre no se condenen, de cuyos buenos ingenios (en que exceden a los de Mexico y Peru, segun se entendio de los que los trataron) se puede presumir, abraçaran con facilidad la ley Evangelica, dexando la idolatria, que agora la mayor parte dellos tiene : que lo haga Dios como puede para honra y gloria suya, y aumento de la sancta fe Catholica.

*Ciento y  
veynte leguas.  
Rio de los  
Conchos.*

*Guadiana.*

*Nota.*

[A briefe

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A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the first made by frier Augustin Ruyz a Franciscan, in the yeere 1581: the second by Antonio de Espejo in the yeere 1583: who together with his company discovered a land wherin they found fifteene provinces all full of townes, conteining houses of foure and five stories high, which they named New Mexico; for that in many respects it resembleth the province of olde Mexico. This land is situate to the North of Nueva Espanna, and stretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which & by other inhabited lands it is thought that men may travell even to Terra de Labrador. Taken out of the history of China written by Frier Juan Gonzales de Mendoça, and printed in Madrid 1586.



Have now declared in the title of this present discourse, that in the yeere 1583 there were discovered fifteene provinces, which the discoverers called New Mexico, situate on the firme land of Nueva Espanna, and I promised to give notice of the sayd discovery, which I will do with as much brevity as is possible: for if I should record at large all particulars which they saw and came to the knowledge of, it would require a full history. The substance thereof is as followeth.

*The first voyage made by Frier Augustin Ruiz to the province de los Tiguas.*

[III. 390.]

In the yere of our Lord 1581 a certaine Franciscan frier called Augustin Ruiz which dwelt in the valley of S. Bartholomew, being informed by the report of certaine Indians called Conchos, which had dealings and conversation with other of their neighbours called Pas-

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saguates ; that toward the North, travelling alwayes by land, there were certaine great townes not hitherto knowen nor discovered by our Spanyards : mooved with a zeale of charity, and a desire to save soules, craved licence of the Conde of Corunna as then Viceroy of Nueva Espanna, and of his superiours, to go to the sayd townes, and to indeavour to learne their language, and having learned the same, to baptize them, and to preach the holy Gospel unto them. After he had obtained licence of the parties aforesayd, taking with him other two companions of his owne order, and eight souldiers, who of their owne good will offered to beare him company, he departed to put in execution his Christian and zealous intent. Who after certeine dayes travell come unto a cuntry called The province de los Tigvas distant from the mines of Santa Barbara, from whence they began their journey, 250 leagues towards the North : in which province the inhabitants, upon a certaine occasion, slew one of the sayd friers two companions. The souldiers that went with him seeing this mishap, and perceiving the successe, and likewise fearing, that thereof might happen some greater danger, determind with a common consent to return unto the mines from whence they departed : considering that their company was too small to resist the dangers that might happen, being so farre distant from the dwellings of the Spaniards, and from all necessary succour. But the two friers which remained alive did not onely refuse their determination, but rather seeing fit occasion to put their good desire in execution, and so great a harvest ripe for the Lords table, because they could not persuade the souldiers to proceed any further in that discovery, remained behinde in the sayd province with three Indian boyes, and one Mestiço, whom they had caried with them ; thinking that although they remained alone, yet should they be there in securitie, by reason of the great affability and love which the people of that place shewed unto them.

*The chiefe of these 8 souldiers was Francisco Sanchez Xamuzcado which made a map of these provinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands. The province de los Tigvas distant 250 leagues Northward from the mines of Santa Barbara.*

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The eight souldiers being returned to their wished home, immediatly sent newes of all that had passed to the Viceroy unto the city of Mexico, which is distant from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues.

*The mines of  
Santa Barbara  
160 leagues  
distant from  
Mexico.*

The friers of Sant Francis were very much agrieved at the staying of their brethren behinde in the countrey, and fearing least the Savages would kill them seeing them left alone, they began to moove the minds of certaine souldiers to make another voyage to the sayd province in the company of another frier of the foresayd Order called Frier Bernardin Beltran, to deliver the aforesayd two religious men out of danger, and to prosecute their former enterprise.

*The second  
voyage.*

At the same time there was at the foresayd mines upon some occasion a citizen of Mexico called Antonio de Espejo, a rich man, and of great courage and industry, and very zealous in the service of king Philip his sovereigne, and was borne in Cordova. Who understanding the desire of the foresayd friers, and the importance of the action, offered himselfe to go on that voyage, and also to spend part of his substance, and to adventure his life therein; conditionally that licence might be granted him to the same purpose from some person sufficiently authorised by his Majestie. Which licence at the sayd friers procurement was granted unto him by the governour Juan de Ontiveros the kings Alcalde mayór or chiefe Justice in the towns called Las quatro Cienegas situate within the jurisdiction of Nueva Biscaya seventy leagues from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara; authorizing him both to take in hand the sayd voyage, and also to assemble such people and souldiers as he could, which might accompany and ayde him in the performance of this his Christian intent.

*Las quatro  
Cienegas in  
the province  
of Nueva Bis-  
caya 70  
leagues from  
the mines of  
Santa Bar-  
bara.*

The sayd Antonio de Espejo was so earnest in this matter, that in very few dayes he had gathered a company of souldiers, and made provision of things necessary for his voyage, spending therein a good part of his substance. And he departed with his whole company from the valley



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of S. Bartholomew the tenth of November 1582 ; taking with him (for whatsoever should happen) 115 horses and mules, with great store of weapons, munition, and victuals, and some Indians to serve him in his journey.

*Antonio de Espejo his setting forth from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of November 1582. Indians called Conchos.*

Directing his course toward the North, after two dayes journey he met with great store of the foresayd Indians called Conchos, which dwell in villages or hamlets of cottages covered with straw. Who, so soone as they understood of his approach, having newes thereof long before, came foorth to receive him with shewes of great joy. The food of this people and of all the rest of that province, which is great, are conies, hares, and deere which they kill, of all which they have great abundance. Also they have great store of Maiz or Indian wheat, gourds, and melons very good and plentifull : and there are many rivers full of excellent fish of divers sorts. They goe almost naked, and the weapons that they use are bowes & arrowes, and live under the government and lordship of Caçiques like those of Mexico : they found no idols among them, neither could they understand that they worshipped any thing, whereupon they easily consented that the Spanyards should set up crosses, and were very well content therewith, after they were informed by our friers of the signification thereof, which was done by the interpreters that they caried with them ; by whose meanes they understood of other townes, whither the sayd Conchos did conduct them, and bare them company above foure & twenty leagues, all which way was inhabited with people of their owne nation : and at all places where they came they were peaceably received by advice that was sent by the Caçiques from one towne to another.

*Many rivers.*

[III. 391.]

Having passed the foure and twenty leagues afore-sayd, they came unto another nation of Indians called Passaguates, who live after the maner of the foresayd Conchos their borderers, and did unto them as the others had done, conducting them forward other foure dayes journey, with advice of the Caçiques as before. The

*Passaguates.*

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*Very great  
and rich silver  
mines.*

Spanyards found in this journey many mines of silver, which according to the judgement of skilfull men, were very plentifull and rich in metall.

*Tobosos.*

A dayes journey from thence they met with another nation called Tobosos, who so soone as they beheld the countenance of our people fledde unto the mountaines, leaving their townes and houses desolate. Afterward wee understood that certeine yeeres past there came unto that place certaine souldiers to seeke mines, who caried away captive certaine of the people of the countrey, which caused the rest of them to be so they and fearefull. The captaine sent messengers to call them backe againe, assuring them that they should not sustaine any harme, and handled the matter so discreetly, that many of them returned, whom he made much of, and gave them gifts, using them kindly, and declaring unto them by the interpreter, that their comming was not to hurt any man : whereupon they were all quieted, and were content they should set up crosses, and declare the mystery of the same, making shew that they were highly pleased therewith. For prooffe whereof they accompanied them on their voyage, as their neighbours had done, untill they had brought them to a countrey inhabited by another nation, which was distant from theirs some 12 leagues. They use bowes and arrowes and go naked.

*Jumanos or  
Patarabueyes.*

The nation unto which the sayd Tobosos conducted them, is called Jumanos, whom the Spanyards by another name call Patarabueyes : their province is very great, containing many townes and great store of people : their houses are flat-rooffed, and built of lime and stone, and the streets of their townes are placed in good order. All the men and women have their faces, armes and legges raced and pounced : they are a people of great stature, and of better government, then the rest which they had seene in their former journeyes : and are well provided of victuals, and furnished with plenty of wilde beasts, fowles and fishes, by reason of mighty rivers which come from the North, whereof one is as great as

*Rio turbioso  
del Norte.*

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Guadalquivir, which falleth into the North sea or bay of Mexico. Here are also many lakes of salt water, which at a certeine time of the yere waxeth hard, and becommeth very good salt. They are a warlike people, and soone made shew thereof: for the first night that our people incamped there, with their arrowes they slew five horses, and wounded five other very sore, nor would not have left one of them alive, if they had not bene defended by our guard. Having done this mischiefe, they abandoned the towne, and withdrew themselves to a mountaine which was hard by, whither our captaine went betimes in the morning, taking with him five souldiers well armed, and an interpreter called Peter an Indian of their owne nation, and with good persuasions appeased them, causing them to descend to their towne and houses, and persuading them to give advice unto their neighbours, that they were men that would hurt no body, neither came they thither to take away their goods: which he obtained easily by his wisdom, and by giving unto the Caçiques certeine bracelets of glasse beads, with hats and other trifles, which he caried with him for the same purpose: so by this meanes, and by the good interteiment which they gave them, many of them accompanied our Spanyards for certeine dayes, alwayes travelling along the banke of the great river abovesayd; along the which there were many townes of the Indians of this nation, which continued for the space of twelve dayes travel, all which time the Caçiques having received advice from one to another, came forth to interteine our people without their bowes and arrowes, and brought them plenty of victuals, with other presents and gifts, especially hides and chamois-skins very well dressed, so that those of Flanders do nothing exceed them. These people are all clothed, and seemed to have some light of our holy faith: for they made signes of God, looking up towards heaven, and call him in their language Apalito, and acknowledge him for their Lord, from whose bountifull hand and mercy they confesse that they have

*Rio del Norte.*

*Apalito.*

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received their life and being, and these worldly goods. Many of them with their wives and children came unto the frier (which the captaine and souldiers brought with them) that hee might crosse and blesse them. Who demanding of them, from whom they had received that knowledge of God, they answered, from three Christians, & one Negro which passed that way, and remained certaine dayes among them, who by the signes which they made, were Alvaro Nunnez, Cabeça de Vaca, and Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, and a Negro; all which escaped of the company which Pamphilo de Narvaez landed in Florida; who after they had bene many dayes captives and slaves, escaped and came to these townes, by whom God shewed many miracles, and healed onely by the touching of their hands many sicke persons, by reason wherof they became very famous in all that countrey. All this province remained in great peace and security; in token whereof, they accompanied and served our men certaine dayes, travelling along by the great river aforesayd.

[III. 392.]

*Pamphilo de  
Narvaez  
entred into  
Florida 1527.*

*Rio del Norte.*

*Another  
province.*

Within few dayes after they came unto another great province of Indians, from whence they came forth to receive them, upon the newes which they had heard of their neighbors, and brought them many very curious things made of feathers of divers colours, and many mantles of cotton straked with blew and white, like those that are brought from China, to barter & trucke them for other things. All of them both men, women and children were clad in chamois skinnes very good and wel dressed. Our people could never understand what nation they were for lacke of an interpreter: howbeit they dealt with them by signes; and having shewed unto them certaine stones of rich metall, and inquired whether there were any such in their countrey: they answered by the same signes, that five dayes journey Westward from thence there was great quantity therof, and that they would conduct them thither, and shew it unto them; as afterward they performed their

*Very great  
quantity of  
silver.*

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promise, & bare them company 22 leagues, which was all inhabited by people of the same nation.

Next unto the foresayd province they came unto another further up the great river aforesayd, being much more populous then the former, of whom they were well received, and welcomed with many presents, especially of fish, whereof they have exceeding great store, by reason of certaine great lakes not far from thence, wherein they are bred in the foresayd plenty. They stayed among these people three dayes; all which time both day and night they made before them many dances, according to their fashion, with signification of special joy. They could not learne the name of this nation for want of an interpreter, yet they understood that it extended very farre, and was very great. Among these people they found an Indian of the foresayd nation of the Conchos, who told them, and shewed them by signes, that fifteene dayes journey from thence toward the West there was a very broad lake, and nere unto it very great townes, and in them houses of three or foure stories high, and that the people were well apparelled, and the countrey full of victuals and provision. This Concho offered himselfe to conduct our men thither, whereat our company rejoyced, but left off the enterprise, onely to accomplish their intent for which they undertooke the voyage, which was to go Northward to give ayd unto the two friers aforesayd. The chiefe and principall thing that they noted in this province was, that it was of very good temperature, and a very rich soyle, and had great store of wilde beasts, and wilde-fowle, and abundance of rich metals, and other excellent things, and very profitable.

*Another province.*

*Great lakes.*

*A mighty lake.*

*Rich metals.*

From this province they folowed their journey for the space of fifteene dayes without meeting any people all that while, passing thorow great woods and groves of pine trees bearing such fruit as those of Castile: at the end whereof, having travelled, to their judgement, fourescore leagues, they came unto a small hamlet or village of fewe

*Woods of pine trees.*

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people, in whose poore cottages covered with straw they found many deeres-skinnes as well dressed as those of Flanders, with great store of excellent white salt. They gave our men good entertainment for the space of two dayes while they remained there, after which they bare them company about twelve leagues, unto certaine great townes, alwayes travelling by the river called Rio del Norte abovesayd, till such time as they came unto the country called by them New Mexico. Here all along the shore of the sayd river grew mighty woods of poplar being in some places foure leagues broad, and great store of walnut trees, and vines like those of Castillia.

*New Mexicc.  
Woods of  
poplar and  
walnut trees.  
Vines.*

Having travelled two dayes thorow the said woods of Poplar and Walnut trees, they came to ten townes situate on both sides of the sayd river, besides others which they might see further out of the way, wherein there seemed to be great store of people, and those which they saw were above ten thousand persons. In this province they received them very courteously, and brought them to their townes, whereas they gave them great plenty of victuals and hennes of the country, with many other things, and that with great good will. Here they found houses of foure stories high, very well built, with gallant lodgings, and in most of them were Stooves for the Winter season. Their garments were of Cotton and of deere-skinnes, and the attire both of the men and women is after the maner of the Indians of the kingdome of Mexico. But the strangest thing of all was to see both men and women weare shooes and boots with good soles of neats leather, a thing which they never sawe in any other part of the Indies. The women keepe their haire well combed and dressed, wearing nothing els upon their heads. In all these townes they had Caçiques which governed their people like the Caçiques of Mexico, with Sergeants to execute their commandements, who goe thorow the townes proclaiming with a loud voice the pleasure of the Caçiques, commanding the same to be put in execution. In this

*Houses of 4  
stories high.*

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province our men found many idols which they worshipped, and particularly they had in every house an Oratory for the divell, whereinto they ordinarily cary him meat: and another thing they found, that as it is an use among the Christians to erect crosses upon the high wayes, so have this people certaine high chapels, in which they say the divell useth to take his ease, and to recreate himselfe as he travelleth from one towne to another; which chapels are marvellously well trimmed and painted. In all their arable grounds, whereof they have great plenty, they erect on the one side a little cottage or shed standing upon foure studdes, under which the labourers do eat, and passe away the heat of the day, for they are a people much given to labour, and doe continually occupy themselves therein. This countrey is full of mountaines and forrests of Pine trees. The weapons that they use are strong bowes and arrowes headed with flints, which will pierce thorow a coat of male, and macanas which are clubs of halfe a yard long, so beset with sharpe flints, that they are sufficient to cleave a man asunder in the midst: they use also a kinde of targets made of raw hides.

*These high mountaines are a cause of the coldnes of the countrey.*

Having remained foure dayes in this province, not farre off they came to another called The province of Tiguas conteyning sixteene townes, in one whereof, called Poala, they understood that the inhabitants had slaine the two fathers aforesayd, to wit, frier Francis Lopez, and frier Augustus Ruyz, whom they went to seeke, together with the three Indian boyes, and the mestico. So soone as the people of this towne and their neighbours saw our men there, their owne consciences accusing them, and fearing that our men came to punish them, and to be avenged of the death of the foresaid fathers, they durst not abide their comming, but leaving their houses desolate they fled to the mountaines next adjoyning, from whence they could never cause them to descend, although our men attempted the same by divers devises and entisements. They found in the townes and houses good store

*The province of Tiguas.*

*Poala.*

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*Very rich and  
good metall.*

of victuals, with infinite number of hennes in the countrey, and many sorts of metals, whereof some seemed to be very good. They could not perfectly understand what numbers of people this province might conteine, by reason they were fled into the mountaines, as I have sayd before.

*This draweth  
toward Vir-  
ginia.*

Having found those to be slaine which they went to seeke, they entred into consultation, whether they should returne to Nueva Biscaya, from whence they came, or should proceed further in their journey; whereabout there were divers opinions: howbeit, understanding there, that toward the Orient or East parts of that province, and very far distant from thence, there were great and rich townes: and finding themselves so far on the way, the sayd captaine Antonio de Espeio with the consent of the foresayd frier called Frier Bernardine Beltran, and the greater part of his souldiers and companions determined to proceed on the discovery, till such time as they did see to what end it would come; to the end they might give certeine and perfect knowledge thereof to his Majesty, as eye-witnesses of the same. And so with one accord they determined, that while the army lay still there, the captaine and two more of his company should prosecute their desire, which they did accordingly. And within two dayes journey they came unto another province, where they found eleven townes, and much people in them, which in their judgement were above forty thousand persons. The countrey was very fertile and plentifull, whose confines bordered upon the territories of Cibola, where there are great store of kine, with whose hides and with cotton they apparell themselves, imitating in the forme of their government their next neighbours. In this place are signes of very rich mines, some quantity of the metals whereof they found in the houses of the Indians; which Indians have and doe worship idols. They received our men peaceably, and gave them victuals. Having seene thus much, and the disposition of the countrey, they returned to the campe, from whence they

*Another pro-  
vince.*



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departed, to informe their companions of the things above mentioned.

Being returned to the campe they had intelligence of another province called Los Quires, which stood six leagues higher up the river called Rio del Norte. And in their journey thitherward, being arrived within a league of the place, there came forth very many Indians to receive them in peace, requesting them to beare them company to their townes: which they did, and were marvellous well interteined and cherished. In this province they found five townes only, wherein were great store of people, and those which they saw were above 14000 soules, who worship idols as their neighbours do. In one of these townes they found a pie in a cage after the maner of Castile, and certaine shadowes or canopies like unto those which are brought from China, wherein were painted the Sunne, the Moone, and many Starres. Where having taken the height of the pole-starre, they found themselves to be in 37 degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Northerly latitude.

*Quires bordering upon Rio del Norte.*

*Seven & thirty degrees and a halfe.*  
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They departed out of this province, and keeping still the same NORTHERLY course, foureteene leagues from thence they found another province called The Cunames, where they saw other five townes, the greatest whereof was called Cia, being so large, that it contained eight market-places, the houses whereof being plaistered and painted with divers colours, were better then any which they had seene in the provinces before mentioned: the people which they heere saw, they esteemed to be above twenty thousand persons. They presented to our men many curious mantles, and victuals excellently well dressed; so that our men deemed this nation to be more curious, and of greater civility, and better government, then any other that hitherto they had seene. They shewed them rich metals, and the mountaines also not farre off whereout they digged them. Heere our people heard of another province standing toward the Northwest, whereunto they purposed to goe.

*Cunames, or Punames.*

*Cia a great city.*

*Rich metals.*

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*Ameies, or  
Emexes.*

Having travelled about sixe leagues, they came to the sayd province, the people whereof were called Ameies, wherin were seven very great townes, conteining, to their judgement, above thirty thousand soules. They reported that one of the seven townes was very great and faire, which our men would not go to see, both because it stood behinde a mountaine, and also for feare of some mishappe, if in case they should be separated one from another. This people are like unto their neighbours of the former province, being as well provided of all necessaries as they, and of as good government.

*Acoma or Aco-  
man a towne  
containing  
above 6000  
persons.*

About fifteene leagues from this province, travelling alwayes toward the West, they found a great towne called Acoma, conteining above sixe thousand persons, and situate upon an high rocke which was above fifty paces hie, having no other entrance but by a ladder or paire of staires hewen into the same rocke, whereat our people marvelled not a little: all the water of this towne was kept in cisternes. The chiefe men of this towne came peaceably to visit the Spanyards, bringing them many mantles, and chamois-skinnes excellently dressed, and great plenty of victuals. Their corne-fields are two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a small river nere thereunto, to water the same, on the brinks whereof they saw many great banks of Roses like those of Castile. Here are many mountaines that beare shewes of mettals, but they went not to see them, because the Indians dwelling upon them are many in number, and very warlike. Our men remained in this place three dayes, upon one of the which the inhabitants made before them a very solemne dance, comming foorth in the same with gallant apparell, using very witty sports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

*Signes of  
metals.*

*Zuny or Sunne.*

Twenty foure leagues from hence toward the West, they came to a certaine province called by the inhabitants themselves Zuny, & by the Spanyards Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians; in which province Francisco Vazquez de Coronado had bene, and had erected many

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crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which remained as yet standing. Heere also they found three Indian Christians which had remained there ever since the said journey, whose names were Andrew de Culiacan, Gaspar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadalajara, who had almost forgotten their owne language, but could speake that countrey speech very well; howbeit after some small conference with our men, they easily understood one another. By these three Indians they were informed, that threescore dayes journey from this place there was a very mighty lake, upon the bankes whereof stood many great and good townes, and that the inhabitants of the same had plenty of golde, an evident argument wherof was their wearing of golden bracelets & earrings: and also that after the sayd Francis Vasquez de Coronado had perfect intelligence thereof, hee departed out of this province of Cibola to goe thither, and that having proceeded twelve dayes journey, he began to want water; and thereupon determined to returne, as he did indeed, with intention to make a second voyage thither at his better opportunity; which afterward he performed not, being prevented of his determined journey by death.

Upon the newes of these riches the sayd Captaine Antony de Espeio was desirous to go thither; and though some of his companions were of his opinion, yet the greater part and the frier were of the contrary, saying that it was now high time to returne home unto New Biscay from whence they came, to give account of that which they had seene: which the sayd greater part within few dayes put in execution, leaving the captaine with nine companions onely that willingly followed him: who after hee had fully certified himselfe of the riches above-sayd, and of the great quantity of excellent mettals that were about that lake, departed out of this province of Cibola with his companions; and travelling directly toward the West, after hee had passed 28 leagues, he found another very great province, which by estimation contained above 50000 soules: the inhabitants whereof

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*Vasquez de  
Coronado was  
here 1540 &  
1541.*

*A mighty lake  
60 daies jour-  
ney from  
Cibola.  
Plenty of golde.*

*Another  
mightie pro-  
vince West-  
ward of Cibola  
28 leagues,  
called Mo-  
hotze.*

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assoone as they understood of their approach, sent them word, upon paine of death to come no neerer to their townes: whereto the captaine answered, that their comming was in no wise to hurt them, as they should well perceive, and therefore requested them not to molest him in his intended voyage, and withall gave to the messenger a reward of such things as they brought with them: who thereupon made so good report of our people, and so appeased the troubled minds of the Indians, that they granted them free accesse unto their townes, and so they went thither with 15. Indians their friends of the province of Cibola aforesaid, and the three Mexican Indians before mentioned. When they were come within a league of the first towne, there came forth to meete them above 2000. Indians laden with victuals, whom the Captaine rewarded with some things of small value, which they made great accompt of, and esteemed more precious then gold. As they approached neere unto the towne which was named Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came forth to meete them, and among the rest their Caçiques, with so great demonstration of joy and gladnes, that they cast much meale of Maiz upon the ground for the horses to tread upon: with this triumph they entred the towne, where they were very wel lodged and much made of, which the Captaine did in part requite, giving to the chieftest among them hats, and beads of glasse, with many such trifles, which he caried with him for the like purpose. The said Caçiques presently gave notice to the whole province of the arrival of these new guests, whom they reported to bee a courteous people, and such as offered them no harme: which was occasion sufficient to make them all come laden with presents unto our people, and to intreat them to goe and make merry with them in their townes; which they yeilded unto, though alwayes with great foresight what might follow. Whereupon the Captaine used a certaine policie, making the Caçiques beleeve, that forasmuch as his horses were very fierce (for they

*Zaguato, or  
Ahuato a  
towne.*

*A witty policie  
to be used by  
the English in  
like cases.*

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had told the Indians that they would kill them) therefore it was necessary to make a Fort of lime and stone to inclose them, for the avoyding of such inconveniences as otherwise might happen unto the Indians by them. This tale was so stedfastly beleevd by the Caçiques, that in five houres they assembled such store of people together, that with incredible celeritie they built the said Fort which our men required.

Moreover, when the Captaine saide that he would depart, they brought unto him a present of 40000. mantles of cotton, both white and of other colours, and great store of hand-towels, with tassels at the corners, with divers other things, and among the rest rich mettals, which seemed to holde much silver. Among these Indians they learned very much concerning The great Lake aforesaide, whose report agreed wholly with the relation of the former, as touching the riches and great abundance of gold about that lake.

*Rich metals.*

*Great abundance of gold.*

The Captaine reposing great confidence in this people & in their good disposition toward him determined after certaine dayes, to leave there five of his companions with the rest of his Indian friends, that they might returne with his cariages to the province of Zuni, while himselfe with the foure other which remained should ride in post to discover certaine very rich Mines, whereof he had perfect information. And putting this his purpose in execution he departed with his guides, and having traveled due-west 45. leagues he came unto the said Mines, and tooke out of the same with his owne hands exceeding rich metals holding great quantitie of silver: and the mines which were of a very broad veine were in a mountaine whereon they might easily ascend, by reason of an open way that led up to the same. Neere unto these mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling upon the mountaines, who shewed them friendship & came forth to receive them with crosses on their heads, and other tokens of peace. Hereabout they found two rivers of a reasonable bignesse,

*Exceeding rich  
Mines of  
silver.*

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upon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groves of walnut-trees, and much flaxe like that of Castile: and they shewed our men by signes, that behinde those mountaines there was a river about 8. leagues broad, but they could not learne how neere it was: howbeit the Indians made demonstration that it ran towards the North sea, and that upon both sides thereof stood many townes of so great bignesse, that in comparison thereof those wherein they dwelt were but small hamlets.

After he had received all this information, the said Captaine returned toward the province of Zuni, whither he had sent his said companions: and being arrived there in safety, having travailed upon a very good way, he found in the same place his 5. companions, & the said father Frier Bernardin Beltran, with the souldiers which were determind to returne, as is aforesaid, but upon certaine occasions were not as yet departed: whom the inhabitants had most friendly intreated, & furnished with all things necessary in abundance, as afterward likewise they used the Captaine, and those that came with him, comming foorth to meete them with shew of great joy, and giving them great store of victuals to serve them in their journey homewards, and requesting them to returne againe with speed, and to bring many Castilians with them (for so they call the Spaniards) to whom they promised food sufficient. For the better performance whereof they sowed that yeere more graine and other fruits, then they had done at any time before.

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At this present the Frier and souldiers aforesaid resolved themselves in their former determination, & agreed to returne unto the province from whence they came with intention before mentioned, to seek the two Friers that were slaine, to whom also Gregorio Hernandez who had bene standard-bearer in the journey, joynded himselfe. Who being departed, the Captaine accompanied onely with 8. souldiers, determined to prosecute his former attempt, & to passe up higher the saide river

*A mighty  
River of eight  
leagues broad  
running to-  
ward the  
North sea.  
Perhaps this  
River may fall  
into the Chese-  
piouk bay, or  
into the great  
lake of Tadoac.  
Zuni.*

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called Rio del Norte, which he did accordingly. And having traveled about 60. leagues toward the province of the Quires aforesaid, 12 leagues from thence toward the Orient or East they found a province of Indians called Hubates, who received them peaceably, and gave them great store of victuals, informing them also of very rich Mines which they found, whereout they got glistering & good metal, and therewith returned to the towne from whence they came. This province contained by their estimation 25000. persons all very well apparelled in coloured mantles of cotton, and Chamois-skins very well dressed. They have many mountaines full of Pines and Cedars, and the houses of their townes are of 4. and 5. stories high. Here they had notice of another province distant about one dayes journey from thence inhabited by certaine Indians called Tamos, and containing above 40000. soules: whither being come the inhabitants would neither give them any victuals, nor admit them into their townes: for which cause, and in regard of the danger wherein they were, and because some of the souldiers were not well at ease, and for that they were so fewe (as we have said) they determined to depart thence, and to returne toward the land of the Christians, which they put in execution in the beginning of July 1583, being guided by an Indian that went with them, who led them another way then they went forth by, downe a river, which they called Rio de las vacas; that is to say, The river of oxen, in respect of the great multitudes of oxen or kine that fed upon the bankes thereof, by the which they traveled for the space of 120. leagues, still meeting with store of the said cattell. From hence they went forward to the river of Conchos by which they entered, and thence to the valley of S. Bartholomew, from whence they first entered into their discoverie. Upon their comming thither they found that the said Frier Bernardin Beltran and his company were safely arrived at the said towne many dayes before, & were gone from thence to the towne of Guadiana. In

60. Leagues.

Hubates.

Very rich  
Mines.

Houses of 4.  
and five stories  
high.

Tamos.

Their returne.

Rio de las  
vacas.

120. Leagues.

Guadiana.

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this towne the foresaid captaine Antony de Espejo made most certaine relation of all that is aforesaid, which relation presently hee sent unto the Conde of Corunna Vizroy of Nueva Espanna, who sent the same to his Majestie, & to the Lords of his royal counsel of the Indies, to the end they might take such order as they thought best, which they have already performed with great care and circumspection.

Almighty God vouchsafe his assistance in this busines, that such numbers of soules redeemed by his blood may not utterly perish, of whose good capacitie, wherein they exceed those of Mexico and Peru (as we be given to understand by those that have delt with them) we may boldly presume that they will easily embrace the Gospel, and abandon such idolatrie as now the most of them doe live in: which Almighty God graunt for his honour and glory, and for the increase of the holy Catholique faith.

A letter of Bartholomew Cano from Mexico the 30. of May 1590. to Francis Hernandes of Sivil, concerning the speedy building of two strong Forts in S. John de Ullua, and in Vera Cruz, as also touching a notable new and rich discovery of Cibola or New Mexico 400. leagues Northwest of Mexico.



T may please you Sir, to be advertised that I have received your letters, whereby I understand that our ship with the treasure is safely arrived, God be praised therefore. The frigate arrived here in safetie which brought the letters of Advise from the King to the Viceroy. She arrived in S. John de Ullua the 29. of May, & departed from S. Lucar in Spaine the 6. of April. By which his Majestie writeth unto the Viceroy, what time the Fleete shall depart from hence, and what course they shall take, not as they had wont for to do; by reason that



there are great store of men of war abroad at the sea, which meane to encounter with the Fleete. I pray God sende them well to Spaine: for here wee were troubled very sore with men of warre on this coast. His Majestie hath sent expresse commandement unto the Marques of Villa Manrique his cosen, Viceroy of Nova Hispania, that immediatly upon sight of his letters he shal command to be builded in S. John de Ullua, & in Vera Cruz two strong Forts for the defence of these countries, of his Majesties charges: And that there shalbe garisons in both the Forts for the defence of the ships which ride there, and for the strength of the countrey.

There are departed out of Mexico and other townes hereabout by the commaundement of the Viceroy 500. souldiers Spaniards, under the conduct of Rodorigo del Rio the governour of Nueva Biscaia which are gone to win a great City called Cibola, which is 400. leagues beyond Mexico to the Northwest, and standeth up in the maine land. It is by report a very great citie, as bigge as Mexico, and a very rich countrey both of golde Mines and silver Mines: and the King of the countrey is a mighty King, and he will not become subject to his Majestie. There were certaine Spaniards sent to that king from the Viceroy in an ambassage: It is thought that they are slaine, for we can here no newes of them.

The other newes that I can certifie you of at this instant is, that there is a Judge of the city of Guadalajara called don Nunno de villa Inscensia lately married. Also the kings Attourney of Guadalajara married his daughter of 8. yeres old with a boy of 12. yeres old. But the Viceroy saith that he hath a warrant from his Majestie, that if any Judge whatsoever dwelling in that kingdome of Guadalajara should mary any sonne in that jurisdiction, that then the said Viceroy is to deprive him of his office. And therefore he went about to deprive the Judge & the kings Attourney of their offices. Whereupon the people of that province would

*The marques of Villa Manrique Viceroy of Nova Hispania.*

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500. Spaniards sent to conquer the great citie of Cibola which is 400. leagues from Mexico North westward.

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not thereunto consent, nor suffer them to be dismissed of their offices, nor to be arrested, nor caried prisoners to Mexico. When the viceroy had intelligence thereof, & that the Countrey did resist his commandement, and would not suffer them to be apprehended, he sent certaine Captaines with souldiers to goe and apprehend the Judge, the kings Attourney, and as many as did take their parts. So the citizens of Guadalajara withstood the viceroyes forces, & put themselves in defence; and are up in armes against the viceroy: yet they do not rebel against the king, but say: God save king Philip, and wil submit themselves to his Majestie, but not to the viceroy. So that all the kingdome of Guadalajara is up in armes, and are all in a mutinie against us of Mexico. I beseech Almighty God to remedy it, and that it may be qualified in time: or else all Nova Spania wil be utterly spoiled. I write this thing, because it is publiquely known in all places. And thus I rest, from Mexico the 30. of May 1590.

Bartholomew Cano.

The first and second discovery of the gulfe of California, and of the Sea-coast on the Northwest or back side of America, lying to the West of New Mexico, Cibola and Quivira, together with Sir Francis Drakes landing and taking possession upon Nova Albion in the behalfe of the Crowne of England, and the notable voyage of Francis Gaule; Wherein amongst many other memorable matters is set downe the huge bredth of the Ocean sea from China and Japan to the Northwest parts of America, in the 38. and 40. degrees.

A relation of the discovery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble Fernando Cortez Marques of the Vally, made with three

*A dangerous  
rebellion in  
Guadalajara  
a province of  
Nova His-  
pania.*

ships; The one called Santa Agueda of 120. tunnes, the other the Trinitie of 35. tunnes, and the thirde S. Thomas of the burthen of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Captaine the right worshipfull knight Francis de Ulloa borne in the Citie of Merida. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by M. John Baptista Ramusio.

## Chap. 1.

Francis Ulloa a captaine of Cortez departeth with a Fleet from the port of Acapulco, and goeth to discover unknowen lands, he passeth by the coast of Sacatula and Motin, and by tempest runneth to the river of Guajaval, from whence he crosseth over to the haven of Santa Cruz, along the coast whereof he discovereth 3. smal Ilands, and within two dayes and an halfe returning to the maine land he discovereth the river called Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo, and not far distant from thence two other rivers as big or greater then that of Guadalquivir which runneth by Sivil, together with their head-springs.



WE imbarked our selves in the haven of Acapulco on the 8. of July in the yeere of our Lord 1539, calling upon almighty God to guide us with his holy hand unto such places where he might be served, and his holy faith advanced. And we sailed from the said port by the coast

*Acapulco in  
17. degrees of  
latitude.*

of Sacatula and Motin, which is sweete and pleasant through the abundance of trees that grow thereon, and rivers which passe through those countreis, for the which wee often thanked God the creatour of them. So sailing along we came to the haven of S. Iago in the province of Colima: but before we arrived there, the maine mast of our ship called Santa Agueda was broken by a storme of winde that tooke us, so as the ship was forced to

*The coast of  
Sacatula and  
Motin.*

*S. Iago de  
Colima.*

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saille without her mast until we arrived in the said haven. From the port of Acapulco to this haven of Colima we were sayling the space of 20. dayes. Here wee stayed to mende our mast and to take in certaine victuals, water, and wood, the space of 27. dayes. And wee departed from the saide haven the 23. of August, and sayling by the Isles of Xalisco the 27. or 28. of the saide moneth wee were taken with an extreame tempest wherein wee thought we should have perished, and being tossed and weather-beaten, wee ranne as farre as the river of Guajaval in the Province of Culiacan. In this storme wee lost the pinnesse called Sant Thomas, and because wee had lost her wee crossed over to the port of Santa Cruz in California: for while wee were so beaten in the former tempest, the pilot of the Barke signified unto us, that he perceived she beganne to leake, and that already she had received in much water, insomuch that she beganne to founder: whereupon, to helpe her neede, and that wee might meete together in a knowen haven, if by chance the tempest should separate us, as it did indeed, we willed him to repaire to the haven of Santa Cruz, where we meant to repaire his harmes and our owne. Wherefore being all arrived in this place of Santa Cruz, wee stayed there five dayes and tooke in water, wherein we heard no newes of our Barke which we had lost: Whereupon the Captaine resolved to follow on our voyage; wherefore we set saile the 12. of September, and as wee sailed we saw along the coast of the saide haven 3. Islands, whereof the Captaine made no great accompt, thinking there coulde be no great good found in any of them. These Islands seemed not to be great; wherefore he commanded the Masters and pilotes to proceed on their voyage, and not to leese time without any profit. So sailing over the gulfe of California, in two dayes and an halfe we came to the river of S. Peter and S. Paul, finding before we entred into the same a small Island in the mouth of the River, being 4. or 5. miles distant from

*The Isles of  
Xalisco.*

*Guajaval.*

*Santa Cruz  
in the point of  
California.*

*Three Islands.*

*Rio de san  
Pedro y san  
Pablo.*

the maine. On both sides of this River wee beheld goodly and pleasant great plaines full of many greene and beautifull trees, and farther within the land we beheld certaine exceeding high mountaines full of woods very pleasant to beholde. From this River wee sailed still along the coast the space of 15. leagues, in which course wee found two other Rivers in our judgement as great or greater then Guadalquivir the River of Sivilia in Spaine. Al the coast by these Rivers is plaine as the other which we had passed, with many woods: likewise within the lande appeared great mountaines covered with woods very beautifull to beholde, and beneath in the plaine appeared certaine lakes of water. From these Rivers we sailed 18. leagues, and found very pleasant plaines, and certaine great lakes whose mouthes opened into the Sea: here our Captaine thought good throughly to discover what those lakes were, and to search whether there were any good haven for his ships to ride in, or to harbour themselves, if any tempest should arise; and so hee commaunded a boat to be hoised out into the Sea, with a Master and five or sixe men to view them, and to sound the depth, and botom of them: who went thither, and found the coast very sholde, and the mouthes of the lakes; whereupon they made no accompt of them, onely because the shore was so shallow, for otherwise the land was very pleasant. Here at evening we saw on the shore 10. or 12. Indians and fires. The aforesaide two Rivers are two leagues distant the one from the other little more or lesse, and are great, as I have saide, and being in the last of them we went up to the ship-top, and saw many lakes, and one among the rest exceeding great, and wee supposed that they had their springs out of this great lake, as other Rivers also have from other lakes, for wee sawe the course of them severally each by themselves, having goodly woods growing all along their bankes. The currents of these Rivers might be discerned three leagues within the Sea: and at the mouthes of them were many

*Two great rivers.*

*Certaine great lakes.*

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small stakes set up for markes : the shore here is plaine and sandie, and the countrey very pleasant.

### Chap. 2.

Sailing along the coast from the two aforesaid great Rivers, they discover three mouthes of lakes and a goodly Countrey, they come unto Cabo Roxo, and take possession of those countreys for the Emperours Majesty. A discourse of the faire havens that are on those coastes, and of very many Islands which they saw, before they came to the Cape called Capode las Plaias.

**T**HIS day wee sailed along the coast the space of 16. leagues, and in the midst of this voyage there is a Bay very faire of 4. or 5. leagues, having certaine bankes or fences in it, in beholding whereof we tooke great pleasure. The night following we road in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage toward the North, and having sailed 3. or 4. leagues we saw 3. mouthes of lakes which entered into the land, where they became like standing pooles. Wee road a league distance from these mouthes in 6. fadome water, to see what they were, and sent our boat with certaine men, to see if there were any entry for our ships : for halfe a league from shore we had not past one or two fadome water. Here our men saw 7. or 8. Indians, and found sundry sorts of greene herbes somewhat differing from those of Nueva Espanna. The Countrey is plaine, but farre within land they saw great and small hils extending themselves a great way, and being very faire and pleasant to behold. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, sayling alwayes in sight of the plaine coast toward the Northwest, in 10. or 15. fadome water. And having sailed 6. good leagues we found a Bay on the coast within the land of about 5. leagues over, from whence the coast trended Northwest, and this day we sailed about 16. leagues. All this coast is plaine, and not so pleasant as that which

*The coast  
runneth  
Northward.*

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we had passed: here are certaine small hilles, but not so high as those which we had found before. Thus we sailed all night Northwest, and until the next day at noone, at which time we fell with a headland of white sand, where by the height which we tooke that day we found our selves to be in the latitude of 27. degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . This cape we called *Capo Roxo*. All the coast is plaine and faire and cleane sand, and we saw within land some few trees not very great, with certaine mountaines & woods 3. or 4. leagues distant from the said cape: and here likewise appeared a mouth of a river, which (as far as we could discerne) made certaine lakes up within the land: from the mouth whereof for the space of a league into the sea it seemed to be very sholde, because the sea did breake very much. Here we saw within the land 3. or 4. rivers. In this sort we sailed on our voiage to the Northward, & because we had not good weather we roade that night in a great haven lying in our way, where on the shore wee saw certaine plaines, and up within the land certaine hilles not very high: and continuing our course toward the North about 3. leagues from this haven we found an Iland of about one league in circuite lying before the mouth of the said haven. And sailing forward we found an haven which hath two mouthes into the Sea, into which we entered by the Northermost mouth, which hath 10. or 12. fadome water, & so decreaseth till it come to 5. fadome, where we anckered in a poole which the Sea maketh, which is a strange thing to beholde, for there are so many entrances & mouths of streames and havens, that we were all astonied at the sight thereof; and these havens are so excellently framed by nature, as the like are not to be seene in the world, wherein we found great store of fish. Here wee anckered, and the Captaine went on shore, and tooke possession, using all such ceremonies as thereunto belong. Here also wee found certaine weares to catch fish made by the Indians, and certaine small cottages, wherein were

*Capo Roxo.*

*The coast  
runneth  
Northward.*

*Fishingweares  
like those of  
Virginia.*

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divers pieces of earthen pots as finely made as those in Spaine. Here by commandement of the Captaine a Crosse was erected upon an hill, and it was set up by Francis Preciado. In this place we saw the Countrey full of fresh and greene grasse, howbeit differing from that of New Spaine, and up within the Countrey wee saw many great and very greene mountaines. This Countrey seemed very goodly and delightsome to all of us, in regard of the greenesse and beautie thereof, and we judged it to be very populous within the land. From this haven we departed and kept our way toward the Northwest with good weather, and began to finde hard by the sea-shore exceeding high mountaines spotted with white, and in them we saw many foules which had their nestes in certaine holes of those rocks, and sailed 10. leagues until night, all which night we were becalmed. The next day we followed our course Northwest with good weather: and from that day forward we began to see on the Westerne shore (whereon the foresaid haven of S. Cruz standeth) certaine Islands or high lands, whereat we rejoyced not a little. And so sayling forward we met with an Island about two leagues in bignesse, and on the East shore having still the maine land and Islands in sight, we sailed 15. leagues until the evening, alwayes finding hard by the sea-coast exceeding high mountaines bare of trees, the land appearing still more plainely unto us on the Westerne shore. Whereupon wee began to be of divers opinions, some thinking that this coast of Santa Cruz was a firme land, and that it joyned with the continent of Nueva Espanna, others thought the contrary, and that they were nothing else but Islands, which were to the Westward. And in this sort we proceeded forward, having the land on both sides of us, so farre, that we all began to wonder at it. This day we sailed some 15. leagues, and called this Cape Capo de las Plaias.

