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# THE NARRATIVE

OF

ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEÇA DE VACA.



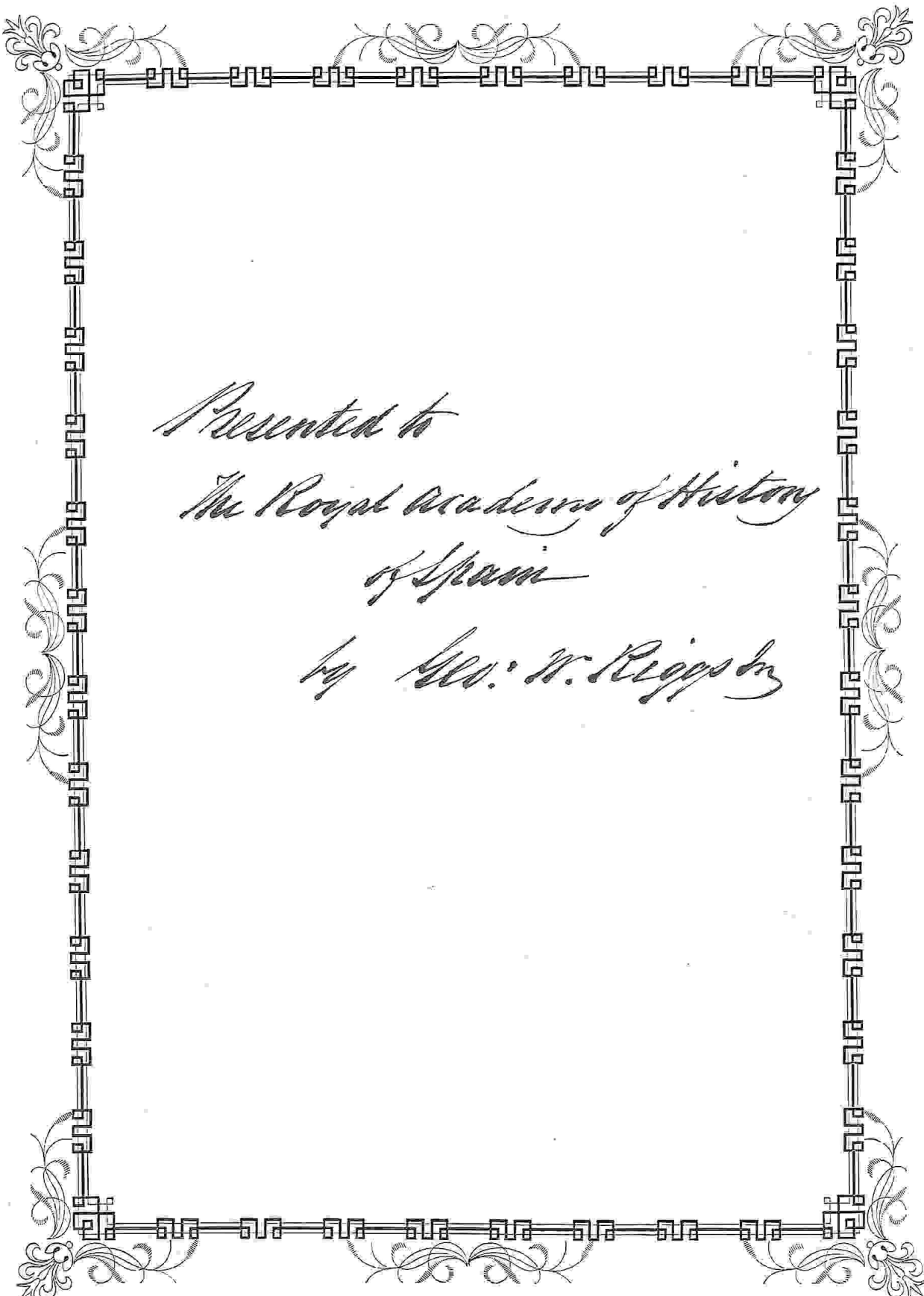
TRANSLATED BY BUCKINGHAM SMITH.

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WASHINGTON:

1851.





*Presented to  
The Royal Academy of History  
of Spain  
by Geo. W. Riggs Esq*



*The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, printed at Valladolid in 1555, has never before appeared in English, and the original edition, in Spanish, has now become so rare, that few collections on this side of the Atlantic contain a copy.*

*This account of one of the earliest explorations of territory within the limits of the United States, and of its inhabitants, has been deemed worthy of selection from the works on America of the sixteenth century, for presentation in this form, to a few personal friends, whose tastes and whose studies induce them to examine the history of our country from the beginning.*

G. W. R., JR.

WASHINGTON, January 1, 1851.