*An Island.*

*Some take the  
land of Cali-  
fornia to be  
nothing but  
Islands.*



## Chap. 3.

Of the Streight which they discovered on the coast of Capo de las Plaias, and of the pleasant Countrey which they found before they came to the rockes called Los diamantes. Of the wonderfull whitenesse of that Sea, and of the ebbing and flowing thereof: and of the multitude of Islands and lands, which extend themselves Northward from the haven of Santa Cruz.

**T**He day folowing we sailed until night with so good weather, that we ran about 20. leagues. All this coast along the shore is full of little hilles without grasse or trees: and that night we ankered in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage beginning to saile before breake of day Northwestward, and we came into the midst of a Streight or mouth which was 12 leagues broad from one land to the other, which Streight had two Ilands in the midst thereof being 4. leagues distant the one from the other: and here we discerned the countrey to be plaine, and certaine mountaines, & it seemed that a certaine gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine. This streight (as far as we could perceive) was very deep, for we could finde no botome: and here we saw the land stretching afarre off from the one shore to the other, and on the Westerne shore of the haven of S. Cruz, the land was more high with very bare mountaines. The day following we passed on our way toward the North, and sailed some 15. leagues, and in the midst of our way we found a circuit or bay of 6. leagues into the land with many cooves or creeks, and the next day following continuing our course we sailed some 10. leagues, and the coast in this dayes journey was all of high mountaines naked and bare without any tree. It is very deepe hard by the shore, and that night we were constrained to stay by reason of the contrary winde. The next morning before breake of day we sailed still along the coast to

[III. 400.]

*A Streight of  
12. leagues  
broad, of ex-  
ceeding depth.*

*The Streight  
here runneth  
Northward.*

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the Northwest until evening, and ranne about some 15. leagues. All along this shore wee sawe very goodly mountaines within the land, and many plaines and downes with some few trees, & the sea shore was all sandy. In the midst of this dayes course we found certaine small rockes in the sea 4. leagues distant from the maine, were the said land maketh a great point into the sea, and here we stayed the rest of the night, where we had a very great shower of raine. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, and sailed untill night by a compasse or turning, some 8. or 9. leagues, and saw within land a few mountaines having no trees upon them, but the Sunne shining alwayes very cleare, as farre as wee could descry, they were very great, on the Westerne shore of the haven of Santa Cruz. Here we stayed all night because we found very shallow water and sawe the sea very white, and in a maner like to chalke, so that we all beganne to marveile thereat. The day following we went forward againe along the coast Northwestward, and sailed eight leagues, and saw another land which stretched Northwest, and was full of high mountaines. And still continuing this course we searched very diligently to see if there were any passage through betweene both the landes, for right forward wee sawe no land. And thus sayling wee alwayes found more shallow water, and the Sea thicke, blacke, and very muddie, and came at length into five fadome water; and seeing this, wee determined to passe over to the land which wee had seene on the other side, and here likewise wee found as little depth and lesse, whereupon we rode all night in five fadome water, and wee perceived the Sea to runne with so great a rage into the land, that it was a thing much to be marveilled at, and with the like fury it returned backe againe with the ebbe; during which time wee found 11. fadome water, and the flood and ebbe continued from sixe to sixe houres.

The day following the Captaine and Pilote went up to the shippes top, and sawe all the lande full of sand in

a great round compasse, and joyning it selfe with the other shore, and it was so low, that whereas wee were a league from the same wee could not well discerne it, and it seemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes, whereby the Sea went in and out. There were divers opinions amongst us, and some thought that that current entered into those lakes, and also that some great River there might be the cause thereof. And when we could perceive no passage through, nor could discerne the countrey to be inhabited, the Captaine accompanied with certaine of us went to take possession thereof. The same day with the ebbe of the Sea wee fell downe from the other coast from the side of Nueva Espanna, though alwayes we had in sight the firme land on the one side of us, and the other Islands on our left hande, on the side of the port of Santa Cruz situate on the Westerne shore: for on that side there are so many Islands and lands, so farre as we could descry, that it was greatly to be wondered at: for from the said haven of Santa Cruz, and from the coast of Culiacan we had alwayes in a maner land on both sides of us, and that so great a countrey, that I suppose if it should so continue further inwarde, there is countrey ynough for many yeeres to conquer. This day wee had the winde contrary, and cast ancker until the flood increased, which was in the afternoone, and then wee set saile likewise with contrary winde untill midnight, and then cast ancker.

The next day wee departed, shaping our course along the coast Southwest, untill midnight with little winde, and wee sawe within the land high mountaines with some openings, and wee made way some three leagues, and all the next night wee were becalmed, and the next day we continued our course but a little while, for we sailed not above five leagues, and all the night were becalmed, and sawe the lande full of bare and high mountaines, and on our left hande wee descried a plaine countrey, and saw in the night certaine fires.

[Chap. 4

Chap 4.

[III. 401.] They land upon an Island to discover the same, and there they see many fires, which issue out of certaine mountaines, and many Seale-fishes. Here they take an Indian, and can not understand his language. Running along they discover another Island, and take possession therof for the Emperours Majestie, and a great haven in the firme land, which they call Ancon de Sant Andres, or The haven of S. Andrew.

**T**He next day following our course we saw a great haven with an Iland in the sea, within a crosse-bow shoote of the firme land, and in this Island and on the firme land were seene many smokes by the judgement of all the company; wherefore the captaine thought good that wee should goe on land to know the certainty of these smokes and fires, himselfe taking ten or twelve of us with a boate in his company: and going on shore in the Island, we found that the smokes proceeded out of certaine mountaines and breaches of burned earth, whereout ascended into the aire certaine cinders and ashes which mounted up to the middle region of the aire, in such great quantitie, that we could not esteeme lesse then twenty lodes of wood to bee burned for the causing of every of those smokes, whereat wee were all not a little amazed.

*Burning  
mountaines.*

In this Island were such abundance of Seales, as it was wonderful. Here we stayed that day, and killed a great number of these Seals, with whom we had some trouble: for they were so many, and ayded one another so well, that it was strange to behold; for it fell out, that while we were occupied in killing some of them with staves, they assembled twentie or thirty together, and lifting themselves up assayed us with their feete in a squadron, and overthrew two or three of our company on the ground: whereupon letting goe those which they had in their hands, they and the others escaped us and went into

*Abundance of  
Seales.*

the sea, howbeit wee killed good store of them, which were so fatte as it was wonderfull : and when we opened some of them to have their livers, we found certaine small blacke stones in their bodies, whereat wee much marveiled. The next day wee rode at anker here for lacke of good weather to sayle withall : whereupon the Captaine determined to goe on shore with nine or ten in his company, to see whether there were any people there, or any signe of people that had bene there, and they found on the maine land seven or eight Indians like to Chichimecas, which were gone a fishing, and had a raft of canes ; who so soone as they espied us ranne away and betooke themselves to flight, but being pursued by us, in the end we tooke one of them, whose language was so strange that wee could by no meanes understand him ; his clothing was nothing at all, for he was starke naked. These people caried their water in bottels made of beasts skins, they fished with hookes of bone, and wee found good store of their fishes, whereof we tooke three or foure dozen.

*A raft of  
canes.*

*Bottles of  
beasts skins  
and fishhooks  
of bone.*

The Indian which we had taken seeing himselfe in our hands did nothing but weepe, but the Captaine called him, and made much of him, giving him certaine beades, with a hat and certaine hookes of ours, and then let him goe. And it seemed that after hee was returned to his companions, he declared unto them how we had done him no harme at all, shewing them the things which we had given him : whereupon they also determined to come unto us to our boate, but because it was now night, and that our shippes were farre from us, we forced not to stay for them, especially because it was a bad place and a dangerous. This countrey hath on the sea-coast high and bare mountaines with certaine grasse in some places like unto our broomes, or like unto woods of rosemary.

The next day wee sayled neere to the coast on the same side, with very scarce winde, and in a manner calme, and ranne not above five leagues, and all the night following we lay becalmed, and we saw on the

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shore five or six fires. The land is high with very high mountaines without grasse, having certaine caves in them: the next day also, and part of the night following we were becalmed: and the morow after we followed our course along the sayd coast, and passed betweene a great Island full of exceeding high mountaines, and the maine land, where we saw a very great haven in the firme land in which wee ankered to see what it was, and being come to an anker, the Captaine and some of us went on land the same day to see if there were any people and fresh water, and wee found certaine small cottages covered with drie grasse, with certaine little staves layd overthwart, and we went a little way into the countrey which was very baren, by certaine small and streight pathes, and found a little pond or pit, but drie and without water; and here the Captaine tooke possession for the Marques of the valley in the name of his Majestie, and after this we returned to our ship, and that night we sawe foure or five fires on the land. The next day the Captaine determined, because hee had seene these fires, to goe on shore, and so with our two boates we went fifteene or twenty of us unto certaine crooked strands two leagues from the place where our ships rode, and where we had seene the fires, and we found two Indians of exceeding huge stature, so that they caused us greatly to wonder; they caried their bowes and arrowes in their hands, and as soone as they saw us leap on shore they ran away, and wee followed them unto their dwellings and lodgings, which were certaine cottages and bowers covered with boughs, and there we found great and small steps of many people, but they had no kind of victuals but onely cuttle-fishes which wee found there. The countrey toward the sea side seemed but barren, for we saw neither trees nor greene grasse there, yet were there certaine smal pathes not well beaten, and along the sea-coast we saw many tracts of dogges, hares, and conies, and in certaine small Islands neere unto the

*Ancon de S.  
Andres, or The  
haven of S.  
Andrez in 32  
degrees.*

[III. 402.]

*Two Indians  
of exceeding  
huge stature.*

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maine we saw Seale-fishes. This haven is called Ancon de Sant Andres.

*Ancon de Sant  
Andres.*

### Chap. 5.

They discover a mountainous Island very great, and neere unto it certaine other Islands with a goodly greene and pleasant countrey. They have sight of certaine Indians in Canoas of canes, whose language sounded like the Flemish tongue, with whome they could not have any traffique.

**T**He next day we proceeded on our voyage, sayling betweene the maine and an Island, which we suppose to be in circuit about a hundreth or eighty leagues, sayling sometimes within one, and sometimes within two leagues of the maine. The soile of this Island is of certaine mountaines not very steepe with caves in them, and as farre as wee could descrie by the coast, there appeared no signe of any plaine countrey. Here from this day forward wee began to bee afraid, considering that we were to returne to the port of Santa Cruz; for it was supposed, that all along this mighty gulfe from the entrance in at Culiacan until the returning backe unto the said haven, was all firme land, and also because wee had the firme land always on our right hand and it goeth round circle-wise unto the sayd haven; but many thought and hoped that we should finde some mouth or out-let, whereby wee might passe through unto the other coast. What our successe was we will declare in the relation following.

*A great  
Island.*

The next day being Thursday wee sayled with scant winde, for it was almost calme, and passed beyond that great Island, having firme land always on our right hand, and coasting (as I sayd) very neere unto it. The next day likewise we sayled with little winde, it being in a manner calme, and passed neere unto the shore by certaine round baies, and certaine points which the land made, which was pleasant to behold being somewhat greene, and there seemed to be some

*They returne  
from the bot-  
tome of the gulf  
of California.*

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*Another  
Island.*

creeke there. This Friday at night wee sayled altogether with a fresh gale, and at breake of day wee were betweene the maine land, and an Island on our left hand, which was somewhat big, as farre as we could discerne. There was a great bay in the firme land, and before it was a point which stretched farre into the sea. The firme land seemed to bee much fresher and pleasanter then those lands which we had passed, having many bankes and hilles of indifferent height, and beautifull to behold.

The countrey (as farre as wee could discerne) was so pleasant and delightfull, that wee all desired to goe on shore, and to search up into it two or three dayes journey, to see whether it were inhabited or not. Wee saw within the land of that bay two fires. The night following being Saturday we sailed continually with a prosperous and fresh gale, and the wind was so great that we drew our bonet to our maine sayle, and sayled so till the morning.

On Sunday the twelfth of October we found our selves altogether inclosed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compassed us before and behinde, and on the left hand with an Island of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Island in the midst of the sea there lay a small Islet, and also betweene the sayd maine and the Island there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a passage whereby afterward we passed through. This maine was much more fresh and greene then the other which wee had passed, and had certaine plaines and points of mountaines of pleasant view, and full of greene grasse. Here all this night we saw two or three villages which were very great, and at breake of day we saw a Canoa or boate made of canes, which came from the land out of a creeke, and wee stood still untill it came neere unto us in the ship, and they began to speake in their language which no man understood, whose pronuntiation was like to the Flemings, and being



called they returned with great haste unto the shore, and we were very sory because our boate had not followed them.

Here happened unto us a very strange thing, which was, that as this Indian returned to the shore in certaine of these creekes where a number of his fellow Indians were, as wee viewed that part, we sawe five Canoas issue foorth, which came toward us: whereupon wee stayed to see what they would doe. In the meane while our Admirall came up unto us, which was neere the shore, for she also had seene them, and so being come together we cast anker, expecting what those Canoas would doe. In the meane while our Generall commanded us to make ready our boate, and to furnish the same with oares and men, to trie if we could by any meanes take some of them, that we might come to some knowledge of them, and that wee might give them some of our trifles, and specially of our hookes and beads to winne their friendship. The Indians with their five Canoas approched within one or two stones cast of us, and then began to speake very loude unto us in a very strange language, alwayes standing upon their guard to retire themselves with speede. When our Captaine saw this, and that they would not come neere us, but rather retired, he commanded sixe mariners to goe into the boate from the sterne of the ship, and himselfe also went with them with all possible haste toward the Indians. The Indians returned to the shore with so great celeritie, that they seemed to flie in those little Canoas of canes. Neverthelesse our men used such diligence that one of the Canaos was boarded & taken; but the Indian in the Canoa seeing himselfe now taken leapt into the water, and our men followed with their boat to take him, but seeing himselfe within their reach, he ducked with his head under their boate, and so deceived them, and then rose up againe, and with their oares and with staves they gave

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him certaine blowes, to amaze him, but nothing would serve them; for as they were about to lay handes upon him hee still dived under water, and with his hands and feete got neere to the shore: and as he rose up above the water, hee called to his felowes which stood on the shore to behold, crying Belen with a loud voyce, and so they pursued him, and strooke him sometimes being very neere the shore, and he alwayes went calling the rest of his fellowes to come and helpe him, whereupon within a short while after three other Canoas came foorth to succour him, being full of Indians with bowes and arrowes in their handes, crying with a loude voyce, that wee should come on shore: these Indians were of great stature and salvage, fat also and well set, and of a browne colour. Our Captaine perceiving this, lest they should wound any of our people with their arrowes, returned backe, and commanded us immediately to set sayle, and so foorthwith wee departed.

This day the wind skanted, and we returned to anker in the foresayd place, and our Admirall rode from the firme land toward the Island, and wee which were in the ship called The Trinitie lay neere unto the maine, and before breake of day wee departed with a fresh gale. And before we disemboqued out of that chanell we saw certaine grasse very high and greene upon the maine: whereupon a mariner, and the Pilot went up into the top, and saw the mouth of a river which ranne through that greene countrey into the sea. But because our Admirall was under all her sayles farre from us, we could not tell them of this river, where wee would have taken water, whereof we had some neede, and because it was a very good haven to goe on shore to take it, and therefore without watering we followed our course. On munday we departed from this haven which is like unto a lake, for on all sides we were compassed with land, having the continent before, behinde us, and on our right side, and the Island on our left side, and we passed foorth

*Port Belen a  
very good  
haven.*

at those mouthes beforementioned, which shewed an out-let into the open sea. Thus wee sayled along still viewing the situation of the countrey, rejoycing all of us at the sight thereof, for it alwayes pleased us more and more, still appearing more greene and pleasant, and the grasse which wee found neere unto the shore was fresh and delectable, but not very high, being (to all our judgements) not past a spanne long. Likewise the hilles which wee saw, which were many, and many downes made a very pleasant prospect, especially because we judged, that there were many valleys and dales betweene them.

## Chap. 6.

They discover a very great bay with foure small Islands in it, whereas they take possession. As they sayle along and discover divers Islands they come at length to the port of Santa Cruz, where not being able to get any knowledge of those Indians, although they lay in waite for them at a place called The well of Grijalva, they departed thence. They have a perillous and long tempest, which ceased, after they had seene a light on their shrowdes.

**A**T our comming out of these openings we began to finde a Bay with a very great haven, environed with divers small hilles having upon them greene woods and pleasant to behold. In this bay and strand were two small Islands neere unto the shore, one of the which was like unto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands served us onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, having but a slacke wind on Munday morning: all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point of the sayd haven; and on Tewesday at breake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because

*A great  
haven.*

[III. 404.]

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the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this haven; but about midnight wee began to have a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seven leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small woody hilles, and within the other point which was before descried, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delightsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the uttermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by evening between seven and eight leagues, and came over against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into every of which a river seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with five or sixe men went on shore, and taking possession passed up one of those rivers, and found the footing of many Indians upon the sand. On the bankes of that river they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees, and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The same night wee set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made us to strike our foresayle; and on the sixeteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere unto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being sixe or seven leagues off. The land seemed to bee very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we drew neere

to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were sorry, because we were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that land, and that the same port was the same out-let, and also that by the sayd coast we might returne to the foresayd haven of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, because we had not certainly sought out the secret, whether that were a Streit or a river, which wee had left behind us unsearched at the bottome of this great sea or gulfe.

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scant winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we saw before and behinde foure or five great and small Islands. The land was very mountainous, part wherof was covered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hills, and in this place we were come neere unto the haven of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be divided in the very nooke by some streite or great river which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not throughly discovered, all of us that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieved. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the haven of Acapulco, which standeth in seven-teene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hand, untill we came to the great current of the white & red sea: and here (as I have said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a river or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed up without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, untill wee returned unto the sayd haven of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant cuntry, and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in fresh water at the haven of Santa Cruz, to

*A bay with 4  
or 5 Islands.*

*This current  
is in 32 de-  
grees, and the  
sea is white  
and red.*

*This returne  
is mentioned  
cap. 5.*

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runne along the outward Westerne coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested our selves, and eat of the plummes and fruits called Pithaias : and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selves all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselves. Our captaine determined to divide amongst us certain garments of taffata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of taffata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of us went out of our ship by night, and lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalva, where we stayed untill noone betweene certaine secret wayes, and could never see or descrie any one Indian : wherefore wee returned to our ships, with two mastive-dogs which we caried with us to catch the Indians with more ease : and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did : but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not : wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles, and of the thornes and bryars, and because we were weary, we could never overtake them : they left behinde them certaine staves so finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

The nine and twentieth of October being Wednesday, we set sayle out of this haven of Santa Cruz with little winde, and in sayling downe the chanell our shippe called the Trinitie came on ground upon certaine sholdes : this was at noone at a low water, and with all the remedy that we could use wee could not draw her off, whereupon wee were constrained to underprop her, and to stay

*They arrive  
at the haven  
of Santa  
Cruz.*

[III. 405.]

*The Spaniards  
use mastives  
to take the  
Indians.*

*Reade more of  
these staves  
cap. 10.*

the next tide : and when the tide began to increase wee used all diligence to draw her off, and could not by any meanes, whereat all the company and the Captaine were not a little grieved: for wee thought wee should have lost her there, although wee ceased not with all our might to labour with both our boates, and with our cable and capsten. In the ende it pleased God about midnight at a full sea with the great force which wee used to recover her, that wee drew her off the sand, for which we gave God most hearty thankes, and rode at anker all the rest of the night, wayting for day-light for feare of falling into any further danger or mishap. When day was come, wee set forward with a fresh gale, and proceeded on our voyage, directing our prowes to the maine sea, to see whether it would please God to let us discover the secret of this point. But whether it pleased not his great goodnesse, or whether it were for our sinnes, wee spent eight dayes from this port, before we could double the point, by reason of contrary winds, and great raine, and lightning and darknesse every night : also the windes grew so raging and tempestuous, that they made us all to quake, and to pray continually unto God to ayde us. And hereupon wee made our cables and ankers ready, and the chiefe Pilot commanded us with all speede to cast anker, and in this sorte we passed our troubles : and whereas wee rode in no securitie, he caused us forthwith to weigh our ankers, and to goe whither the wind should drive us. And in this sorte wee spent those eight dayes, turning backe by night the same way that wee had gone by day, and sometimes making good in the night that which we had lost in the day, not without great desire of all the company to have a winde which might set us forward on our voyage, being afflicted with the miseries which wee indured by reason of the thunders, lightnings, and raine, wherewith we were wet from toppe to toe, by reason of the toyle which we had in weighing and casting of our ankers, as neede required.

And on one of these nights, which was very darke

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and tempestuous with winde and raine, because we thought we should have perished, being very neere the shore, we prayed unto God that he would vouchsafe to ayde and save us without calling our sinnes to remembrance. And straightway wee saw upon the shrowdes of the Trinity as it were a candle, which of it selfe shined, and gave a light, whereat all the company greatly rejoyced, in such sort that wee ceased not to give thankes unto God. Whereupon we assured our selves, that of his mercie hee would guide and save us, and would not suffer us to perish, as indeede it fell out; for the next day wee had good weather, and all the mariners sayd, that it was the light of Saint Elmo which appeared on the shrowdes, and they saluted it with their songs and prayers. These stormes tooke us betweene the Isles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip, and the Isle called Isla de perlas lying over against the point of California supposed to be firme land.

### Chap. 7.

Sayling on their way they discover a pleasant Countrey, and in their judgement greatly inhabited, and finde the Sea-coast very deepe. They went to discover or viewe the Isle of perles. And by a current one of their ships is separated from the other, and with great joy after three dayes they had sight again of her, and following their voyage they discover certaine great, greene, and pleasant plaines.

*November.*

[III. 406.]

**W**E began to sayle along the coast the seventh or eight of November, the land alwayes shewing very greene with grasse pleasant to behold, and certaine plaines neere the shore, and up within the countrey many pleasant hils replenished with wood, and certaine valleys, so that wee were delighted above measure, and wondered at the greatnes and goodly view of the countrey: & every night we saw fires, which shewed that the countrey is greatly inhabited. Thus we proceeded on our voyage untill the tenth of the sayd moneth of November, having



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always the coast of the maine Ocean on our right hand, and the farther we sailed, wee alwayes found the countrey more delightsome and pleasant, as well in beholding the greennes therof, as also in that it shewed certaine plaines and deepe valleys, through which rivers did fall downe into the land, within certaine mountaines, and hilles full of great woods which were not very high, and appeared within the countrey. Here we were 54 leagues distant from California little more or lesse, alwayes toward the Southwest, seeing in the night three or foure fires, whereby it appeareth that the countrey is inhabited, and full of people, for the greatnes of the countrey argueth no lesse: and we supposed that there must needs bee great townes inhabited within the land, although in this poynt we were of divers opinions. The sea is so deepe on all this coast that we could scarce find ground in 54 fadomes. On the greatest part of the coast there are hilles of very white sand, and it seemeth to be a dangerous coast, because of the great and swift tides which goe there, for the sand sheweth so much for the space of ten or twelve leagues, for so the Pilots affirmed. This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of pearles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all covered over with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side, and wee entred into the Porte of Santa Cruz. From the ninth of November to the fifteenth we sayled not above tenne leagues, because we had contrary winds, and great showres: and besides this we had another mischance which did not a little grieve us: for wee lost company of the ship called The Trinitie, and could never see her for the space of three dayes, whereupon wee suspected that shee was returned home unto New Spaine, or that she was severed from our company: wherefore we were grieved out of measure to see our selves so left alone, and the Captaine of all others was most sad, though he ceased not to encourage us to proceede on our voyage, saying that notwithstanding all this wee ought

*From hence forward they saile on the westerne or backside of California.*

*California.*

*Isla de perlas.*

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not to leave off this enterprize which we had begunne, and that though we were left alone we should deserve the greater commendation and credite: whereupon wee all answered him, that wee would not have him thinke that any of us would ever be discouraged, but that we would follow him untill hee should thinke it reasonable that we should not proceede any further in the enterprize, and that we were in danger of perishing, and that untill then wee would bee at his commandement: but withall we perswaded him that after he had seene any great difficulty to proceede any further, he should doe well to returne backe to make relation of our successe to the R. H. lord the Marques de valle. Hereupon he made an Oration unto us wherein he told us, that he could not beleeve, much lesse could imagine, wherefore the shippe called the Trinitie should returne into Newe Spaine, nor why she should willingly depart from us, and goe unto any other place, and that he thought by all reason, that some current had caried her out of our sight, and that through contrary weather and tempests she could not fetch us up, and that notwithstanding all that which we had done in the voyage, he had an instruction, that if by chance we were separated one from the other, wee were to take this course to meete againe together, namely to returne backe eight or tenne leagues to seeke one another, beyond certaine head-lands which lay out into the sea, and that therefore we should doe well to returne to seeke her up. This sentence pleased us all, and so returning to seeke her, we espied her two leagues distant from us, comming toward us with a fresh gale of winde, whereat we greatly rejoyced.

Thus being come together we ankered for that day, because the weather seemed very contrary, and the Capitaine chid them for their negligence in sayling, because they had in such sort lost our company; and they excused themselves, that they could doe no lesse, because *A current.* a current had caried them away above three leagues, whereby they could never reach unto us. The next day

being the sixteenth of November wee set forward, but sayled very little, for the North and Northwest winds were against us. Here we discovered certaine plaines, in my judgement very great and greene, and right before us we could not discerne any mountaines or woods, whereat wee marveiled to see so great a country. And wee met an Indian in a Canoa on the shore whereon the sea did breake, who stayed to beholde us a great while, and oftentimes hee lifted up himselfe to view us the better, & then returned backe along the coast: we used al diligence to see whether he would come out further from the shore, to give him chace, and to trie whether we could catch him, but he very cunningly viewed us without comming neere unto us, and returned to the shore with his Canoa. Here we saw in the evening but one fire, and wist not whether it were done by the cunning of the Indians, because they would not have us know that there were people there, or that it was so indeede. From the said 16 day of November untill the 24 of the same moneth we could not proceede on our way above 12 or 15 leagues: and looking into our Sea-chart, we found our selves distant from the Xaguges of the Port of Santa Cruz about 70 leagues. Now on the 24 being munday very early in the morning we beganne to take very good view of that Country, and all along the coast we saw many faire plaines with certaine furrowes made in the midst like unto halfe plaines, the said plaine still appearing up into the Country, with pleasant champions, because the grasse which grew there was very beautifull, short, and greene, and good pasture for cattell. Howbeit because we rode so farre off, we could not perfectly judge what kind of grasse it was, but it shewed very short and greene, and without thornes. These plaines on the right hand made a bay into a valley which seemed to be a piece of a mountaine: the rest shewed to be al plaines without any thistles or weedes, but full of grasse good for cattel very green and faire, as I have said.

[III. 407.]

*They are 70  
leagues from  
the port of  
Santa Cruz.*

Chap. 8.

One of their ships by tempest was separated from the other, and afterward meeting with her consort she reporteth that the land stretcheth to the West by the mouth of the great lake. The Pilots are of divers judgements touching the state of this coast inhabited by Chichimecas. They enter into an haven to take in fresh water, and are suddenly assayed by two squadrons of Indians. They defend themselves valiantly, and the Captaine with some of his souldiers are grievously wounded.

**T**He 26 of this moneth being Wednesday at night the North wind tooke us, which still increased more and more so greatly that it put us to much trouble, for it continued two dayes, in which the Sea was alwayes boisterous; and this night againe we lost the Trinity being beaten with the North winde aforesaid (and we had sight of her on munday the 24) wherewith we were all of us greatly agrieved, both Captaines, Souldiers and Mariners, because we saw we were left alone, and our ship call Santa Agueda wherein we were, was but badly conditioned, and this grieved us more then the trouble which we had with the boisterousnesse of the Sea, imagining that if we should leese the Trinity, or if any mishap should fall unto us, we should not be able to follow our voyage according to our Captaines and our owne desire. This said 24 day being munday we saw a Countrey with high mountaines toward the Northwest, and it seemed that the land stretched on still forward, whereat we exceedingly rejoyced, because we judged that the lande grew alwayes broader and broader, and that wee should meete with some speciall good thing. Whereupon we desired that it would please God to send us good weather for our voyage, which hitherto we found alwayes contrary, so that in 26 dayes we sayled not above 70 leagues, and that with much trouble, sometimes riding at anker and sometimes sayling, and seeking

*Land running  
towards the  
Northwest.*

*Note.*

the remedies and benefite of the shore to avoide perils. In this Countrey which we discovered the 26 day we alwayes saw (as I have said) along the shore, and within the land, goodly plaines without any tree, in the midst wherof was a lake or gathering together of the Sea-water, which (to our judgement) was above 12 leagues in compasse, and the sea-coast reached to the mountaines before mentioned. And this day we saw our ship called the Trinitie, which rode 2 leagues distant from us, which so soone as she saw us, set saile, and we came together and rejoyced greatly. They brought us great quantity of gray fishes, and of another kinde: for at the point of those mountaines they found a fishing which was very wonderfull, for they suffered themselves to be taken by hand: and they were so great that every one had much adoe to finde roome to lay his fish in. They found also on the said point a fountaine of fresh water which descended from those hilles, and they told us that at the same place they had found a narrow passage, whereby the Sea entered into the said lake. They comforted us much with the report of these things, and in telling us that the lande trended to the West; for the chiefe Pilot thought, and the other Pilot was of the same opinion, that we should finde a good Countrey. This night we set saile to goe to that point to take in fresh water which we wanted, and to see this lake, and to put some men on shore: and after midnight the winde came upon us so forcibly at the North that we could not stay there: whereupon wee were constrained to put further into the Sea, and returned the same way backe againe unto the shore with much adoe, and came to an anker a great way short of the place from whence we were driven: and there we rode untill Thursday at noone with this bitter North winde, and on Friday about noone, when we most thought it would have ceased, it beganne to increase againe, which grieved us not a little seeing the weather so contrary, hoping alwayes that it would cease, and that some winde would blow from the shore, whereby

*A wonderfull  
fishing place  
like New-  
foundland.*

[III. 408.] we might recover the point of land to take in fresh water, and to search whether there were any people about that lake. Here we lay from the 26 of the saide moneth till the 29, driving up and downe the Sea, winding in by little and little untill we had gotten under the shelter of those mountaines: which being obtayned wee rode the sayd 29 of the moneth halfe a league from those woody mountaines, which we had seene in the Sea. We stayed in this place at our ease all the Sunday, and Juan Castilio the chiefe Pilot went that day in the bote on shore with seven in his company, and they landed neere the Sea, and on a certaine low ground they found foure or five Indians Chichimecas of great stature, and went toward them, who fled away like Deere that had beene chased. After this the Pilot went a little way along the Sea-shore, and then returned to his boate, and by that time he was entered thereinto, he saw about fiteene Indians of great stature also, with their bowes and arrowes which called unto him with a loude and strong voice, making signes with their bowes; but the Pilot made no account of their gesture, but rather returned to the shippes, and declared what had passed betweene him and the Indians. The same day the Captaine commaunded that our caske should be made readie against the next morning to take in water, for in both the shippes there were about five and twentie buttes emptie. The first of December, and the second day in the morning the Captaine went with both the barkes on shore with some dozen souldiers, and the greatest part of the Mariners which laboured in filling of water, leaving in the shippes as many as were needefull, and as soone as wee were come on shore at the watering place the Captaine caused the buttes to be taken out, to the ende they might be filled with water, and while they returned to fetch the barrels and hogsheds of the shippe, the Captaine walked a turne or two upon the shore for the space of one or two crossebow shoots, and afterwarde we went up to certaine of those

mountaines, to view the disposition of the countrey, and in trueth we found it in that place very bad to our judgement, for it was very ragged, full of woods and caves, and so stonie, that we had much adoe to goe. Being come unto the top we found certaine small hilles full of woods, and cliffes that were not so craggie, although very troublesome to climbe up; and while we looked from these little hilles, we could not discern any more mountaines, but rather judged that from that place forward there were great plaines. The Captaine would not suffer us to goe any further, because in those places we had seene certaine Indians which seemed to be spies, and warning us thereof he commanded us to retire unto the shore, where we were to take in water, and to dispatch our businesse quickly, and appointed us to make certaine pits, that our butts might more easily be filled with water. And setting our Guardes or Centinels, we beganne to fill water. In the meane while the Captaine tooke certaine souldiers, and went to the top of an high hill, from whence he descryed a great part of the Sea, and a lake which is within the land: for the Sea entereth in the space of a league, and there is a good fishing place round about: and the lake was so great, that it seemed unto us to be very neere 30 leagues in compasse, for we could not discern the end thereof. Then we came downe with no lesse trouble then we had mounted up unto the hill, by reason of the steepnesse of the place, and some tumbled downe with no small laughter of the rest. And being come somewhat late to our watering place (for it was then past noone) we set our selves to dinner, alwayes appointing some of our company in Centinell, untill we were called to dinner, and when some were called two others were appointed in their roomes. And about two of the clocke after dinner, the Captaine and the rest suspecting no danger of assalt of Indians, both because the place seemed not to be fit for it, as also for that we had set our Centinels at the passages; two squadrons of Indians

*A fishing place  
and a lake of  
30 leagues  
compasse.*

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*A sudden  
assault of the  
Indians with  
stones, arrows,  
and staves.*

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came upon us very secretly and covertly, for one came by the great valley through which the water ranne which we tooke, and the other came by a part of that great hill which we had ascended to see the lake, and all of them came so covertly, that our Centinels could neither see nor heare them; and wee had not perceived them, if a souldier by chance lifting up his eyes had not sayde, Arme, Arme, my maisters, for many Indians come upon us. When we heard this the Captaine leapt up in a great rage, because the guards were changed out of their place: and with his sword and target, being followed by a souldier, whose name was Haro, and afterward by the rest, he and the said souldier went toward a little gate of certaine stones, whither the rest of us were to follow him: for if the Indians had gotten that place from us, we should have incurred great danger, and the greatest part of us had like to have beene slaine, and none could have escaped but such as by chance could have leapt into the boates, and the tide went so high, that none could be saved but such as were most excellent swimmers. But at length the Captaine bestirred himselfe very nimbly, using all celeritie that was possible. Therefore when he and Haro had wonne the gate, the rest of the souldiers gate up after them, and the Captaine and Haro turned themselves to the Indians and made head against them, and the Indians assailed them with such numbers of stones, arrowes, & javelins (which was a very strange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Captaine had on his arme, and besides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull unto him. While they thus stood to withstand their assault, they strooke Haro which was on the other side so forcibly with a stone, that they threw him flat upon the ground: and by and by another stone lighted upon him which shivered his Target, and they hit the Captaine with another arrow, and shot him quite through one of his eares. Another arrow came and strooke a

[III. 409.]



souldier called Graviello Marques in the legge, of which he felt great paine and went halting. In the meane space Francis Preciado, and certaine other souldiers came up and joynded himselfe with the rest on the left hand of the Captaine, saying unto him, Sir, withdrawe your selfe, for you be wounded, but be you not dismayed, for they are but Indians and cannot hurt us. In this wise we beganne to rush in among them upon the side of a rocke alwayes gayning ground of them, which greatly encouraged our mindes, and when we beganne to inforce them to retire, we wanne a small wooddy hill, where we sheltered our selves, whereas before they shot upon us from aloft, for they were on the higher ground under covert in safetie, & then by no meanes we could offend them, but by running forcibly upon them with our targets on our armes, and our swords in our hands. On the other side, to appoch and seeke to overtake them was a vaine thing, seeing they were as swift as wilde goates. By this time Haro was gotten up on foot, and having clapt a woollen cloth upon his head, which had bled extremely, he joynded himselfe unto us, of whom we received no small aide. In the meane space the Indians fortified themselves on the cragge of a rocke, from whence they did not a little molest us, & we likewise fortified our selves upon an hillocke, whereby we descended into their Fort, and there was a small valley betweene them & us, which was not very deepe from the upper part. There we were 6 souldiers & two Negroes with the Captaine, & all of us were of opinion that it was not good to passe that place, leas't ye Indians being many might destroy us all, for the rest of our souldiers which were beneath at the foote of the hill, making head against the other squadron of the Indians, kept them from hurting those which tooke in water on the strand and from breaking the butts of water, and being but few, we concluded to stay here, and so we stood still fortifying our selves as well as we could, especially considering that we had no succour on any side; for Bercillo our Mastive-dogge which should have

aided us was grievously wounded with 3 arrowes, so that by no meanes we could get him from us: this mastive was wounded in the first assalt when the Indians came upon us, who behaved himselfe very wel, & greatly aided us; for he set upon them, and put 8 or 10 of them out of array, & made them run away, leaving many arrowes behind them: but at length (as I have said) he was so wounded, that by no meanes we could get him to goe from us to set any more upon the Indians, & the other two mastives did us more harme then good: for when they went against them, they shot at them with their bowes, and we received hurt and trouble in defending them. The Captaines legge when he waxed cold was so swolne, that we lapped it up in a wollen cloth, and he halted much of it: and while the Indians thus stood still, one part of them beganne to dance, sing, and shout, and then they began all to lade themselves with stones, and to put their arrowes into their bowes, and to come downe toward us verie resolutely to assalt us, and with great out-cries they beganne to fling stones and to shoot their arrowes. Then Francis Preciado turned him to the Captaine and said: Sir, these Indians know or thinke, that we be affeard of them, & in trueth it is a great falt to give them this incouragement, it were better for us resolutely to set upon them with these dogs, & to assalt them on this hill, that they may know us to be no dastards, for they be but Indians and dare not stande us; and if we can get their Fort upon the hill, God will give us victory in all the rest. The Captaine answered, that he liked well of the motion, and that it was best so to doe, although for any further pursuit up the hill, he thought we were to take another course. By and by Francis Preciado getting his target on his arme, and his sword in his hand, ranne unto the other side of the valley, which on that part was not very steepe, crying S. Iago, upon them my masters, and after him leapt Haro, Tereça, Spinosa, and a Crossebow-man called Montanno, and after them followed the Captaine,

*The Spaniards use mastives in their warres against the Indians. Reade more hereof cap. 12.*

though very lame, with a Negro and a souldier which accompanied him, encouraging and comforting them, willing them not to feare. Thus we drave them to the place where they had fortified themselves, and from whence they descended, and we tooke another hill over against them within a darts cast of them. And having breathed our selves a little, the Captaine came unto us, and said, Go too my maisters, upon them before they strengthen themselves on this hill, for now we see plainly that they be affeard of us, seeing we chase them continually from their Forts: & suddenly 3 or 4 of us went toward them well covered with targets, unto the foot of their Fort where they were assembled, and the rest of our company followed us: the Indians beganne [III. 410.] to make head against us, and to fling many stones upon us, and shoot many arrowes, and we with our swords in our hands rushed upon them in such sort, that they seeing how furiously we set upon them, abandoned the fort, and ranne downe the hill as swift as Deere, and fled unto another hill over against us, where the other squadron of the Indians stood, of whom they were rescued, and they began to talke among themselves, but in a low voyce, and joyned together 6 and 6 and 8 & 8 in a company, and made a fire and warmed themselves, and we stood quietly beholding what they did.

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### Chap. 9.

After the skirmish the Captaine being wounded, and the rest of the souldiers seeing the Indians depart, returned unto their ships. The next day taking in fresh water at the saide place he sent mariners to sound the mouth of the lake. Departing thence they came to the port called Baya de Sant Abad, and indured a dangerous storme at sea. And afterward comming neere the shore to take fresh water in the said haven, they see certaine peaceable Indians.

**B**Y this time it was late and the night approched, and the Indians seeing this, within a short while after determind to get them packing, and ech of them or the greatest part tooke fire-brandes in their hands, & got them away into craggy places. When the Captaine saw this he commanded us to returne aboard our boats, it being now darke night, thanking us all for the good service we had done him. And being not able to stand upon his legge, he leaned with his arme upon Francis Preciado ; and thus we returned to our boats, where with much adoe we got aboard, by reason of the great tide and roughnesse of the sea, so that our boats were filled with every wave. Thus very weary, wet, & some wounded (as is aforesaid) each man returned unto his ship, where our beds which we found, and our refreshing, & the cheere we had at supper did not greatly comfort us in regard of our former travels. We passed that night in this sort, and the next day being Tuesday the Captaine found himself greatly payned with his wounds, & chiefly with that on his leg, because it was greatly swolne with his going upon it. We lacked 12 butts to fill with water, and the barrells in both the ships, and the Captaine would have gone out to cause them to be filled, but we would not suffer him, and therefore we left off the businesse for that day. But he appointed that the crossebowes should be made readie, and two speciall good

harquebuzes, & the next day being Wednesday very early, he commanded Juan Castilio chiefe Pilot to goe out with both the botes and with all the souldiers and mariners that he could make, having the day before commanded the Trinitie to go as neere the shore as she might, & to make ready some of her ordinance, that if the Indians should shew themselves, they might affright them, & doe them as much hurt as they could. Wherefore on the Wednesday al we that were souldiers, saving the wounded persons, went on shore with certaine mariners in the best order that we could, and tooke the first hill, where we had fortified our selves, standing all upon our guard untill the water was filled, and untill we were called, during which time not one Indian shewed himselfe. Thus we went aboard when we thought good our selves, at least without any suspicion of the Indians, although the tide of the Sea went so high y<sup>t</sup> it put us to great trouble, for oftentimes with great waves it beat into our boats. This was on the Wednesday the 3 of December. And to avoide losse of time the Captaine commanded Juan Castilio the chiefe Pilot to take a boat and certaine mariners as he should thinke good, and to view the mouth of the lake to see whether the entrance were deepe enough for to harbour the ships. He taking the boat of the Admirall with 8 mariners, and ours of the Trinity, went and sounded the mouth, & on the shallowest place of the barre without they found 3 fadome depth, and farther in 4, & up higher 5, alwayes increasing unto 10 or 12 fadomes, when they were come into the two points of the said lake, which was a league broad from one point to the other, and all their sounding was exceeding good ground. Then they went over to the southeast point, & there they saw a great boat or raft which they indevoured to take to carrie unto their ships. In ye meane while they espied certaine cottages, which the Pilot determined to goe and see, and being come neere they saw 3 other raftes with 3 Indians on them distant from the cottages one or two cross-bowes shot,

*A special good  
haven.*

and he leapt on land with 4 or 5 mariners in his companie: and while they behelde those cottages, they saw many Indians descending downe a small hill in warlike manner with their bowes and arrowes, whereupon they determined to retire to their boats, and to returne to their ships, and they were not gone from the sea-shore scarce a stones cast, but the Indians were come upon them to shoot at them with their arrowes, and because they were unarmed, they would not fight with them, having gone on shore for no other purpose, but to sound the mouth and enterance of that lake. On Thursday the 4 of December we set saile with a fresh gale of winde, and sayled some 8 or 10 leagues, and came unto certaine mouthes or inlets which seemed to all of us as though they had beene Ilands, and we entered into one of them, and came into an haven which we called Baya del Abad all inclosed and compassed with land, being one of the fairest havens that hath beene seene: and about the same, especially on both sides the lande was greene and goodly to behold; we discredyed certaine rivers on that part which seemed greene, & therefore we returned backe, going out at that mouth wherby we came in, alwayes having contrary wind: yet the Pilots used their best indeavour to make way: and we saw before us certaine woody hils, and beyond them certaine plaines; this we saw from the Friday the 5 of the said moneth, untill the Tuesday, which was the ninth. As we drew neere to these woods they seemed very pleasant, and there were goodly and large hilles and beyond them towards the sea were certaine plaines, and through all the countrey we saw these woods. From the day before, which was the Conception of our Lady, we saw many great smokes, wherat we much marvelled, being of diverse opinions among our selves, whether those smokes were made by the inhabitants of the countrey or no. Over against these woods there fell every night such a dew, that every morning when we rose, the decke of the ship was so wet, that untill the sunne was of a good height, we alwaies made the

[III. 411.]

*Baya del  
Abad is 100  
leagues from  
the point of  
California.*

*Many great  
smokes, of  
which also  
Francis Gualle  
maketh men-  
tion.*

decke durtie with going upon it. We rode over against these woods from the Tuesday morning when we set saile, untill Thursday about midnight, when a cruell Northwest winde tooke us, which, whither we would or no, inforced us to way our anker; and it was so great, that the ship Santa Agueda began to returne backe, untill her cable broke, and the ship hulled, and suddenly with a great gust the trinket and the mizen were rent asunder, the Northwest winde still growing more and more: within a short while after the maine saile was rent with a mighty flaw of winde, so that we were inforced, both souldiers, captaine, and all of us, to doe our best indevor to mend our sailes; and the Trinitie was driven to do the like, for she going round upon her anker, when she came a-head of it, her cable broke, so that there we lost two ankers, each ship one. We went backe to seeke Baya del Abad, for we were within 20 leagues of the same, and this day we came within foure leagues of it, and being not able to reach it by reason of contrary windes, we rode under the lee of certaine mountaines and hilles which were bare, and almost voide of grasse, neere unto a strand full of sandie hilles. Neere unto this road wee found a fishing-place under a point of land, where having let downe our lead to see what ground was there, a fish caught it in his mouth, and began to draw it, and he which held the sounding-lead crying and shewing his fellowes that it was caught, that they might helpe him, as soone as he had got it above the water, tooke the fish, and loosed the cord of the sounding-lead, and threw it againe into the sea, to see whither there were any good depth, and it was caught againe, whereupon he began to cry for helpe, and all of us made a shout for joy; thus drawing the fish the rope of the sounding-lead being very great was crackt, but at length we caught the fish which was very faire. Here we stayed from Friday when we arrived there, untill the Munday, when as it seemed good to our Captaine, that we should repaire to the watering place, from whence

*A fishingplace.*

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*Great tides  
upon this coast.*

we were some sixe leagues distant, to take in 12 buttes of water, which wee had drunke and spent, because he knew not whither we should from thencefoorth finde any water, or no; and though we should finde water, it was doubtfull whither we should be able to take it by reason of the great tide that goeth upon that coast. We drewe neere to that place on Munday at night, when as we sawe certaine fires of the Indians. And on Tuesday morning our Generall commaunded that the Trinitie should come as neere our ship & to the shore as it could, that if we had neede, they might helpe us with their great ordinance: and having made 3 or 4 bourds to draw neere the shore, there came 4 or 5 Indians to the sea-side; who stood and beheld while we put out our boat and anker, marking also how our bwoy floated upon the water; and when our boat returned to the ship, two of them leapt into the sea, and swamme unto the bwoy, and beheld it a great while; then they tooke a cane of an arrow, and tyed to the sayd bwoy a very faire and shining sea-oyster of pearles, and then returned to the shore, neere to the watering place.

### Chap. 10.

They give unto the Indians many trifles which stand upon the shore to see them, and seeke to parley with them by their interpreter, which was a Chichimeco, who could not understand their language. They go to take fresh water. Francis Preciado spendeth the time with them with many signes, and trucking and being afeard of their great multitude, retireth himselfe wisely with his companions, returning with safety to the ships.

[III. 412.] **W**HEN the Captaine and we beheld this, we judged these Indians to be peaceable people; whereupon the Captaine tooke the boat with 4 or 5 mariners carrying with him certain beades to truck, and went to speake with them. In the meane while he commanded the Indian interpreter our Chichimeco, to be called out of



the Admirall that he should parley with them. And the Captaine came unto the boy, and laid certaine things upon it for exchange, & made signes unto the Savages to come and take them; and an Indian made signes unto our men with his hands, his armes, and head, that they understood them not, but signified that they should go aside. Whereupon the Captaine departed a smal distance from that place with his boat. And they made signes againe that he should get him further; whereupon we departing a great way off, the saide Indians leapt into the water, came unto the boy, and tooke those beades, and returned backe againe to land, and then came unto the other three, and all of them viewing our things, they gave a bowe and certaine arrowes to an Indian, and sent him away, running with all haste on the shore, and made signes unto us that they had sent word unto their lord what things we had given them, and that he would come thither. Within a while after the said Indian returned, running as he did before, and beganne to make signes unto us, that his Lord was comming. And while we stayed here, we saw on the shore ten or twelve Indians assemble themselves, which came unto the other Indians, and by and by we saw another company of 12 or 15 more appeare, who assembled themselves all together. And againe they began to make signes unto us, to come forthwith to our boates, and shewed us many Oysters of pearles on the top of certaine canes, making signes that they would give them us. When we beheld this, the Captaine commanded us to make readie our boate, and went aboard it with the said mariners, and rowed to a certaine stone in forme of a rocke, which lay in the sea neere unto the shore. And hither came first 2 or 3 Indians and layd downe one of those Oysters, and a garland made of Parats feathers, or sparrows feathers painted red; they layd downe also certaine plumes of white feathers, and others of blew colour. In the meane while we sawe continually Indians assemble to the shore by tenne and tenne, and so by little and little they came in squadrons;

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and one of them assoone as hee sawe the boat beganne to leape forward and backward with so great nimblenesse, that doubtlesse he seemed to all of us a man of great agilitie, and we tooke no small pleasure while we beheld him fetching those gambols : but the rest of the Indians which stood at the mouth of the fresh water ranne toward him, and cryed unto him, forbidding him to use those gestures, because we were come thither in peaceable sort, and by this meanes he came with the rest to the watering place, where by little and little in this manner there assembled above a hundred of them all in order, with certaine staves with cordes to fling them, and with their bowes and arrowes, and they were all painted. In the meane while our Chichimeco-interpreter borne in the Ile of California, was come unto us, and the Captaine againe commanded a mariner to strippe himselfe, and to swimme and laye upon the said rocke certaine belles, and more beades, and when he had layd them there, the Indians made signes that he should goe away ; and so they came thither and tooke them, and our men drew neere with their boat. The Captaine commanded the Indian our Chichimeco to speake unto them, but they could not understand him, so that we assuredly beleewe, that they understand not the language of the Ile of California. This day being Tuesday untill night the Indians stayed at this watering place, taking some of our beades, and giving unto us their feathers and other things, and when it was very late they departed. The morrow following being Wednesday very early the Captaine commanded that our buttes should be made ready, that before breake of day, and before the Indians should take the hill, which stood over the watering place, we might be landed in good order : which was put in execution : for we went on shore with as many as could goe, saving those that had charge to take in the water, and such as were to stay on ship-board, which in all were about fourteene or fifteene persons, in as good order as we could devise : for we were foure crossebowes, two

harquebuziers, and eight or nine targets, and the most part of us carryed very good slings, and every one eightene river stones, which weapon the Captaine invented, because the Indians at the first had handled us very shrewdly with the multitude of stones which they flang at us : we had nothing to defende us saving our targets, and to seeke to winne the fortes from whence they indamaged us ; he therefore thought with these slings, that we might offend them, and we likewise thought well of his opinion, for making tryall of them, we threw very well with them, and much farther than we thought we could have done : for the slings being made of hempe, we flung very farre with them. Nowe being come to the watering place the sayd Wednesday by breake of day we tooke the fort of the fountaine, which were certaine craggess or rockes hanging over the same, betweene which there was an opening or deepe valley through which this water runneth, which is no great quantitie, but a little brooke not past a fadome broad. So standing all in order, other foure or five Indians came thither, who as soone as they sawe us to be come on shore, and to have gotten the toppe of the watering place, [III. 413.] they retired unto a small hill on the other side, for the valley was betweene them and us : neither stayed they long before they beganne to assemble themselves as they had done the day before by 10 and 10, and 15 and 15, ranging themselves on this high hill, where they made signes unto us. And Francis Preciado craved license of the Generall to parley with these Indians, and to give them some trifles ; wherewith he was contented, charging him not to come too neere them, nor to goe into any place where they might hurt him. Whereupon Francis went unto a plaine place, under the hill where the Indians stood, and to put them out of feare he layd downe his sword and target, having onely a dagger hanging downe at his girdle, and in a skarfe which he carried at his necke, certaine beades to exchange with them, combs, fishing-hooks and comfits. And he began to goe up the hill, and

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to shew them diverse of his marchandise. The Indians as soone as he had layd those things on the ground, and gone somewhat aside, came downe from the hill and tooke them, and carried them up, for it seemed that their Lord was among them, to whom they carried those trifles. Then they came downe againe, and layd to give unto him in the said place, an oyster of pearles, and two feathers like haukes feathers, making signes to Preciado that he should come and take them; which he did, and againe layde there a string of belles, and a great fish-hooke, and certaine beades; and they taking the same, layd there againe another oyster of pearle, and certaine feathers: and he layd downe other beads, two fishhookes, and more comfits, and the Indians came to take them up, and approached much neerer unto him, then at other times, and so neere that a man might have touched them with a pike, and then they began to talke together: and 7 or 8 more came downe, unto whom Francis Preciado made signes, that they should come downe no lower, and they incontinently layd their bowes and arrowes on the ground, and having layd them downe came somewhat lower, and there with signes, together with them which came first, they began to parle with him, and required mariners breeches & apparell of him, and above all things a red hat pleased them highly, which the said Francis ware on his head, and they prayed him to reach it unto them, or to lay it in the place; and after this certaine of them made signes unto him to knowe whether he would have a harlot, signifying with their fingers those villanies and dishonest actions, and among the rest they set before him an Indian of great stature dyed wholly with black, with certaine shels of the mother of pearle at his necke, and on his head, and speaking by signes to Francis Preciado touching the foresaid act of fornication, thrusting their finger through a hole, they said unto him, that if hee would have a woman, they would bring him one; and he answered, that he liked well of it, and that therfore they should bring him one. In the meane space

*Truck & traf-  
fique with the  
Indians for mo-  
ther of pearle,  
and other  
things.*

on the other side where the Generall stood with his company, another squadron of Indians shewed themselves, whereupon the Generall and his company made a stirre, and put themselves in battell array: whereupon Francis Preciado was inforced to come downe from them, to joyne with the Generall & his company: and here the Indians which came last began to make signes that we should lay downe something to truck, and that they would give us some of their shels of mother of pearle, which they brought upon certaine small stickes, and herewithall they came very neere unto us, wherewith we were not well content. And Francis Preciado said unto the Captaine, that if it pleased him, hee would cause all the Indians to come together and to stay upon that high hill; and he answered, that it was best to draw them all together, for by this time our men had taken in all their water, and stayed for the boat: whereupon Francis taking a crowne of beades went toward the valley, through which the water ran toward the Indians, and made signes unto them to call the rest, and to come all together, because hee would goe to the olde place, to lay things on the ground for exchange, as at the first; and they answered that he should doe so, and that they had called the others, and that they would doe, as he would have them, and so they did, for they caused them to come unto them, which they did, and Francis likewise went alone towards them, in which meane space the Generall commanded his people to get into the boat. Francis comming unto the place beganne to lay downe his marchandise of traffique, and afterwards made signes unto them to stay there, because hee would goe to the ships to bring them other things, and so he returned to the place where the Captaine was, and found them all got into the boates, saving the Generall and three or foure others, and the Generall made as though he had given other trifles to Preciado to carry unto the Indians, and when he was gone a little from him, he called him backe againe, and all this while the

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Indians stood still, and being come unto him, wee went faire and softly to our boates, and got into them at our ease, without any thronging, and thence we came aboard our ship.

The Indians seeing us thus gone aboard came downe to the strand where the brooke of water was, and called unto us to come forth with our boates, and to come on shore, and to bring our beades, and that they would give us of their mother of pearles: but we being now set at dinner made no account of them: whereupon they beganne to shoote arrowes at the ship, and although they fell neere us, yet they did not reach us. In the meane season certaine mariners went out in the boat, to wey the anker, whereupon the Indians seeing them comming towards them, & bringing them nothing, they beganne in scorne to shew them their buttockes, making signes that they should kisse their bums: and these seemed to be those that came last. The Generall seeing this, commanded a musket to be once or twice shot off, and that they should take their just ayme. They seeing these shot to be made readie, some of them rose and went to shoot their arrowes at our mariners, which were gone to weigh the ankers, then the Generall commanded the great ordinance speedily to be shot off, whereupon three or foure bullets were discharged, and we perceived that we had slaine one of them, for we assuredly saw him lye dead upon the shore; and I thinke some of the rest were wounded. They hearing this noyse, and seeing him dead ranne away as fast as ever they could, some along the shore, and some through the vallies, dragging the dead Indian with them, after which time none of them appeared, save ten or twelve, which peeped up with their heads among those rocks; whereupon another piece of ordinance was discharged aloft against the place where they were, after which time we never saw any more of them.

[III. 414.]

## Chap. II.

At the point of the Trinitie they spend three dayes in fishing, and in other pastime: after which setting sayle they discover pleasant countries, and mountaines voide of grasse, and an Iland afterward called Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars, neere which they suffer sharpe colde and raine, and to save themselves they returne thither.

**I**Mmediatly we set saile to joyne with the ship Santa Agueda, which was above halfe a league in the high sea from us, and this was on the Wednesday the seventeenth of December. Being come together because the windes were contrary, we drew neere to a headland, which wee called Punta de la Trinidad, and here wee stayed fishing, and solacing our selves two or three dayes, although we had alwayes great store of raine. Afterward we beganne to sayle very slowly, and at night we rode over against those mountaines where we had left our ankers, and upon knowledge of the place we received great contentment seeing we had sailed some five and thirtie leagues from the place where we had taken in water: neither was it any marvell that wee so rejoyced, because that the feare which we had of contrary windes caused us to be so well appayd of the way which we had made. The day of the holy Nativitie of our Lord, which was on the Thursday the five and twentieth of the said moneth, God of his mercy beganne to shewe us favour in giving us a fresh winde almost in the poepe, which carried us beyond those mountaines, for the space of tenne or twelve leagues, finding the coast alwayes plaine: and two leagues within the land, which we coasted along, and betweene these mountaines, there was a great space of plaine ground, which we might easily discern with our eyes, although others were of another opinion. We beganne from Christmas day to saile slowly with certaine small land-windes, and

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sayled from morning to night about seven or eight leagues, which wee esteemed no small matter, alwayes praying to God to continue this his favour toward us, and thanking him for his holy Nativitie, and all the dayes of this feast the Frier sayd masse in the Admirall, and the father Frier Raimund preached unto us, which gave us no small comfort, by encouraging us in the service of God.

On Saturday at night being the 27 of the said moneth we ankored neere unto a point which seemed to be plaine land all along the shore, and within the country were high mountaines with certaine woods, which woods and mountaines ranne overthwart the country, and continued along with certaine small hilles sharpe on the toppe, and certaine little vallies are betweene those mountaines. And in truth to me which with diligent eyes beheld the same both in length and in the breadth thereof, it could not chuse but be a good country, and to have great matters in it, as well touching the inhabiting thereof by the Indians, as in golde and silver; for there was great likelihood that there is store thereof. This night we saw a fire farre within the lande towards those mountaines, which made us thinke that the country was throughly inhabited. The next day being Sunday and Innocents day, the 28 of the said moneth at breake of day we set sayle, and by nine or ten of the clocke had sayled three or foure leagues, where we met with a point which stretched towarde the West, the pleasant situation whereof delighted us much. From the eight and twentieth of December we ranne our course untill Thursday being Newyeres day of the yeere 1540, and we ran some 40 leagues, passing by certaine inlets and bayes, and certaine high mountains covered with grasse in colour like rosemary: but toward the sea-side very bare and burned, and toward the top were certaine craggess somewhat of a red colour, and beyond these appeared certaine white mountaines, and so all the country shewed unto a point which appeared beyond

*Great appearance of gold and silver.*

*January  
1540.  
Forty leagues.*

[III. 415.]



those burnt white and red mountaines which have neither any grasse nor tree upon them, whereat we marvelled not a little. This Newyeares day we sawe neere the maine two small Ilands, and rejoyced greatly to see them; for we stood in great feare, that contrary windes would drive us as farre backe in one day, as we had sayled in tenne, which if they had taken us, we could not have withstood them. Wee ranne from the first of January untill Munday which were five dayes, and the land alwayes stretched Northwest from the mountaines aforesaid.

*Two small  
Islets neere the  
maine.*

And on the Sunday we saw a farre off a-head of us a high land somewhat severed from the maine shore, and all of us beganne to dispute whether it were the land which trended toward the Northwest, for that way the Pilots hoped to discover a better countrey: and the said Munday the fift of Januarie we came to this high land beforesaid, and it was two Ilands the one a small one and the other a great one: we coasted these two Ilands some sixe leagues, which were greene, and had on the toppe of them many high slender trees; and the great Iland was twentie leagues in compasse. We coasted in 6 leagues in length without seeing or discovering any other things, but we saw before us high land which stretched eight or tenne leagues Northward, where we rode on Munday at night. From Thursday being Newyeares day untill the next Munday we sayled about 35 leagues. And in this course we felt great cold, which grieved us much, especially being assailed by two or three windie showers which pinched us much with colde. We rode over against this land two or three nights, having it neere unto us, alwayes keeping watch by equall houres, one while mariners, and another souldiers, all the night long with great vigilancie. On Tuesday being Twelwe day we came within two or three leagues of this land, which we had descryed the day before, seeming to us very pleasant for it shewed greene with greene trees of an ordinary bignesse, and we saw

*Isla de los Ce-  
dros mentioned  
in the 13 chap.*

*The land  
trendeth here  
Northwest 35  
leagues.*

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many vallies, out of which certaine small mists arose, which continued in them for a long time, whereupon we gathered, that they rose out of certaine rivers. The same morning, to our great comfort we saw great smokes, though we were above foure leagues distant from them, and the Captaine made no great reckoning to approach neere unto them, nor to seeke nor serch what the matter was, and perchance because he was not then in the Santa Agueda, but was aboard the Trinitie, as his maner was to come and stay there two or three dayes, as well to passe the time, as to give order for things that were needefull. In this countrey the winter and raine seemed to be like that of Castile. We rode al night two or three leagues distance from shore, and toward evening we saw five or sixe fires, whereat we all rejoyced, but did not marvell thereat, because the situation of that countrey shewed to be habitable, being faire, pleasant, and all greene, and likewise because the Iland which we had left behind us being (as I have said) twenty leagues in circuit, made shewe that it was well peopled. On the Wednesday we were 3 or 4 leagues at sea from the land, and began to see two fires more, & therefore we assured our selves that the countrey was very well inhabited; and the farther we sayled, we alwayes found it more civill. And for the space of fifty leagues before we came hither we alwayes found swimming on the sea certaine flotes of weedes of a ships length, and of the bredth of two ships, being round and full of gourds, and under these weedes were many fishes, and on some of them were store of fowles like unto white sea-meawes. We supposed that these floting weedes did grow upon some rocke under the water. We were now in 30 degrees of Northerly latitude. We sailed from the 7 of January untill the 9 still with contrary windes: and on Fryday about noone there rose a North and Northeastern winde, which forced us to returne under the shelter of that Iland which we left behind us, from whence we had sayled above

*Floting weedes  
for 50 leagues.*

*Thirtie  
degrees of  
Northerly  
latitude.*

twentie leagues. And that Friday at night somewhat late wee had sayled backe above twelve leagues of the same, and because it was night wee stayed in the sea, where we and our shippes were not a little troubled, so that all that night none of us slept a winke, but watched every one. The next morning betimes being Saturday we proceeded on our voyage, and gate under the shelter of the said Iland, riding in thirtie fadome water: and on that side where we ankored, we found high and closed mountaines, with heapes of a certaine earth which was all ashes and burned, and in other places scorched and as blacke as coales, and like the rust of yron, and in other places whitish, and here and there small blacke hilles, whereat we marvelled exceedingly, considering that when we passed by, it seemed unto us an habitable countrey full of trees, and now we saw not a sticke growing on this side.

All of us supposed that on the other side toward the firme lande the trees grewe which we sawe, although (as I have sayde) wee sayled foure or five leagues distant from the same.

We stayed here under the shelter of these mountaines [III. 416.] Saturday, Sunday, and Munday, alwayes having the Northren winde so strong, that we thinke if it had caught us in the sea, wee should have bene cast away.

## Chap. 12.

They environ and land upon the Iland of Cedars, to discover the same, and to seeke water and wood.

They are assailed of the Indians, and many of them wounded with stones: but at length getting the upper hand, they goe to their cottages, and ranging farther up into the Iland they find diverse things which the Indians in their flight had left behind them.

ON Friday the 13 of January the Captaine commanded us to hoise out our boates, and to goe on shore, which was done accordingly, and we did row along the shore for the space of a good halfe league and

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entered into a valley : for (as I said) all this countrey was full of high and bare hills, of such qualitie as I mentioned before : and in this and other small valleys we found some water which was brackish, and not farre from thence certaine cottages made of shrubs like unto broome ; likewise we found the footings of Indians both small and great, whereat we much marvelled that in so rough and wilde a countrey (as farre as we could discerne) there should be people. Here we stayed all day, making foure or five pits to take in water which we wanted, which though it were bad, and in small quantitie we refused not ; and so the evening being come, we returned to our boates, and so came unto our ships which rode a good league from the shore. The next day being Wednesday the fourteenth of the said moneth our Generall commanded us to set saile, and we sailed about the said Iland on the same side which we coasted when we came from Nueva Espanna : for when we arrived on the coast we saw five or sixe fires ; wherefore he desired to see and learne whether it were inhabited ; and at the farthest ende of this inlet or bay where we rode there came out before us a Canoa, wherein were foure Indians which came rowing with certaine small oares, and came very neere us to see what we were : whereupon we tolde our Generall, that it were best to send some of us out with our boates to take these Indians or some one of them to give them something that they might thinke us to be good people : but hee would not consent thereto, because he minded not to stay, having then a prety gale of winde, whereby he might saile about this Iland, hoping that afterward we might finde and take some others to speake with them, and give them what we would to carry on shore ; and as we sayled neere the land, we saw a great hill full of goodly trees of the bignesse of the trees and Cypresses of Castile. We found in this Iland the footing of wilde beasts and conies, and saw a peece of pine tree-wood, whereof we gathered, that there was store

of them in that countrey. Thus sayling neere unto the shore, we sawe another Canoa comming toward us with other foure Indians, but it came not very neere us, and as we looked forward, we sawe toward a point which was very neere before us, three other Canoas, one at the head of the point among certaine flattes, and the other two more into the sea, that they might descry us without comming over neere us. Likewise betweene certaine hilles which were neere the point, there appeared here three and there foure of them, and afterward we saw a small troope of some twentie of them together, so that all of us rejoyced greatly to behold them. On this side the land shewed greene with pieces of plaine ground which was neere the sea, and likewise all those coasts of hils shewed greene, and were covered with many trees, although they grew not very thicke together. Here at evening we rode neere the shore hard upon the said point, to see if we could speake with those Indians, and likewise to see if we could get fresh water, which now we wanted, and still as soone as we were come to an anker, we saw the Indians shew themselves on land neere unto their lodgings, comming likewise to descry us in a Canoa, by sixe and seven at a time, whereat we marvelled, because we never thought that one of those Canoas would hold so many men. In this wise we stayed looking still what would be the successe, and in the place where we rode we were two small leagues distant from the shore, where we found these Indians in their Canoas: whereupon wee marvelled not a little to see so great an alteration in so small a distance of countrey, as well because we still discovered pleasant land with trees (whereas on the other side of the isle there were none) as also because it was so well peopled with Indians, which had so many Canoas made of wood, as we might discern, and not raftes or Balsas, for so they call those floats which are made all flat with canes.

*A Balsa is a  
flat raft made  
of canes.*

The next day being Thursday the fifteenth of the said moneth about breake of day foure or five Indians shewed

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themselves at the head of that point, who as soone as they had spyed us retired behind the point, and hid themselves among the bushes upon certaine small hilles that were there, from whence they issued forth, and covered all the greene hils and mountaines, which were along that coast; whereupon we gathered that they had their dwellings there, in regard of the commoditie of the water and the defence against ill weather and the benefite of fishing. At sun-rising we saw the Indians appeare in greater companies, going up unto the hilles in small troopes, and from thence they stood and beheld us. Immediatly we saw five or sixe Canoas come out into the sea a good distance from us, and those which were in them stood often on their tip-toes, to view and descry us the better. On the other side we stirred not at all for all these their gestures, but stood still riding at anker; and the Generall seemed not to be very willing to take any of them, but this day in the morning very early commanded the Masters mate to conveigh him to our other shippe called The Trinitie. Things passed in this sort, when about ten of the clocke we saw three Canoas lanch farre into the sea to fish very neere unto us, whereat we tooke great pleasure. At 12 of the clocke the Generall returned from the Trinitie and commanded the boat & men to be made readie, as well souldiers as mariners, and that we should goe on shore to see if we could get any wood and water, and catch one of those Indians to understand their language if it were possible: and so all the men that were readie went into the Admirals boate, and went toward the Trinitie which by this time with the other ship had a small gale of winde, wherewith they entered farther within the point, and we discovered the lodgings and houses of the Indians, & saw neere the waters side those five or sixe Canoas which at the first came out to view us, drawn on shore, and over against this place the ships cast anker in 30 and 35 fadome water, and we were very neere the land; whereat we marvelled much to find so great

depth of water so neere the shore. Being gone aboard our botes, we made toward the shore over against a village of the Indians, who as soone as they saw us about to come on land, left an hill whereon they stood to behold what we did, & came downe to the shore, where we were prepared to come on land: but before they came against us they caused their women and children to fly into the mountaines with their goods, & then came directly towards us, threatning us with certaine great staves which they carried in their handes some 3 yardes long and thicker then a mans wrest: but perceiving that for all this we ceased not to come neere the sea shore to come on land, they began to charge us with stones and to fling cruelly at us, and they hit 4 or 5 men, among whom they smote the Generall with two stones. In the meane while the other bote landed a little beneath, whereupon when they saw that they were forced to divide themselves to keepe the rest of our company from comming on land, they began to be discouraged, and did not assaile the Generals boate so fiercely, who began to cause his people to goe on shore with no small trouble; for albeit he was neere the land, yet as soone as they leapt out of the boat they sunke downe, because they could finde no fast footing; and thus swimming or otherwise as they could, first a souldier called Spinosa got on land, and next to him the General, and then some of the rest, and began to make head against the Indians, and they came hastily with those staves in their hands, for other kinds of weapons we saw none, saving bowes and arrowes of pine-tree. After a short combate they brake in pieces the targets of the Generall, and of Spinosa. In the meane while those of the other boat were gotten on land, but not without much difficultie, by reason of the multitude of stones which continually rained downe upon them, and they stroke Terazzo on the head a very shrowd blow, and had it not bene for our targets, many of us had bene wounded, and in great distresse,

*A village of  
the Indians.*

*A skirmish of  
the Indians  
fighting with  
stones.*

*The great use  
of targets  
against arrows  
and stones.*

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although our enemies were but few in number. In this maner all our company came on shore with swimming and with great difficultie, and if they had not holpen one another, some of them had bene drowned. Thus we landed, and within a while after those of the other bote were come on land, the Indians betooke themselves to flight, taking their way toward the mountaines, whether they had sent their women, children and goods: on the other side we pursued them, & one of those Indians which came to assaile the Generals boat, was slaine upon the strand, & two or three others were wounded, and some said more. While we pursued them in this maner our mastive dogge Bercillo overtooke one of them not farre from us (who because we were so wet could not run very fast) and pulled him downe, having bitten him cruelly, and doubtlesse he had held him till we had come, unlesse it had happened that another of his companions had not followed that Indian which the dogge had pulled downe, who with a staffe which he had in his hands gave the dogge a cruell blow on the backe, and without any staying drew his fellow along like a Deere, and Bercillo was faine to leave him for paine, neither had he scarce taken the dogge off on him, but the Indian got up, and fled so hastily towarde the mountaine, that within a short while hee overtooke his fellowe which had saved him from the pawes of the dogge, who (as it appeared) betooke him lustily to his heeles, and thus they came unto their fellowes which descended not downe to the shore being about some twentie, and they were in all about fiftie or sixtie.

*The use of mastives in the warre against Indians.*

[III. 418.]

After we had breathed our selves a while, we viewed their houses where they stood, which were certaine cottages covered with shrubs like broome and rosemary, with certaine stakes pight in the ground; and the Generall willed us to march all together without dispersing of our selves, a little way up those mountaines, to see if there were any water and wood, because we



stood in great neede of them both. And while we marched forward, we saw in certaine little vallies the goods which the women had left there behind them in their flight: for the Indians as soone as they saw us pursue them overtooke the women, and for feare charged them to flie away with their children leaving their stuffe in this place. We went unto this booty, and found good store of fresh-fish, and dried fish, and certaine bags containing above 28 pound weight full of dried fish ground to powder, and many seal-skins, the most part dressed with a faire white graine upon them, and others very badly dressed. There were also their instruments to fish withall, as hookes made of the prickes of certaine shrubs and trees. Here we tooke the said skins without leaving any one in the place, and then we returned to the sea, because it was now night, or at least very late, and found our botes waiting for us.

*Seale-skins  
well dressed  
with a white  
graine.*

## Chap. 13.

A description of the Canoas of the Indians of the Ile of Cedars, and how coasting the same to find fresh water they found some, and desiring to take thereof they went on shore, and were diversly molested with the weapons of the Indians. They christen an old Indian, and returne unto their ships.

**T**He Canoas which they had were certaine thicke trunkes of Cedars, some of them of the thickness of two men, and three fadome long, being not made hollow at all, but being laid along and fastened together, they shove them into the sea, neither were they plained to any purpose, for we found no kind of edge-toole, saving that there were certaine sharp stones, which we found upon certaine rockes that were very keene, wherewith we supposed that they did cut & flea those seales. And neere the shore we found certaine water, wherewith we filled certaine bottles made of the skins of those seales, contayning ech of them above a great paille of water. The next day our Generall commanded us to

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set saile, whereupon sailing with a fresh gale about 2 leagues from the shore of this Iland, trending about the same to see the end thereof, and also to appoch neere the firme land, to informe our selves of the state thereof, because we had seene 5 or 6 fires, we compassed the same about: for by this meanes we performed 2 or 3 good actions, namely, we returned to our right course, and searched whether any river fell out of the coast of the firme land, or whether there were any trees there, or whether any store of Indians did shew themselves or no.

In this maner proceeding on our way all the Friday being the 16 of January at evening, and seeking to double the point of the Iland, so fierce and contrary a Northren winde encountered us, that it drave us backe that night over against the lodgings and habitations of the Indians, and here we stayed all Saturday, what time we lost the Trinitie againe, but on Sunday-night being the 18 we saw her againe, and beganne to proceede on our way to compasse that Iland, if it pleased God to send us good weather.

On Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday (which was the twentieth of the said moneth of Januarie) wee sailed with scarce and contrary windes, and at length came to the cape of the point of the Iland, which we called Isla de los Cedros or the Ile of Cedars, because that on the tops of the mountaines therein, there growes a wood of these Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be. This day the Trinitie descryed a village or towne of the Indians, and found water: for on Sunday night we had newly lost her, and had no sight of her untill Tuesday, whenas we found her riding neere the shore, not farre from those cottages of the Indians. And as soone as we had descryed her, we made toward her, and before we could reach her, we espied three Canoas of Indians which came hard aboard the said ship called the Trinitie, so that they touched almost the side of the ship, and gave them of their fish, and our people

*Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars in 28 deg. and a quarter.*

on the other side gave them certaine trifles in exchange, and after they had spoken with them, the Indians went backe to the shore, and at the same instant we came up unto the Admirall and rode by them, and they all saluted us, saying that the Indians were neere them, and telling what had passed betweene them, whereat the Generall and we received great contentment. They told us moreover, that they had found fresh water, whereby they increased our great joy, because we stood in much neede thereof, for at the other place of the Indians we could get but a little.

While we thus rode at ankor, we saw a Canoa with 3 Indians put out into the sea from their cottages, and they went unto a fishing place, among certaine great and high weedes, which grow in this sea among certaine rockes, the greatest part of which weedes groweth in 15 or 20 fadome depth; and with great celeritie they caught seven or eight fishes, and returned with them unto the Trinity, and gave them unto them, and they in recompense gave the Indians certaine trifles. After this the Indians stayed at the sterne of the ship, viewing the same above three houres space, and taking the oares of our boat they tryed how they could rowe with them, whereat they tooke great pleasure; and we which were in the Admirall stirred not a whit all this while, to give them the more assurance, that they should not flie away, but should see, that we ment to doe them no harme, & that we were good people. As soone as we were come to anker, & beheld all that had passed betweene the Indians and those of the Trinity, after the Indians were gone to the shore in their Canoas made of the bodies of trees, the General commanded the boat which was without to be brought unto him: and when it was come, he, and Francis Preciado, and two others went into it, and so we went aboard the Trinity. The Indians seeing people comming out of the other ship into the Trinitie, sent two Canoas unto the sterne of the ship, and brought us a bottle of water, and we gave unto them certain

*These mighty  
deepe and high  
weedes are de-  
scribed in the  
end of this  
treatise.*

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beads, and continued talking with them a little while; but evening approaching the aire grew somewhat cold. The Indians returned on shore to their lodgings, and the General and we to our ship. The next day being Wednesday in the morning, the General commanded certaine of us to take the bote and goe ashore, to see if we could find any brooke or well of fresh water in the houses of the Indians, because he thought it impossible for them to dwell there without any water to drinke. The father frier Raimund likewise went out in our company, because the day before seeing the Indians came to the sterne of the shippe and parlying with us, he thought he might have spoken a little with them, with the like familiarity. In like sort many mariners and souldiers went out in the boat of the Trinity, and going altogether with their weapons toward the shore, somewhat above the lodgings of the Indians, very early in the morning they watched the boats, and perceived that wee would come on land, whereupon they sent away their women & children with certaine of them, who caried their goods up into certaine exceeding steepe mountaines and hilles, and 5 or 6 of them came toward us, which were excellently well made, and of a good stature. Two of them had bowes and arrowes, and other two 2 bastonadoes much thicker then the wrist of a mans hand, and other two with 2 long staves like javelins with very sharpe points, and approched very neere us being nowe come on shore. And beginning by signes very fiercely to brave us, they came so neere us, that almost they strooke with one of those staves one of our souldiers called Garcia a man of good parentage, but the General commanded him to withdraw himselfe, and not to hurt any of them. In the meane season the General and frier Raimund stept foorth, the frier lapping a garment about his arme, because they had taken up stones in their hands, fearing that they would do them some mischief. Then began both of them to speake unto them by signes & words, to be quiet, signifying, that they ment them no

harne, but only were come to take water ; and the frier shewed them a drinking-cup ; but nothing would serve to make them leave that bragging, and flinging of stones : and the General continuing still in a mind not to hurt them, commanded his men gently to come neere unto them, and that by signes they should all shew them, that they meant in no wise to hurt them, but that we were come on land onely to take water. On the other side refusing utterly to take knowledge of these things they still insulted more and more : whereupon Francis Preciado counselled the General to give him leave to kill one of them, because all the rest would flee away, wherby at our ease we might take water : but he replied that he would not have it so, but willed them to looze the two mastives Bercillo and Achillo : wherefore the dogs were let loose, and as soone as they saw them, they vanished immediately, betaking them to their heeles, and running up those cliffes like goates. Also others which came from the mountains to succour them, betooke themselves to flight. The dogs overtooke two of them, and bit them a little, and we running after, laid hold on them, and they seemed as fierce as wild & untamed beasts, for 3 or 4 of us held either of them, to cherish & pacifie them, and to seeke to give them some thing : but we availed not, for they bit us by the hands, and stooped downe to take up stones for to strike us with them. We led them a while in this maner, & came unto their lodgings, where the Generall gave a charge, that no man should touch any thing of theirs, commanding Francis Preciado to see that this order were observed, in not taking any thing from them, although in very deed there was little or nothing there, because the women and Indians which were fled had caried al away. Here we found an old man in a cave so extreemly aged as it was wonderful, which could neither see nor go, because he was so lame and crooked. The father frier Raimund sayd, it were good (seeing he was so aged) to make him a Christian ; whereupon we christened him. The captaine

*The great use  
of mastives in  
pursuit of the  
Indians.*

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gave the Indians which we had taken two paire of eare-rings, and certaine counterfeit diamonds, and making much of them, suffred them to depart at their pleasure, and in this sort faire and softly they returned to the rest of their fellowes in the mountaine. We tooke the matter [III. 420.] of that village which was but a small quantity, and then the Generall commanded us to returne to our ship, because we had eaten nothing as yet, and after our repast we sayled towards a bay which lay beyond that village, where we saw a very great valley, and those of the Trinitie sayd, that they had seene there good store of water, and sufficient for us; wherefore wee ankered neere unto that valley. And the Generall went on shore with both the boates, and the men that went on land in the morning with the two fathers frier Raimund, and frier Antony: and passing up that valley a crossebow-shot, we found a very small brooke of water which nevertheles supplied our necessity for we filled two butts thereof that evening, leaving our vessels to take it with on shore untill the next morning: and we rejoyced not a little that we had found this water, for it was fresh, and the water which we had taken up before was somewhat brackish, and did us great hurt both in our bodies and in our taste.

### Chap. 14.

They take possession of the Isle of Cedars for the Emperours Majestie, and departing from thence they are greatly tossed with a tempest of the sea, and returne to the Island, as to a safe harbour.

**T**He next day being the two and twentieth of January very early the General commanded us to go on shore, and that we should have our dinner brought us, and should take in the rest of our water, which we did, and filled 17 butts without seeing any Indian at al. The next day going out to fill 8 or 9 vessels which were not yet filled, a great winde at Northwest tooke us, wherupon they made signes to us from the ships, that with all haste wee should come on boord againe, for the wind grew

still higher, and higher, and the Masters were affraid that our cables would break, thus we were in the open sea. Therefore being come aboard againe not without great trouble, we returned backe over against the village of the Indians,\* where we had slaine the Indian, and because the wind grew more calme about midnight, the Pilots did not cast anker, but hulled under the shelter of this Island, which (as I have said) is called The Isle of Cedars, and is one of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan, the greatest & chiefest of them, where the General tooke possession. While we hulled here, about midnight, the next Friday being the 23 of the moneth, without our expectation we had a fresh gale of wind from the South-east, which was very favourable for our voyage, & the longer it continued, the more it increased: so that betweene that night and the next day being Saturday the 24 of the said moneth we sailed 18 great leagues. While wee were thus on our way, the wind grew so contrary and so tempestuous, that to our great grieffe we were constrained to coast about with our ships, and returned twenty leagues backe againe, taking for our succour the second time, the point of the lodgings of the Indians, where the foresayd Indian was slaine, and here we stayed Munday, Tewsday, and Wednesday, during which time the Northwest and the North wind blew continually, whereupon we determined not to stirre from thence untill we saw good weather, and well setled for our voyage: for in this climate these winds doe raigne so greatly, that we feared they would stay us longer there then we would; and we were so weary of staying, that every day seemed a moneth unto us. Under this shelter we rode Thursday, Friday, and Saturday untill noone, which was the last of January in the yeere 1540. About noone the wind began to blow softly at South-west, whereupon the General told the Pilots, that we should doe well to put over to the maine land, where with some wind off the shore we might by the grace of God saile somewhat farther. Thus we hoised our sailes,

Cap. 12.

*Isla de los Cedros is the greatest of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan.*

*Read cap. 11. about the end.*

February.

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and sailed until evening three or foure leagues, for the wind scanted, and wee remained becalmed. The night being come there arose a contrary winde, and we were inforced of necessitie to retire the third time to the same shelter of the Isle of Cedars, where we stayed from the first of February until Shrovesunday, in the which meane time we tooke in two butts of water which we had spent. During the space of these eight dayes we sought to make sayle two or three times, but as we went out a little beyond the point of this Isle, we found the wind so boystrous and contrary, and the sea so growen, that of force we were constrained to returne under the succour of the Island, and often times wee were in great feare that we should not be able to get in thither againe. During this time that we could not proceed on our journey, we imployed our selves in catching a few fishes for the Lent. From Shrovesunday being the 8 of February, on which day we set sayle, we sayled with a very scant wind, or rather a calme, untill Shrovetewsday, on which we came within kenne of the firme land, from whence we were put backe these twenty leagues (for in these two dayes and a halfe wee sayled some 20 small leagues) and we lay in sight of the sayd poynt of the firme land. And on the Tewesday we were becalmed, waiting till God of his mercy would helpe us with a prosperous wind to proceed on our voyage.

[III. 421.] On Shrovesunday at night, to make good cheere withall wee had so great winde and raine, that there was nothing in our ships which was not wet, and a very colde ayre. On Ashwednesday at sun-rising we strooke saile neere a point which we fel somewhat short withall in a great bay running into this firme land: and this is the place where we saw five or sixe fires, and at the rising of the sunne being so neere the shore that we might well descrie and viewe it at our pleasure we sawe it to bee very pleasant, for wee descried as farre as wee could discern with our eyes, faire valleys and small hilles, with greene shrubs very pleasant to

*A great bay  
in the firme  
land.*



behold, although there grew no trees there. The situation shewed their length and breadth. This day was little winde, it being in a manner calme, to our no small griefe: and the father frier Raimund sayd us a drie masse, and gave us ashes, preaching unto us according to the time and state wherein we were: with which sermon we were greatly comforted. After noone-tide we had contrary wind, which still was our enimie in all our journey, at the least from the point of the port of Santa Cruz. Here we were constrained to anker in five fadome water, and after wee rode at anker wee began to viewe the countrey, and tooke delight in beholding how goodly and pleasant it was, and neere unto the sea wee judged that wee saw a valley of white ground. At evening so great a tempest came upon us of winde and raine, that it was so fearefull and dangerous a thing that a greater cannot bee expressed; for it had like to have driven us upon the shore, and the chiefe Pilot cast out another great anker into the sea, yet all would not serve, for both these ankers could not stay the ship. Where-upon all of us cryed to God for mercy, attending to see how he would dispose of us; who of his great goodnesse, while we were in this danger, vouchsafed a little to slake the tempest, and with great speede the chiefe Pilot commanded the mariners to turne the capsten, and the Generall commanded and prayed all the souldiers to helpe to turne the capsten, which they were nothing slow to performe: and thus we beganne to weigh our ankers, and in weighing of one which was farre greater then the other, the sea was so boisterous that it forced the capsten in such sorte, that the men which were at it could not rule the same, and it strooke a Negro of the Generals such a blowe, that it cast him downe along upon the decke, and did the like unto another mariner and one of the barres strooke our fire-furnace so violently, that it cast it overboord into the sea. Yet for all these troubles wee weighed our ankers, and set sayle, and albeit we had great tempests at sea, yet made wee no

*The point of  
Santa Cruz  
otherwise  
called Punta  
de Balenas.*

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account thereof in respect of the joy which we conceived to see our selves freed of the perill of being cast on that shore with our ships, especially seeing it fell out at midnight, at which time no man could have escaped, but by a meere myracle from God.

Wee sayled up and downe the sea all Thursday, and untill Friday in the morning being the fourteeneth day of February, and the waves of the sea continually came raking over our deckes. At length, on Saturday morning at breake of day we could finde no remedy against the contrary windes, notwithstanding the Generall was very obstinate to have us keepe out at sea, although it were very tempestuous, least we should be driven to put backe againe, but no diligence nor remedie prevailed: for the windes were so boysterous and so contrary, that they could not be worse, and the sea went still higher, and swelled more and more, and that in such sorte, that we greatly feared wee should all perish. Whereupon the Pilot thought it our best course to returne to the Isle of Cedars, whither wee had repaired three or foure times before by reason of the selfe same contrary windes, for wee tooke this Island for our father and mother, although we received no other benefite thereby save this onely, namely, to repaire thither in these necessities, and to furnish our selves with water, and with some small quantitie of fish.