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GOVERNOR,\* ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA.

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\* He was successor to Mendoza in the government of the Province of the La Plata, in the year 1540.—Tr.



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## P R O E M.

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SACRED IMPERIAL CATHOLIC MAJESTY :

AMONG the many princes whom we know to have been in the world, none, I think, can be found, of whom men, with such entire willingness, have attempted the service with so great zeal and ambition as we see shown for your Majesty's at this day. It is evident that this cannot be without great motive and reason; neither are men so blind that they alike should pursue the same path without ground, since it is taken not only by Spaniards, whom loyalty and religion constrain, but even by strangers, who strive to surpass them.

Although the wish and desire to serve are alike in all, yet as to the advantages that each may gain, there are very great inequalities of fortune, not the consequence of their acts, but only of accident, or more certainly not caused by the fault of any, but solely by the will and providence of God: whence it arises that to one come more signal deeds than he thought to achieve, and to another it happens all the contrary; so that he can show no other proof of his purpose than his exertion, and even this at times remains so concealed that it cannot of itself appear.

As for me, I can say that, in undertaking the march I made on the main land, by your royal authority, I firmly thought that my acts and services would be as evident and distinguished as were those of my ancestry, and that I should have no necessity to speak to be reckoned among those who faithfully and diligently administer your affairs, and

whom your Majesty honors. But, as neither my counsel nor constancy profited to gain that for which we set out in conformity to your service, and as for our sins God permitted, of the many armaments which have gone to those parts, that none should find itself in like great peril as this, or have had such wretched and disastrous end, there remains to me no room for further duty here than to present an account of that which I could see and hear in the ten years<sup>(A)</sup> that I wandered, lost and bare, through many and remote lands, as well the situations and distances of the countries as of their animals and vegetation, the diverse customs of many and very barbarous nations with whom I talked and dwelt, and all matters that I could discover and understand, that by these in some way I may be useful to your Highness; for, although the hope of going out from among these people was always small, my care and diligence were ever great to keep a particular remembrance of every thing, that if at any time God, our Lord, should will to bring me where I now am, I might be able to give evidence of my effort, and serve your Majesty.

As the narrative is, in my opinion, of no trivial value to those who, in your name, shall go to conquer those lands, and to bring them to a knowledge of the true faith and true Lord, and under the imperial dominion, I have written it with so much exactness, that, although in it may be read some things very new, and, for some persons, very difficult to believe, they may, without hesitation, credit them as most certain, since in everything I have lessened rather than exaggerated, and sufficient to say that I offer it to your Majesty for truth. This I beg you will receive in the name of service, since it is all that a man could bring with him who returned thence naked.

THE SHIPWRECKS  
OF  
ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA.



CHAPTER I.

IN WHICH IS TOLD WHEN THE ARMADA SAILED, AND OF THE OFFICERS AND  
PERSONS WHO WENT IN IT.

ON the seventeenth day of June, in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-seven, the governor, Pamphilo de Narvaez, left the town of San Lucar de Barrameda, authorized and commanded by your Majesty to conquer and govern the territories that extend from the River Palmas to the Cape of Florida, which are on the main land. The fleet he took was five ships, in which went six hundred men, a few more or less. The officers he took (for we shall have to speak of them) were these, and here are their names: Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer and high-sheriff; Alonso Enriquez, distributor to your Majesty, and assessor; and Juan Suarez, a friar of the Order of Saint Francis, commissary; and four friars besides, of the same order.

We arrived at the Island of San Domingo, where we were near forty-five days procuring for ourselves some necessary things, particularly horses. Here we lost from our fleet more than one hundred and forty men, who wished to remain, seduced by the *partidos* and advantages held out to them by the people of the country.

We sailed from this and arrived at Santiago (which is a port in Cuba), where, during some days that we remained, the governor re-supplied himself with men, and arms, and horses. It happened there that a gentleman, whose name was Vasco Porcalles,<sup>(B)</sup> a resident in the vicinage of the town of Trinidad (which is also on the island), offered to give the governor some provisions which he had in this town, a hundred leagues from the port of Santiago.<sup>(C)</sup> So the governor set out with all the fleet for Trinidad; but, coming to a port half way, called the Cape of Santa Cruz, he thought it well to wait there, and send a vessel to bring the provisions: and to this end he ordered a Captain Pantoja, that he should go for them with his ship, and that I, for greater security, should accompany him with another. The governor remained with four ships; for he had bought a ship at the Island of San Domingo.