Being therefore arrived at this Island, and riding under the shelter thereof, the contrary windes did alwayes blow very strongly, and here we tooke water which we drunke, and wood for our fewel, and greatly desired, that the windes would bee more favourable for proceeding on our journey. And though we rode under the shelter of the Isle, yet felt wee the great fury of those windes, and the rage of the sea, and our ships never ceased rolling.

At breake of day the twentieth of February wee found the cable of our Admirall cracked, whereupon, to our great grieve, we were constrained to set sayle, to fall downe lower the space of a league, and the Trinitie came and rode in our company.

They goe on land in the isle of Cedars, and take divers wilde beasts, and refresh and solace themselves. They are strangely tossed with the Northwest winde, and seeking often to depart they are forced, for the avoiding of many mischiefes, to repaire thither againe for harbour.

**T**He two and twentieth of February being the second Sondag in Lent, the General went on shore with the greatest part of his people and the friers, neere unto a valley which they sawe before them. And hearing masse on land, certaine souldiers and mariners, with certaine dogges which we had in our company went into the said valley, and we met with certaine deere, whereof we tooke a female, which was little, but fat, whose haire was liker the haire of a wild goat then of a deere, and we found her not to be a perfect deere, for she had foure dugs like unto a cowe full of milke, which made us much to marveile. And after we had flayed off her skinne, the flesh seemed more like the flesh of a goate, then of a deere. We killed likewise a gray conie, in shape like unto those of Nueva Espanna, and another as blacke as heben-wood. In the cottages at the shelter above, where we brake our cable, we found many pine-nuts opened, which (in mine opinion) the Indians had gathered together to eat the kernels of them. On Munday the 23 of the said moneth we rode at anker, taking our pleasure and pastime with fishing. And the Northwest winde began to blow, which waxed so great a little before midnight, as it was wonderfull: so that although we were under the shelter of the Island, and greatly defended from that wind, yet for all that it was so furious, and the sea became so raging and boisterous, that it greatly shook our ships, and we were in great feare of breaking our cables, whereof (to say the trueth) we had very much neede: for having spent longer time in this voyage then we looked for, wee had broken two, and

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lost two of our best ankers. This furious winde continued untill the next day being Tewuesday the 24 when as we went on shore with the friers, who sayd us masse, recommending our selves to God, beseeching him to vouchsafe to succour and help us with some good weather that we might proceede on our voyage, to the advancement of his service. And still the winds were so high and outragious, that the devill seemed to be loosed in the aire. Whereupon the Pilots caused all the masts to be let downe, least they should be shaken with the wind, and tooke off all the shrowds, and likewise caused the cabbens in the sterne to be taken away, that the winds might have more free passage, for the safetie of the ships: yet for al this they ceased not to be in great trouble. On Tewuesday the second of March, about midnight or somewhat after, riding under the Island in this distresse, there came a gust of Northwest winde, which made the cable of the Admirall to slip, and the Trinitie brake her cable, and had bene cast away, if God of his mercy had not provided for us, together with the diligence which the Pilots used, in hoising the sailes of the trinkets and mizzen, wherewith they put to sea, and rode by another anker untill day, when the men of both the ships went with their boats to seeke the anker untill noone, which at length they found and recovered, not without great paines & diligence which they used in dragging for it, for they were till noone in seeking the same, and had much adoe to recover it. After this we set up our shrowdes, and all things necessary to saile, for to proceede on our voyage, if it pleased God, and not to stay alwayes in that place, as lost and forlorne. Thus on the Wednesday two or three houres after dinner wee set saile, with a scarce winde at Southeast, which was favourable for our course and very scant; and our Pilots & all the rest of us were in no smal feare, that it would not continue long. We began therefore to set forward, although we seemed to see before our eies, that at the end of the

Island we should meete with contrary winde at North and Northwest. This day about evening when our ships had discovered the point of this Isle of Cedars, we began to perceiue those contrary windes, and the sea to goe so loftily, that it was terrible to behold. And the farther we went, the more the winds increased, so that they put us to great distresse, sayling alwayes with the sheates of our mainesaile and trinket warily in our hands, and with great diligence we loosed the ties of all the sailes, to save them the better, that the wind might not charge them too vehemently. For all this the mariners thought it best to returne backe, and that by no means we should runne farre into the sea, because we were in extreame danger. Whereupon wee followed their counsel, turning backe almost to the place from whence we departed, whereat we were al not a little grieved, because we could not prosecute our voyage, and began to want many things for the furniture of our ships. The 8 of March being Munday about noone the Generall commanded us to set saile, for a small gale of winde blew from the West, which was the wind whereof we had most need, to follow our voyage, whereat wee were all glad for the great desire which we had to depart out of that place. Therefore we began to set saile, & to passe toward the point of the Island, and to shape our course toward the coast of the firme land, to view the situation thereof. And as we passed the Island, and were betwixt it and the maine, the Northwest being a contrary wind began to blow, which increased so by degrees, that we were constrained to let fall the bonets of our sailes, to save them, striking them very low. And the Trinitie seeing this bad weather returned forthwith unto the place from whence we departed, and the Admiral cast about all night in the sea, untill the morning; and the chiefe Pilot considering that by no means we could proceed farther without danger, if we should continue at sea any longer, resolved that wee should retire our selves againe to that shelter, where we rode at

[III. 423.]

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anker untill Thursday. And on Friday about noone we set saile againe with a scarce winde, & in comming forth unto the point of the Island, we met againe with contrary winde at Northwest: whereupon running all night with the firme land, on Saturday in the morning being S. Lazarus day and the 13 of march, we came in sight thereof, in viewing of the which we all rejoyced, and we souldiers would very willingly have gone on shore. This night fel great store of raine like the raine in Castilia, and we were all well wet in the morning, & we tooke great pleasure in beholding the situation of that firme land, because it was greene, and because we had discovered a pleasant valley and plaines of good largenes, which seemed to bee environed with a garland of mountains. At length for feare of misfortunes, seeing the sea so high, we durst not stay here or approach neere the land, & because we had great want of cables and ankers, we were again constrained to put to sea; and being in the same, and finding the said contrary windes, the Pilots judged that we had none other remedie, but againe to retire our selves to our wonted shelter. And thus we returned, but somewhat above the old place. On Sunday we rode here to the great grief of all the company, considering what troubles we indured, & could not get forward; so that this was such a corrasive, as none could be more intollerable. This day being come to an anker wee had a mighty gale of wind at Northwest, which was our adversary and capital enemie, and when day was shut in, it still grew greater and greater, so that the ships rouled much. And after midnight, toward break of day, the Trinitie brake her two cables, which held the two ankers which she had, and seeing her selfe thus forlorne, she turned up and downe in the sea untill day, and came & rode neere us, by one anker which shee had left. This day all of us went to seeke these lost ankers, and for all the diligence which wee used, wee could find but one of them. We rode at anker all day until night, when

*The firme land  
very green and  
pleasant with  
goodly valleys  
and plaines.*

the Trinitie againe brake a cable, which certaine rocks had cut asunder: wherupon the General commanded that she should ride no longer at anker, but that shee should turne up and downe, as she had done before in sight of us, which she did al day long, and at night she came to an anker over against a fresh water somewhat lower, and wee went and rode hard by her. On Palmesunday we went on shore with the fathers, which read the passion unto us and said masse, and we went in procession with branches in our hands. And so being comforted, because we had received that holy Sacrament, we returned to our ships.

## Chap. 16.

Returning to the Isle of Cedars weather-beaten, and with their ships in evil case, they conclude, that the ship called Santa Agueda or Santa Agatha should returne unto Nueva Espanna. Of the multitude of whales which they found about the point of California: with the description of a weede, which groweth among the Islands of those seas.

**H**ERE we continued untill the Wednesday before Easter being the foure and twentieth of March, on which day wee consulted together, that because the ships were ill conditioned, and wanted necessary furniture to proceede any further, it were best for us to returne backe to New Spaine, as also because our clothes were consumed: but the Generall seemed not willing to returne, but to proceed on his voyage: and in fine it was resolved, that seeing both the ships could not proceede forward, as well because they had lost their necessary furnitures, as also that the Santa Agatha had neede of calking, because she received much water, and was the worst furnished of the twaine, that shee should returne backe to advertize the Marques of our successe in this voyage, and what hindred our proceeding, and in what case wee stode, and howe wee were bereft of our necessary furniture. And because the Trinitie was

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the swifter ship, and better appointed then the other, it was concluded, that it should be provided in the best maner that might be, & that the General should proceed on his journey in her with such companie as he should make choise of, and that the rest should returne at their good leisure. Wherefore upon this determination we went under a point of this Island, because it was a fit place to carene the ship: & in recovering the same we spent Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday till noone, and yet for all that wee could not wel double it, until Easter day about noone. Here we ankered very neere the shore, and in a valley we found very excellent fresh water, wherof we made no smal account, & here stayed all the Easter-holidayes, to set our selves about the furnishing up of the Trinity: and [III. 424.] after the worke was taken in hand by the two Masters which were very sufficient calkers (one of which was Juan Castiliano chiefe Pilot, and the other Peruccio de Bermes) they finished the same so well in fives dayes, as it was wonderfull; for no man could perceiue how any droppe of water could enter into any of the seames. Afterward they mended the other ship from Saturday till Munday, during which time all those were shriven that had not confessed, and received the communion, and it was resolved by charge of the confessors, that all those seale-skins which they had taken from the Indians should bee restored againe; and the Generall gave charge to Francis Preciado to restore them all, charging him on his conscience so to doe. Thus they gathered them together, and delivered them into the hands of the fathers, to bee kept untill they returned to the place, where they were to restore them. After this maner on Munday before noone we tooke our leaves of the Generall Francis Ulloa, and of the people that stayed with him, who at our departure shed no small number of teares, and we chose for our captaine in the Santa Agueda master Juan Castiliano the chiefe pilot, as well of the ship, as of us all, and set saile the same day

*The Santa  
Agueda re-  
turneth for  
New-spaine  
the 5. of  
April.*



## FRANCIS DE ULLOA

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being the fift of April, having our boat tied at our sterne, till we came over against the cottages, whence wee had taken the seale-skins. From the countrey of the Christians and the port of Colima we were now distant some three hundreth leagues, which is the first port where wee determined to touch at. And having sailed a league from the Trinitie the captaine Juan Castiliano commanded us to salute them with three pieces of great Ordinance, and she answered us with other three, and afterward we answered one another with two shot apiece.

*The Isle of Cedars 300 leagues from Colima.*

We sailed on Munday & \*Tewsdays til noon with contrary wind in sight of the Island, and at noone we had a fresh gale in the poupe, which brought us over against the cottages of the Indians where we tooke away those seal skins; & there certain souldiers & mariners with the father frier Antony de Melo leapt on shore with the boat, carying the skins with them, & flung them into the sayd cottages out of which they were taken, and so returned to their ship. This day the weather calmed, whereupon we were driven to cast anker, fearing that we should foorthwith be distressed for want of victuals, if we should stay there any long time: but God which is the true helper provided better for us then we deserved or imagined; for as we rode here, after midnight the Wednesday following before ten of the clocke wee had a favourable gale of winde from the Southeast, which put us into the sea; whither being driven, wee had the wind at Northwest so good and constant, that in sixe dayes it brought us to the cape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz: for which so great blessing of God we gave unto him infinite thanks. And here we began to allow our selves a greater proportion of victuals then wee had done before, for wee had eaten very sparingly for feare lest our victuals would faile us. Before we came to this point of the haven of Santa Cruz by sixe or seven leagues we saw on shore between certaine valleys divers great smokes. And having passed

*The sixt of April.*

*The 7 of April.*

*They sail from the Isle of Cedars to the point of Santa Cruz or California in sixe daies.*

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1540.

*Punta de  
Balenas.*

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the point of this port, our captaine thought it good to lanch fourth into the maine Ocean : yet although we ran a swift course, above 500 whales came athwart of us in 2 or 3 skulles within one houres space, which were so huge, as it was wonderfull, and some of them came so neere unto the ship, that they swam under the same from one side to another, whereupon we were in great feare, lest they should doe us some hurt, but they could not because the ship had a prosperous and good winde, and made much way, whereby it could receive no harme, although they touched and strooke the same.

*Read more of  
these weedes  
cap. 13.*

Among these Islands are such abundance of those weedes, that if at any time wee were inforced to sayle over them they hindred the course of our ships. They growe fourteene or fifteene fadome deepe under the water, their tops reaching foure or five fadome above the water. They are of the colour of yellow waxe, & their stalke groweth great proportionably. This weede is much more beautifull then it is set fourth, and no marvell, for the naturall painter and creator thereof is most excellent.

This relation was taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him.

*Sant Iago de  
Buena esperan-  
anza in 19  
degrees.*

After this ship the Santa Agueda departed from the Generall Ulloa, and returned backe the 5 of April, she arrived in the port of Sant Iago de buena esperanza the 18 of the said moneth, and after she had stayed there foure or five dayes, she departed for Acapulco : howbeit untill this present seventeenth of May in the yeere 1540, I have heard no tidings nor newes of her.

*Cabo del En-  
ganno in 30  
degrees & a  
halfe.*

Moreover after the departure of the Santa Agueda for Nueva Espanna, the General Francis Ulloa in the ship called the Trinitie proceeding on his discovery coasted the land untill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno standing in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newspaine, because he found the winds very contrary, and his victuals failed him.

The relation of the navigation and discovery [III. 425.]  
which Captaine Fernando Alarchon made by  
the order of the right honourable Lord Don  
Antonio de Mendoça Vizeroy of New Spaine,  
dated in Colima, an haven of New Spaine.

Chap. I.

Fernando Alarchon after he had suffered a storme,  
arrived with his Fleete at the haven of Saint Iago,  
and from thence at the haven of Aguaival : he was  
in great perill in seeking to discover a Bay, and  
getting out of the same he discovered a river on the  
coast with a great current, entring into the same,  
and coasting along he discried a great many of  
Indians with their weapons : with signes hee hath  
traffique with them, and fearing some great danger  
returneth to his ships.



N Sunday the ninth of May in the yeere  
1540. I set saile with two ships, the one  
called Saint Peter being Admirall, and  
the other Saint Catherine, and wee set  
forward meaning to goe to the haven of  
Saint Iago of good hope : but before we  
arrived there wee had a terrible storme,  
wherewith they which were in the ship called Saint  
Catherine, being more afraid then was neede, cast over  
board nine pieces of Ordinance, two ankers and one  
cable, and many other things as needfull for the enter-  
prise wherein we went, as the shippe it selfe. Assoone  
as we were arrived at the haven of Saint Iago I repaired  
my losse which I had received, provided my selfe of  
things necessary, and tooke aboard my people which  
looked for my comming, and directed my course toward  
the haven of Aguaivall. And being there arrived I  
understood that the Generall Francis Vazquez de Coro-  
nado was departed with all his people : whereupon taking

*The haven of  
Saint Iago.*

*The haven of  
Aguaival.*

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## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

the ship called Saint Gabriel which carried victuals for the armie I led her with mee to put in execution your Lordships order. Afterward I followed my course along the coast without departing from the same, to see if I could find any token or any Indian which could give me knowledge of him: and in sailing so neere the shore I discovered other very good havens, for the ships whereof Captaine Francis de Ullua was Generall for the Marquesse de Valle neither sawe nor found them. And when we were come to the flats and shoalds from whence the foresaid fleete returned, it seemed aswell to me as to the rest, that we had the firme land before us, and that those shoalds were so perilous and fearefull, that it was a thing to be considered whither with our skiffes we could enter in among them: and the Pilotes and the rest of the company would have had us done as Captaine Ullua did, and have returned backe againe. But because your Lordship commanded mee, that I should bring you the secret of that gulfe, I resolved, that although I had knowen I should have lost the shippes, I would not have ceased for any thing to have seene the head thereof: and therefore I commanded Nicolas Zamorano Pilote major, and Dominico del Castello that eche of them should take a boate, and their lead in their hands, and runne in among those shoalds, to see if they could find out the chanell whereby the shippes might enter in: to whom it seemed that the ships might saile up higher (although with great travell and danger) and in this sort I and he began to follow our way which they had taken, and within a short while after wee found our selves fast on the sands with all our three ships, in such sort that one could not helpe another, neither could the boates succour us, because the current was so great that it was impossible for one of us to come unto another: whereupon we were in such great jeopardie that the decke of the Admirall was oftentimes under water, and if a great surge of the sea had not come & driven our ship right up, and gave her leave as it were to breath a while,

*These shoalds  
are the bottome  
of mar Ber-  
mejo, or the  
Bay of Cali-  
fornia.*

we had there bin drowned : and likewise the other two shippes found themselves in very great hazard, yet because they were lesser and drewe lesse water, their danger was not so great as ours. Nowe it pleased God upon the returne of the flood that the shippes came on flote, and so wee went forward. And although the company would have returned backe, yet for all this I determined to goe forwarde, and to pursue our attempted voyage : and we passed forward with much adoe, turning our stemmes now this way, now that way, to seeke to find the chanel. And it pleased God that after this sort we came to the very bottome of the Bay ; where wee found a very mightie river, which ranne with so great fury of a streame, that we could hardly saile against it. In this sort I determined as wel as I could to go up this river, and with two boates, leaving the third with the ships, and twenty men, my selfe being in one of them with Roderigo Maldonado treasurer of this fleet, and Gaspar de Castilleia comptroller, and with certaine small pieces of artillerie I began to saile up the river, and charged all my company, that none of them should stirre nor use any signe, but he whom I appoynted, although wee found Indians. The same day, which was Thursday the sixe and twentieth of August, following our voyage with drawing the boats with halsers we went about some 6 leagues: and the next day which was Friday by the breake of day thus following our way upward, I saw certaine Indians which went toward certaine cottages neere unto the water, who assoone as they saw us, ten or twelve of them rose up furiously, and crying with a loud voyce, other of their companions came running together to the number of 50 which with all haste carried out of their cottages such things as they had, and layd them under certaine shrubs and many of them came running toward that part whether wee approched, making great signes unto us that we should goe backe againe, using great threatnings against us, one while running on this side and an other

*The bottome of  
the Bay of  
California.*

[III. 426.]

*They goe up  
the river of  
Buena guia  
the 26. of  
August.*

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1540.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

while on that side. I seeing them in such a rage, caused our boates to lanch from the shore into the middes of the river, that the Indians might be out of feare, and I rode at anker, and set my people in as good order as I could, charging them that no man should speake, nor make any signe nor motion, nor stirre out of his place, nor should not be offended for any thing that the Indians did, nor should shewe no token of warre: And by this meanes the Indians came every foote neere the rivers side to see us: and I gate by little and little toward them where the river seemed to be deepest. In this meane space there were above two hundred and fiftie Indians assembled together with bowes and arrowes, and with certaine banners in warre-like sort in such maner as those of New Spayne doe use: and perceiving that I drewe toward the shore, they came with great cryes toward us with bowes and arrowes put into them, and with their banners displayed.

*He carried an  
interpreter  
with him.*

And I went unto the stemme of my boate with the interpreter which I carried with me, whom I commanded to speake unto them, and when he spake, they neither understood him, nor he them, although because they sawe him to be after their fashion, they stayed themselves: and seeing this I drewe neerer the shore, and they with great cryes came to keepe mee from the shore of the river, making signes that I should not come any farther, putting stakes in my way betweene the water and the land: and the more I lingered, the more people still flocked together. Which when I had considered I beganne to make them signes of peace, and taking my sword and target, I cast them downe in the boate and set my feete upon them, giving them to understand with this and other tokens that I desired not to have warre with them, and that they should doe the like.

*A very good  
course taken  
to appease  
unknownen  
Savages.*

Also I tooke a banner and cast it downe, and I caused my company that were with mee to sit downe likewise, and taking the wares of exchange which I carried with mee, I called them to give them some of them: yet for

all this none of them stirred to take any of them, but rather flocked together, and beganne to make a great murmuring among themselves: and suddenly one came out from among them with a staffe wherein certayne shelles were set, and entred into the water to give them unto mee, and I tooke them, and made signes unto him that hee should come neere me, which when he had done, I imbraced him, and gave him in recompence certaine beades and other things, and he returning with them unto his fellowes, began to looke upon them, and to parley together, and within a while after many of them came toward me, to whom I made signes to lay downe their banners, and to leave their weapons: which they did incontinently, then I made signes that they should lay them altogether, and should goe aside from them, which likewise they did: and they caused those Indians which newly came thither to leave them, and to lay them together with the rest. After this I called them unto me, and to all them which came I gave some smal trifle, using them gently, and by this time they were so many that came thronging about mee, that I thought I could not stay any longer in safety among them, and I made signes unto them that they should withdraw themselves, and that they should stand al upon the side of an hill which was there betweene a plaine & the river, and that they should not presse to me above ten at a time. And immediatly the most ancient among them called unto them with a loud voyce, willing them to do so: and some ten or twelve of them came where I was: whereupon seeing my selfe in some securitie, I determind to goe on land the more to put them out of feare: and for my more securitie, I made signes unto them, to sit downe on the ground which they did: but when they saw that ten or twelve of my companions came a shore after me, they began to be angry, and I made signes unto them that we would be friends, and that they should not feare, & herewithal they were pacified, and sate down as they did before, and I went

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[III. 427.] unto them, & imbraced them, giving them certain trifles, commanding mine interpreter to speake unto them, for I greatly desired to understand their maner of speech, and the cry which they made at mee. And that I might knowe what maner of foode they had, I made a signe unto them, that wee would gladly eate, and they brought mee certaine cakes of Maiz, and a loafe of Miziqui, and they made signes unto mee that they desired to see an harquebuse shotte off, which I caused to be discharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid, except two or three olde men among them which were not mooved at all, but rather cried out upon the rest, because they were afrayd: and through the speach of one of these olde men, they began to rise up from the ground, and to lay hold on their weapons: whom when I sought to appease, I would have given him a silken girdle of divers colours, and hee in a great rage bitte his nether lippe cruelly, and gave mee a thumpe with his elbowe on the brest, and turned in a great furie to speake unto his company. After that I saw them advance their banners, I determined to returne my selfe gently to my boates, and with a small gale of wind I set sayle, whereby wee might breake the current which was very great, although my company were not well pleased to goe any farther. In the meane space the Indians came following us along the shore of the river, making signes that I should come on land, and that they would give mee food to eate, some of them sucking their fingers, and others entred into the water with certaine cakes of Maiz, to give me them in my boate.

### Chap. 2.

Of the habite, armour and stature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had by signes traffique, victuals and many courtesies.

**I**N this sort we went up two leagues, and I arrived neere a cliffe of an hill, whereupon was an arbour made newly, where they made signes unto me, crying



that I should go thither, shewing me the same with their handes, and telling mee that there was meate to eate. But I would not goe thither, seeing the place was apt for some ambush, but followed on my voyage, within a while after issued out from thence above a thousand armed men with their bowes and arrowes, and after that many women and children shewed themselves, toward whom I would not goe, but because the Sunne was almost set, I rode in the midst of the river. These Indians came decked after sundry fashions, some came with a painting that covered their face all over, some had their faces halfe covered, but all besmouched with cole, and every one as it liked him best. Others carried visards before them of the same colour which had the shape of faces. They weare on their heads a piece of a Deeres skinne two spannes broad set after the maner of a helmet, and upon it certaine small sticks with some sortes of fethers. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes of hard wood, and two or three sorts of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mightie people, well feited, and without any grossnesse. They have holes bored in their nostrels wherewith certaine pendants hang: and others weare shelles, and their eares are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and shelles. All of them both great and small weare a girdle about their waste made of diverse colours, and in the middle is fastened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth downe behind like a tayle. Likewise on the brawne of their armes they weare a streit string, which they wind so often about that it becommeth as broad as ones hand. They weare certaine pieces of Deeres bones fastened to their armes, wherewith they strike off the sweate, and at the other certaine small pipes of canes. They carry also certaine little long bagges about an hand broade tyed to their left arme, which serve them also in stead of brasers for their bowes, full of the powder of a certaine herbe, whereof they make a certaine beverage. They have their bodies traced with coles, their haire cut before,

*Good forecast.*

*Indians besmouched with cole.*

*Pipes and bagges of Tobacco.*

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and behind it hangs downe to their wast. The women goe naked, and weare a great wreath of fethers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their haire like the men. There were among these Indians three or foure men in womens apparell. Nowe the next day being Saturday very early I went forward on my way up the river, setting on shore two men for eache boate to drawe them with the rope, and about breaking forth of the Sunne, wee heard a mightie crie of Indians on both sides of the river with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their coming, aswell to see what they woulde have, as also to try whether our interpreter could understand them. When they came over against us they leapt into the river on both sides with their bowes and arrowes, and when they spake, our interpreter understoode them not: whereupon I beganne to make a signe unto them that they should lay away their weapons, as the other had done. Some did as I willed them, and some did not, and those which did, I willed to come neere me and gave them some things which we had to trucke withall, which when the others perceived, that they might likewise have their part, they layd away their weapons likewise. I judging my selfe to be in securitie leaped on shore with them, and stode in the middest of them, who understanding that I came not to fight with them, began to give some of those shels and beades, and some brought me certaine skinnes well dressed, and others Maiz and a roll of the same naughtily grinded, so that none of them came unto me that brought mee not something, and before they gave it me going a little way from mee they began to cry out amayne, and made a signe with their bodies and armes, and afterward they approached to give me that which they brought. And now that the Sunne beganne to set I put off from the shore, and rode in the middest of the river. The next morning before breake of day on both sides of the river wee heard greater cryes and of more Indians, which

*Shels and  
beades.*

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leaped into the river to swimme, and they came to bring mee certaine gourdes full of Maiz, and of those wrethes which I spake of before. I shewed unto them Wheate and Beanes, and other seedes, to see whether they had any of those kindes: but they shewed mee that they had no knowledge of them, and wondred at all of them, and by signes I came to understand that the thing which they most esteemed and revered was the Sunne: and I signified unto them that I came from the Sunne. Whereat they marveiled, and then they began to beholde me from the toppe to the toe, and shewed me more favour then they did before; and when I asked them for food, they brought me such abundance that I was inforced twise to call for the boates to put it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they flang up into the ayre one part unto the Sunne, and afterward turned towards me to give mee the other part: and so I was alwayes better served and esteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats up the river, as also in giving me food to eat: and they shewed me so great love, that when I stayed they would have carried us in their armes unto their houses: and in no kind of thing they would breake my comandement: and for my suretie, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my sight: and they were so carefull to doe so, that if any man came newly thither with them, suddenly they would goe and meete him to cause him to lay them downe farre from mee: and I shewed them that I tooke great pleasure in their so doing: and to some of the chiefe of them I gave certaine little napkins and other trifles; for if I should have given somewhat to every one of them in particular, all the small wares in New Spayne would not have sufficed. Sometimes it fell out (such was the great love and good wil which they shewed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if any one being warned to leave them behind him, if by negligence, or because he understood them not at the first warning, he had not layd them

*A notable  
policie.*

*Swarms of  
people.*

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away, they would runne unto him, and take them from him by force, and would breake them in pieces in my presence. Afterward they tooke the rope so lovingly, and with striving one with another for it, that we had no need to pray them to doe it. Wherefore if we had not had this helpe, the current of the river being exceeding great, and our men that drew the rope being not well acquainted with that occupation, it would have beene impossible for us to have gotten up the river so against the streame. When I perceived that they understood mee in all things, and that I likewise understoode them, I thought good to try by some way or other to make a good entrance to find some good issue to obtaine my desire: And I caused certaine crosses to be made of certaine small sticks and paper, and among others when I gave any thing I gave them these as things of most price and kissed them, making signes unto them that they should honour them and make great account of them, and that they should weare them at their necks: giving them to understand that this signe was from heaven, and they tooke them and kissed them, and lifted them up aloft, and seemed greatly to rejoyce thereat when they did so, and sometime I tooke them into my boate, shewing them great good will, and sometime I gave them of those trifles which I caried with me. And at length the matter grew to such issue, that I had not paper and stickes ynough to make crosses. In this maner that day I was very well accompanied, untill that when night approched I sought to lanch out into the river, and went to ride in the middest of the streame, and they came to aske leave of me to depart, saying that they would returne the next day with victuals to visite me, and so by litle and little they departed, so that there stayed not above fiftie which made fires over against us, and stayed there al night calling us, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and swamme unto us asking for the rope, and we gave it them with a good will, thanking God for the good provision which

*An exceeding  
great current  
of the river.*

hee gave us to go up the river: for the Indians were so many, that if they had gone about to let our passage, although we had bene many more then wee were, they might have done it.

Chap. 3.

One of the Indians understanding the language of the interpreter, asketh many questions of the originall of the Spaniards, he telleth him that their Captaine is the child of the Sunne, and that he was sent of the Sunne unto them, and they would have received him for their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and of him they have many informations of that cuntry.

**I**N this maner we sailed until Tuesday at night, going as we were wont, causing mine interpreter to speak unto the people to see if peradventure any of them could understand him, I perceived that one answered him, whereupon I caused the boates to be stayed, and called him, which hee understoode, charging mine interpreter that hee should not speake nor answere him any thing else, but onely that which I said unto him: and I saw as I stood still that that Indian began to speake to the people with great furie: whereupon all of them beganne to drawe together, and mine interpreter understood, that he which came to the boate sayd unto them, that he desired to knowe what nation we were, and whence wee came, and whither we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heaven: And at this speech an infinite number of people came together, which marvailed to see mee speake: and this Indian turned on this side and on that side to speake unto them in another language which mine interpreter understood not. Whereas he asked me what we were, I answered that we were Christians, and that we came from farre to see them: and answering to the question, who had sent me, I said, I was sent by the Sunne, pointing unto him by signes as at the first, because they should

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*A wise devise.*

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not take mee in a lye. He beganne againe to aske mee, how the Sunne had sent me, seeing hee went aloft in the skie and never stode still, and seeing these many yeeres neither he nor their olde men had ever seene such as we were, of whome they ever had any kind of knowledge, and that the Sunne till that houre had never sent any other. I answered him that it was true that the Sunne made his course aloft in the skie, and did never stand still, yet neverthesse that they might well perceive that at his going downe and rising in the morning hee came neere unto the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they ever sawe him come out of one place, and that hee had made mee in that land and countrey from whence hee came, like as hee had made many others which hee sent into other partes, and that nowe hee had sent me to visite and view the same river, and the people that dwelt neere the same, that I should speake unto them, and shoulde joyne with them in friendshippe, and should give them things which they had not, and that I should charge them that they should not make warre one against another. Whereunto he answered, that I should tell him the cause why the Sunne had not sent mee no sooner to pacifie the warres which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had beene slaine. I tolde him the cause hereof was, because at that time I was but a child. Then he asked the interpreter whether wee tooke him with us perforce having taken him in the war, or whether he came with us of his own accord. He answered him that he was with us of his owne accord, and was very wel appaid of our company. He returned to enquire, why we brought none save him onely that understood us, and wherefore wee understood not all other men, seeing we were the children of the Sunne: he answered, that the Sunne also had begotten him, and given him a language to understand him, and me, and others: that the Sunne knew well that they dwelt there, but that because he had many other businesses, and because

I was but yong hee sent me no sooner. And he turning unto me sayd suddenly: Comest thou therefore hither to bee our Lord, and that wee should serve thee? I supposing that I should not please him if I should have said yea, answered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, and to give them such things as I had. He asked me, whether the Sunne had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinsman or his sonne: I answered him that I was his sonne. He proceeded to aske me whether the rest that were with me were also the children of the Sunne, I answered him no, but that they were borne all with me in one countrey, where I was brought up. Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and sayd, seeing thou doest us so much good, and wilt not have us to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receive thee for our Lord, and alwayes serve thee, therefore wee pray thee that thou wilt not depart hence nor leave us: and suddenly hee turned to the people, and beganne to tell them, that I was the child of the Sunne, and that therefore they should all chuse me for their Lord. Those Indians hearing this, were astonied beyond measure, and came neerer still more and more to behold me. That Indian also asked mee other questions, which to avoyd tediousnesse I doe not recite: and in this wise we passed the day, and seeing the night approach, I began by all meanes I could devise to get this fellow into our boat with us: and he refusing to goe with us, the interpreter told him that wee would put him on the other side of the river, and upon this condition hee entred into our boate, and there I made very much of him, and gave him the best entertaynement I could, putting him alwayes in securitie, and when I judged him to be out of all suspition, I thought it good to aske him somewhat of that countrey. And among the first things that I asked him this was one, whether hee had ever seene any men like us, or had heard any report of them. Hee answered mee no, saving that hee

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*Newes of  
bearded and  
white men.*

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*The Sunne  
worshipped as  
God.*

had sometime hearde of olde men, that very farre from that Countrey there were other white men, and with beardes like us, and that hee knewe nothing else. I asked him also whether hee knewe a place called Cevola, and a River called Totontec, and hee answered mee no. Whereupon perceiving that hee coulde not give mee any knowledge of Francis Vazquez nor of his company, I determined to aske him other things of that countrey, and of their maner of life: and beganne to enquire of him, whether they helde that there was one God, creator of heaven and earth, or that they worshipped any other Idol. And hee answered mee no: but that they esteemed and revered the Sunne above all other things, because it warmed them and made their croppes to growe: and that of all things which they did eate, they cast a little up into the ayre unto him. I asked him next whether they had any Lorde, and hee sayde no: but that they knewe well that there was a great Lorde, but they knewe not well which way hee dwelt. And I tolde him that hee was in heaven, and that hee was called Jesus Christ, and I went no farther in divinitie with him. I asked him whether they had any warre, and for what occasion. Hee answered that they had warre and that very great, and upon exceeding small occasions: for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together, and some of them sayd, let us goe to make warre in such a place, and then all of them set forward with their weapons. I asked them who commanded the armie: he answered the eldest and most valiant, and that when they sayd they should procede no farther, that suddenly they retired from the warre. I prayed him to tell me what they did with those men which they killed in battell: he answered me that they tooke out the hearts of some of them, and eat them, and others they burned; and he added, that if it had not bene for my comming, they should have bin now at warre: and because I commanded them that they should not war, and that they should cease



from armes, therefore as long as I should not command them to take armes, they would not begin to wage warre against others, & they said among themselves, that seeing I was come unto them, they had given over their intention of making warre, & that they had a good mind to live in peace. He complained of certaine people which dwelt behind in a mountaine which made great war upon them, and slew many of them: I answered him, that from henceforward they should not need to feare any more, because I had commanded them to be quiet, & if they would not obey my commandement, I would chasten them and kill them. He enquired of me how I could kill them seeing we were so few, and they so many in number. And because it was now late and that I saw by this time he was weary to stay any longer with me, I let him goe out of my boat, and therewith I dismissed him very well content.

*Certaine warlike people behind a mountaine.*

Chap. 4.

Of Naguachato and other chiefe men of those Indians they receive great store of victuals, they cause them to set up a crosse in their countreys, and hee teacheth them to worship it. They have newes of many people, of their divers languages, and customes in matrimony, how they punish adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the sicknesses which they are subject unto.

**T**He next day betimes in the morning came the chiefe man among them called Naguachato, and wished me to come on land because he had great store of victuals to give me. And because I saw my selfe in securitie I did so without doubting; and incontinently an olde man came with rols of that Maiz, and certaine litle gourds, and calling me with a loud voyce and using many gestures with his body and armes, came neere unto me, and causing me to turne me unto that people, and hee himselfe also turning unto them sayd unto

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them, Sagueyca, and all the people answered with a great voyce, Hu, and hee offered to the Sunne a little of every thing that he had there, and likewise a little more unto me (although afterward he gave me all the rest) and did the like to all that were with me: & calling out mine interpreter, by meanes of him I gave them thanks, telling them that because my boats were litle I had not brought many things to give them in exchange, but that I would come againe another time and bring them, and that if they would go with me in my boates unto my ships which I had beneath at the rivers mouth, I would give them many things. They answered that they would do so, being very glad in countenance. Here by the helpe of mine interpreter I sought to instruct them what the signe of the crosse meant, and willed them to bring me a piece of timber, wherof I caused a great crosse to be made, and commanded al those that were with mee that when it was made they should worship it, and beseech the Lord to grant his grace that that so great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholike faith: and this done I told them by mine interpreter that I left them that signe, in token that I tooke them for my brethren, and that they should keepe it for me carefully untill I returned, and that every morning at the Sunne rising they should kneele before it. And they tooke it incontinently, & without suffering it to touch the ground they carried it to set it up in the middest of their houses, where all of them might beholde it; and I willed them alwayes to worshippe it because it would preserve them from evill. They asked me how deep they should set it in the ground, & I shewed them. Great store of people followed the same, and they that stayed behinde inquired of mee, how they should joyne their hands, and how they should kneele to worship the same; and they seemed to have great desire to learne it. This done, I tooke that chiefe man of the Countrey, and going to our boates with him, I followed my journey up the

[III. 431.]  
*These people  
are greatly in-  
clined to learne  
the Christian  
faith.*

River, and all the company on both sides of the shoare accompanied me with great good will, and served me in drawing of our boates, and in halling us off the sands, whereupon we often fel: for in many places we found the river so shoald, that we had no water for our boat. As wee thus went on our way, some of the Indians which I had left behind me, came after us to pray mee that I would throughly instruct them, how they should joyne their hands in the worshipping of the crosse: others shewed me whether they were well set in such & such sort, so that they would not let me be quiet. Neere unto the other side of the river was greater store of people, which called unto me very often, that I would receive the victuals which they had brought me. And because I perceived that one envied the other, because I would not leave them discontented, I did so. And here came before me another old man like unto the former with the like ceremonyes & offerings: and I sought to learne something of him as I had done of the other. This man said likewise to the rest of the people, This is our lord. Now you see how long ago our ancesters told us, that there were bearded & white people in the world, and we laughed them to scorne. I which am old and the rest which are here, have never seene any such people as these. And if you wil not beleeve me, behold these people which be in this river: let us give them therefore meate, seeing they give us of their victuals: let us willingly serve this lord, which wisheth us so well, and forbiddeth us to make warre, and imbraceth all of us: and they have mouth, handes and eyes as we have, and speake as we doe. I gave these likewise another crosse as I had done to the others beneath, and said unto them the selfe same words: which they listened unto with a better will, & used greater diligence to learne that which I said. Afterward as I passed farther up the river, I found another people, whom mine interpreter understood not a whit: wherefore I shewed them by signes the selfe-

*The river in  
divers places  
full of shelves.*

*Another olde  
man.*

*Their ances-  
ters told them  
that there were  
bearded and  
white men in  
the world.*

*Another  
nation.*

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same ceremonies of worshipping the crosse, which I had taught the rest. And that principal old man which I tooke with me, told me that farther up the river I should find people which would understand mine interpreter: and being now late, some of those men called me to give me victuals, and did in all poynts as the others had done, dauncing and playing to shew me pleasure. I desired to know what people lived on the banks of this river: and I understood by this man that it was inhabited by 23 languages, and these were bordering upon the river, besides others not farre off, and that there were besides these 23. languages, other people also which hee knewe not, above the river. I asked him whether every people were living in one towne together: and he answered me, No: but that they had many houses standing scattered in the fieldes, and that every people had their Countrey severall and distinguished, and that in every habitation there were great store of people. He shewed me a towne which was in a mountaine, and told me that there was there great store of people of bad conditions, which made continual warre upon them: which being without a governour, and dwelling in that desert place, where small store of Maiz groweth, came downe into the playne to buy it in trucke of Deeres skinnes, wherewith they were apparelled with long garments, which they did cutte with rasors, and sewed with needles made of Deeres bones: and that they had great houses of stone. I asked them whether there were any there of that Countrey; and I found one woman which ware a garment like a little Mantle, which clad her from the waste downe to the ground, of a Deeres skin well dressed. Then I asked him whether the people which dwelt on the rivers side, dwelt alwayes there, or els sometime went to dwell in some other place: he answered mee, that in the summer season they aboade there, and sowed there; and after they had gathered in their crophe they went their way, and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foote of the mountaine farre from the

*People of 23.  
languages  
dwelling along  
this river.*

*Acuco as Go-  
mara writeth  
is on a strong  
mountaine.*

*Great houses  
of stone.*

river. And hee shewed me by signes that the houses were of wood compassed with earth without, and I understood that they made a round house wherein the men and women lived all together. I asked him whether their women were common or no: he tolde me no, and that hee which was married, was to have but one wife only. I desired to know what order they kept in marrying: and he told me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept, and said, I have a daughter to marry: is there any man here that wil have her? And if there were any that would have her, he answered that he would have her: and so the mariage was made. And that the father of him which would have her, brought some thing to give the yong woman; and from that houre forward the mariage was taken to be finished, and that they sang & danced: and that when night came, the parents tooke them, and left them together in a place where no body might see them. And I learned that brethren, and sisters, and kinsfolks married not together: and that maydes before they were married conversed not with men, nor talked not with them, but kept at home at their houses and in their possessions, and wrought: and that if by chance any one had company with men before she were married, her husband forsooke her, and went away into other Countreyes: and that those women which fell into this fault, were accompted naughty packs. And that if after they were married, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death: and that no man might have more then one wife, but very secretly. They tolde mee that they burned those which dyed: and such as remayned widowes, stayed halfe a yeere, or a whole yeere before they married. I desired to know what they thought of such as were dead. Hee told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither punishment nor glory. The greatest sicknesse that this people dye of, is vomiting of blood by the mouth: and they have Physicions which cure them with charmes and blowing

*Round houses.*

*Dancing and singing at mariages of the Savages.*

[III. 432.]

*They burne their dead.*

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*Pipes to drinke  
Tabacco with.*

*Maiz, gourds,  
Mill.  
Grindestones,  
earthenpots,  
good fish.*

*This river  
overfloweth his  
banks at cer-  
taine seasons.*

which they make. The apparell of these people were like the former: they carried their pipes with them to perfume themselves, like as the people of New Spaine use Tabacco. I inquired whether they had any governour, and found that they had none, but that every family had their severall governour. These people have besides their Maiz certaine gourds, and another corne like unto Mill: they have grindstones & earthen pots, wherein they boyle those gourds, and fish of the river, which are very good. My interpreter could goe no farther then this place: for he said that those which we should find farther on our way, were their enemies, and therefore I sent him backe very well contented. Not long after I espied many Indians to come crying with a loude voice, and running after me. I stayed to know what they would have; and they told me that they had set up the crosse which I had given them, in the midst of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I was to wit, that when the river did overflow, it was wont to reach to that place, therefore they prayed mee to give them leave to remove it, and to set it in another place where the river could not come at it, nor carry it away: which I granted them.

### Chap. 5.

Of an Indian of that countrey they have relation of the state of Cevola, and of the conditions and customes of these people, and of their governour: and likewise of the countreys not farre distant from thence, whereof one was called Quicoma, and the other Coama: of the people of Quicoma, and of the other Indians not farre distant they receive courtesie.