We having arrived with these two vessels at the point of Trinidad, the Captain Pantoja went with Vasco Porcalles to the town, which is a league off, to receive the provisions. I remained at sea with the pilots, who said that they ought to depart thence with the greatest despatch possible, for it was a bad port, and where many vessels had been lost. As what occurred to us there was very remarkable, it appears to me not distant from the purpose with which I write this, to relate it here.

The morning of the next day began to give signs of bad weather, for it commenced raining, and the sea to run so high that, although I gave the men permission to go on shore, many of them returned to the ship, because the town was a league off, and to avoid exposure to the wet and cold. At this time came a canoe, bringing me a letter from a resident of the town, asking me to come there, and to receive the necessary stores; from which request I excused myself, saying that I would not leave the ships. About noon, the canoe returned with another letter, which, with much solicitation, invited me again, and a horse was brought for me to ride. I gave the same answer as at first, saying that I would not leave the ships; but the pilots and people entreated me to go, so that I might hasten the provisions as fast as possible, that we might join the fleet where it lay, for they had great fear, lest, remaining where we were, we should be lost. For this reason, I determined to go to the town; but first, I left orders with the pilots, if the south wind, which wrecked many vessels there, came on to blow, and they should find

themselves in much danger, to put the ships on shore at some place where the men and horses could be saved. I wished to take some of the men with me for company, but they said it was too rainy and cold, and the town too far off; that to-morrow, which was Sunday, they would come, with God's help, and hear mass.

An hour after I left, the sea began to rise very high, and the north wind was so violent that neither the boats dared come to land, nor could the vessels be let drive on shore, because of the head wind; in a manner that the people remained severely laboring against the adverse weather, and under a heavy fall of water, all that day and Sunday until dark. At this time, the rain and the tempest began to increase to such a degree that there was not less uproar in the town than on the sea; for all the houses and churches fell, and it was necessary that we should walk seven or eight together arm in arm that the wind might not blow us away: and, walking in the forest, we had not less fear of the trees than of the houses, as they too were falling and might kill us under them. In this tempest and peril, we wandered all night without finding a place where we could remain a half hour in safety. During the time, and particularly about midnight, we heard much tumult and great clamor of voices, and sound of timbrels, of flutes and tamborines, and of other instruments, which lasted until the morning, when the tempest ceased. Nothing so terrible as this storm had been seen in these parts before. I drew up an authenticated account of it, and sent the testimony to your Majesty.

On Monday morning, we went down to the harbor, but did not find the ships. The buoys belonging to them were floating on the water; thence we knew that the ships were lost, and we walked along the shore to see if we could find anything of them. As we saw nothing, we struck into the woods, and, having traveled about a quarter of a league in water, we found the boat of one of the ships lodged upon some trees. Ten leagues thence along the coast the bodies of two persons were found belonging to my ship, and the lids of certain boxes; but the persons were so disfigured by beating against the rocks that they could not be recognized. A cloak too was found, a coverlet rent in pieces, and nothing more. Sixty persons were lost in the ships, and twenty horses. Those who had gone on shore the day of our arrival, who may have been

as many as thirty, were all the survivors of both ships. During some days, we were struggling with much difficulty and hunger; for the provisions and subsistence of the town were destroyed, and the cattle. The country was left in a condition piteous to behold; the trees prostrate, the woods burnt, and there was no grass nor leaf.

Thus we remained until the fifth day of November, when the governor arrived with his four ships, which had lived through the great storm, having reached a place of safety in good time. The people who came in the ships, as well as those on shore, were so intimidated by what had passed that they feared to leave in the winter, and they besought the governor to spend it there. Seeing their desire, and that it was also the wish of the citizens, he remained during the winter. He gave the ships and people into my charge, that I should go with them to pass the season at the port of Xagua, twelve leagues thence, where I remained until the twentieth day of February.

## CHAPTER II.

HOW THE GOVERNOR CAME TO THE PORT OF XÁGUA, AND BROUGHT WITH HIM  
A PILOT.