**T**HUS sayling I came where were many Indians, and another interpreter, which I caused to come with me in my boat. And because it was cold, & my people were wet, I leapt on shore, and commanded a fire to be made, and as we stood thus warming our

*Colde and  
raine.*

selves, an Indian came and strooke me on the arme, pointing with his finger to a wood out of which I saw two companies of men come w<sup>t</sup> their weapons, & he told me that they came to set upon us: & because I meant not to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, & the Indians which were with me swam into the water, and saved themselves on the other side of the river. In the meane season I inquired of that Indian which I had with me, what people they were that came out of ye wood: and he told me that they were their enemies, and therefore these others at their approach without saying any word leapt into the water: and did so, because they meant to turne backe againe, being without weapons, because they brought none with them, because they understood my wil & pleasure, that they should cary none. I inquired the same things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that countrey, because I understood that among some people one man used to have many wives, and among others but one. Now I understood by him, that he had bin at Cevola, and that it was a moneths journey from his country, and that from that place by a path that went along that river a man might easily travel thither in xl. daies, and that the occasion that moved him to go thither, was only to see Cevola, because it was a great thing, & had very hie houses of stone of 3. or 4. lofts, and windowes on ech side; that the houses were compassed about with a wall contening the height of a man & an halfe, and that aloft & beneath they were inhabited with people, and that they used the same weapons, that others used, which we had seene, that is to say, bowes & arrowes, maces, staves & bucklers: and that they had one governor, & that they were apparelled with mantles, and with oxe-hides, & that their mantles had a painting about them, and that their governour ware a long shirt very fine girded unto him, and over the same divers mantles: and that the women ware very long garments, and that they were

*Cevola 40  
dayes journey  
from thence by  
the river.*

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1540.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

*Turqueses in  
Cevola.*

[III. 433.]

white, and went all covered: and that every day many Indians wayted at the gate of their governor to serve him, & that they did weare many Azure or blew stones, which were digged out of a rocke of stone, and that they had but one wife, with whom they were married, and that when their governors died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And likewise all the while they eate, many of their men waite at their table to court them, and see them eate, and they eate with napkins, and that they have bathes. On thursday morning at breake of day the Indians came with the like cry to the banke of the river, and with greater desire to serve us, bringing me meat to eat, and making me the like good cheere, which the others had done unto me, having understood what I was: & I gave them crosses, with the self same order which I did unto the former. And going farther up the river, I came to a country where I found better government: for the inhabitants are wholly obedient unto one only. But returning againe to conferre with mine interpreter touching the dwellings of those of Cevola, he tolde me, that the lord of that countrey had a dog like that which I caried with me. Afterward when I called for dinner, this interpreter saw certaine dishes caried in the first and later service, whereupon he told me that the lord of Cevola had also such as those were, but that they were greene, and that none other had of them saving their governour, and that they were 4. which he had gotten together with that dogge, and other things, of a blacke man which had a beard, but that he knew not from what quarter he came thither, and that the king caused him afterward to be killed, as he heard say. I asked him whether he knew of any towne that was neere unto that place: he tolde me that above the river he knew some, & that among the rest there was a lord of a towne called Quicoma, and another of a towne called Coama: and that they had great store of people under them. And after he had given me this information, he

*This was the  
Negro that  
went with  
Frier Marco  
de Niza.*

*Quicoma.  
Coama.*



craved leave of me to returne unto his companions. From hence I began againe to set saile, and within a dayes sayling I found a towne dispeopled: where assoone as I was entred, by chance there arrived there 500. Indians with their bowes & arrowes, and with them was that principall Indian called Naguachato, which I had left behind, and brought with them certaine conies & yucas: and after I had friendly interteined them all, departing from them, I gave them license to returne to their houses. As I passed further by the desert, I came to certain cotages, out of which much people came toward me with an old man before them, crying in a language which mine interpreter wel understood, and he said unto those men: Brethren, you see here that lord; let us give him such as we have, seeing he dooth us pleasure, and hath passed through so many discourteous people, to come to visit us. And having thus said, he offred to the Sunne, and then to me in like sort as the rest had done. These had certaine great bags & well made of the skins of fishes called Seabremes. And I understood that this was a towne belonging unto the lord of Quicoma, which people came thither onely to gather the fruit of their harvest in summer; and among them I found one which understood mine interpreter very well: whereupon very easily I gave them the like instruction of the crosse which I had given to others behind. These people had cotton, but they were not very carefull to use the same: because there was none among them that knew the arte of weaving, & to make apparel thereof. They asked me how they should set up their crosse when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountaine, and whether it were best to make an house about it, that it might not be wet, & whether they should hang any thing upon the armes thereof. I said no; & that it sufficed to set it in a place where it might be seene of all men, until I returned: and lest peradventure any men of warre should come that way, they offred mee more men to goe with

*Conies and  
yucas.*

*Cotton.*

*A mountaine.*

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

me, saying that they were naughty men which I should finde above ; but I would have none : neverthesse 20. of them went with me, which when I drew neere unto those which were their enemies, they warned mee thereof: and I found their centinels set upon their garde on their borders. On Saturday morning I found a great squadron of people sitting under an exceeding great arbour, & another part of them without: and when I saw that they rose not up, I passed along on my voyage: when they beheld this, an old man rose up which said unto me, Sir, why doe you not receive victuals to eate of us, seeing you have taken food of others? I answered, that I tooke nothing but that which was given me, & that I went to none but to such as requested me. Here without any stay they brought me victuals, saying unto me, that because I entred not into their houses, and stayed all day and all night in the river, and because I was the sonne of the Sunne, all men were to receive me for their lord. I made them signes to sit down, and called that old man which mine interpreter understood, and asked him whose that countrey was, and whether the lord thereof were there, he said, yea: and I called him to me; and when he was come, I imbraced him, shewing him great love: & when I saw that all of them tooke great pleasure at the friendly interteinment which I gave him, I put a shirt upon him, and gave him other trifles, and willed mine interpreter to use the like speaches to that lord which he had done to the rest; and that done, I gave him a crosse, which he received with a very good wil, as the others did: and this lord went a great way with me, untill I was called unto from the other side of the river, where the former old man stood with much people: to whom I gave another crosse, using the like speach to them which I had unto the rest, to wit, how they should use it. Then following my way, I mette with another great company of people, with whom came that very same olde man whom mine interpreter under-

stood ; and when I saw their lord which he shewed unto me, I prayed him to come with me into my boat, [III. 434.] which he did very willingly, and so I went still up the river, and the olde man came and shewed me who were the chiefe lords : and I spake unto them alwayes with great courtesie, & all of them shewed that they rejoyced much thereat, & spake very wel of my coming thither. At night I withdrew my selfe into the midst of the river, & asked him many things concerning that country : and I found him as willing & wel disposed to shew them me, as I was desirous to know them. I asked him of Cevola : and he told me he had bin there, and that it was a goodly thing, & that the lord thereof was very wel obeyed : and that there were other lords thereabout, with whom he was at continual warre. I asked him whether they had silver & gold, and he beholding certaine bells, said they had metal of their colour. I inquired whether they made it there, and he answered me no, but that they brought it from a certain mountaine, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a river called Totontec, he answered me no, but of another exceeding mighty river, wherein there were such huge Crocodiles, that of their hides they made bucklers, and that they worship the Sunne neither more nor lesse then those which I had passed : and when they offer unto him the fruits of the earth, they say : Receive hereof, for thou hast created them, and that they loved him much, because he warmed them ; and that when he brake not foorth, they were acolde. Herein reasoning with him, he began somewhat to complaine, saying unto me, I know not wherefore the Sunne useth these termes with us, because he giveth us not clothes, nor people to spin nor to weave them, nor other things which he giveth to many other, and he complayned that those of that country would not suffer them to come there, and would not give them of their corne. I tolde him that I would remedie this, whereat he remayned very well satisfied.

*Cevola a goodly thing.*

*Gold and silver in a mountaine neere Cevola. A mighty river.*

*This river seemeth to bee Northward by the colde.*

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

### Chap. 6.

They are advertised by the Indians, wherefore the lorde of Cevola killed the Negro, which went with Frier Marco, and of many other things: And of an old woman called Guatazaca, which liveth in a lake and eateth no food. The description of a beast, of the skinne whereof they make targets. The suspition that they conceive of them, that they are of those Christians which were seene at Cevola, and how they cunningly save themselves.

**T**He next day which was Sunday before breake of day, began their cry as they were woont: and this was the cry of 2. or 3. sorts of people, which had lyen all night neere the rivers side, wayting for me: and they tooke Maiz & other corne in their mouth, and sprinkled me therewith, saying that that was the fashion which they used when they sacrificed unto the Sunne: afterward they gave me of their victuals to eat, and among other things, they gave me many white peason. I gave them a crosse as I had done to the rest: and in the meane season that old man tolde them great matters of my doing, and poynted me out with his finger, saying, this is the lord, the sonne of the Sunne: and they made me to combe my beard, & to set mine apparell handsomely which I ware upon my backe. And so great was the confidence that they had in me, that all of them told me what things had passed, & did passe among them, & what good or bad mind they bare one toward another. I asked them wherefore they imparted unto me all their secrets, and that old man answered mee: Thou art our lord, & we ought to hide nothing from our lord. After these things, following on our way, I began againe to inquire of him the state of Cevola, & whether he knewe that those of this cuntry had ever seene people like unto us: he answered me no, saving one Negro which ware about his legs & armes certain things which did ring. Your lordship

## FERNANDO ALARCHON

A. D.

1540.

is to cal to mind how this Negro which went with frier Marco was wont to weare bells, & feathers on his armes & legs, & that he caried plates of divers colours, and that it was not much above a yeere agoe since he came into those parts. I demanded upon what occasion he was killed; and he answered me, That the lord of Cevola inquired of him whether he had other brethren: he answered that he had an infinite number, and that they had great store of weapons with them, and that they were not very farre from thence. Which when he had heard, many of the chiefe men consulted together, and resolved to kil him, that he might not give newes unto these his brethren, where they dwelt, & that for this cause they slew him, and cut him into many pieces, which were divided among all those chiefe lords, that they might know assuredly that he was dead; and also that he had a dogge like mine, which he likewise killed a great while after. I asked him whether they of Cevola had any enemies, and he said they had. And he reckoned unto me 14. or 15. lords which had warre with them: and that they had mantles, and bowes like those above mentioned: howbeit he told me that I should find going up the river a people that had no warre neither with their neighbors, nor with any other. He told me that they had 3. or 4. sorts of trees bearing most excellent fruite to eate: and that in a certaine lake dwelt an olde woman, which was much honoured and worshipped of them: and that shee remayned in a litle house which was there, and that she never did eate any thing: and that there they made things which did sound, and that many mantles, feathers and Maiz were given unto her. I asked what her name was, and he tolde me that she was called Guatuzaca, and that thereabout were many lords which in their life & death, used the like orders which they of Cevola did, which had their dwelling in the summer with painted mantles, and in the winter dwelt in houses of wood of 2. or 3. lofts hie: and that he had seene all these things, saving the old woman.

*The Negro that went with Frier Marco de Nizaslaïne.*

*The cause wherefore Stephan Dorantez the Negro was slaine.*

*They of Cevola have 14. or 15. lords their enemies.*

*An olde woman called Guatuzaca in a lake greatly worshipped.*

[III. 435.]  
*Antonio d'Espejo speaketh of such a great lake.*

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1540.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

And when againe I began to aske him more questions, he would not answer me, saying that he was wearie of me : and many of those Indians comming about me, they said among themselves : Let us marke him well, that we may knowe him when he commeth backe againe. The Monday following, the river was beset with people like to them, and I began to request the old man to tell me what people were in that countrey, which told me he thought I would soone forget them: and here he reckoned up unto me a great number of lords, and people at the least 200. And discoursing with him of their armour, he said that some of them had certaine very large targets of lether, above two fingers thicke. I asked him of what beasts skinne they made them : and he described unto me a very great beast, like unto an Oxe, but longer by a great handfull, with broad feete, the legs as bigge as the thigh of a man, and the head seven handfulls long, the forehead of three spannes, and the eyes bigger then ones fist, and the hornes of the length of a mans leg, out of which grew sharpe poynts, an handfull long, the forfeete and hinderfeete above seven handfulls bigge, with a wrethed tayle, but very great ; and holding up his armes above his head, he said the beast was higher then that. After this hee gave mee information of another olde woman which dwelt toward the sea side. I spent this day in giving crosses to those people as I had done unto the former. This old man that was with me leapt on shore, & fell in conference with another which that day had often called him ; and here both of them used many gestures in their speach, mooving their armes, and poynting at me. Therefore I sent mine interpreter out, willing him to drawe neere unto them, and listen what they said ; and within a while I called him, and asked him whereof they talked, and he sayd, that he which made those gestures said unto the other, that in Cevola there were others like unto us with beards, and that they said they were Christians, and that both of them sayd that we were all of one company,

200. Kindes  
of people.

This might be  
the crooke  
backed oxe  
of Quivira.

The sea side.

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1540.

*The Savages  
treasons to be  
taken heede of.*

and that it were a good deede to kill us, that those others might have no knowledge of us, lest they might come to doe them harme: and that the old man had answered him, this is the sonne of the Sunne, & our lord, he doth us good, and wil not enter into our houses, although we request him thereunto: he will take away nothing of ours, he wil meddle with none of our women, and that to be short, he had spoken many other things in my commendation and favour: and for all this the other stedfastly affirmed that we were all one, and that the old man said, Let us goe unto him, and aske him whether he be a Christian as the other be, or els the sonne of the Sunne: and the old man came unto me, and sayd: In the countrey of Cevola whereof you spake unto me doe other men like unto you dwell. Then I began to make as though I wondred, and answered him, that it was impossible; and they assured me that it was true, and that two men had seene them which came from thence, which reported that they had things which did shoote fire, and swords as we had. I asked them whether they had seene them with their owne eyes? and they answered no; but that certaine of their companions had seene them. Then he asked mee whether I were the sonne of the Sunne, I answered him yea. They said that those Christians of Cevola said so likewise. And I answered them that it might well be. Then they asked mee if those Christians of Cevola came to joyne themselves with me, whether I would joyne with them: and I answered them, that they needed not to feare any whit at all, for if they were the sonnes of the Sunne as they said, they must needes be my brethren, and would use towards all men the like love and courtesie which I used: whereupon hereat they seemed to be somewhat satisfied.

*Certaine  
newes  
of the Span-  
yards at  
Cevola.*

[Chap. 7

Chap. 7.

It is tolde him that they are ten dayes journey distant from Cevola, and that there be Christians there, which make warre against the lords of that countrey. Of the Sodomie which those Indians use with foure yong men appoynted for that service, which weare womens apparel. Seeing they could not send newes of their being there to them of Cevola, they went backe againe downe the river to their ships.

*Cevola tenne  
dayes distant  
from this place.  
A desert of  
ten dayes jour-  
ney.*

[III. 436.]

**T**HEN I prayed them to tel me how many dayes that kingdom of Cevola, which they spake of, was distant from that river: and that man answered, that there was the space of tenne dayes journey without habitation, and that he made none accompt of the rest of the way, because there were people to be found. Upon this advertisement I was desirous to certifie Captaine Francis Vazquez of my being there, and imparted my mind with my souldiers, among whom I found none that was willing to goe thither, although I offered them many rewards in your lordships name, onely one Negro slave though with an evil wil offred himselfe unto me to go thither: but I looked for the comming of those two Indians which they told me of, and herewithall we went on our way up the river against the streame in such sort as we had done before. Here that olde man shewed me as a strange thing a sonne of his clad in womans apparel, exercising their office: I asked him how many there were of these among them, and he told me there were foure; & that when any of them died, there was a search made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the first sonne which was borne of them, was appoynted to doe that duetie belonging unto women, and that the women clad him in their apparell, saying, that seeing he was to doe that which belonged to them, he should weare their apparel: these yong men may not have carnall copulation with any woman: but all the yong men of the countrey which are to marrie,



may company with them. These men receive no kind of reward for this incestuous act of the people of that country, because they have libertie to take whatsoever they find in any house for their food. I saw likewise certaine women which lived dishonestly among men: and I asked the old man whether they were married, who answered me noe, but they were common women, which lived apart from the married women. I came at length after these discourses to pray them to send for those Indians, which they said had bin at Cevola, & they told me that they were eight dayes journey distant from that place, but that notwithstanding there was one among them which was their companion and which had spoken with them, as he met them on the way, when they went to see the kingdome of Cevola, and that they told him that he were not best to goe any farther, for he should find there a fierce nation like us, and of the same qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Cevola, because they had killed a Negro of their company, saying, Wherefore, have yee killed him? what did he to you? did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong? and such like speach. And they said moreover, that these people were called Christians, which dwelt in a great house, & that many of them had oxen like those of Cevola, and other litle blacke beasts with wooll and hornes, & that some of them had beasts which they rode upon, which ran very swiftly; & that one day before their departure, from sunne rising untill sunne setting these Christians were all day in coming thither, & all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, & that these two met with two Christians, which asked them whence they were, & whether they had fields sowen with corne; and they told them that they dwelt in a farre country, and that they had corne, and that then they gave each of them a litle cap, and they gave them another to cary to their other companions, which they promised to do, & departed quickly. When I understood this, I spoke

*Oxen of  
Cevola.*

again with my company, to see if any one of them would go thither, but I found them unwilling as at the first, and they layd against me greater inconveniences. Then I called the old man to see if he would give me any people to goe with me, & victuals to travel through that wildernes, but he laid before me many inconveniences & dangers, which I might incur in that voyage, shewing me the danger that there was in passing by a lord of Cumana, which threatned to make warre upon them, because his people had entred into the others cuntry to take a stagge, and that I should not therefore depart thence without seeing him punished. And when I replied that in any wise I must needes goe to Cevola, he willed me to surcease from that purpose, for they looked that that lord without al doubt would come to annoy them, & that therefore they could not leave their cuntry naked to goe with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that warre betweene them, and that then I might have their company to Cevola. And upon this point we grew to such variance, that we began to grow into choler, and in a rage he would have gone out of the boat, but I stayed him, and with gentle speeches began to pacifie him, seeing that it imported mee much to have him my friend: but for all my courtesies which I shewed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he stil remained obstinate. In this meane while I sent a man away unto my ships to give them knowledge of the journey that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him backe againe, because I had determined, that seeing I saw no meanes to be able to go to Cevola, & because I would stay no longer among those people, because they should not discover me, and likewise because I meant in person to visit my ships, with determination to returne againe up the river, carying with me other companions, & leave there some which I had sicke, and telling the olde man and the rest that I would returne, and leaving them satisfied the best I

could (although they alwayes said that I went away for feare) I returned downe the river: and that way which I had gone against the streame up the river in 15. dayes and an halfe, I made in my returne in 2. dayes and an halfe, because the streame was great and very swift. In this wise going downe the river, much people came to the banks, saying, Sir, wherefore doe you leave us? what discourtesie hath bin done unto you? did you not say that you would remayne continually with us, and be our Lord? And turne back againe? if any man above the river hath done you any wrong we will goe with our weapons with you and kill him; and such like words ful of love and kindnes.

*He returneth  
in 2. dayes  
and an halfe  
to his ships.*

[III. 437.]

Chap. 8.

When they came to their shippes the Captaine named that coast La Campanna de la Cruz, and builded a Chapel unto our Lady, and called the river El Rio de Buena Guia, and returned up the same againe: when he came to Quicona and Coama the Lords of those places used him very courteously.

UPON mine arrivall at my ships I found all my people in health, although very heavie for my long stay, and because the current had fretted fower of their cables, and that they had lost two ankers which were recovered. After we had brought our ships together, I caused them to bring them into a good harbour, & to give the carena to the shippe called Sanct Peter, & to mend all things that were needfull. And here assembling all my company together, I opened unto them what knowledge I had received of Francis Vasquez; and how it might be that in those sixteene dayes space which I was in sayling up the river he might peradventure have some knowledge of me, and that I was minded to returne up the river once againe to try if I could finde any meanes to joyne my selfe with him: and although some spake against my determination, I caused al my boates to bee made ready, because the ships had no need of

A.D.

1540.

*Marke what things the Spaniards carry with them in newe discoveries.*

*Rio de buena Guia.*

*Parrats in these parts.*

*Two moones to Cevola.*

*Another booke written of the particulars of that country.*

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

them. I caused one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other seedes, with hennes & cockes of Castile, and departed up the river, leaving order that in that province called Campanna de la Cruz they should build an Oratorie or Chapell, and called it the Chappell of our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they should call this river Rio de Buena Guia because that is your Lordships Devise: I carried with me Nicolas Zamorano Pilote mayor, to take the height of the pole. And I departed on tuesday the fourteenth of September, & on wednesday I came unto the first dwellings of the first Indians, which came running to hinder my passage, supposing that we had bene other people, for we caried with us a fifer, & a drummer, and I was clad in other apparell then I went in before, when they saw me first of all: and when they knew me they stayed, though I could not grow unto perfect friendship with them, whereupon I gave them some of those seedes which I brought with mee; teaching them how they should sow them: and after I had sayled 3 leagues, my first interpretour came even to my boat to seeke me with great joy, of whom I demanded wherefore he had left me, he tolde me that certaine companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better intertainment, because he should beare me companie againe, considering howe much it did importe me to have him with me. He excused himselfe because he stayed there to bring mee certaine feathers of Parrats, which he gave me. I asked him what people these were, and whether they had any Lord: hee answered me, yea; and named three or foure unto me, of foure or 25 names of people which he knew and that they had houses painted within, and that they had trafficke with those of Cevola, and that in two moones hee came into the country. He told me moreover many other names of Lords, and other people, which I have written downe in a booke of mine, which I will bring my selfe unto your Lordship. But I thought good to deliver this

briefe relation to Augustine Guerriero in this haven of Colima, that he might send it overland to your Lordshippe, to whom I have many other things to imparte.

But to returne to my journey, I arrived at Quicama, *Quicama.* where the Indians came forth with great joy and gladnes to receive me, advertizing me that their Lord waited for my comming; to whom when I was come I found that he had with him five or sixe thousand men without weapons, from whom he went aparte with some two hundred onely, all which brought victuals with them, and so he came towards me, going before the rest with great authoritie, and before him and on each side of him were certaine which made the people stande aside, making him way to passe. Hee ware a garment close before and behind and open on both sides, fastened with buttons, wrought with white and blacke checker worke, it was very soft and well made, being of the skinnes of certaine delicate fishes called Sea breams. Assoone as he was come to the waters side his servants tooke him up in their armes, and brought him into my boate, where I embraced him and received him with great joy, shewing unto him much kindnesse: upon which intertainment his people standing by and beholding the same seemed not a litle to rejoyce. This Lord turning himselfe to his people willed them to consider my courtesie, and that he being of his owne accord come unto me with a strange people, they might see how good a man I was, and with how great love I had entertained him, and that therefore they should take me for their Lord, and that all of them should become my servants, and doe whatsoever I would [III. 438.] command them. There I caused him to sit downe, and to eat certaine conserves of sugar which I had brought with mee, and willed the interpreter to thanke him in my name for the favour which he had done me in vouchsafing to come to see mee, recommending unto him the worshipping of the crosse, and all such other things as I had recommended to the

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rest of the Indians; namely that they should live in peace, and should leave off warres, and should continue alwayes good friendes together: he answered that of long time they had continued in warres with their neighbours, but that from thence forward he would command his people that they should give food to all strangers that passed through his kingdome, and that they should doe them no kinde of wrong, and that if any nation should come to invade him, he said he would tell them howe I had commanded that they should live in peace, and if they refused the same, he would defend himselfe, and promised me, that he would never goe to seeke warre, if others came not to invade him. Then I gave him certaine trifles, as well of the seedes which I brought, as of the hens of Castile, wherewith he was not a litle pleased. And at my departure I caryed certaine of his people with me, to make friendship betweene them and those other people which dwelt above the River: and here the interpreter came unto me, to crave leave to returne home; and I gave him certaine gifts wherewith he departed greatly satisfied.

*Coama.*

The next day I came to Coama, and many of them knew me not, seeing me clad in other apparel, but the old man which was there as soone as he knew me leapt into the water, saying unto me, Sir, lo here is the man which you left with me, which came forth very joyfull & pleasant declaring unto me the great courtesies which that people had shewed him, saying that they had stroven together who should have him to his house, and that it was incredible to thinke what care they had at the rising of the Sunne to hold up their hands and kneele before the Crosse. I gave them of my seedes, and thanked them hartily for the good entertainment which they had shewed my man, and they besought me that I would leave him with them, which I granted them untill my return, and he stayed among them very willingly. Thus I went forward up the River, taking that olde man in my companie, which told mee, that two

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*Cumana.*

Indians came from Cumana to enquire for the Christians, & that he had answered them that he knew none such, but that he knew one which was the sonne of the Sunne, and that they had perswaded him to joyne with them to kill mee and my companions. I wished him to lend me two Indians, and I would send word by them, that I would come unto them, and was desirous of their friendship, but if that they on the contrary would have warre, I would make such a warre with them, that should displeasethem. And so I passed through all that people, and some came and asked me, why I had not given them Crosses as well as the rest, and so I gave them some.

*Treason of the savages.*

### Chap. 9.

They goe on land, and see the people worship the Crosse which they had given them. The Captaine causeth an Indian to make a draught of the countrey: hee sendeth a Crosse to the Lord of Cumana, and going down the River with the streame, he arriveth at his ships. Of the error of the Pilots of Cortez as touching the situation of this Coast.

**T**He next day I went on land to see certaine cottages, and I found many women and children holding up their hands and kneeling before a Crosse which I had given them. When I came thither I did the like my self; and conferring with the old man, he began to informe me of as many people and Provinces as he knew. And when evening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with mee in my boate; hee answered that hee would not goe with mee because I would wearie him with asking him questions of so many matters: I told him that I would request him nothing else but that he would set me downe in a charte as much as he knew concerning that River, and what maner of people those were which dwelt upon the banckes thereof on both sides: which he did willingly. And then he requested me that I would describe my countrey unto him, as he had done his unto me. And for to

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content him, I caused a draught of certaine things to be made for him. The next day I entred betweene certaine very high mountaines, through which this River passeth with a streight chanel, and the boats went up against the streame very hardly for want of men to draw the same. Here certaine Indians came and told me, that in the same place, there were certaine people of Cumana, and among the rest an enchanter, who enquired which way we would passe; & they telling him that we meant to passe by the River, he set certaine canes on both sides thereof, through which wee passed, without receiving any kinde of damage which they intended against us. Thus going forward I came unto the house of the olde man which was in my company, and here I caused a very high Crosse to be set up, wherupon I engraved certaine letters to signifie that I was come thither: and this I did, that if by chance any of the people of the generall Vasquez de Coronado should come thither, they might have knowledge of my being there. At length seeing I could not attaine to the knowledge of that which I sought for, I determined to returne backe unto my ships. And being ready to depart there arrived two Indians, which by meanes of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were sent to me, and that they were of Cumana, and that their Lord could not come himselfe, because he was farre from that place, but desired me to signifie unto him what my pleasure was. I told them, that I wished that he would alwayes imbrace peace, and that I was comming to see that countrey, but being inforced to returne backe downe the River I could not now doe it, but that hereafter I would returne, and that in the meane season they should give that Crosse unto their Lorde, which they promised me to do, and they went directly to cary him that Crosse with certaine feathers which were on the same. Of these I sought to understand what people dwelt upward upon the bankes of the River, which gave me knowledge of many people, and told me that the River went farre more up into the

*An Inchanter.*

[III. 439.]

*This River  
ran much farther  
up then  
he had travelled.*



land then I had yet seene, but that they knew not the head thereof, because it was very far into the countrey, and that many other Rivers fell into the same.

Having learned thus much the next day morning I returned downe the River, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I spake, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that at this time and the former I had gone above 30 leagues into the countrey. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cause was of my departure, and when I would returne; to whom I answered, that I would returne shortly. Thus sayling downe the streame, a woman leapt into the water crying unto us to stay for her, and shee came into our boate, and crept under a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I understood that shee did this, because her husband had taken unto him another wife, by whom hee had children, saying that she ment not to dwell any longer with him, seeing he had taken another wife. Thus shee and another Indian came with me of their owne accord, and so I came into my ships, and making them ready we proceeded home on our voyage, coasting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the countrey, to see if I could learne any newes of Captaine Francis Vasquez and his companie; of whom I could have no other knowledge, but such as I learned in the aforesaide River. I bring with me many actes of taking possession of all that Coast. And by the situation of the River, and the height which I tooke, I finde that that which the Masters and Pilots of the Marquesse tooke is false, & that they were deceived by 2 degrees, and I have sayled beyond them above 4 degrees. I sayled up the River 85 leagues, where I saw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things; whereof when it shall please God to give mee leave to kisse your Lordships hands, I will deliver you the full and perfect relation. I thinke my selfe to have had

*He sayled 85  
leagues up the  
River.*

1540.

*The port of  
Colima.*

very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Castilia, and Augustine Ghenero in the port of Colima: for the Galiot of the Adelantado came upon mee, which was there with the rest of his fleet, and commanded me to strike sayle, which seeming a strange thing unto me, and not understanding in what state things were in Nueva Espanna, I went about to defend my selfe, and not to doe it. In the meane while came Don Luis de Castilia in a boate and conferred with mee, and I lay at anchor on the other side of the haven where the saide fleete road, and I gave unto him this relation (and to avoyd striffe I determined to sayle away by night) which relation I caryed about me briefly written; for I alwayes had a purpose to send the same, as soone as I should touch upon Nueva Espanna, to advertize your Lordship of my proceedings.

An extract of a Spanish letter written from Pueblo de los Angeles in Nueva Espanna in October 1597, touching the discoverie of the rich Isles of California, being distant eight dayes sayling from the maine.



WE have seene a letter written the eight of October 1597, out of a towne called Pueblo de los Angeles situate eighteene leagues from Mexico, making mention of the Ilands of California situate two or three hundreth leagues from the maine land of Nueva Espanna, in Mar del Sur: as that thither have bene sent before that time some people to conquer them: which with losse of some twentie men were forced backe. After that they had wel visited and found those Islands or countreys to be very rich of gold and silver mynes, and of very fayre Orientall pearles, which were caught in good quantitie upon one fathome and an halfe passing in beautie the pearles of the Island Margarita: the report thereof caused the Viceroy of Mexico to send a citizen of Mexico with two hundreth men to conquer

the same. Therein also was affirmed that within eight dayes they could sayle thither from the mayne.

The course which Sir Francis Drake held from [III. 440.] the haven of Guatulco in the South sea on the backe side of Nueva Espanna, to the North-west of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly haven, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discovering many excellent things in the countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Majestie, and named it Nova Albion.



We kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the coast of Nueva Espanna, untill we came to the Haven and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but seventeene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assoone as we were entred this Haven we landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Judge sitting in judgement, he being associate with three other officers, upon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to avoid, that we might safely water there.

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Which being done, and they departed, wee ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other jewels, which we tooke and so let him goe.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set a shore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and having set them a shoare, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time thinking himselfe both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing that her Majestie at his returne would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the South side, with continuall stormes raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to adventure that way: he resolved therefore to avoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and thence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the Malucos, and finding himselfe, where hee

*The Portugal  
Pilote set on  
land.*

## SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

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now was, becalmed, hee sawe that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16 of Aprill after our olde stile till the third of June.

The fift day of June being in fortie three degrees towards the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

*Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backe side of America, to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude.*

38 degrees.

In this Bay wee ankered the sevententh of June, and the people of the Countrey, having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously in-treated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to cover their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presentes which they sent unto our Generall were feathers, and cals of net worke.

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Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brimmes of the circle cliffs of wood set upon them, joyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

*A description of the people and Countrey of Nova Albion.*

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they have the fire in the midst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes and

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kembe them after the maner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents) they stayed themselves, where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes upon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us they restored againe unto us those things which before we had bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their king was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely Majestie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drewe neere unto us, so did they

strive to behave themselves in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a merveilous length : the crownes were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours ; the chaines were made of a bony substance and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them : and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the king himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Conie skinnes, and other skinnes : after them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

*These are like chaines of Esurnoy in Canada and Hochelage.*

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre : which ended, and a generall Amen as it were given, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and every degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and dance, saving onely

the women which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king, and divers others made several orations, or rather supplication, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which to perswade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed a signe of triumph : which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said Country in his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

[III. 442.]  
*The king re-  
signes his  
crowne and  
kingdome to  
Sir Francis  
Drake.  
Great riches  
in Nova  
Albion.*

The common sort of the people leaving the king and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of every person ; and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwardes to the living God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gave them lotions, plaisters and ointments agreeing to



the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every thirde day they brought their sacrifices unto us, untill they understoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled up into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body. *Great heardes of Deere.*

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: under her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them. *Abundance of strange conies.*

Our Generall called this countrey, Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towards the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called. *Nova Albion.*

There is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or silver. *Golde and silver in the earth of Nova Albion.*

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the Province and people into her Majesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in

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a peice of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, where under was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never bene in this part of the countrey, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle a Spanish Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of New Spaine, from the Haven of Acapulco in New Spaine, to the Islands of the Luçones or Philippinas, unto the Haven of Manilla, & from thence to the Haven of Macao in China, and from Macao backe againe to Acapulco, accomplished in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

### Chap. 1.



He tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee set sayle out of the Haven of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our course towards the Islands of the Luçones, or Philippinas West Southwest, running in that maner for the space of twentie five leagues, till wee came under sixteene degrees, that so wee might shunne the calmes by sayling close by the shoare. From thence forward we held our course West for the space of 30 leagues, & being there, we ran West, and West & by South, for the space of 1800

[III. 443.]

leagues, to the Iland called Isla del Enganno, which is the furthest Iland lying in the South parts of ye Ilands called Des los Ladrones, that is, The Ilands of rovers, or Islas de las Velas, under 13. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, upon the fixed Meridionall line, which lyeth

right with the Iland of Terçera. From thence we helde our course Westward for the space of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Espirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghost, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the first Iland of those that are called Philipinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hilles, with some mines of brimstone in the middle thereof. From the point aforesayde, wee sailed West for the space of eighteene leagues to the point or entrie of the chanell, which runneth in betweene that Iland and the Iland of Luçon. This point or entrie lieth scarce under 12. degrees. All the coast that stretcheth from the entrie of the chanel to the point of El capo del Spirito santo, is not very faire.

Eight leagues from the sayde point lyeth a haven of indifferent greatnesse, called Baya de Lobos, that is, The Bay of wolves, having a small Iland in the mouth thereof: and within the chanell about halfe a league from the ende of the sayd Iland lyeth an Iland or cliffe, & when you passe by the point in the middle of the chanell, then you have five and twentie fathom deepe, with browne sand: there we found so great a streame running Westward, that it made the water to cast a skum as if it had beene a sande, whereby it put us in feare, but casting out our lead, wee found five and twentie fathom deepe.

From the aforesayd entrie of the chanell North, and North and by East about tenne leagues, lyeth the Island of Catanduanes, about a league distant from the lande of Luçon, on the furthest point Eastward, and from the same entrie of the chanell towards the West and Southwest lyeth the Iland Capuli about sixe leagues from thence, stretching Westsouthwest, and Eastnorth-east, being five leagues long, and foure leagues broad: and as wee past by it, it lay Northward from us under twelve degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . and somewhat high lande. Foure leagues from the aforesayd Iland of Capuli Northwestward lie the three Ilands of the haven of Bollon in the

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Iland of Luçones, stretching North and South about foure leagues, distant from the firme lande halfe a league, whereof the furthest Southward lieth under thirteene degrees: In this chanell it is twentie fathom deepe, with white sand, and a great streame, running Southeast: we passed through the middle of the chanell. From this chanell wee helde our course Southwest, and Southwest and by West, for the space of twentie leagues, untill wee came to the West end of the Iland of Tycao, which reacheth East and West thirteene leagues. This point or hooke lyeth under 12. degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . In the middle betweene this Iland and the Iland Capuli there lie three Ilands called the Faranias, and we ranne in the same course on the Northside of all the Ilands, at the depth of 22. fathom with white sand.

From the aforesayd West point of the Iland Tycao to the point of Buryas it is East and West to sayle about the length of a league or a league and an halfe: we put into that chanell, holding our course South, and South and by West about three leagues, untill we were out of the chanell at sixteene fathom deepe, with halfe white and reddish sande in the chanell, and at the mouth thereof, whereof the middle lyeth under 12. degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . and there the streames runne Northward.

The Iland of Buryas stretcheth Northwest and Southeast, and is lowe lande, whereof the Northwest point is about three leagues from the coast of Luçon, but you cannot passe betweene them with any shippe, but with small foists and barkes of the countrey. This shallowe channell lieth under twelve degrees: and running thorow the aforesaid chanell betweene the Ilands Tycao and Buryas, as I sayd before, we sayled Southward about two leagues from the Iland of Masbate, which stretcheth East and West 8. leagues long, being in bredth 4. leagues, and lyeth under 12. degrees and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . in the middle thereof, and is somewhat high land.

From the sayd chanell betweene Tycao and Buryas, wee helde our course Westnorthwest for thirteene

*The Isle of  
Masbate.*

leagues, leaving the Iland Masbate on the Southside, and the Iland Buryas on the North side: at the end of thirteene leagues wee came by an Iland called Banton, which is in forme like a hat, under twelve degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . when we had sayled the aforesayd thirteene leagues and eight leagues more, on the South side wee left the Iland called Rebuam, which stretcheth Northwest and Northwest and by North, and Southeast, and Southeast and by South, for the space of eight leagues, being high and crooked lande, whereof the North point lyeth under twelve degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . and there you finde 35. fathom deepe, with white sand.

From the aforesayd Iland of Banton Southward nine leagues, there beginne and followe three Ilandes, one of them being called Bantonsilla, which is a small Iland in forme of a sugar loafe: the second Crymara, being somewhat great in length, reaching East and West about two leagues: the third Itaa, or the Ile of Goates, having certaine hovels. By all these Ilands aforesayd you may passe [III. 444.] with all sortes of shippes, whereof the foremost lyeth Southward under twelve degrees and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . From the Iland of Bantonsilla, or small Banton, wee helde our course Northwest for the space of foure leagues, to the chanell betweene the Ilands called de Vereies, and the Iland Marinduque, the Vereies lying on the South side under twelve degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . (which are two small Ilands like two Frigats) and the Iland Marinduque on the North side under twelve degrees, and  $\frac{4}{5}$ . which is a great Iland, stretching Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, having in length 12. & in bredth 7. leagues. On the North side with the Iland Luçon it maketh a long and small chanell, running somewhat crooked, which is altogether full of shallowes and sandes, whereby no shippes can passe through it. The furthest point Westward of the same Iland lyeth under thirteene degrees and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . It is high lande, on the East side having the forme of a mine of brimstone or fierie hill, and on the West side the land runneth downeward at the point thereof being round like

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a loafe of bread : in the chanell betweene it and the Vereies, there are 18. fathom deepe with small blacke sand.

From the aforesayd chanell of Vereies and Marinduque, wee helde our course Westnorthwest twelve leagues to the lande of Mindora, to the point or hooke called Dumaryn, lying full under thirteene degrees : Five leagues forward from the sayde chanell on the South side wee left an Iland called Isla del maestro del Campo, that is, The Iland of the Colonell, lying under twelve degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . which is a small and flat Iland : In this course we had 45 fathom deep, with white sand.

By this point or end of the Iland Marinduque beginneth the Iland of Myndoro, which hath in length East and West five and twentie leagues, and in bredth twelve leagues, whereof the furthest point Southward lyeth under thirteene degrees, and the furthest point Northward under thirteene degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . and the furthest point Westward under thirteene degrees. This Iland with the Iland of Luçon maketh a chanell of five leagues broad, and ten or twelve fathom deepe with muddie ground of divers colours, with white sande. Five leagues forward from Marinduque lyeth the river of the towne of Anagacu, which is so shallowe, that no shippes may enter into it. From thence two leagues further lie the Ilands called Bacco, which are three Ilands lying in a triangle, two of them being distant from the land about three hundred cubits, and between them and the land you may passe with small shippes : And from the lande to the other Iland, are about two hundred cubites, where it is altogether shallowes and sandes, so that where the shippes may passe outward about 150. cubites from the lande, you leave both the Ilands on the South side, running betweene the third Iland and the river called Rio del Bacco, somewhat more from the middle of the chanel towards the Iland, which is about a league distant from the other : the chanell is tenne fathom deepe, with mud and shelles upon the ground : the river of

Bacco is so shallowe, that no ships may enter into it. From this Iland with the same course two leagues forward, you passe by the point El Capo de Rescaseo, where wee cast out our lead, and found that a man may passe close by the lande, and there you shall finde great strong streames: and halfe a league forward with the same course, lyeth the towne of Mindoro, which hath a good haven for shippes of three hundred tunnes. Three leagues Northward from the same haven lyeth the Iland called Cafaa, stretching from East and West, being hilly ground.

From the sayde towne of Myndoro, wee helde our course Westnorthwest eight leagues, till wee came to the poynt or hooke of the sandes called Tulen, lying upon the Iland of Luçon, which sande or banke reacheth into the Sea halfe a league from the coast: you must keepe about an hundred cubites from it, where you finde eight fathom water, muddie and shellie ground: you runne along by those sandes North, and North and by West for the space of two leagues, till you come to the river called Rio de Anasebo: all the rest of the coast called De los Limbones to the mouth or entrie of the Bay called Manilla, (which are foure leagues) is sayled with the same course. The Limbones (which are Ilands so called) are high in forme like a paire of Organs, with good havens for small shippes, running along by the Limbones: and two leagues beyond them on the South side, wee leave the Ilands of Fortan, and foure Ilands more, but the three Ilands of Lubao, which are very low, lie under 13. degrees and  $\frac{1}{3}$ . and the Limbones lie in the mouth or entrie of the Bay of Manilla under 14. degrees and  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

From thence we ranne Northwest for the space of sixe leagues to the haven of Cabite, keeping along by the land lying on the West side, where it is shallowe, and is called Los Baixos del Rio de Cannas, The shallowes of the river of Reedes: all along this Bay in the same course, there is from ten to foure fathom deepe.

*The Bay of  
Manilla in 14  
degrees and  
one quarter.*

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[III. 445.] Being by the point or hooke of Cabite, then wee kept but an hundred paces from it, running Southwest, south-southwest, and South, untill we discovered the whole mouth or entrie of the Bay, where we might anker at foure fathom about two hundred cubites from the lande, and then the towne of Manilla was two leagues Northward from us.

### Chap. 2.

The course and voyage of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the haven or roade of Manilla, to the haven of Macao in China, with all the courses and situations of the places.

Syling out of the haven of Cabite, lying in the Bay of Manilla, wee helde our course Westwarde for the space of eighteene leagues, to the point called El Cabo de Samballes : and when wee were eight leagues in our way, wee left the two Ilands Maribillas on the South side, and sailed about a league from them : the point of Samballes aforesayde lyeth under foureteene degrees, and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . being low land, at the end of the same coast of Luçon, on the West side.

From the hooke or point aforesayde, wee ranne North, and North and by West, for the space of five and twentie leagues (about a league from the coast of Luçon) to the point called Cabo de Bullinao : all this coast and Cape is high and hilly ground, which Cape lyeth under sixteene degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . From this Cape de Bullinao we helde our course North, and North and by East, for 45. leagues to the point called El Cabo de Bojador, which is the furthest lande Northwarde from the Iland Luçon lying under 19. degrees.

The Cape de Bullinao being past the lande maketh a great creeke or bough, and from this creeke the coast runneth North to the point of Bojador, being a land full of cliffes and rockes that reach into the Sea, and the land of the hooke or point is high and hilly ground.

From the point of Bojador, wee helde our course



Westnorthwest an hundred and twentie leagues, untill we came to the Iland called A Ilha Branca, or the white Iland, lying in the beginning of the coast and Bay of the river Canton under two and twentie degrees, having foure and twentie fathom browne muddie ground.

*Canton 22.  
degrees.*

From the Iland Ilha Branca, wee helde the aforesayde course of Westnorthwest, for the space of sixteene leagues, to the Iland of Macao lying in the mouth of the river of Canton, and it maketh the river to have two mouthes or entries, and it is a small Iland about three leagues great.

*The Iland of  
Macao.*

Chap. 3.

The Navigation or course of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the haven of Macao to Newe Spaine, with the situation and stretchings of the same, with other notable and memorable things concerning the same voyage.

**W**HEN we had prepared our selves, and had taken our leaves of our friends in Macao, we set saile upon the foure and twentieth of July, holding our course Southeast, & Southeast and by East, being in the wane of the Moone: for when the Moone increaseth, it is hard holding the course betweene the Ilands, because as then the water and streames run very strong to the Northwest; wee travailed through many narrowe chanel by night, having the depth of eight or ten fathom, with soft muddie ground, untill wee were about the Iland Ilha Branca, yet we saw it not, but by the height we knew that we were past it.

*Ilha Branca.*

Being beyond it, we ranne Eastsoutheast an hundred and fiftie leagues, to get above the sands called Os Baixos dos Pescadores, and the beginning of the Ilands Lequeos on the East side, which Ilands are called As Ilhas fermosas, that is to say, The faire Ilands. This I understoode by a Chinar called Santy of Chinchon, and hee sayde that they lie under one and twentie degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . there it is thirtie fathom deepe: and although

*As Ilhas fer-  
mosas.*

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wee sawe them not, notwithstanding by the height and depth of the water we knew we were past them.

Being past As Ilhas fermosas, or the faire Ilands, wee helde our course East, and East and by North, for two hundred and sixtie leagues, untill we were past the length of the Ilands Lequeos, sayling about fiftie leagues from them: the said Chinar tolde me, that those Ilands called Lequeos are very many, and that they have many and very good havens, and that the people and inhabitants thereof have their faces and bodies painted like the Bysayas of the Ilands of Luçon or Philippinas and are apparelled like the Bysayas, and that there also are mines of gold: Hee sayd likewise that they did often come with small shippes and barkes laden with Bucks and Harts-hides, and with golde in graines or very small pieces, to traffique with them of the coast of China, which hee assured mee to bee most true, saying that hee had bene nine times in the small Ilands, bringing of the same wares with him to China: which I beleaved to bee true, for that afterwarde I enquired thereof in Macao, and upon the coast of China, and found that hee sayde true. The furthest or uttermost of these Ilands stretching Northwarde and Eastwarde, lie under nine and twentie degrees.

*Lequeos.*

*Mines of gold.*

[III. 446.]

*Firando.*

Being past these Ilands, then you come to the Ilands of Japon, whereof the first lying West and South, is the Iland of Firando, where the Portugals use to traffique: they are in length altogether an hundred and thirtie leagues, and the furthest Eastward lieth under two and thirtie degrees: we ranne still East, and East and by North, untill we were past the sayd hundred and thirtie leagues.

All this information I had of the aforesayd Chinar, as also that there I should see some mines of brimstone or fierie hilles, being seventie leagues beyond them, and thirtie leagues further I should finde foure Ilands lying together, which I likewise found, as hee had tolde mee: And that being in Japon, he sayd hee had there

seene certaine men of a very small stature, with great rolles of linnen cloth about their heads, that brought golde in small pieces, and some white Cangas of cotton, (which are pieces of cotton-linnen so called by the Chinars) as also salte-fish like the Spanish Atun, or Tunney, which hee sayde came out of other Ilandes Eastward from Japon: and by the tokens and markes which hee shewed mee, I gessed whereabout those Ilandes should bee, and found them not farre from whence he sayd they lay. Hee sayd likewise that all the Ilandes of Japon have good havens and chanel, being a Countrey full of Rice, Corne, Fish, and flesh, and that they are an indifferent and reasonable people to traffique with, and that there they have much silver.

*Other Ilands  
Eastward of  
Japon.*

Running thus East, and East and by North about three hundred leagues from Japon, wee found a very hollowe water, with the streame running out of the North and Northwest, with a full and very broad Sea, without any hinderance or trouble in the way that wee past: and what winde soever blewe, the Sea continued all in one sort, with the same hollow water and streame, untill wee had passed seven hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coast and land of newe Spaine wee beganne to lose the sayd hollow Sea and streame: whereby I most assuredly thinke and beleeve, that there you shall finde a channell or straight passage, betweene the firme lande of newe Spaine, and the Countreys of Asia and Tartaria. Likewise all this way from the aforesayde seven hundred leagues, we found a great number of Whale-fishes and other fishes called by the Spaniards Atuns or Tunnies, whereof many are found on the coast of Gibraltar in Spaine, as also Albarcoras and Bonitos, which are all fishes, which commonly keepe in chanel, straights, and running waters, there to disperse their seede when they breede: which maketh mee more assuredly beleeve, that thereabouts is a channell or straight to passe through.

*Japon 900.  
leagues distant  
from the coast  
of America in  
37 degrees  
and an halfe.*

Being by the same course upon the coast of newe

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*Seven and  
thirty deg. and  
an halfe.  
Read Francis  
Ulloa chap.16.*

Spaine, under seven and thirtie degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . wee passed by a very high and faire lande with many trees, wholly without snowe, and foure leagues from the lande, you finde thereabouts many drifts of rootes, leaves of trees, reeds, and other leaves like figge leaves, the like whereof wee found in great abundance in the countrey of Japon, which they eat: and some of those that wee found, I caused to bee sodden with flesh, and being sodden, they eat like Coleworts: there likewise wee found great store of Seales: whereby it is to bee presumed and certainly to bee beleevd, that there are many rivers, bayes, and havens along by those coastes to the haven of Acapulco.

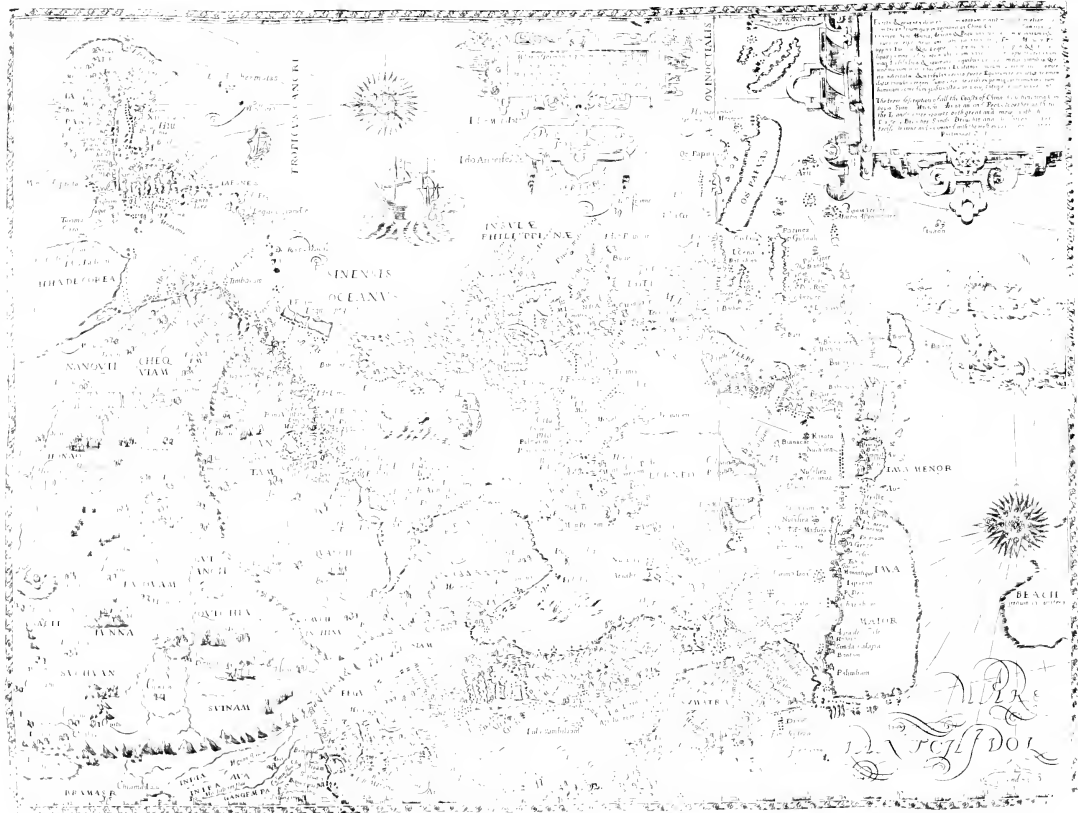
*Cabo de San  
Lucas in 22.  
deg.*

From thence wee ranne Southeast, Southeast and by South, and Southeast and by East, as wee found the winde, to the point called El Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California, on the Northwest side, lying under two and twentie degrees, being five hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendocino.

*Havens lately  
found out.*

In this way of the aforesayde five hundred leagues along by the coast, are many Ilands: and although they bee but small, yet without doubt there are in them some good havens, as also in the firme land, where you have these havens following, now lately found out, as that of the Ile of Sant Augustine, lying under thirtie degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . and the Iland called Isla de Cedros, scarce under eight & twentie deg. and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . and the Iland lying beneath Saint Martyn, under three and twentie degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . All this coast and countrey, as I thinke, is inhabited, and sheweth to be a very good countrey: for there by night wee sawe fire, and by day smoke, which is a most sure token that they are inhabited.

From the poynt or hooke of Saint Lucas, to the Southeast side of California, wee helde our course East-southeast, for the space of 80. leagues, to the point called El cabo de las corrientes, that is, the Cape of the streames lying under 19. degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . And running this course, Northward about a league from us wee sawe



In the year 1602, the East India Company was established in the Netherlands. It was a joint-stock company, and its purpose was to trade with the East Indies. The company was granted a monopoly over the Dutch East Indies, and it was allowed to establish a trading post in Batavia. The company was successful in its first years, and it became one of the most powerful trading companies in the world.



three Ilands called Las tres Marias, (that is to say, The three Maries) running the same course. About foure leagues from the other Ilands, there are other Ilands, reaching about two or three leagues: All this way from [III. 447.] the mouth or gulfe of California aforesayd, for the space of the sayd fourescore leagues, there are great streames that run Westward.

From the point or Cape de las Corrientes, wee ranne Southeast, and sometimes Southeast and by East, for the space of an hundred and thirtie leagues to the haven of Acapulco. In this way of an hundred and thirtie leagues, being twentie leagues on the way, we had the haven of Natividad, that is, of the birth of the Virgin Mary: and other eight leagues further, the haven of Saint Iago, or Saint James: and sixe leagues further, the sea Strand called La Playa de Colima, that is, the Strand of Colima. All this coast from California to the haven of Acapulco is inhabited by people that have peace and traffique with the Spaniards, and are of condition and qualities like the people of the other places of new Spaine. *Acapulco.*

The conclusion of the Author of this last voyage.

**A**Ll this description and navigation have I my selfe seene, prooved, and well noted in my voyage made & ended in the yeere of our Lord 1584. from great China out of the haven and river of Canton, as I will more at large set it downe unto your honour, with the longitudes and latitudes thereof, as God shall permit mee time and leysure, whom I beseech to send you long and happie dayes.

And the same was truely translated out of Spanish into lowe Dutch verbatim out of the Originall copie, (which was sent unto the Viceroy of the Portugall Indies) by John Huyghen Van Linschoten.

Divers voyages made by Englishmen to the famous Citie of Mexico, and to all or most part of the other principall provinces, cities, townes and places throughout the great and large kingdom of New Spaine, even as farre as Nicaragua and Panama, & thence to Peru: together with a description of the Spaniards forme of government there: and sundry pleasant relations of the maners and customes of the natural inhabitants, and of the manifold rich commodities & strange rarities found in those partes of the continent: & other matters most worthy the observation.

The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Nova Hispania in the yeere 1555. with divers observations concerning the state of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himselfe.



Robert Tomson borne in the towne of Andover in Hampshire began his travaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Bristoll in a good ship called The barke yong, in companie of other Marchants of the sayde citie, within 8. dayes after arrived at Lisbone in Portugall, where the sayd Robert Tomson remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he shipped himselfe for Spaine in the sayd shippe, and within 4. dayes arrived in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is under the kingdom of Spaine, & from thence went up to the citie of Sivil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one John Fields house an English Marchant, who had dwelt in the said city of Sivil 18. or 20. yeres married with wife and



children: In whose house the said Tomson remained by the space of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two causes: The one to learne the Castillian tongue, the other to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people. At the end of which time having seene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with such great quantitie of gold & silver, pearles, precious stones, suger, hides, ginger, and divers other rich commodities, he did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe over to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within short time after, the sayd John Field (where the sayd Tomson was lodged) did determine to passe over into the West Indies, himselfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the request of the sayde Tomson, he purchased a licence of the King to passe into the Indies, for himselfe, his wife and children, and among them also for the sayde Tomson to passe with them: so that presently they made preparation of victuall and other necessarie provision for the voyage. But the shippes which were prepared to perfourme the voyage being all ready to depart, upon certaine considerations by the kings commandement were stayed and arrested till further should bee knowen of the Kings pleasure. Whereupon the said John Field, with Robert Tomson departed out of Sivil and came down to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and seeing the stay made upon the ships of the said fleet, & being not assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselves for the Iles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come thither: for that is continually their port to make stay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in fresh water, bread, flesh, & other necessaries. [III. 448.]

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the sayde Robert Tomson with the said John Field and his companie, shipped themselves out of the towne of S. Lucar in a carvel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6.

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dayes they arrived at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with loud voyces, in so much that the castle which stood fast by began to shoot at us, and shot 6. or 7. shot at us, and strooke downe our maine maste, before we could hoise out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done unto us; they answered, that they had thought we had bene French rovers, that had come into the said port to do some harme to the ships that were there. For that 8. dayes past there went out of the said port a carvell much like unto ours, laden with sugers and other marchandise for Spaine and on the other side of the point of the sayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said carvell, & unladed out of her into the said French ship both men & goods. And being demanded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, they answered that there remained divers other ships, & one laden with sugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: upon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship well appointed into the said carvel which they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the evening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men, and so came to an anker hard by the other ships that were in the said port, and being seene by the castle and by the said ships, they made no reconing of her, because they knew her, & thinking that she had found contrary windes at the sea, or had forgot something behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, and so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said carvel with the Frenchmen in her went aboard the other ship that lay

hard by laden with sugers, and drove the Spaniards that were in her under hatches, & presently let slip her cables and ankers, and set saile & carried her cleane away, and after this sort deceived them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoote at us as they did. This being past, the next day after our arrivall in the sayd port, wee did unbarke our selves and went on lande up to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants servants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee received great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went up to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there having taken that which they had neede of, wee shipped our selves in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the saide fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman married in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whose name was John Sweeting, and there came in the sayd ship for captain also an Englishman married in Cadiz, and sonne in law to the sayde John Sweeting, whose name was Leonard Chilton: there came also in the said ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whose name was Ralph Sarre. So that wee departed from the sayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foresayd yeere, 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towards the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arrived with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, and went in over the

*English factors  
in the Grand  
Canaria.*

*John Sweeting  
Englishman  
married in  
Cadiz, sendeth  
a ship of his  
owne into the  
West Indies  
under the con-  
duct of his  
sonne in lawe  
Leonard Chil-  
ton. Ralph  
Sarre.*

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barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreshed our selves 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Cassavi, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an unsavorie taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they have great store: for there are men that have 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides: for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete and savorie, and so holsome, that they give it to sick folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons, although they have good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guinycocks & Guinyhens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of above 500. housholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The country is most part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie uncovered, & make them to swel wonderfully. Also there is another kind of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feet & especially of the black Moores and children which use to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth so ake that it would make one run mad. They have no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches & so dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store of suger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula & Salsa perillia: mines of silver & gold there are none, but in some rivers there is

[III. 449.]

*Many of our men died of these wormes at the taking of Puerto rico.*

found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & brasse: and this they say they do use not for that they lacke money of gold and silver to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but because if they should have good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and silver, and let the countrey commodities lie still. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there staying until the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of January we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we set our course, and so sailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. John de Ullua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused us to cast about into the sea againe, for feare least that night we should be cast upon the shoare before day did breake, and so put our selves in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within two houres after the storme began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. John de Ullua, but missing the port went with the shoare and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men, women and children, and 64. were saved that could swim, and had meanes to save themselves: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bene present the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his servants & houshold. We with the other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme

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during 10. dayes with great might, boisterous winds, fogs & raine: our ship being old and weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fadome under water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw and lightned into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serve. Then we cut our maine mast and threw all our Ordinance into the sea saving one piece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee should have sunke, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company neere unto us, which we saw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the piece, & understanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards us, and when they came within hearing of us, we desired them for the love of God to helpe to save us, for that we were all like to perish. They willed us to hoise our foresaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their best to save us, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of a sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile & maste all overboard, so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, every man his friend, every wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almighty God, thinking never to escape alive: yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aide us with his helping hand, and caused the winde a little to cease, so that within two houres after, the other ship was able to come aboard us, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hose or shoe upon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a yong sucking child in her armes, lept too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while under

the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose above water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate having still her child under her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall love towards her child would not let her let the childe goe. And when she came aboard the boate she helde her childe so fast under her arme still, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ship & left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundreth thousand ducats, ship & goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arrived at our port of S. John de Ullua in New Spaine. I do remember that in the great [III. 450.] boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the advocate of Sailers. At the which sight the Spaniards fell downe upon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment, and save them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on land, they would repaire unto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies upon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceive it, nor gave no credite to it, till it pleased God to send us the remedie & delivered us from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued aboard our ship about three houres, flying from maste to maste, & from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the ex-

*Cuerpo Santo.*

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tremittie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I have seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are given to beleeeve and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities do let to call upon the living God, who is the giver of all good things.

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arrived at the port of S. John de Ullua in new Spaine, very naked and distressed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, five leagues from the said port of S. John de Ullua, marching still by the sea side, where wee found lying upon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes and all, some of them of foure, five, and sixe cart load by our estimation, which, as the people tolde us, were in the great stormy weather, which we indured at sea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundreth leagues over by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the saide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the said John Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordova, a very rich man of the saide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his misfortune by Sea, came unto him and received him and all his household into his house, and kept us there a whole moneth, making us very good cheere, and giving us good intertainment, and also gave us that were in all eight persons of the said John Fields house, double apparell new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shooes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way up to the Citie of Mexico, horses, moiles,

*His arrival at  
Vera Cruz.*

*Florida 300.  
leagues from  
San Juan de  
Ullua.*



and men, and money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount unto the summe of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes journey into the Countrey, I the saide Robert Tomson fell so sicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried upon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes journey of the Citie of Mexico, the saide John Field also fell sicke, and within three dayes after we arrived at the said Citie, hee died: And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his houshold people, and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arrived at the Citie of Mexico, of eight persons that were of us of the saide company, there remained but foure alive, and I the said Tomson was at the point of death of the sicknes that I got upon the way, which continued with mee the space of sixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleased Almightye God to restore me my health againe, although weake and greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to live, and to seeke a way how to profite my selfe in the Countrey, seeing it had pleased God to sende us thither in safetie. Then by friendship of one Thomas Blake a Scottishman borne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the said Citie above twentie yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the service of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerours of the said Citie, whose name was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelve moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciously accused by the Holy house for matters of Religion, and so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner seven moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to the Jailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the saide prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters

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[III. 451.] of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the Northwest of the Citie of Mexico : At the ende of the said seven moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance upon an high scaffold, made before the high Altar, upon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great number of people, who were at the least five or sixe thousand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the saide Auto (as they call it) for that there were never none before, that had done the like in the said Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant : for they never heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, every one with a S. Benito upon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middest, and cast over a mans head : both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the middest of every flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on upon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were given to understand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like devils then men, and thought wee had had the favour of some monsters, or heathen people. And when they saw us come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they never sawe goodlier men in all their lives, and that it was not possible that there could be in us so much evill as was reported of us, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons of such evill Religion as by the Priestes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee should bee so used for so small an offence. So that being brought into the saide high Church, and set upon the scaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the presence of all the people, untill high Masse was done, and the sermon

made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put us in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion upon us, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were seduced of the devill, & had forsaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with divers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masse and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, every man what he had said and done, and presently was the sentence pronounced against us. That was, that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall prison, where hee should fulfill the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the saide Tomson to weare the S. Benito for three yeeres, and then to be set at libertie. And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. John de Ullua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that upon paine of 1000. duckets, the Masters every one should looke straitly unto us, and carry us to Spaine, and deliver us unto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, that they should put us in the places, where we should fulfill our penances that the Archbishop of Mexico had enjoyned unto us, by his sentence there given. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the Sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters upon our feete, and there delivered to the Masters of the ships, to be caried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian, fearing that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would have burned him, to prevent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arrived at the yland of Terçera, one of the ysles of the Açores, the first night that we came into the said port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, & swam

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naked a shoare, and so presently got him to the further side of the yland, where hee found a little Carvel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbonne, and passed into France, and so into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboard the ship, and came into Spaine, and was delivered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, where they kept me in close prison, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the Citie of Sivil a casher of one Hugh Typton, an English marchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortun'd that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called John de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got great summes of golde and silver, and with one onely daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gave all that hee had unto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arrived at the Citie of Sivil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and silver, besides jewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine unto by my owne labour.

[III. 452.] After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set up in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to their use and custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of us, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that country. The same have bene seene since by one John Chilton, and divers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long since, by Sir John Hawkins. And because it shalbe knowen wherefore it was

that I was so punished by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had overthrowen all their Churches and houses of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heaven that were in them were thrown downe, broken, and burned, and in some places high wayes stoned with them, and whether the English nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made answer, that it was so, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and used there no more: for that (as they say) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse commandement of Almighty God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image, &c. and that for that cause they thought it not lawfull that they should stand in the Church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my master Gonsalo Cereso, answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God, to have images in the Churches, that then he had spent a great deal of money in vaine, for that two yeres past he had made in the monastery of Santo Domingo, in the said citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure silver & golde, with pearles and precious stones, which cost him 7000. and odde pesos, and every peso is 4.s. 8.d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I have seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was another gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause more then any other that was there, saide, that they knew well ynough that they were made but of stockes and stones, and that to them was no worship given, but that there was a certaine veneration due unto them

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after they were set up in the Church, and that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the simple people, to make them understand the glory of the saints that were in heaven, & a shape of them to put us in remembrance to call upon them, to be our intercessors unto God for us, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that using devotion to saints in heaven, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subject hath offended his king upon the earth in any kind of respect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in person, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, saith he, the presumption were too great, & possibly he might be repulsed, and have a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some private man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Majesty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obtaine the thing which he doeth demand: even so saith he, it is with God and his saints in heaven: for we are wretched sinners: and not worthy to appeare nor present our selves before the Majesty of God, to demand of him the thing that we have need of: therefore thou hast need to be devout, and have devotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heaven, to be intercessors to God for thee, and so mayest thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou dost demand. To this I answered, & said, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessary they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speak of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subjects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or palace, & say unto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended

many lawes, if thou doest know thereof, and doest repent thee of the same, with ful intent to offend no more, I wil forgive thy trespasse, and remember it no more : said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man need to go seeke friendship at any of the kings privat servants hands, but go to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgive thee, then thou art to demand forgivenes at his hands? Even so is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out unto us throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, and by his owne mouth, saying, Come unto me al ye that labour and are over laden, and I wil refresh you : besides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make unto us in his holy Scriptures. What then have we need of the saints helpe that are in heaven, whereas the Lord himself doth so freely offer himselfe unto us? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, and said, that by that reason, I would give to understand, that the invocation of Saints was to be disanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words but the words of God himselfe : looke into the Scriptures your selfe, and you shall so finde it. The talke was perceived to be prejudiciall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained unthought upon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who said, *Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas*: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Provisor, and said, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Englishman, who had said, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any invocation of Saints, upon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing, and thereupon was used, as before is written.

[III. 453.]

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the countrey, you shall understand, that the port of S. John de Ullua is a very little Island low by the water side, the

*Sant Juan de Ullua.*

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broadest or longest part thereof not above a bow shoote over, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a little Chappel to say Masse in, in all the Island: the side to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-stone and gravel, and is 4. fadome deep downe right, wherfore the great ships that come in there do ride so neere the shoare of the Island, that you may come and goe aland upon their beake noses. They use to put great chaines of yron in at their halsers, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to more well their shippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coast of Florida, that sometimes have caried ships, & houses, and all away to the shoare. The king was wont to have 20. great mightie Negroes, who did serve for nothing else, but onely to reparaire the said Island, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the sea side a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the mariners of the ships are disposed, they go up into the wildernes, and do kil of the same, and bring them aboard to eate, for their recreation.

*The way and distance from San Juan de Ullua to Vera Cruz, is five leagues.*

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne up towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle river hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. housholds, and served but for the folke of the ships, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliver it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receive their goods of the Masters of the ships. This towne standeth also in a very plaine on the one side the river, and the other side is environed with much sande blown from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming upon that coast. This towne also



is subject to great sicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ships did die with those diseases, there accustomed, & especially those that were not used to the countrey, nor knew the danger therof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much disorder, and especially gave themselves to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which few escaped.

Halfe a dayes journey from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of five or sixe houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinnacle made of lime and stone, fast by a river side, where the Indians were wont to doe their sacrifices unto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and also subject to sicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes journey that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shall find as faire, good, and sweet countrey, as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be some 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. houtholds, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you shall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of medow grounds, Rivers of fresh waters, forrests, and great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not above 1500. houtholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, dwelt above 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from the North sea, and 75. leagues from the South sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea and the other. It is situated in the midst of a lake of standing water, and environed round about with the same, saving in many places, going

*Venta de Rinconado.*

*Pueblo de los Angeles.*

*Mexico.*

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out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the said lake or water. This lake and Citie is environed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse above thirtie leagues, and the saide Citie, and lake of standing water, doeth stand in a great plaine in the midst of it. This lake of standing water doeth proceed from the shedding of the raine, that falleth upon the saide mountaines, and so gather themselves together in this place.

[III. 454.]

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth stand in a very plaine ground, and in the midst of the said Citie is a square place of a good bow shoote over from side to side: and in the midst of the said place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all through, at that time not halfe finished, and round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine sendeth thither every three yeeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. And on the other side of the saide place, over against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that first conquered the saide Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which hee made with great labour and travaile of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart unto him. And when he came home, he could not bee suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good service.

The said Citie of Mexico hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place,

*Don Luis de  
Velasco.*

*This is to be  
understood of  
his second com-  
ing into  
Spaine.*

at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that every man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great cave or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, even unto the high place, where come every morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of provision for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailles, Guiny-cockes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a slave can carry away from the Butchers, for five Tomynes, that is, five Royals of plate, which is just two shillings and sixe pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popinjayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will rejoyce to heare it. In the fields are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giveth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are divers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. housholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soyle, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were

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*Mexico  
conquered  
Anno 1519.  
and 1520.*

dwelling and alive in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the first conquest with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered.

*Cochinilla is  
not a worme  
nor a flie, but  
a berry.*

About Mexico there are divers Mines of silver, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the Northwestward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and silver. Also there is a place called the Misteca, fiftie leagues to the Northwest, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we have none such, as Plantanos, Guyaves, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great store of blacke cherries, and other wholesome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth upon certaine bushes in the wilde fieldes, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the saide Indico is made. Balme, Salsa perilla, Cana fistula, suger, oxe hides, and many other good and serviceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations.

*Indico.*

ROBERT TOMSON.

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham to S. [III. 455.]  
John de Ullua in the bay of Mexico, in the  
yeere 1564.



Roger Bodenham having a long time lived in the city of Sivil in Spaine, being there married, and by occasion thereof using trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great losse and hinderance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being

*A new trade  
begun in the  
city of Fez  
by Roger  
Bodenham.*

returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to consider with my selfe by what meanes I might recover and renew my state; and in conclusion, by the ayde of my friends, I procured a ship called The Barke Fox, pertaine to London, of the burden of eight or nine score tunnes; and with the same I made a voyage to the West India, having obtained good favour with the Spanish merchants, by reason of my long abode, and marriage in the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Nova Hispania: who being himselfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his sonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himselfe was the principall man and directer in both fleets. We all departed from Cadiz together the last day of May in the yere 1564: and I with my ship being under the conduct of the sonne of Don Pedro aforesayd, arrived with him in Nova Hispania, where immediatly I tooke order for the discharge of my merchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called Villa Rica, to be transported thence to the city of Mexico, which is sixty and odde leagues distant from the sayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great causeyes to bring men to it, compassed with a lake, so that it needeth no walles,

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being so defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all necessary things, having many faire houses, churches, and monasteries. I having continued in the countrey the space of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spanish fleet, and delivered the merchandise and silver which I had in the ship into the Contractation house, and there received my freight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I observed many things in the time of my abode in Nova Hispania, aswell touching the commodities of the countrey as the maners of the people both Spanyards and Indians: but because the Spanish histories are full of those observations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the same: onely this I say, that the commodity of Cochinilla groweth in greatest abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there woorth above forty pence the pound.

*The place  
where Cochi-  
nilla groweth,  
and the price  
thereof.*

A notable discourse of M. John Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine, and other provinces in the West Indies, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his travels, continued in those parts, the space of seventeene or eighteene yeeres.



**N** the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of July, I John Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of seven yeres, & from thence I sailed into Nova Hispania, and so travelled there, and by the South Sea, unto Peru, the space of seventeene or eighteene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yere 1586 in the moneth of July, I arrived at the foresayd city of London: where perusing the notes which I had

taken in the time of my travell in those yeeres, I have set downe as followeth.

In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being 1568. desirous to see the world, I embarked my selfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluzia, in a shippe bound for the *Cadiz.* Isles of the Canaries, where she tooke in her lading, & set forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of June, the same yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Isle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Nova Hispania, and came into the port of S. John de Ullua, which is a litle Island standing in the sea, *San Juan de Ullua.* about two miles from the land, where the king main-teineth about 50 souldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carying of stones for building, & other uses, and to helpe to make fast the ships that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at ech ende of a wall, that standeth likewise in the sayde Island, where the shippes use to ride, made fast to the sayd wall with their cables, so neere, that a man may leape ashore. From this port I journeyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, standing by a rivers side, *Vera Cruz.* where all the factours of the Spanish merchants dwell, *[III. 456.]* which receive the goods of such ships as come thither, and also lade the same with such treasure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spanish fleet dischargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the end of August to the beginning of April following. And then for the unwholesomnesse of the place they depart thence sixteene leagues further up within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull soile. *Xalapa sixteene leagues.* There is never any woman delivered of childe in this port of Vera Cruz: for so soone as they perceive themselves conceived with child, they get them into the countrey, to avoid the perill of the infected aire, although they use every morning to drive thorow the towne above two thousand head of cattell, to take away

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the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa seven leagues I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houses builded of straw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who acustome to harbour such travellers as are occasioned to journey that way up into the land. It standeth in a great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the soile being very colde, by reason of store of snow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bignesse like unto great mules, having also hornes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are springs of water issuing out of certeine rocks into the midst of the high wayes, where likewise are certeine ranges, and houses, for the uses before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, so called by that name of the Spanyards, which inhabit there to the number of a thousand, besides a great number of Indians. This city standeth in very plaine fields, having neere adjoyning to it many sumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thousand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thousand hanneges yeerely, as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reason why he contenteth himselfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, because they were the occasion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the same time when the Spanyards came into the countrey. The governour of this city is a Spanyard, called among them The Alcalde mayór, who administreth chiefest causes of justice both unto the Christians and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennesse and such like, to the judgement and discretion of such of the Indians as are chosen every yeere to rule amongst them, called by the name of Alcaldes. These Indians from foureteene yeeres olde

*Perota seven leagues.*

*Fuentes de Ozumba nine leagues.*

*Pueblo de los Angeles eight leagues.*



upwards, pay unto the king for their yerely tribute one ounce of silver, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelve reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the rest, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thorowout with works of divers and fine colours. It is distant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, & foureteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, consisting of more then sixty thousand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not above twelve Spanyards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Aassingo, of above fifty thousand Indians, and about eight or twelve Spanyards, which standeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the East side. There are besides these, three other great cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichama-chalcho: all these in times past belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from these cities they bring most of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The distance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city of Mexico is the city of greatest fame in all the Indies, having goodly and costly houses in it, builded all of lime and stone, and seven streets in length, and seven in breadth, with rivers running thorow every second street, by which they bring their provision in canoas. It is situated at the foot of certaine hilles, which containe in compasse by estimation above twenty leagues, compassing the sayd city on the one side, and a lake which is foureteene leagues about on the other side. Upon which lake there are built many notable and sumptuous cities, as the city of Tescuco, where the Spaniards built sixe frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode five or six moneths in curing of the sicknesse of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell

*Tlaxcalla  
foure leagues  
northward  
from los  
Angeles.*

*Vulcan is a  
hill that con-  
tinually burn-  
eth with fire.*

*Cochinilla.  
Pueblo de los  
Angeles 20  
leagues from  
Mexico.*

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in this city about sixty thousand Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this city the sayd Fernando built the finest church that ever was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S. Peters.

*His voyage  
from Mexico  
to Nueva  
Biscaia.*

[III. 457.]  
*New Biscay.*

*The Silver  
mines of  
Tamascal-  
tepec.  
The valley of  
S. Bartholo-  
mew.*

*The haven  
where ye ships  
of China &  
the Philippinas  
arrive.*

*Guaxaca.*

After I had continued two yeeres in this city, being desirous to see further the countreys, I imployed that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the provinces of California, in the which was discovered a certeine country, by a Biscaine, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his country, New Biscay, where I solde my merchandise for exchange of silver, for there were there certaine rich mines discovered by the aforesayd Biskaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage somewhat toward the Southwest, to certaine mines, called Tamascaltepec, and so travelled forward the space of twenty dayes thorow desert places unhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which joyneth to the province of New Biscay. In all these places the Indians for the most part go naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and arrowes: they use to eat up such Christians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another province named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Navidad, which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arrive alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ships that come out of the South sea from China, and the Philippinas, and there they lay their merchandise ashore. The most part whereof is mantles made of Cotton wooll, Waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much golde.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the first yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indies) I undertooke another voyage towards the province of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried divers merchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thitherward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Christians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50

Spanyards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this province pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thoroughout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called *Aguatulco*, in the which there dwell not above three or foure Spanyards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arrived in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I lost with his being there above a thousand duckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factour there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South sea: for from this port they use to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named *Nixapa*, which standeth upon certaine very high hilles in the province of *Sapotecas*, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spanyards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace: for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpose hee bestoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that province. From hence I went to a city called *Tecoantepec*, which is the farthest towne to the Eastward in all Nova Hispania, which some time did belong to the Marques de Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the South sea, the king of Spaine, upon a rebellion made by the sayd Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Heere in the yeere 1572 I saw a piece of ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culverin, which came out of a ship called the Jesus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. John de Ullua, being in fight with the Spanyards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards caried 100 leagues by land over mighty mountaines to the sayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leaving *Tecoantepec*, I went still along by the South sea about 150 leagues in the desolate province of *Soconusco*, in which province there groweth cacao, which the Chris-

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## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

tians cary from thence into Nova Hispania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giving him four hundred cargas, and every carga is 24000 almonds, which carga is worth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this province thorowout, there dwell not twenty Christians. I travelled thorow another province called Suchetepec; and thence to the province of Guasacapan: in both which provinces are very few people, the biggest towne therein having not above two hundred Indians. The chiefest merchandise there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about 80 Spaniards: and here the king hath his governours, & councell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for justice. This city standeth from the coast of the South sea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reason of the golde that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua. From this city to the Eastward 60 leagues lieth the province Sonsonate, where I solde the merchandize I caried out of Nova Hispania. The chiefest city of this province is called S. Salvador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coast of the South sea, and hath a port lying by the sea coast, called Acaxutla, where the ships arrive with the merchandize they bring from Nova Hispania; and from thence lade backe againe the cacao: there dwell heere to the number of threescore Spaniards. From Sonsonate I travelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the shipping that travell out of the Indies to the Malucos. I went forward from thence to Costa rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there live as warriers, I durst not passe by land, so that here in a towne called S. Salvador I bestowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall)

*Suchetepec.*  
*Guasacapan.*

*Guatimala.*

*Sonsonate.*

*San Salvador.*

*Acaxutla.*

*Nicoia a port  
where ye ships  
which goe to  
the Philippinas  
are builded.*  
[III. 458.]

## JOHN CHILTON

A.D.

1570.

*Puerto de Cavallos a rich place.*

which I caried with me to the port of Cavallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one side of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other strength, having in it houses of straw: at which towne the Spanyards use yeerely in the moneth of August to unlade foure ships which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandise, and receive in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandise called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of such value as that of Nova Hispania) and silver of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salsa perilla, the best in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their course by the Island of Jamaica, in which Island there dwell on the West side of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the uttermost part of the Westward of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Havana lying hard by, which is the chiefest port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greatest importance: for all the ships, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Jamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arrive there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the most part of their lading: here they meet from all the foresayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this port it is so narrow, that there can scarce come in two ships together, although it be above sixe fadome deepe in the narrowest place of it. In the North side of the comming in there standeth a tower, in which there watcheth every day a man to descrie the sailes of ships which hee can see on the sea; and as many as he discovereth, so many banners he setteth upon the tower, that the people of the towne (which standeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may understand thereof. Under this tower there

*The description of Havana at large.*

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lieth a sandy shore, where men may easily go aland ; and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters side, which easily with small store of ordinance subdueth the towne and port. The port within is so large that there may easily ride a thousand saile of ships without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Havana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threescore souldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine castle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelve pieces of small ordinance, and is compassed round with a small ditch, wherethorow at their pleasure they may let in the sea. About two leagues from Havana there lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, situate on the North side of the Island. The chieffest city of this Island of Cuba (which is above 200 leagues in length) is also called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a bishop & about two hundred Spanyards; which towne standeth on the South side of the Island about 100 leagues from Havana. All the trade of this Island is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spaniards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foster a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into small pieces, they dry in the Sun, and so make it provision for the ships which come for Spaine.

Having remained in this Island two moneths, I tooke shipping in a frigat, and went over to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth upon the South sea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues distance: from which towne there runneth a river which is called the river of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which river they cary their goods, and disimbarke them at the sayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conveyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe

*The smal force  
of Havana.*

*The commodi-  
ties of Cuba.*

*Nombre de  
Dios.*

*Panama.*

imbarke them in certeine small ships in the South sea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships I went to Potossi, and from thence by land to Cusco, and from thence to Paita.

*Potossi.*  
*Cusco.*  
*Paita.*

Here I remained the space of seven moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guatimala, and arrived in the province of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I travelled by land to a province called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North sea in certeine high mountaines) for that I could not passe thorow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters, wherewith all the Low countreys of the province of Soconusco, lying by the South sea, are drowned with the raine that falleth above in the mountaines, enduring alwayes from April to September: which season for that cause they call their Winter. From this province I came into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefest city is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a bishop and about forty Spanyards. Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North sea, there is a province called La Candona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not subdue, for that they have townes and forts in a great lake of water above in the sayd mountaines: the most part of them goe naked, and some weare mantles of cotton wooll. Distant from this about 80 leagues, I came into another province called the province of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest city is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a bishop and about an hundred Spanyards. In this countrey there is great store of Cotten wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buy and cary into Nova Hispania. The people of this province pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Foureteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it. From this city I travelled still thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this province, to

*Vera Paz.*  
[III. 459.]

*Chiapa 300  
leagues from  
Mexico.*

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1570.

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*Ecatepec an  
hill nine  
leagues high.*

a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth The hill of winde: for that they say, it is the highest hill that ever was discovered: for from the top of it may be discovered both the North and the South seas; and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which travell over it, lie alwayes at the foot of it over night, and begin their journey about midnight, to travell to the top of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe up: from the foot of this hill to Tecoantepec, the first towne of Nova Hispania, are about fifteene leagues. And so from hence I journeyed to Mexico.

*Tecoantepec.*

*His journey to  
Panuco.*

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this journey, we went together toward the province of Panuco, which lieth upon the coast of the North sea, and within three dayes journey we entred a city called Mestitlan, where there dwelt twelve Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thousand. This city standeth upon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holesome and fruitfull, having plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of these hilles are all set with fruits, and trees of divers kindes, and most pleasant. In every towne as we passed thorow, the Indians presented us with victuals. Within twenty

*Mestitlan.*

*Clanchinolte-  
pec.*

leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thousand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the Order of Saint Augustine, who have there a Monastery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monastery of friers of the same Order: there dwell in this towne about twelve Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a province called Guastecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The first towne we came unto is called Tan-

*Guaxutla.*

*Guastecan.  
Tancuylabo.*



cuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes travell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne upon the sea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Christians, of which number whilest wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they have in this place: it standeth upon the entrie of the river of Panuco, which is a mighty great river; and were it not for a sand that lieth at the mouth of it, ships of five hundred tunne might goe up into it above three score leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, which in times past had bene a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his governour: but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a maner waste, containing in it not above tenne Christians with a priest. In this towne I fell sicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, having no other sustenance then fruit and water, which water I sent for above sixe leagues off within the countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, reteining in my company onely a slave, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the unholosomenesse of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenesse, I being set on an horse, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The

*Salt a principall merchandize.*

*Tampice a port towne.*

*Panuco.*

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next day in the morning we passed over the river in a canoa; and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone: and by reason there met many wayes traled by the wilde beasts, I lost my way, and so travelled thorow a great wood about two leagues: and at length [III. 460.] fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of straw; who seeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake unto mee in their language, which I understood not: and so I made signes unto them to helpe mee from my horse; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them; and lighted downe. They caried me under one of their cottages, and layed me upon a mat on the ground: and perceiving that I could not understand them, they brought unto mee a little Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or sixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them: for (sayth she) doest thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eat thee? To whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, saying, thou mayest thanke God thou art leane; for they feare thou hast the pocks: otherwise they would eate thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he esteemed above any treasure: for for wine they will sell their wives and children. Afterwards the wench asked me what I would have, and whether I would eat any thing. I answered that I desired a little water to drinke, for that the countrey is very hote: and shee brought me a great Venice glasse, gilded, full of water. And marvelling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it. She tolde me that the Casique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certaine Christians, and certaine friers of the Order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slew; and burning the friers monasterie,

*Shallapa.*

among other things reserved this glasse: and from thence also brought me. Having now bene conversant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way. I answered her, that I desired nothing els. So the Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a signe unto me, they signified that in short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, standing in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Christians that dwelt therein, were not above foure or five and twenty, unto which the king of Spaine giveth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys subject unto him. Heere the Christians have their mighty mules, which they cary for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforesayd, I found my company, which I had lost before, who made no other account of me but that I had beene slaine: and the Christians there likewise marvelled to heare that I came from those kinde of Indians alive, which was a thing never seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eighteene dayes, till I recovered my health, and in the meane space there came one Don Francisco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open and discover a certeine way from the sea side to the mines of Sacatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to transport their merchandize by that way, leaving the way by Mexico, which is seven or eight weeks travell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the rest of his souldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and five hundred

*Sant Iago de  
los valles.*

*Mighty mules.*

*Don Henrico  
Manriques  
viceroy of  
Mexico.*

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Indians, which we tooke out of two towns in this province called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers, and naked men, and went thence to the river de las Palmas, which is of great bignesse, parting the kingdome of Nova Hispania and Florida: and going still along by this river the space of three dayes, seeking passage to passe over; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balsa or raft, which when we had made, we sate on it, the Indians swimming in the water, and thrusting it before them to the other side. Within thirty dayes after, travelling thorow woods, hilles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richest mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most silver: at which mines there dwelt above three hundred Christians: and there our captaine gave us leave to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo novo; and from that place to the province of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefest city of that place is called: where there dwelles a bishop, and above an hundred Spanyards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spanish fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great store of cattell. It lieth 60. leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of this countrey are very mighty and big men.

Afterwards I returned another way to the province of Sonsonate by Vera cruz, and so to Rio Alvarado, and from thence to the province of Campeche, which lieth on the South side of the bay of Mexico: the chiefe towne of this province is called Merida, in which is a bishop and almost 100 Spanyards. The Indians of this province pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this province for a ship of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the river of Tabasco, by which river this city of Merida standeth. The chiefest merchandize which they lade there in small frigats, is a certeine

*Rio de las  
Palmas.*

*The mines of  
Sacatecas.*

*The valley of  
S. Michael.  
Pueblo nuevo.  
Mechuacan.*

*Copper mines.*

*Campeche.  
[III. 461.]  
Merida.*

*Rio de  
Tabasco.*

wood called campeche, (wherewith they use to die) as also hides and annile. By this there lieth the province of Lucatan, nere the Honduras by the North sea coast, where there is also another bishop, and a towne likewise named Lucatan, where there dwell a few Spanyards. They have no force at all in all this coast to defend themselves withall, save only that the land is low, and there is no port to receive any shipping, unlesse they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. John de Ullua, waxe, cacao, hony, and also mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make there great store, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the king.

*Lucatan.*

The king hath tribute brought him yerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and silver: for he receiveth of every Indian which is subject unto him (excepting those which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of those Spanyards, who first conquered the land, to whom the king gave and granted the government of the cities and townes subdued for three lives) twelve reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the cuntry, (five of them making a quarter of English measure) and of every widow woman he hath sixe reals, & halfe a hannege of maiz. And so if any Indian have twenty children in his house, he payeth for every one of them, being above fifteene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the governour of every province and city, is sold in Mexico by the kings governours there every yeere; so that the money received for it, is put into the kings Treasurie there, and so is yeerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and silver, he receiveth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it; for otherwise it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, under paine of death. The marke of silver, which is eight ounces, when it commeth out of the mines, not having

*The greatnesse  
of the king of  
Spaines tribute  
out of the West  
Indies.**The quinto.*

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*The marke of  
silver is 64  
reals of plate.*

the kings seale upon it, is woorth three and forty reals of plate, and so it is current : and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treasure house, where his seale is set upon it ; and so it is raised in value thereby to threescore and foure reals of plate : and so the king hath for his custome of every marke of plate one and twentie reals.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes buls came into the Indies, as is afore mentioned, he hath received both of the Indians which are tributaries unto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incommenderos, of every one being above twelve yeeres of age, foure reals of every bull. Also they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for such as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spaniards came into the countrey : which pardons the friers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giving foure reals of plate for a Masse, they would deliver their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath foureteene reals for every bull : and there be certeine buls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serve for pardoning all such faults wherein they have trespassed either against the king, by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other injury ; for every hundred crownes whereof a mans conscience doth accuse him that he hath deceived the king or any other, he must give ten for a bull, and so after that rate for every hundred which he hath any way stollen, and so is pardoned the fault. The revenue of his buls after this maner yeeldeth unto his treasury yeerely above three millions of gold, as I have bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spaniards and Indians do refuse to take the buls ; for that they perceive he doth make a yeerely custome of it : onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his householde, (whereas in former time every Indian used to take one for every person in his house) and teareth the same

*The revenue  
of the kings  
buls and par-  
dons came  
yeerely to three  
millions.*

into small pieces, and giveth to every one of his householde a little piece, saying thus, they need now no more, seeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had above ten thousand yeres pardon. These pieces they sticke up in the wall of the houses where they lie. Both the Christians & Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customes, which of late he hath imposed upon them, more then in the yeeres before: so as the people of both sorts did rebell twise in the time that I was among them, and would have set up another king of themselves; for which cause the king hath commanded upon paine of death, that they should not plant either wine or oile there, but should alwayes stand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is so fertile a countrey.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in subjection, and to his owne use, hath streightly provided by lawe, upon paine of death, and losse of goods, that none of these countreys should traffique with any other nation, although the people themselves doe much now desire to trade with any other then with them, and would undoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill ensuing thereupon.

*Rebellions in Nova Hispania by too great exactions.*

[III. 462.]  
*The reasons which moove the kings of Spaine to forbid forren traffike in the West Indies.*

About Mexico, and other places in Nova Hispania, there groweth a certeine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vineger, hony, and blacke sugar, and of the leaves of it dried they make hempe, ropes, shooes which they use, and tiles for their houses: and at the ende of every leafe there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, wherewith they use to bore or pearce thorow any thing.

*Magueis.*

Thus to make an end, I have heere set downe the summe of all the chieffest things that I have observed and noted in my seventeene yeres travell in those parts.

[A relation

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A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks merchant, which lived five yeeres in the sayd countrey, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

*S. John de Ullua.*



Saint John de Ullua is an Island not high above the water, where as now the Spanyards upon M. John Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the ships that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts, do unlade: for they have none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanel, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land: and on every side of the chanel there are many small rocks as big as a small barrell: they wil make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called The Island of sacrifices, whereas the Spanyards did in times past unlade their goods: and for that, they say, there are upon it spirits or devils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many ships and barks. This place is given to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plenty of fish.

*Spirits.*

*Vera Cruz.*

Five leagues from S. John de Ullua is a faire river; it lieth Northwest from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barks, which they call frigats, they cary all their merchandize which commeth out of Spaine, to the said towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, silver, cochinilla, hides, and all other things that the shippes cary into Spaine unto them. And the goods being in



Vera Cruz, they cary them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and divers other places so farre within the countrey, that some of them are 700 miles off, and some more, and some lesse, all upon horses, mules, and in waines drawen with oxen, and in carres drawen with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a musquito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe; and assoone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venomous worme. And this musquito or gnat doth most follow such as are newly come into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

*Musquito.*

This towne is situated upon the river aforesayd, and compassed with woods of divers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as orenge and limons, guiaves, and divers others, and birds in them, popinjays both small and great, and some of them as big as a raven, and their tailes as long as the taile of a fezant. There are also many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and small monkeys, marvellous proper.

*Popinjays.**Monkeys.*

This hote or sicke countrey continueth five and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the five and forty miles being passed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with rivers which they turne in upon it. And they gather their Wheat twice a yere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowed, the country is so hote it would burne all.

*Wheat twice  
in a yeere.*

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it above 16000 households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings

*Tlaxcalla a  
free city.*

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[III. 463.] of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was woonne in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Wherefore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinilla growing.

*Mexico.* Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or sixe thousand houses of Spanyards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which live under the Spanyards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spanyards have made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windowes, which is not so comly as the building of the Spanyards. This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to build, and corne.

This city is subject to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kil people. This city is very well provided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city every weeke three Faires or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spanyards as the people of the countrey. There are in these Faires or Markets all maner of things that may be invented, to sell, and in especiall, things of the countrey. The one of these Faires is upon the Munday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. James his faire is upon the Thursday, and upon Saturday is S. Johns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings governour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there be other places of justice, yet this is above all: so that all men may appeale unto this

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place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it must be for a certeine summe: and if it be under that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many rivers fall into this lake which the city standeth in: but there was never any place found whither it goeth out.

The Indians know a way to drowne the city, and within these three yeeres they would have practised the same: but they which should have bene the doers of it were hanged: and ever since the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare least at some time they might be deceived: for the Indians love not the Spanyards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, marvellous faire, where the people have great recreation. The men of this city are marvellous vicious; and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

*A way to  
drowne  
Mexico.*

There are neere about this city of Mexico many rivers and standing waters which have in them a monstrous kinde of fish, which is marvellous ravening, and a great devourer of men and cattell. He is woont to sleepe upon the drie land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like unto a serpent, saving that he doth not flie, neither hath he wings.

*Crocodiles.*

There is West out of Mexico a port towne which is on the South sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are shippes which they have ordinarily for the navigation of China, which they have newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico.

*Navigation  
to China from  
Puerto de  
Acapulco.*

There is another port towne which is called Culiacan, on the South sea, which lieth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the same: and there the Spanyards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which, as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland; and they call it the Englishmens

*The North-  
west-streight.*

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streight: which as yet was never fully found. They say, that streight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spanyards account to be marvellous rich.

*The more  
Northward,  
the richer  
silver mines.*

Toward the North from Mexico there are great store of silver mines. There is greater quantitie of silver found in these mines toward the North, then there is any other parts: and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly upon great hilles and stony ground, marvellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

*Painting  
earth.*

Out of some of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of divers colours, wherewith they paint themselves in times of their dances, and other pastimes which they use.

*Golde mines.*

In this countrey of Nova Hispania there are also mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in rivers, or very neere unto rivers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

[III. 464.]  
*Mesquiquez.*

There are many great rivers, and great store of fish in them, not like unto our kindes of fish. And there are marvellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be seene, of divers sorts, and especially firre trees, that may mast any shippe that goeth upon the sea, okes and pineapples, and another tree which they call Mesquiquez: it beareth a fruit like unto a peascod, marvellous sweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in stead of bread.

*Seven cities by  
witchcraft not  
found of the  
seekers.*

The Spanyards have notice of seven cities which old men of the Indians shew them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They have used and use dayly much diligence in seeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a mist upon them, so that they cannot see them.

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They have understanding of another city which they call Copalla: and in like maner, at my beeing in the country, they have used much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they have found the lake on which it should stand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and could not finde nor see any man nor the towne which to their understanding should stand on the same water, or very neere the same.

*Pedro Morales  
& Nicolas  
Burgignon  
write the like  
of Copalla.*

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the country of Cibola, which were never brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the country. They are like unto our oxen, saving that they have long haire like a lion, and short hornes, and they have upon their shoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the rest of their body. They are marvellous wild and swift in running. They call them the beasts or kine of Cibola.

*The strange  
oxen of  
Cibola.*

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of stone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheelles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones upon the graves. And the captaine would not suffer his souldiers to breake up any part of these graves, saying, he would come another time to do it.

*Cibola abandoned.*

They asked certeine people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone: and they made answer, they were gone downe a river, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

*A great river  
nere Cibola.*

This captaine lacking things necessary for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neither found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had beene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great

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checke of the governour, because he had not gone forwards, and seene the end of that river.

*Water congealed to salt.*

They have in the countrey, farre from the sea side, standing waters, which are salt: and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings use and profit.

*Dogs of India described.*

Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many as are of the countrey breed, and cannot run fast: their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with sharpe noses.

*Cacao a fruit currant as money.*

In certeine provinces which are called Guatimala, & Soconusco, there is growing great store of cacao, which is a berry like unto an almond: it is the best merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese, or other things.

*Fruits.*

There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, sapotes, guiaves, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, oranges, walnuts very small and hard, with little meat in them, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the countrey, and are very small, quinses, peaches, figs, and but few apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and calabaças or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and also of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not so sweet as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is; and the tree serveth for many things, as the leaves make threed to sowe any kinde of bags, and are good to cover and thatch houses, and for divers other things.

*Hot springs.*

They have in divers places of the countrey many hote springs of water: as above all other, I have seene one in the province of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, & it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be cast into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well sodden as it will be over a fire in halfe a day. I have seene halfe a sheepe

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cast in, and immediatly it hath bene sodden, and I have eaten part of it.

There are many hares, and some conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quails. *Hares and conies.*

They have great store of fish in the South sea, and many oysters, and very great. The people do open the oysters, and take out the meat of them, and dry it as they do any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yeere : and when the times serve, they send them abroad into the country to sell, as all other fish. They have no salmon, nor trowt, nor pele, nor carpe, tench, nor pike in all the country. *Sea fish.*

There are in the country mighty high mountaines, and hilles, and snow upon them : they commonly burne ; and twice every day they cast out much smoke and ashes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them. *[III. 465.]  
Burning  
mountaines.*

There is among the wilde people much manna. I have gathered of the same, and have eaten it, and it is good : for the Apothecaries send their servants at certeine times, to gather of the same for purgations, and other uses. *Manna.*

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and lions and tygres ; which tygres do much harme to men that travell in the wilderness. *Wilde hogs,  
lions, and  
tigres.*

In this country, not long since, there were two poore men that found a marvellous rich mine ; and when these men went to make a register of the same (according to the law and custome) before the kings officers, they thought this mine not meet for such men as they were : and violently tooke the sayd mine for the king ; and gave no part thereof unto the two poore men. And within certaine dayes the kings officers resorted thither to labor in the mine, & they found two great mighty hilles were come together ; so they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was five yerees, there was a poore shepheard, who keeping his sheepe, happened to finde a well of quicke-silver ; and he went in like maner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is ; the kings *Mines discovered, not found againe.*

*The authour  
five yeeres in  
Nueva Es-  
panna.*

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officers dealt in like order as they did with the two poore men that found the rich mine, taking it quite from the shepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke-silver, or part thereof, they could never finde it againe. So these things have bene declared unto the king, who hath given commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things have bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great marvels.

*Sugar & conserves.*

There is great abundance of sugar here, & they make divers conserves, & very good, and send them into Peru, where as they sell them marvellous well, because they make none in those parts.

*Description of the Indians person and manners.*

The people of the countrey are of a good stature, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and given much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they use to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and given to much beastlinesse, and void of all goodnesse. In their drunkennesse they use and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they have their pleasures and pastimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, upon paines of money, aswell he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not sufficient for the West Indies onely.

*The people of Nueva Espanna great cowards.*

They are of much simplicity, and great cowards, voide of all valour, and are great witches. They use divers times to talke with the divell, to whom they do certeine sacrifices and oblations: many times they have bene taken with the same, and I have seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are given to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spanyards: I say all maner of



arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The finenesse and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should give themselves to so fine an arte as this is. They are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tailors, sadlers, imbroiderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will do worke so good cheape, that poore yoong men that goe out of Spaine to get their living, are not set on worke: which is the occasion there are many idle people in the country. For the Indian will live all the weeke with lesse then one groat; which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they give any reason of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spanyards came first among them, they did certeine sacrifice to an image made in stone, of their owne invention. The stone was set upon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did sacrifice, certeine olde men, and yoong children; and onely beleaved in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They have in these parts great store of cotton wooll, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serveth for shirts & smocks, and all other kind of garments, which they weare upon their bodies: and the Spanyards use it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say linnen cloth, would be solde out of all measure.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing upon them. The women weare the skinne of a deere before

*The Indians  
ignorance  
from whence  
they came.*

*The Sun and  
Moone  
honored.  
Store of cotton.*

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*The wilde In-  
dians.*

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their privities, and nothing els upon all their bodies. They have no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they have need to eat. They are big men, and likewise the women. They shoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same ; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geese, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and snakes, and divers other vermin, which they eat. They live very long : for I have seene men that have bene an hundred yeres of age. They have but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

*Friers in reverence.*

The Indians have the friers in great reverence: the occasion is, that by them and by their meanes they are free and out of bondage ; which was so ordeined by Charles the emperor: which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and silver comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were slaves. For when they were in bondage they could not chuse but doe their taske every day, and bring their masters so much metall out of their mines: but now they must be well payed, and much intreated to have them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or custome.

*Copper mines.*

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they spend in the cuntry as much as serveth their turnes. There is some golde in it, but not so much as will pay the costs of the fining. The quantity of it is such, and the mines are so farre from the sea, that it will not be worth the freight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the kings officers will give no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie unlaboured, and of no valuation.

*The pompe of owners of mines.*

There is much lead in the cuntry; so that with it they cover churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they have had need thereof in times past.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines

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is marvellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wives is more to be compared to the apparell of noble persons then otherwise. If their wives goe out of their houses, as unto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great majesty, and with as many men and maids as though she were the wife of some noble man. I will assure you, I have seene a miners wife goe to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open house: who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

A good owner of mines must have at the least an hundred slaves to cary and to stampe his metals; he must have many mules, and men to keepe the mines; he must have milles to stampe his metals; he must have many waines and oxen to bring home wood to fine the oare; he must have much quicke-silver, and a marvellous quantity of salt-brine for the metals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-silver, it is a new invention, which they finde more profitable then to fine their oare with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly: for there is never a hundred of quick-silver but costeth at the least threescore pounds sterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the few Indians that men have to labour their mines.

*Things necessary to mines of silver and golde.*

There is in New Spaine a marvellous increase of cattel, which dayly do increase, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may have a great steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for sixteene shillings; and some one man hath 20000 head of cattel of his owne. They sell the hides unto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well spared. They spend many in the country in shooes and boots, and in the mines: and as the country is great, so is the increase of the cattell woonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beasts for their hides

*The plenty of cattell.*

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*Sheepe.*

*Wooll.*  
*Cloth.*

*Woad.*  
*Alum.*  
*Brasill.*

and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkeises: and so they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much sugar, and cana fistula, which dayly they send into Spaine. They have great increase of sheepe in like maner, and dayly do intend to increase them. They have much wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serveth the countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I have seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene solde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our yard. They have woad growing in the countrey, and alum, and brasill, and divers other things to die withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but heereafter our cloth will be little set by in these parts, unlesse it be some fine cloth. The wools are commonly foure shillings every roue, which is five & twenty pounds: and in some places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth serve but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

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They make hats, as many as doe serve the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

*Hogs grease*  
*in steed of oile.*

Many people are set on worke both in the one and in the other: they spin their wooll as we doe, and in steed of oyle, they have hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as wee doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kersies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

*Silks of sun-*  
*dry sorts.*

They have much silke, and make all maner of sorts thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Velvets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, saving that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

*Horses.*  
*Mules.*

They have many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They have as good

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Jennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place. *Jennets.*

There is raine usually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, every day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they coule not labour their Mines: for all their servants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maize, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England. *Maize graine for man and beast, eaten in cakes.*

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanega of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more unto the King every yeere. This is payd in all Nova Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, saving the Citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so little a time. And although at the first they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to usurpe upon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes every yeere for the King, which is as beneficial unto him, and as great cost unto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe. *An Hanega is a bushel and an halfe.*

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be caried over the necke of a land, unto a port towne in the South sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ship their goods

again, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They have seldome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the South sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568, there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, & found an Island with many blacke people, in such number that the Spaniards durst not go on land among them. And because they had bene long upon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was upon it. And for want of victuals, they arrived in Nova Hispania, in a port called Puerto de Navidad, and thence returned backe againe unto Peru, whereas they were evil entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

*Salomons  
Islands sought,  
and found in  
the South sea  
1568.*

They have in this port of Navidad ordinarily their ships, which goe to the Islands of China, which are certaine Islands which they have found within these 7. yeeres. They have brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that every man that may have a piece of them, will give the weight of silver for it. There was a Mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doves egge from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would have given 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these ylands, and the Spaniards have not many of them as yet:\* for the Portugals disturbe them much, and combate with them every day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great Mariners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and silver, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land have certaine traffique with some of these ylanders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they have with one saile, and bring of such marchan-

*China found  
by the West.*

*\* This is to be  
understood of  
the time when  
this discourse  
was written,  
Anno 1572.*

*China ships  
with one saile.*

dize as they have need of. And of these things there have bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and silver, and divers maners of silks, and works of gold and silver, marveilous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the ylands 190. leagues: and the ylands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of those ylands, which the Spaniards have, say, that if they would bring their wives and children, that then they should have among them what they would have. So there goe women dayly, and the king payeth all the charges of the married men and their wives, that go to those ylands. And there is no doubt but the trade will be marveilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first Pilot that ever went to that countrey of the Phillippinas. Hee maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswell riches, as other, and saith, if there bee any Paradise upon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting under a tree, you shall have such sweet smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor have any kinde of appetite to eat or drinke, the odoriferous smels wil be so sweete. This man hath good livings in Nova Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Nova Hispania there are many buckes and does, but they have not so long hornes as they have here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand-guns and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, & likewise they make marveilous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird which is like unto a Raven, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the

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*Chamoice.*  
*Spanish leather.*  
*India Ravens not killed, to devoure carrion.*

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corrupt and dead flesh which is in the countrey. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marveilous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwayes about Cities, and townes, where there is much flesh killed.

The Indians are much favoured by the Justices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas justice is, they are aswell punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of justice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, untill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Justice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and civill, as they are: and if they should not have this favour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may cal them dogs, and use other evill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needes put it up, and goe his way.

The poore Indians wil go every day two or three leagues to a Faire or market with a childe upon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they wil mainteine them-

*Wrongs done  
to the Indians  
punished.*

*Justice ye  
cause of  
civilitie.*



selves upon the same. For they live with a marveilous small matter.

They are in such povertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall have an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed upon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you shall have from one towne to another. Here you are to understand, that all men that traveile by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeves, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall have no recompence at their hands.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The uppermost part is made almost like to a womans smocke, saving that it is as broad above as beneath, and hath no sleeves, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they have another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes, and over this a white fine sheet upon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made up round with an haire lace about their head. And the men have a small paire of breeches of the same cotton wool, and their shirts which hang over their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers upon their backes, and with a knot upon one shoulder, & an hat upon their heads, and a paire of shooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they use in all the Countrey.

*The apparel  
of the Indians.*

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are layd so close, that you shall not well perceive the joynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely joyned together, there is some beautie in their wals. They are marveilous small and light, as Pumie stones. They make their doores

*The houses of  
the Indians.*

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very little, so that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses are small, and one roome they have reserved for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marveilous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eat their meate upon the ground, and sleepe on the ground upon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

*Fire rubbed  
out of two  
stickes.*

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a stone.

*Divers  
speeches.*

In Nova Hispania every 10. or 12. leagues they have a contrary speach, saving onely about Mexico : so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

*Mutezuma,  
and his riches.*

Mutezuma which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest princes which have bene seene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beasts which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe upon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in silver and gold, which was the greatest part of al his treasure, and in these things had he great joy, as the old Indians report. And unto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards have it not. This King would give none of his people freedome, nor forgive any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were never so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would have him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lice, saying, hee would have none free, but himselfe. He had as many wives or concubines, as hee would have, and such as liked him. Alwayes whensoever he went out of his Court to passe the time, he was borne upon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set upon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers of divers and

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many colours and flowers. He washed all his body every day, were it never so cold. And unto this day so do all the Indians, and especially the women.

*The Indians wash themselves every day.*

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subjection. They may have in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare upon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride upon any horse nor mules, in any saddle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They have attempted divers times to make insurrections, but they have bene overthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.

There remaine some among the wild people, that unto this day eate one another. I have seene the bones of a Spaniard that have bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are caried away by them, but they never come againe, whether they be men or women.

*Cannybals.*

They have in the Sea ylands of red salt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fish: and in their Mines they occupie great quantitie. They have much Alume, and as good as any that is in all the Levant, so that they neede none of that commoditie. They have also of their owne growing, much Cana fistula, & much Salsa Perilla, which is marveilous good for many kind of diseases.

*Island of salt.*

*Alume.*

*Cassia fistula.  
Salsa Perilla.*

There are in Florida many Jarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gentlemen of Nova Hispania send for every yere. The Spaniards have two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

*Florida.*

[A discourse

A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins 1568. conteining many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish government, but specially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to him selfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeres together, until by good and happy meanes he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. 1.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing upon the coast of Africa.

*This Fleete consisted of 6. ships.*



Upon munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the Jesus, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plim-mouth upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with five other saile of ships, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine M. John Hampton, and John Garret Master. The William and John, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Master. The Judith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the Swallow I now remember not. And so

1. *The Jesus.*

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2. *The Mynion.*

3. *The William and John.*

4. *The Judith.*

5. *The Angel.*

6. *The Swallow.*

sayling in company together upon our voyage untill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke us neere unto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Jesus to bee but in ill case, was in minde to give over the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleventh of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire hee altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of November, and holding on our course, upon the eighteenth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going up into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their invenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recovered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrowes, there died to the number of seven or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time upon the coast of Guinea, untill the twelfth of January, wee obtained by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and

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ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall granted unto, and went himsele in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did joyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fire upon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiving that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to save themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to have had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conveyed himsele away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himsele to have nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and John, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

*The William  
and John  
separated and  
never after  
met with the  
fleete.*

### Chap. 2.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arrivall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and trafique there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards used towards us, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise given, and seeking to have intrapped us.

**A**Ll things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, upon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, having the



*Qui licet totiens in Fructibus classibus hostes  
Ille Imperio J. WIKINS vitam reliquit in omnis*

SIR JOHN HAWKINS





weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard; and sayling so for the space of 52. dayes, upon the 27. of March 1568. we came in sight of an yland called Dominica, upon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, ever making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his governours in those parts not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainment in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coraçao, and else where, til we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the governour there would not by any meanes permit us to have any trade or trafique, nor yet suffer us to take in fresh water: by [III. 471.] meanes whereof our Generall for the avoyding of famine and thirst about the beginning of June, was enforced to land two hundreth of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And so recovering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200. and upwards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Governour was so straight, that wee could not obtaine any trafique there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the avoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & so the 24. of July 1568. we departed from thence directing our course North: and leaving the yland of Cuba upon our right hand, to the Eastward of us, and so sayling toward Florida upon the 12. of August an extreme tempest arose, which dured for the space of

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8 dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, & thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the shallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. John de Ullua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that serveth for the Citie of Mexico: in our seeking to recover this port our Generall met by the way three small ships that caried passengers, which hee tooke with him, and so the sixteenth of September 1568. wee entered the saide port of S. John de Ullua. The Spaniards there supposing us to have bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came presently aboard our Generall, where perceiving themselves to have made an unwise adventure, they were in great feare to have bene taken and stayed: howbeit our Generall did use them all very courteously. In the said port there were twelve ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundreth thousand pound all which being in our Generall his power and at his devotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, not taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee stayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alva, and the other Don Pedro de Rivera, and presently our Generall sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arrivall there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Sovereigne, was the king of Spaine his loving sister and friend, that therefore hee would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish us with victuals for our Navie, and quietly suffer us to repaire and amend our ships. And furthermore that at the arrival of the Spanish Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requested of his excellencie, that there

*Mexico 60.  
leagues from  
S. Juan de  
Ullua.*

might in this behalfe some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arrivall there.

The next morning being the seventeenth of the same moneth, wee descried 13. saile of great shippes: and after that our Generall understood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he presently sent to advertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the said port, and giving him further to understand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee observed on either part, for the better contriving of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made unto the Viceroy. And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if hee should keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then should that Fleete be in danger of present shipwracke and losse of all their substance, which amounted unto the value of one million and eight hundred thousand pounds. Againe he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the haven was so little, that the other Fleete entring, the shippes were to ride one hard aboard of another. Also hee saw that if their Fleete should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessitie they must if he should have done so, then stood hee in great feare of the Queene our Sovereignes displeasure in so waightie a cause: therefore did he choose the least evill, which was to suffer them to enter under assurance, and so to stand upon his guard, and to defend himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Viceroy, who came in the same Fleete, and had sufficient authoritie to command in all cases both

*It is put downe  
6. millions in  
Sir John Haw-  
kins his  
relation.*

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by Sea and by lande in this province of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Sovereigne, all our requests should bee both favourably granted, and faithfully perfourmed: signifying further that he heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines subjects in all places where he had bene, as also in the said port: so that to bee briefe our requests were articed, and set downe in writing. Viz.

4. *Articles concluded upon, betwixt the English & the Spaniards; although the Spaniards kept none of them.*

1 The first was that wee might have victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repaire our ships.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his, had alreadye planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleven pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should come to lande in the saide yland, having or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelve gentlemen of credite bee delivered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed upon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, and 10. hostages upon either part were received. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet, and give faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses. Al which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, & commandement was given that none of either part should violate or breake the peace upon paine of death: thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ships

saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, & the Spanish ships by themselves, the Captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie upon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse upon their parts. For the Viceroy and governour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000. chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault us, and set upon us on all sides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse briefly to describe the maner of the yland as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, have upon the same yland built a faire Castle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little yland of stones, not past three foote above water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte over any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshootes or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arive at: also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and unlesse the shippes bee safely mored in, with their anckers fastened in this yland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would have the said yland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, have but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blew we had had our passport, for our ships had gone a shoore. But to returne to the matter.

The time approching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their

*A faire castle  
and bulwarke  
built upon  
the yland of  
San Juan de  
Ullua.*

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*The value of  
a Spanish vice-  
roy his faith.*

Ordinance against our men that warded upon the lande, with great repaire of people : which apparant shewes of breach of the Viceroy's faith caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gave order, that the Ordinance aforesayde, and other things of suspicion should bee remooved, returning answere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence, and safetie from all villanous treacherie : this was upon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboard a great hulke or ship of theirs of sixe hundreth tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Jesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee unshipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiving that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gave order that his people should upon all sides charge upon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among us, that many gave place, and sought to recover our shippes for the safetie of themselves. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conveyed over to the yland in their long boates, and so comming to the yland, they slewe all our men that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to avoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke : then they sought to fall aboard the Jesus, where was a cruell fight, and many of our men slaine : but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out : so the Jesus also got loose, and joyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote upon all sides : but they having woon and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy us. In this fight there were two great shippes of the

*The villanous  
treacherie of  
the Spaniards  
and their  
crueltie.*  
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Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the Jesus was very sore spoyled : and suddenly the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marveilous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be received into the Minion : the most of our men that were in the Jesus shifted for themselves, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receive, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped saving the Minion and the Judith : and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them up by the armes upon high postes untill the blood burst out of their fingers ends : of which men so used, there is one Copstow, and certaine others yet alive, who by the mercifull providence of the almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carying still about with them (and shal to their graves) the marks and tokens of those inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

*Copstowe one of  
M. Hawkins  
men returned  
from Nueva  
Espanna.*

## Chap. 3.

Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the avoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseries wee after that sustained amongst the Savage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

**A**Fter that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise, most cruelly dealt with our Generall master Hawkins, at S. John de

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Ullua, where most of his men were by the Spaniards slaine and drowned, and all his ships sunke and burned, saving the Minion, and the Judith, which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost us, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remoove with the Minion two bow-shoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recovered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke us with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, having but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the storme being ceased and the weather faire, we weied, and set sayle, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice us for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in despaire and feare that we should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to yelde themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards, other some to the Savages or Infidels, and wandering thus certaine daies in these unknownen seas, hunger constrained us to eat hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it savourie and sweete whatsoever wee could get to eat.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found some inhabitants, that wee might have had some reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ship, which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarce able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull despaire, and we were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land, making their choise rather to submit themselves to the mercie of the Savages or Infidels, then longer to



hazard themselves at sea, where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safetie of himselfe & the rest: and therupon being resolved to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left alive, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a little before desired to be set on land, were now of another minde, and requested rather to stay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: First he made choice of such persons of service and account, as were needefull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boat they should bee set on shore, our Generall promising us that the next yeere he would either come himselfe, or else send to fetch us home. Here againe it would have caused any stony heart to have relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, having more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for our selves, and either

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*They were put  
on land 25  
leagues north-  
ward of  
Panuco the 8  
of October  
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to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) thrown out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

In the evening of the same day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselves away, for wee could scarce get life of them for the space of two or three houres after : other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, having a stone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of us both feeble, faint and weake.

*Capule a kind  
of stone fruit.*

The next morning being Tewsday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to travell along by the sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation : (whether they were Christians or Savages, we were indifferent, so that we might have wherewithall to sustaine our hungry bodies) and so departing from an hill where we had rested all night, not having any drie threed about us, (for those that were not wet being not thrown into the sea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly :) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and upon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needs passe on our way Westward, through those marshes ; and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede upon mans flesh as Canibals doe.

*Chichimici a  
warlike and  
cruel people.*

These people are called Chichimici, and they use to weare their haire long, even down to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew,

which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spaniards, of whom they have bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiving us at our first comming on land, supposed us to have bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and having by their forerunners descried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sorte, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely upon us, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, unto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not having amongst us any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, saving one caliver, and two old rustie swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to save our selves: which when they perceived, that wee sought not any other then favour and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compassion on us, and came and caused us all to sit down: and when they had a while surveyed, and taken a perfect view of us, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst us, and those they did strip starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left us without doing us any further hurt, onely in the first brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiving in what weake case we were, pointed us with their hands which way we should go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceived, was not past ten leagues from thence, using these words: Tampice, Tampice, Christiano, Tampice Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they use are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their arme is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit

*Our men as-  
sailed by the  
Chichemici.*

*Eight of our  
men slaine.*

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any thing that they shoote at. Shortly after they had left us stript (as aforesayd) we thought it best to divide our selves into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of us went under the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man alive, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine over us all, and those which went under his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, travailed Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed us to go. The other halfe went under the leading of one John Hooper, whom they did choose for their captain, & with the company that went with him, David Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and travelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the savage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they divided themselves, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with us againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with us in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selves, how many wee were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and foureteene, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 went Westward with us, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but sixe and twenty of them that came againe to us, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainly heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet alive, and married in the said cuntry, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason

and causes that make mee so to thinke of them that were lacking, which were David Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we travelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other sometimes we should travell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that wee could scarce see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should have of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieve our selves. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies bee: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarce so big as a gnat; they will sucke ones blood marveilously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venomous that the place will swell extremely, even as one that is stoong with a Waspe or Bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselves, then they doe you no other hurt, but leave behinde them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we travelled thus for the space of tenne or twelve dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe up into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceive any, and using often the same order to climbe up into high trees, at the length they descried a

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*The river of  
Panuco.*

great river that fell from the Northwest into the maine sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebuze shot off, which did greatly incourage us, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we travelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small joy unto us, and so we came to the North side of the river of Panuco, where the Spaniards have certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebuze was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bow-shot upon our left hand: of this river wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were here by the river side resting our selves, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was shot off, we perceived many Spaniards upon the other side of the river, riding up and downe on horsebacke, and they perceiving us, did suppose that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the river was not past halfe a bowe shoot over: and presently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came over, being rowed by two Indians, and having taken the view of us, did presently rowe over backe againe to the Spaniards, who without any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and imbarking themselves in the Canoas, they led their horses by the reines swimming over after them, and being come over to that side of the river where we were, they saddled their horses, and being mounted upon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at us. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did perswade us to submit and yeelde our selves unto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeyed, and upon the yeelding of our selves, they perceived us to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried us over by foure

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and foure in a boat, and being come on the other side, they understanding by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bignesse of our halfepenie loaves, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweete and pleasant unto us, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to have a savory and a delicate taste? And having thus parted the bread amongst us, those which were men they sent afore to the towne, having also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke up upon their horses, behind them, and so caried us to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came over.

This towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruits, as Orenge, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, besides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie upon the West side of the river, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and cary it up into the countrey, and there sell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. John de Ullua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred havens West and by South above threescore leagues from S. John de Ullua. When we were all come to the towne, the Governour there shewed himselfe very severe unto us, and threatned to hang us all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which

*The Salines  
of Panuco.*

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we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from us, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought us over, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Governour here had a chaine of gold, which was given unto him at Carthagena, by the Governour there, and from others he had some small store of money: so that wee accounted that amongst us all he had the number of five hundred Pezos, besides the chaine of gold.

And having thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused us to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smothered: and before we were thus shut up into that little coat, they gave us some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grievous, desired to have the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The governour, and most of them all answered, that wee should have none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale us of all our griefes: and thus reviling us, and calling us English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of us, waiting every houre to be bereaved of our lives.

### Chap. 4.

Wherin is shewed how we were used in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee received during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation given to serve as slaves to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.

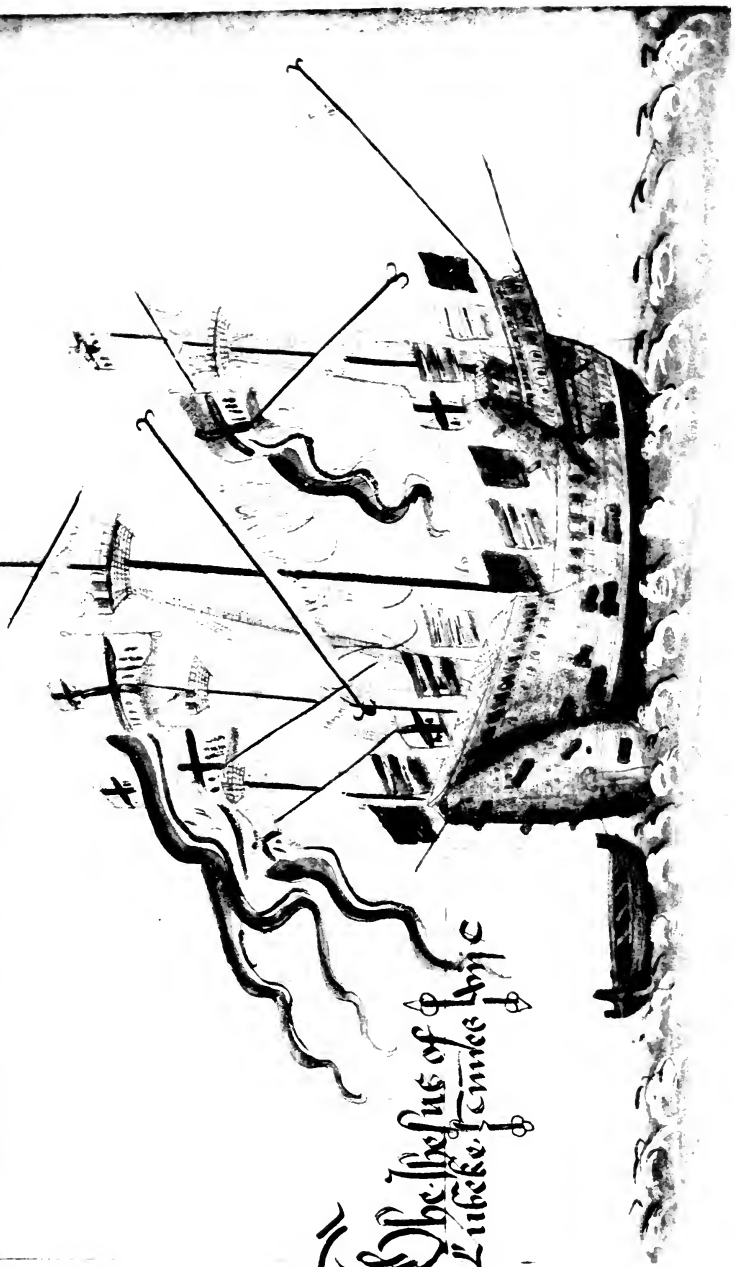
**U**PON the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking every houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number



1822



The Jesus of  
Lubeck & Amee 1671



THE JESUS OF LUBECK



of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch us out of the house, and amongst them wee espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently have suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgivenessse of our sinnes, we prepared our selves, making us ready to die: yet in the end, as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so: [III. 477.] for when wee were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behind us, and so coupling us two and two together, they commanded us to march on through the towne, and so along the countrey from place to place toward the cite of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninetie leagues, having onely but two Spaniards to conduct us, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, lest we should escape from them. And travelling in this order, upon the second day at night we came unto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria: in which towne there is a house of white friers, which did very courteously use us, and gave us hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to cover our selves withal, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nohole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused us to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had bene before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and so travailed on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestitlan, where is a house of blacke friers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children.

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The friers sent us meat from the house ready dressed, and the friers, and the men and women used us very courteously, and gave us some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiacos, which fruit did binde us so sore, that for the space of tenne or twelve dayes we could not ease our selves. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforesayd. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreate us, and would carefully go before to provide for us both meat and things necessary to the uttermost of his power: the other was a yong man who all the way travelled with us, and never departed from us, who was a very cruell caitive, and he caried a javeline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his javelin in both his handes, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe; then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of silver, and are about sixe leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Governour suffered us to stay two dayes and two nights, having compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the yong man his companion. From thence we tooke our journey, and travelled foure or five dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are farmes or dairie houses of the Spaniards, and ever as wee had neede, the good olde man would still provide us sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine us. At the end of which

five dayes wee came to a towne within five leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire house of gray friers, howbeit wee saw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not past fifteene English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very joyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our lives: for seeing our selves thus caried bound from place to place, although some used us courteously, yet could wee never joy, nor be merrie till wee might perceive our selves set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our journey towards Mexico, and so travelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladyes church, in which there is an image of our Lady of silver & gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of silver as there be dayes in the yeere, which upon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoever any Spaniards passe by this church, although they be on horse backe, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before the image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all evil; so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the Church, and pray as aforesayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleve that they shall never prosper: which image they call in [III. 478.] the Spanish tongue, *Nuestra sennora de Guadalupe*. At *Nuestra Sennora*. this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing up as though the water did seeth: the water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that have any sore or wound, to wash themselves therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and every yeere once upon our Lady day the people use to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and

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they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their own cuntry building.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see us, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: we were still called upon to march on; and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calle Santa Catherina: and we stayed not in any place till we came to the house or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middest of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça del Marquese. We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought us by the Spaniards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to have satisfied five times so many as we were: some also gave us hats, & some gave us money: in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, & from thence we were conveyed by water in two large Canoas to an hospital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. John de Ullua: wee should have gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for us. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes: soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hospitall, in which place we were courteously used, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought us divers things to comfort us withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other things, and would also many times give us many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the

*Certaine Englishmen taken prisoners at the fight at Sant Juan de Ullua.*

space of sixe moneths, untill we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried unto the town of Tescuco, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues : in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London : into which place divers Indians are sold for slaves, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelve. It was no small grieffe unto us when we understood that we should be caried thither, and to bee used as slaves, we had rather be put to death : howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, & almost famished, yet by the good providence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an Englishman borne of a Spanish woman : this man could speake very good English, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene so relieved, we had surely perished : and yet all the provision that wee had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selves to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to live in that miserable state. And so having escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selves, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not having any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived our selves to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles from Tescuco. The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, & pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head justices, who threatned to hang us for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent us into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, & comming thither, we found there our English gentlemen

*Robert  
Sweeting an  
Englishman.*

*English  
gentlemen  
hostages.*

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*Almost an  
hundred  
Englishmen  
prisoners in  
Mexico.*

which were delivered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at S. John de Ullua, as is aforesaid, and with them wee also found Robert Barret, the Master of the Jesus, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 moneths, having but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice us all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had every man two loaves a day, of the quantity of one halfepeny loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they having remooved our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the Jesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soever was willing, or would have any English man to serve him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Justices within one moneth after notice given, that they should reaire to the said garden, and there take their choice: which [III. 479.] proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of us.

### Chap. 5.

Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthyly we lived with our masters untill the comming of the Inquisition, when as againe our sorowes began a fresh: Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the severe judgement and sentences given against us, and with what rigour and crueltie the same were executed.

**T**He gentlemen that thus tooke us for their servants or slaves did new apparell us through out, with whom we abode, doing such service as they appointed us unto, which was for the most part to attend upon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite upon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of; for in that countrey no Spaniard will serve one another, but they are all of them attended and served by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which



be their slaves during their life. In this sort we remained and served in the said citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a yeere and somewhat longer. Afterwards many of us were by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as overseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of us did profite & gaine greatly : for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threescore pound sterling, and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought under our charge, upon our well using & intreating of them, would at times as upon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for us, and blow as much silver as should be worth unto us 3 markes or thereabouts, every marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos & a halfe, is worth 4li. 10s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine so much by this meanes besides our wages, that many of us became very rich, and were worth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we lived and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres. As concerning those Gentlemen which were delivered as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serve sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners in the said house for the space of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the fleete being readie to depart from S. John de Ullua, to goe for Spaine, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I have heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which have bene delivered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Jesus, was sent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and at the last was con-

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demned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was John Gilbert.

Now after that sixe yeeres were fully expired since our first comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene imprisoned and served in the said countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seventie foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselves: for never untill this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subject to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and John de Bovilla his companion, and John Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary: they being come and setled, and placed in a very faire house neere unto the white Friers, considering with themselves that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it best to call us that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now againe began our sorrowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made upon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication, that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors use, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conveied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were never past two together in one place, so

that we saw not one another, neither could one of us tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, [III. 480.] and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison ever as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there severely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Ave Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of us could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And having the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with them for an interpreter, he made report for us, y<sup>t</sup> in our own countrey speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of us upon our othes what we did beleeve of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeve that the host of bread which the priest did hold up over his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Saviour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of us what we did remember of our selves, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our lives were constrained to say, that we never did beleeve, nor had bene taught otherwise then has before we had sayd. Then would they charge us that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therefore we should cal our selves to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so comming againe before them the next time, we were still demanded of our beliefe whiles we

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were in England, and how we had bin taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name unto us, so that we could never be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise us, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we have favour & be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire speeches were but means to entrap us, to the hazard and losse of our lives: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for us by a secret meanes that we had, that we kept us still to our first answer, & would stil say that we had told the trueth unto them, and knew no more by our selves nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sory for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countreys by force of weather, & against our wils, and that never in all our lives we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, and therfore they would have mercy upon us. Yet all this would not serve; for stil from time to time we were called upon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their severe judgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to utter that against themselves, which afterwards cost them their lives. And thus having gotten from our owne mouthes matter sufficient for them to proceed in judgement against us, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middest of the market place in Mexico right over against the head church, & 14 or 15 daies before the day of their judgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie: before whom it was then solemnely proclaimed, that whosoever would upon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the

*Our men are  
cruelly rackt.*

English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approaching of this cruell judgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for us, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotten & red crosses upon them, both before & behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about us, and bringing us out into a large yard, and placing and pointing us in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of judgement upon the morrow, that they did not once suffer us to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was given to every one of us for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set foorth of the prison, every man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand unlighted, having a Spaniard appointed to goe upon either side of every one of us: and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went up by a paire of stayres, and found seates readie made and prepared for us to sit downe on, every man in order as he should be called to receive his judgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came up another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Justices with them. When they were set downe and placed under the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came up also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a

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solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their severe and cruell judgement.

*The cruell  
judgements of  
the Spanish  
inquisitors  
upon our poore  
countrey men.*

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Jesus, and hee had judgement to have three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slave for 10 yeeres.

After him were called John Gray, John Browne, John Rider, John Moone, James Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adjudged to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the space of 8 yeeres.

Then was called John Keyes, and was adjudged to have 100 stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serve in the gallies for the space of 6 yeeres.

Then were severally called the number of 53 one after another, and every man had his severall judgement, some to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and some 100, and condemned for slaves to the gallies, some for 6 yeeres, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was I Miles Philips called, and was adjudged to serve in a monasterie for 5 yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called John Storie, Richard Williams, David Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: the sixe were condemned to serve in monasteries without stripes, some for 3 yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their judgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for us that had received our judgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we

were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for every one of our men which were condemned to have stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and so they being inforced to mount up on horsebacke naked from the middle upward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to every one of them appointed, most cruelly laid upon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselves, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English heretiks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, & carried againe to prison, where they remained untill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receive the rest of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had judgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serve an apprenticeship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

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### Chap. 6.

Wherein is shewed how we were used in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were adjudged to serve in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

**I** Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an overseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and loving kind of people, ingenious, and of great understanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they have used such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subjection and servitude, that they and the Negros also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliverance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniardes doe keepe them in. William [III. 482.] Lowe he was appointed to serve the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and David Alexander were appointed to the gray Friers, John Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paul Horsewel the Secretary tooke to be his servant: Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we served out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the use of our fooles coates, and we must needs confesse that the Friers did use us very courteously: for every one of us had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themselves do utterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort us the best they could,



although they stood in such feare of that divelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serve in those religious houses, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged up in the head church, called Ecclesia Major, and every mans name and judgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coates hanged up, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and judgements, and underneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffered to goe up and downe the countrey, and to place our selves as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes attending us and all our actions, so that we durst not once speake or looke awry. David Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to serve the Inquisitor, who shortly after married them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams married a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horsewell is married to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horsewell hath married, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thousand Pezos, and a faire house: John Storie is married to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leave and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could never throughly settle my selfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made unto me of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could have no liking to live in that place, where I must every where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore

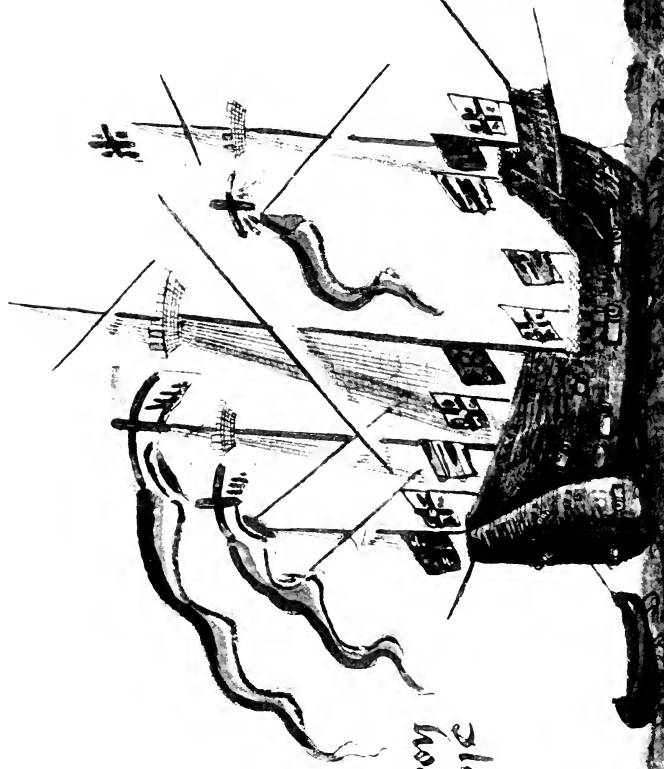
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I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my native cuntry: and, to returne and serve againe in the Mines where I might have gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that divelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choise rather to learne to weave Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weaver, I bound my selfe for three yeeres to serve him, and gave him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the science, otherwise he would not have taught mee under seven yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I lived the more quiet, and free from suspition. Howbeit I should many times be charged by familiars of that divelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutherane againe: To whom I would answer that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impossible for me to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I knowe thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here upon paine of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. John de Ullua, nor to any other port: To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou doe so and thy fellowes also, they shall have the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, upon the South sea, and that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoyle therof, which wrought a marvellous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselves, their wives & children: upon which hurлие the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of

The Myrion  
times of life

Men.  
Sons of  
Mazzy  
Sons





all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde housholders of Spaniards in the citie and suburbs, and of single men unmarried, the number of 3000 and of Mestizoes, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women, twenty thousand persons, and then was Paul Horsewel & I Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother [III. 483.] but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now governour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of us if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out under the leading of several Captains, wherof two hundred were sent to the port of S. John de Ullua, upon the North Sea under the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine John Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, over whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, having licence given by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, having also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily have taken us all: We

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being imbarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leaving the land upon our left hand, and having coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea-sicke: All the while that I was at Sea, with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should have bene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I lived, and should returne to mine owne country of England againe. But missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needs come on land againe, little doeth any man know the sorow and grieffe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, ye next morow after, we began our journey towards Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatpec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, having bene forth about the space of seven weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had travelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall have him shortly come into our hands driven a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in

*Tuatpec,  
Washaca, Te-  
piaca, Pueblo  
de los Angeles,  
Stapelapa.*

*The Spanish  
Viceroy pro-  
phesied, but  
falsely.*

these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger wil force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my masters house in a readinesse at an houres warning, when soever I should be called: for that notwithstanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stantias or dairie houses, and my master having leave of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my journey with them being very well horsed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was readie to depart, I not being past 3 daies journey from the port of S. John de Ullua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming upon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. John de Ullua, I would get to be entertained as a souldiour, and so go home into Spaine in the same Fleete, and therefore secretly one evening late, the moone shining faire, I conveyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, upon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. John de Ullua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Justices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Justices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, every man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied,

*Vera Cruz  
distant 5  
leagues from  
S. Juan de  
Ullua.*

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affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeeve me, but urged stil upon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conveied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my grieffe, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Justices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to convey me away from my father, so that he also was threatned to be laid in prison with me: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stifly in it, that I was an Englishman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together: which when they heard, they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that speech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceived that I could not denie, and perceiving that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpose to convey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to have set me free from that present danger which he saw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, & condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellowes some that had knowen me before in



Mexico, and truly they had compassion of me, & would spare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he understood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I shold be shortly sent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. John de Ullua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison-fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often unto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 knives which had files in their backes, which files were so wel made that they would serve & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, & of those knives or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me have it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8.s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a joyfull man, and conveied the same into the foote of my boot, upon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus received my knife, I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Justice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60. towards Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we travelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were

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somewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and ever as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, & travelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring up of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hostrie that a Negro-woman keeps: and at this place, for that the going up of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accustome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them altogether for the drawing up of one wagon, and so to come downe againe, and fetch up others in that order. All which came very well to passe: for as it drew towards night when most of the Wagoners were gone to draw up their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my boltes, and so espying my time in the darke of the evening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conveyed my selfe into the woods there adjoyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, & a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke bush, and then covered them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for my selfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good providence of Almighty God, I was freed from mine yrons all saving the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time.

*Miles Philips  
his last wonderfull  
escape.*

[III. 485.]

## Chap. 7.

Wherein is shewed how I escaped to Guatimala, upon the South sea, and from thence to the port of Cavallos, where I got passage to goe into Spaine, and of our arrivall at Havana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to have bene committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safetie into England in February 1582.

**T**He next morning (day light being come) I perceived by the Sunne rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods upon the left hand: and having left that way that went to Mexico upon my right hand, I thought to keepe my course as the woods and mountaines lay, still direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was sure to convey my selfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountaine where I was, and travailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me to file off mine yron coller, which they willingly did: rejoycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I desired that I might have one of them to guide mee out of those desert mountaines towardes the South, which they also most willingly did: and so they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa, where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horse

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*Guatemala on  
the South sea.*

of one of the Indians, which cost mee 6. pezos, and so travailing South, within the space of 2. leagues I happened to overtake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie used against us by the Inquisitors, and truely hee used me very courteously: and I having confidence in him did indeede tel him, that I was minded to adventure to see if I could get out of the sayd countrey if I could finde shipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and advise herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my safest way to travaile, but he also of himselfe kept me company for the space of three dayes, and ever as we came to the Indians houses (who used and intertained us well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gave unto mee. So came I to the citie of Guatemala upon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake. And from thence I travailed still South and by East seven dayes journey, passing by certaine Indian townes, untill I came to an Indian towne distant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cavallos in the Northeast sea, it was answered that in travailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes journey: so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serve us so long time, and tooke with us things to kindle fire every night, because of wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate: and every night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selves, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire. And travailing thus for the space of twelve dayes,

## MILES PHILIPS

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1580-82.

*Puerto de  
Cavallos.*

wee came at last to the port of Cavallos upon the East sea, distant from Guatimala South and by East, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for shippes, and is without either castle or bulwarke. I having dispatched away my guides, went downe to the Haven, where I saw certaine ships loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger: for said he, it may be that you have killed some man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would cary me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my provision of hennes and bread to serve me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and never stayed untill we came to Havana, which is distant from puerto de Cavallos by sea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a souldier to serve in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himself went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all full of souldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently provided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. lastly to S. John Ullua. As for ordinance there they have sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Jesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The

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sending of those souldiers to every of those Ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the general of his fleete, giving him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, advertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, & the yles aforesaid: which the general of the fleete wel considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duetifully observe and obey: for in trueth he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in every of them there was as good as 30. pipes of silver one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochinilla, sugars, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did providently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be, to the uttermost of his power, and commanded upon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboard without his sword and harquebush, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them: and ever as the weather was faire, the said general would himself go aboard from one ship to another, to see that every man had his ful provision according to the commandement given. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would have made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, saving only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe over and besides the weakenesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to have held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, & had

*Don Pedro de  
Guzman.*

a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selves to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were upon our voyage from the 4. of June, untill the 10. of September, and never saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should goe on shoare untill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be mery & pleasant, that we were all come so wel in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shoare, and I pressed to be gone with the first: howbeit, the Master came unto me, & said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Sivil by water: I knew his meaning well inough, & that he meant there to offer me up as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeale of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they have done God good service, when they have brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for so do they account of us. Wel, I perceiving all this, tooke upon me not to suspect any thing, but was still jocund & mery: howbeit, I knew it stood me upon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conveyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moared, and so by the cable haled on shore, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then never stayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Sivil: so that the next morning I came to Sivil, and sought me out a workemaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weaving of taffataes; and being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke,

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and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for feare of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doores at my worke, and fained my selfe not well at ease, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at sea, and yet durst not be overbold to walke abroad: and after understanding that there were certaine English ships at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboard one of them, and desired the Master that I might have passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to have him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceived, with a sorowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leave of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my selfe to be a souldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Majorca, and comming thither in the end of the Christmas holidayes, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West countrey, which were ready fraughted and stayed but for a faire wind. To the Master of the one, which was of the West countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now desirous to goe home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and so having agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the providence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, having sustained many and sundry great troubles and

*He commeth  
home in an  
English ship  
from Majorca.*



miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my native country of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arrived at Poole.

The travailes of Job Hortop, which Sir John Hawkins set on land within the Bay of Mexico, after his departure from the Haven of S. John de Ullua in Nueva Espanna, the 8. of October 1568.



Not untruely nor without cause said Job the faithfull servant of God (whom the sacred Scriptures tell us, to have dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, living a short time, is replenished with many miseries: which some know by reading of histories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my selfe, as this present Treatise insuing shall shew.

It is not unknowen unto many, that I Job Hortop powder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnshire, from my age of twelve yeeres brought up in Redriffe neere London, with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Majesties powder-maker, whom I served, until I was prest to go on the 3. voyage to the West Indies, with the right worshipful Sir John Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Majesties ship called the Jesus of Lubeck, who set saile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. having with him another ship of her Majesties, called the Minion, and foure ships of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Judith, and the William and John. He directed his Vice-admiral, that if foule weather did separate them, to meete at the Iland of Tenerif. After which by the space of seven dayes and seven nights, we had such stormes at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnesse, with some men: comming to the Isle of

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Tenerif, there our Generall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and John were at the Iland called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in fresh water, and set saile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal caravel, laden with fish called Mulletts: from thence we sailed to cape Verde. In our course thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal caravel, whom our vice admiral chased and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made master & captaine of the Caravel, and so we kept our way till we came to Cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke our boates, & set souldiers on shore. Our Generall was the first that leapt on land, & with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our selves. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, & 8. other of our company were hurt with poysoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyson out of his wound with a clove of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence wee went to Sierra leona, where be monstrous fishes called Sharkes, which will devoure men. I amongst others was sent in the Angell with two Pinnesses into the river called Calousa, to seeke two Caravels that were there trading with the Negros: wee tooke one of them with the Negros, and brought them away.

*A remedie  
against poy-  
soned arrowes.*

*The river of  
Calousa.*

[III. 488.]

In this river in ye night time we had one of our pinnesses bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men swimming about the river, were all taken into the other pinnesses, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the sea-horse. This monster hath the just proportion of a horse, saving that his legs be short, his teeth very great, and a span in length: hee useth in the night to goe on land into the woods, seeking at unawares to devoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie prevent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods,

they forthwith lay a great tree overthwart the way, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they cannot goe over it: then the Negroes set upon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them.

From thence we entred the river called the Casserros, where there were other Caravels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Iland betwixt the river and the maine, trees grow with Oisters upon them. There grow Palmito trees, which bee as high as a ships maine mast, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmito wine and Palmito oyle. The Plantan tree also groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaves thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked, and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wrist, they growe on clusters: when they be ripe they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicate in taste then they be.

From thence with the Angel, the Judith, and the two pinnesses, we sailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and souldiers went up into the river called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrey with fiftie thousand Negroes besieging the same towne, which they could not take in many yeeres before, when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred & valiantly tooke the towne, wherein were found five Portugals which yeilded themselves to his mercy, and hee saved their lives: we tooke & caried thence for traffique to the West Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings drove 7000. Negroes into ye sea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to save themselves. Wee returned backe againe in our pinnesses to the ships, and there tooke in fresh water, and made ready sayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Judith, and the 2 pinnesses,

*The river of  
Taggarin.*

*500. Negroes  
taken.*

*Rio grande.*

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and found there seven Portugal Carvels, which made great fight with us. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and drove them to the shore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the carvels from the shore into the river. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his carvel, the Swallow, and the William and John came into the river, with captaine Dudley and his souldiers, who landed being but a hundred souldiers, and fought with seven thousand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the losse of one man.

In that place there be many muske-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take them in a net, & put them in a cage, & nourish them very daintily, & take the muske from them with a spoone.

Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

*Dominica.* In sayling towards the Indies, the first land that we escryed, was the Iland called Dominica, where at our comming we anchored, & tooke in fresh water and wood for our provision: which done, we sayled towards the *Margarita.* Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in despite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, & tooke in fresh victuals. A mile off the Iland there is a rocke in the sea, wherein doe breede many fowles like unto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cudgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their eggs aboard with us: their egges be as bigge as Turkies egges, and speckled like them. We did eat them, and found them very good meate.

*Burboroata.* From thence wee sayled to Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the West Indies: there we came in, moored our ships, and taried two moneths trimming and dressing our ships, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spaniards of that countrey. There our Generall sent us unto a towne called Placencia, (which stood on a high hil) to have intreated a Bishop that dwelt there for

his favour & friendship in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forsooke ye town.

In our way up the hil to Placencia, wee found a monstrous venemous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our master Robert Barret did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke. *Placencia in the maine.*

Heere be many Tygers, monstrous and furious beasts, which by subiltie devoure and destroy many men: they use the traded wayes, & wil shew themselves twice or thrise to the travellers, and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past, then suddenly & at unawares they leape upon them and devoure them: they had so used two of our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall sent three ships unto the Iland called Coração, to make provision for the rest, where they remayned untill his comming. Hee sent from thence the Angel and the Judith to Rio de Hacha, where we anchored before the town. The Spaniards shot three pieces at us from the shore, whom we requited with two of ours, and shotte through the Governours house: we wayed anchor, & anchored againe without shot of the towne, where wee rid five dayes in despite of the Spanyards and their shot. In the mean space there came a Carvel of advise from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Judith wee chased and drove to the shore: we fetcht him from thence in spite of 200. Spaniards hargubush shot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with them, till our Generals comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the losse of one man, whose name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the shore for our safeties, our field ordinance: we drove the Spaniards up into the country above two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros. *Rio de la Hacha taken.*

In this river we killed a monstrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at sunne set: seven of us went in the

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pinnesse up into the River, carying with us a dogge, unto whom with ropeyarne we bound a great hooke of steele, with a chaine that had a swivel, which we put under the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming over his back fast bound, as aforesaid: we put him over boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came & presently swallowed up the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful stirre in the water: we leapt on shore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a fawcon shotte: he hath foure legs, his feete have long nailes like unto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his skinne, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to have brought it home, had not the ship bin cast away. This monster will cary away and devoure both man and horse.

*Santa  
Martha.*

From hence we shaped our course to Santa Martha, where we landed, traded, and sold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monstrous adder, going towards his cave with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seven foote long: upon his taylor he had sixteene knottes, every one as bigge as a great walnut, which they say, doe shew his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly.

*Cartagena.*

From thence wee sayled to Cartagena, where we went in, mored our Shippes, and would have traded with them, but they durst not for feare of the King: wee brought up the Minion against the Castle, and shotte at the Castle and Towne: then we landed in an Iland, where were many gardens: there in a cave we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with us, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be set on shore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to seeke the Port of Saint John de Ullua. In our way thwart of Campeche

*Campeche.*

we met with a Spaniard, a small ship, who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Augustin de villa nueva, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and caused them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with us into the Port of S. John de Ullua. Our Generall made great account of him, and used him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed us. When wee had mored our ships, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee discovered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon a Spaniard was Generall: with him came a Spaniard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine sent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He sent a Pinnesse with a flagge of truce unto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey those Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port; who sayd, they were the Queene of Englands ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall give me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side of the Port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spaniard returned for answere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thousand men, & therefore he would come in. Our Generall sayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I represent my Queenes person, & I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counsell among themselves, yeilded to our Generals demaund, swearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commission and authority that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were given on both parts. Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, judged the Spaniards to have done the like, delivered to them sixe gentlemen, not doubting to have received the like from [III. 490.].

*Don Martin  
de Henriquez  
the trecherous  
Vice-roy.*

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them: but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gave of the basest of their company, as afterwardes it was well knowen. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides, that on payne of death no occasion should be given, whereby any quarel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both sides.

The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulke, a ship of sixe hundred, and moored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards us, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboard, as the sequel did shew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboard the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de villa nova sitting at dinner with him, should then presently have killed with a poynado which hee had privily in his sleeve, which was espyed and prevented by one John Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his sleeve. Our General hastily rose up, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Stewards roome, & to be kept with two men. The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had bene finished, suddenly sounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called unto us, saying, God and Saint George, upon those traiterous villaines, and rescue the Minion, I trust in God the day shalbe ours: and with that the Mariners & souldiers leapt out of the Jesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards Vice admirall, where the most part of 300. Spanyards were

*Augustine de  
villa nueva a  
most thanke-  
lesse traytour.*

*The Spanish  
vice-admirall  
fiered.*



spoyled, and blowen over boord with powder. Their Admirall also was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke until it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the Iland, saving three, which by swimming got aboard the Jesus of Lubeck. They sunke the Generals ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had above threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fifteene hundred: we slew of them five hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Jesus of Lubeck had five shotte through her mayne Mast: her fore-mast was strooke in sunder under the hounds with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte, therefore it was unpossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to have burnt the Jesus of Lubeck, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast.

The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from us, and come to an anker without shot of the Island. Our Generall couragiously cheered up his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a silver cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to stand by their Ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culverin shot stroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that stode by the maine mast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship: which nothing dismaid our Generall, for he ceased not to incourage us, saying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to have turned out of the port, had his maine

*One of those  
three was Job  
Hortop the re-  
porter hereof.*

*Foure Spanish  
ships sunke.*

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mast stroke over boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore, wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men, and came aboard the Jesus of Lubek to our Generall, who said unto him, that he thought he would not have runne away from him: he answered, that he was not minded to have run away from him, but his intent was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboard, and fired his ship in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleete, hee said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for safegard of her masts to be brought under the Jesus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboard, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and so he did.

At night when the wind came off the shore, wee set sayle, and went out in despite of the Spanyards and their shot, where wee ankered, with two ankers under the Island, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared every houre to be driven with the lee shore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and set saile, seeking the river of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were so scarce, that we were driven to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, munkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to divide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, then to sterve on ship-boord. He asked them who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-boord, those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on foremast, and those that would tarrie, on baft mast: fourescore and sixteene of us were willing to depart. Our Generall gave unto every one of us sixe yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came unto us, where friendly imbracing every one of

[III. 491.]

*About an hundred Englishmen landed.*

us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him, he counselled us to serve God, and to love one another, and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowful farewell, and promised if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of us as lived should by some means be brought into England, & so he did.

Since my returne into England I have heard that many misliked that he left us so behind him, and brought away Negroes: but the reason is this, for them he might have had victuals, or any other thing needfull, if by foule weather hee had bene driven upon the Islands, which for gold nor silver he could not have had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ship, and we remained on land, where for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about us, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne rising wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, untill that we came into a felde under a grove, where the Indians came upon us, asking us what people we were, and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard and John Cornish, for that they could speake the Spanish tongue, went to them, and said wee were Englishmen, that never came in that countrey before, and that we had fought with the Spaniards, and for that we lacked victuals, our Generall set us on shore: they asked us whither we intended to goe, we said to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed us to give unto them some of our clothes & shirts, which we did: then he bad us give them all, but we would not so doe, whereupon John Cornish was then slaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that stode by the Captaine shot at him, wherefore he stroke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed us to follow him, who brought us into a great felde, where we found fresh water: hee bad us sit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane space to kill five or sixe Deere, and bring them

*John Cornish  
slaine.*

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us. We taryed there till three of the clocke, but they came not: there one of our company whose name was John Cooke, with foure other departed from us into a grove to seeke reliefe, where presently they were taken by the Indians, and stript as naked as ever they were borne, and so returned to us.

*Anthony  
Goddard.*

*A river.*

*James Collier.*

Then we divided our selves into two parts, halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the rest to James Collier, and thus severally we sought for Panuco. Anthony Goddard with his company, bid us farewell, they passed a river, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and so passing on their way, came to a stony hill, where they stayed. James Collier with his company that day passed the same river, and were also robbed, and one of them slaine by chance: wee came that night unto the hill, where Anthony Goddard and his company rested, there we remained til morning, and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groves, where the Indians robbed us of all our clothes, and left us naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of us. Three dayes after we came to another river, there the Indians shewed us the way to Panuco, and so left us: we passed the river into the wildernes, where we made wreaths of greene grasse, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe us from the Sunne, and gnats of that Countrey.

*8. Englishmen  
slaine.*

*Another river.*

*Seven dayes  
travell to  
Panicu.*

We travelled there seven dayes, and seven nights, before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiavos, a fruit like figs. At our comming to the river of Panuco two Spanish horsemen came over unto us in a Canowe: they asked us how long we had bene in the wilderness, and where our generall was, for they knewe us to be of the company that had fought with their countrimen: we told them seven dayes and seven nights, and for lacke of victuals our Generall set us on shore, & he was gone away with his ships. They returned to their Governour, who sent them with five Canowes to bring us all over, which done, they set us in aray, where a hundred horsemen with their lances,

came forceably upon us, but did not hurt us, they carried us prisoners to Panuco, where we remained one night. In the river of Panuco there is a fish like a calfe, the Spanyards call it a Mallatin, hee hath a stone in his head, which the Indians use for the disease of the Collicke, in the night he commeth on land, and eateth grasse. I have eaten of it, and it eateth not much unlike to bacon. From thence we were sent to Mexico, which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the sea side, I did see white Crabs running up & downe the sands, I have eaten of them, and they be very good meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spanyards call Avocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, having a stone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There also groweth a strange tree which they call Magueis, it serveth them to many uses, below by the root they make a hole, wherat they do take out of it twice every day a certaine kind of licour, which they seeth in a great kettle, till the third part be consumed, & that it wax thick, it is as sweet as any hony, and they do eat it. Within 20. daies after that they have taken al the licour from it, it withereth, & they cut it down, & use it as we use our hempe here in England, which done, they convert it to many uses: of some part they make mantles, ropes, and threed: of the ends they make needles to sow their saddles, pannels, & other furniture for their horses: of the rest they make tyles to cover their houses, and they put it to many other purposes. [III. 492.]

*A manifold use  
of Magueis.*

And thus we came to Mexico, which is seven or eight miles about, seated in a great fen, invironed with 4 hils, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they passe from place to place, & to the Islands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I saw them sixe times: when they come they throw downe trees,

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houses, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with a hundred thousand Indians, they goe in white shirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like unto a flannell petticoate. The kings pallace was the first place wee were brought unto in Mexico, where without we were willed to sit downe. Much people, men, women, and children came wondring about us, many lamented our misery, & some of their clergy asked us if we were Christians, we said, we praised God, we were as good Christians as they: they asked how they might know that, we said, by our confessions. From thence we were carried in a Canow to a Tanners house, which standeth a little from the citie: the next morning two friers and two priests came thither to us, and willed us to blesse our selves, and say our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might understand us, many of our company did so, whereupon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Christians, and that they liked us well, and then they brought us much reliefe, with clothes, our sicke men were sent to their Hospitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners house we were led to a gentlemans place, where upon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things necessary brought us: on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought us great reliefe.

The viceroy practised to hang us, and caused a paire of new gallowes to be set up, to have executed us, wherunto the noblemen of that countrey would not consent, but prayed him to stay until the ship of advise brought newes from the king of Spaine, what should be done with us, for they said they could not find any thing by us, whereby they might lawfully put us to death.

The viceroy then commanded us to be sent to an Island there by, and he sent for the Bishop of Mexico,

who sent foure priests to the Island, to examine and confesse us, who said, that the viceroy would burne us, when wee were examined and confessed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Bishop, and told him that we were very good Christians. The Bishop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confessions, and said that wee were good Christians, therefore he would not meddle with us. Then the viceroy sent for our master, R. Barret, whom he kept prisoner in his pallace, untill the fleete was departed for Spayne. The rest of us he sent to a towne seven leagues from Mexico called Tescuco, to card wooll among the Indian slaves, which drudgery we disdaind, and concluded to beat our masters, and so wee did: wherefore they sent to the viceroy, desiring him for Gods sake and our Ladies, to send for us, for they would not keepe us any longer, they said that we were devils and no men.

The viceroy sent for us, and imprisoned us in a house in Mexico, from thence he sent Anthony Goddard, & some other of our company with him into Spaine, with Luçon, the General that tooke us: the rest of us staid in Mexico two yeres after, and then were sent prisoners into Spaine, with Don Juan de Velasco de Varre, admirall and generall of the Spanish fleet, who caried with him in his ship, to be presented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was sent from China to Mexico, to the viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee sent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appere by the anatomie, that he was of a monstrous size, the skull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a bushel, his necke-bones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monstrous to behold, the shanke of his legge from the ankle to the knee was as long as from any mans ankle up to his wast, and of bignesse accordingly.

At this time, and in this ship, were also sent to be presented to the king of Spaine, two chestes full of earth

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## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

with ginger growing in them, which were also sent from China, to be sent to the king of Spaine. The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like unto the blades of wild garlick, which they cut every fifteene dayes, they use to water them twice a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their pottage, and use them in their other meates, whose excellent savour and tast is very delightfull, and procureth a good appetite.

[III. 493.]  
*A description  
of ginger.*

1570.

When we were shipped in the Port of S. John de Ullua, the Generall called our master Robert Barret and us with him into his cabbin, & asked us if wee would fight against Englishmen if we met them at the sea, we said that we would not fight against our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He said if we had said otherwise he would not have beleevved us, and for that we should be the better used, and have allowance as other men had: and he gave a charge to every one of us, according unto our knowledge, Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawse with the boat-swaine, John Beare with the quarter-masters, Edward Rider, & Geffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the masters boy attended on him and the pilote: shortly after we departed from the port of S. John de Ullua with all the fleete of Spaine, for the port called Havana: wee were 26. dayes sayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in fresh water, and stayed 16. dayes for the fleete of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treasure from Peru.

*Havana.*

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ships, both the fleetes joyned in one, and Don Juan de Velasco de Varre was the first fifteen daies Generall of both the fleets, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to have cast away all the fleet upon the Cape called Cannaverall, which was prevented by me John Hortop, & our master Robert Barret: for I



being in the second watch escried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke over boord, for I saw land under the lee-bow of the ship: he called to the boat-swaine, & bid him let flie the fore saile sheat, and lay the helm upon the lee, and cast the ship about. When we were cast about, we were but in seven fathome water: we shot off a piece, giving advice to the fleet to cast about, and so they did. For this we were beloved of the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and swore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he said, that twise before he had almost cast away the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a piece to be shot off, to call to councill: the other Admirall in his ship came up to him, and asked what the matter was, he said, that his pilote had cast away his ship and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Englishmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perswaded him to the contrary.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we discovered a monster in the sea, who shewed himselfe three times unto us from the middle upwards, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato, or tawny Indian. The Generall did commaund one of his clerks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Presently after this, for the space of sixteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather, and then God sent us a faire wind, untill such time as we discovered the Iland called Faial.

On S. James day we made rackets, wheeles, and other fire-workes, to make pastime that night, as it is the order of the Spanyards. When we came neere the land, our master R. Barret conferred with us, to take the pinnesse one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our selves from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed: none had any pinnesse asterne then but our ship, which gave great courage to our enterprise: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would have served us nine dayes, and

*A sea-monster  
in the shape  
of a man.*

A.D.  
1570.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

provided our selves to goe: our Master borrowed a small compasse of the Master gunner of the ship, who lent it him, but suspected his intent, and closely made the Generall privy to it, who for a time dissembled the matter. In the ende seeing our pretense, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the stocks, and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, & the rest of us to be set in the stocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be shot off, and hee sent the pinnesse for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, masters and pilots of both fleetes to come aboard of him. He commanded the mayne-yard to be strooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on every yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confesse our selves, for he swore by the king that he would hang us.

When the other Admiral, and the rest were come aboard, he called them into his counsel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the master of the Englishmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whose name was Diego Flores de Valdes, asked him wherefore: he sayd, that we had determined to rise in the night with the pinnesse, and with a ball of fireworke to set the ship on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, sayd he, I will have you the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes, to set your hands unto that, for I swear by the king that I will hang them, [III. 494.] Diego Flores de Valdes answered, I nor the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes wil not set our hands to that, for hee said, if he had bin prisoner as we were, he would have done the like himselfe. He counselled him to keepe us fast in prison, till he came into Spaine, & then send us to the Contratation house in Sivil, where, if we had deserved death the law would passe on us, for hee would not have it said that in such a fleet as that was, sixe men and a boy should take the pinnesse, and goe away, and so he returned to his ship againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine mast to us, and swore by the king, that we should not come out of the stocks til we came into Spaine: within

## JOB HORTOP

A.D.  
1570.

16 dayes after we came over the bar of S. Lucar, and came up to the Hurcados, then he put us into a pinnesse in the stocks, and sent us prisoners to the Contratation house in Sivill. From thence after one yere we brake prison, on S. Stevens day at night, 7. of our company escaped, Robert Barret, I Job Hortop, John Emerie, Humphrey Roberts, and John Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratation house, where we remained in the stocks till twelwe tide was past. Then our keeper put up a petition to the Judge of the contratation house, that we might be sent to the great prison house in Sivill, for that we broke prison, whereupon we were presently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and then from thence, to the castell of the Inquisition house in Triana, where wee continued one yere: which expired, they brought us out in procession, every one of us having a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes crosse on our backs: they brought us up on an high scaffold, that was set up in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe street of Sivill: there they set us downe upon benches, every one in his degree, and against us on another scaffold sate all the Judges, and the Clergy on their benches: the people wondered, and gazed on us, some pittying our cases, other said, burne those heretikes. When we had sit there two houres, we had a sermon made to us: after which one called Bresinia, secretarie to the Inquisition, went up into the pulpit with the processe, and called Robert Barret and John Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold before the Judges, where the secretarie read the sentence, which was that they should be burnt, and so they returned to the scaffold, and were burnt.

*Robert Barret  
and John Gil-  
bert burned.*

Then I Job Hortop, and John Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to have the coate with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backs, and

*Job Hortop  
his condem-  
nation.*

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## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

from thence to goe to the everlasting prison remedillesse, and so we were returned from the scaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, & Thomas Ellis were called, and had sentence to serve in the Galleys eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and John Emery to serve five yeeres, & so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where we sate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquisition house, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Bresinia the treasurer came thither to us, and delivered to every one of us his sentence in writing. I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: every mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canvas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shaven every month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our several times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I served two yeeres above my sentence, I was sent backe to the Inquisition house in Sivill, and there having put on the coat with S. Andrewes crosse, I was sent to the everlasting prison remedillesse, where I wore the coat 4. yeres, & then upon great suit, I had it taken off for 50 duckets, which Hernando de Soria treasurer of the kings mint lent me, whom I served for it as a drudge 7. yeres, and until the moneth  
1590. of October last, 1590, and then I came from Sivill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a flie-boat, that was laden with wines and salt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines subjects, dwelling in Sivil, married to Spanish women, and sworne to their king. In this moneth of October last, departing from S. Lucar, at sea, off the southermost Cape, we met an English ship, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, & me out of him, & brought me to Ports-

mouth, where they set me on land, the 2. day of December last past, 1590. From thence I was sent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Sussex, who commanded his secretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Christmas even I took my leave of his honor, and came to Redriffe.

The Computation of my imprisonment.

I suffered imprisonment in Mexico two yeeres.

In the Contratation house in Sivill one yeere.

In the Inquisition house in Triana one yeere.

[III. 495.]

I was in the Gallies twelve yeeres.

In the everlasting prison remediles, with the coat with S. Andrews crosse on my back 4. yerres.

And at libertie I served as a drudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, untill this time of my returne, I was five times in great danger of death, besides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

First in the Port of S. John de Ullua, where being on shore, with many other of our company, which were all slaine saving I, and two other that by swimming got aboard the Jesus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the viceroy would have hanged us.

Fourthly, because he could not have his mind to hang us, he would have burnt us.

Fiftly, the Generall that brought us into Spaine, would have hanged us at sea.

Thus having truely set downe unto you my travels, misery and dangers, endured the space of 23. yeeres, I ende.

[A relation

2 G

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

A relation of the Haven of Tecuanapa, a most convenient place for building of ships, situate upon the South sea not farre from Nicaragua, which was sent unto the viceroy of Mexico or to the king of Spaine: wherein are described the rivers of Ometepec, Tlacamama, and Tlacolula falling into the said Haven, with the townes, people, and mountaines adjoyning to the said rivers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ships.

*The Port of  
Tecuanapa.*



He Port and small harbour of Tecuanapa hath in the driest time of Sommer in the chanell little lesse then one fathome at low water, and at full sea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increasing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward

*The Bishop-  
ricks of  
Guaxacan, &  
Tlarcali.*

the West, and there the Bishopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are separated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Intla and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues distant, which though it be no special harbour, yet upon an extremity ships may come and ride there, as in times past they have done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake somewhat large towards the midst of the chanell, and in some parts deepe, but specially on the side of Cuahintla, but on either side it is but shallow. As you passe betweene the sea & certaine great and large woods of orange trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the sea coast, which are of no great bredth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the side of Cuahintla the mountaines have many creeks and a small lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be travelled, except you take the way betweene the sea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of sandy way.

*Tulaningo a  
small lake.*

*Cuahintla.*

## THE HAVEN OF TECUANAPA

And on the North side there is another small creeke. And going by the sands side one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth unto Quacapotla a mansion of Intla. *Quacapotla.*

The river of Ometepec being the principal river which commeth to this haven hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24. leagues from this haven, from divers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchistlahuaca litle more then 3. leagues all the brooks joyne together: and from that place you may passe downe to the sea with Canoas and Lighters: and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious streame or current which runneth between two great rocks, passing from Cocahulapa a mansion of Ometepec unto Yanguitle a mansion of the said Ometepec. These inconveniences being past (which in my judgement may be about one league) the river is more navigable, so that you may sayle in the same about 12. leagues. During the space of which 12. leagues, about a league and a halfe distance from the waters side, and in many other parts of the same river it hath great quantitie of woods which use to grow in hot soiles, fit for ship-timber, as Huber-trees, & Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Also there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which easily may be caried downe the river, because they may be cut some 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the river, and may be brought downe to the waters side with the service and helpe of those that dwell in the townes thereabout. *Nicaragua.*

At the head of these brooks where the river beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350. Indians of rude speech and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the sea, litle more or lesse. *Xicaian.*

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The place it selfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

[III. 496.]  
*Aioanapa.*

A little from this is the towne of Aioanapa possessed by the heires of Perez Gomez, having in it about 300. Indians of the selfe same speach and qualitie. The countrey is more subject to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countreys and mountaines. It is distant from Xicaian de Touer 4. leagues, and from the sea 20. leagues.

*Suchistlahuaca.*

Sixe leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchistlahuaca on the said river, and the inhabitants are of the same speach and qualities. The countrey is more subject to heate then cold. It is in the charge of Gonzalvo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15. leagues distant from the sea.

*Ometepec.*

From this towne unto the towne of Ometepec are 6. leagues. The place is very hot, and in the same government, and is situate betweene certaine hils one league from the river: he and his followers have under them about 700. Indians, which speake the Ayacastecan, Amusgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the sea nine leagues.

*Ihualapa.*

From this towne unto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the government of the heires of Laurence de Castro, of the foresaid temperature, and the people use the said language, and are of the like stature: and it standeth three leagues from the river, and from the sea ten leagues.

*Niciecan.*

These are the best townes, and of the best traffique that are upon all this coast. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in these townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the chiefe Alguazil of the province is resident for the most part of the yeere.

*Pio a frontier  
towne against  
the Mexicans.*

More lowe beneath the river of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be



## THE HAVEN OF TECUANAPA

a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne against the Mexicans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Graviel de Chiavez a citizen of Mexico hath the government thereof: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the sea.

A little below this is the towne of Huehuetlan in the selfe same government standing one league from the river on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the sea 5. leagues. *Huehuetlan.*

And one league from this towne stands the towne of Cuahucapotla a mansion of Antla or Intla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it standeth one league and a halfe from the river, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof. *Cuahucapotla.*

At the fountaines or heads of the rest of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the government of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants have under them some 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the sea some 22. leagues. *Cacatepec.*

The river which is called Tlacamama commeth from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amusgos, which are some 17. leagues from the sea. There it maketh a formed river, so big, that it is navigable to the sea with canoas and lighters: I say from a litle below Tolistlahuaca a mansion of Xicaian. It is navigable 8. moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, because that the sands of the plaines do soke and drink up the water in such wise, that there remaineth so little, that there is no passage: howbeit in small lighters timber may bee brought downe this river one league from the place where it is cut, unto the place that I have spoken of; whereas bigger vessels may bee made; for nigh unto that place other brooks and running waters doe joyne and meet, which make it a maine river. It hath nigh unto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amusgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and okes of great bignesse: and beneath those mountaines in the warme countrey, neere unto the rivers there is much

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

timber of those sorts which I mentioned before to be about the river of Ometepec, which may easily be cut and carried downe unto Tecuanapa in the time before specified.

This river hath likewise townes adjoyning to it; the first at the foote of the mountaines is the town of *Atoiaque* belonging to the king, & to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, & it is from the sea 15. leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.

One league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne of *Xicaian* belonging likewise to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are resident in it the Vicar and Justice; it is from the river a league and a halfe.

A league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is situate the mansion of *Pinotespan* subject to Tututepec, which hath with the manors subject unto it 500. Indians.

Two leagues from the towne, and one from *Xicayan*, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the river is the towne of *Tlacamama*: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth some 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.

More toward the South 5. leagues from the river, and two from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne called *Pinotespan del Rey*: They are handsome people, but of slow speach: this towne containeth about 100. Indians like unto the former. They be wealthie, because they make great quantitie of salte; for they have a lake in which salte groweth under the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conserved together) whereout they take it in breaking it with stones upon the ground under the water.

It hath also the towne of *Amusgos*, which is in the

*Atoiaque.*

*Xicaian.*

*Pinotespan.*

*The towne of  
Tlacamama.*

[III. 497.]

*A lake having  
hard salt  
growing under  
the water.*

## THE HAVEN OF TECUANAPA

government of Fernando de Avila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They speake the Amusgan tongue. The countrey is hotte: it standeth on the high way from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or lesse.

These are all the townes of account situate neere this river.

Neere upon this river are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Bravo, and the other to him that maketh this relation unto your Excellencie, which may be from the sea some 8. or 9. leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Quesala *Quesala.* situate upon the river, and 6. leagues from the sea; which in times past hath beene a great towne, and nowe hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

The mansion house of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, standing in a large mountainous and waste countrey, which aboundeth with cattell being 3. leagues from the river; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattell is; and the sea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this mansion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the sea, is a garden of Alonso Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2. leagues from this garden and 6. leagues from the sea standeth the towne of Cuahintlan belonging to the king, a towne of 19 houtholds, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the best in that countrey. They speake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the sea that way within halfe a league. *Cuahintlan or del Rey.*

And this coast from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coast which runneth to Huatulco is a coast of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there. *Huatulco or Guatulco in 15. deg. and 50. minutes.*

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is a garden of Cacao in the landes of Francisco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu-Atoyaque.

## THE ENGLISH VOYAGES

These are the things worthy of relation from the head-springs of this river of Tlacamama unto the sea: and this foresaid river entreth into the river of Ometepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

*The river of Tlacolula.*

The river of Tlacolula springeth within the boundes of Chilsiztlahuaca subject to Comastlahuaca a towne of Suchistlahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This river is navigable little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the river of Ometepec, where it is 5. leagues from the sea.

*Azoyoque.*

Hard by it is the towne of Tlacolula abovenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of Azoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chilsiztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But because in this haven must bee the building of ships, the provinces of Tlapa and Tututepec may stand them in great stead; the province of Tututepec being neighbour to the river of Tlacamama, and the province of Tlapa to the river of Tlacolula. For they may, as I have sayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the rivers, and may use the Indians in the townes thereabout to fell, and draw the same out of the cold mountaines; for in the warm countreyes the most is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and oxen it may be brought unto the place where it should be imbarqued.

*The provinces of Tututepec and Tlapa.*

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas unto the townes thereabout, and lade themselves with victuals: For they have already come by that river to the rode of Ometepec, & made there provision at the mansion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Majestie did people the plaines which are betweene these rivers, conteining a large and voyde countrey sufficient for the erecting of 20. manours, being a countrey well furnished with water and pasture without any danger or perill, according to the description hereunto annexed.

This small harbour of Tecuanapa being seene and viewed, seemeth very commodious for to build shippes

## THE HAVEN OF TECUANAPA

in, by reason of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that purpose, with the commodities of rivers, and with the service and victuals from the townes thereabout, which be very good for coast townes.

*Tecuanapa a most fit harborough to build ships for the South sea.*

The desire of him that made this relation, hath bene with zeale to serve your excellencie; who therewithall desireth the Lord God to give the successe.

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