At this time, the governor arrived with a brig, which he had bought in Trinidad, and he brought with him a pilot named Miruelo, who had been employed because he said he knew the position of the river Palmas, and had been there, and was a thorough pilot for all the coast of the North.\* The governor had purchased and left on the coast of Havana another vessel, in command of which Alvaro de la Cerda remained, with forty infantry and twelve cavalry.

The second day after the arrival, the governor set sail with four hundred men and eighty horses, in four ships and a brig. The pilot, who had again been taken on board, put the vessels among the shoals they call Canarreo, so that on the day following we struck, and thus we were fifteen days, the keels of our vessels frequently touching on the bottom. At the end of this time, a tempest from the South threw so much water upon the shoals that we could get off, although not without much peril. Having left this and arrived at Guaniguanico, another storm overtook us, in which we were at one time near being lost. At Cape Corrientes we had another, which detained us three days. These places being passed, we doubled Cape San Anton, and sailed within twelve leagues of Havana. Standing in the next day to enter the harbor, there came a wind from the South which drove us from the land and toward the coast of Florida. We came in sight of it on Tuesday, the twelfth day of April, and sailed along the coast. On Holy Thursday we anchored near the shore in the mouth of a bay, at the head of which we saw some houses or habitations of Indians.

\* He was the younger of the name, and had sailed with Pineda Barcia.



## CHAPTER III.

## HOW WE ARRIVED IN FLORIDA.

ON the same day, the controller, Alonso Enrriquez, landed on an island in the bay. He called to the Indians, who came, and were with him some time; and in the way of exchange gave him fish and several pieces of venison. The day following, which was Good Friday, the governor debarked with as many of the people as the boats he brought with him could contain. As we came to the buhios,<sup>(D)</sup> or houses, that we had seen, we found them vacant and abandoned, for the inhabitants had fled that night in their canoes. One of the buhios was very large; it could hold more than three hundred persons. The rest were smaller. We found a little bell of gold among some fish-nets.

The next day the governor raised ensigns for your Majesty, and took possession of the country in your royal name. He made known his authority, and was obeyed as governor, as your Majesty had commanded. At the same time, we laid our commissions before him, and he acknowledged them according to their tenor. Then he commanded that the rest of the people should debark, and the horses. Of these there were no more than forty-two; the rest, by reason of the great storms and the length of time that had been passed at sea, were dead, and the few remaining were so lean and fatigued that for the time we could have little use of them. The next day, the Indians of the town came, and, although they spoke to us, yet, as we had no interpreter, we did not understand them. They made us many signs and menaces, and they appeared to say that we should go away from the country. With this they left us, offering no interruption, and went away.

## CHAPTER IV.

## HOW WE ENTERED THE LAND.

THE day following, the governor resolved to make an incursion to explore the country, and see what it might contain. There went with him the commissary, the assessor, and I with forty men, and among them six cavalry, of which we could little avail ourselves. We took our way toward the North until the hour of vespers, when we arrived at a very large bay that appeared to enter far into the land. We remained there that night, and the next day we returned to where the ships and people lay. The governor ordered that the brig should coast along the shore of Florida, and search for the harbor that Miruelo the pilot had said he knew (but as yet he had failed to find it, and knew not in what parts we were nor where was the port); that, if they did not find it, she should sail for Havana, and seek the ship of which Alvaro de la Cerda was in command, and, taking some provisions, they should come to look for us.

The brig having left, the same party, with some persons more, returned to enter the land. We kept along the shores of the bay we had found, and, having gone four leagues, we captured four Indians. We showed them maize, to see if they would know it, for up to that time we had found no indication of any. They told us they could take us to where there was some, and so they brought us to their town near there at the head of the bay, and in it they showed us a little corn, which was not yet fit for gathering. There we found many cases, such as are used to contain the merchandise of Castile, in each of which was a dead man, and the bodies were covered with painted deer skins. This appeared to the commissary as a kind of idolatry, and he burned the cases with the bodies. We also found pieces of linen and of woolen

cloth, and bunches of feathers, which appeared to be those of New Spain. We also found some samples of gold. By signs we asked the Indians whence these things had come; they signified to us that very far from there was a province called Apalache, where there was much gold, and an abundance of everything that we greatly valued.

Taking these Indians for guides, we departed, and, traveling ten or twelve leagues, we found another town of fifteen houses, where there was a large piece of ground planted with corn, which was ripe, and we also found some that was already dry. After staying there two days, we returned to where the controller with the men and ships were, and related to him and the pilots what we had seen, and the information the Indians had given us.

The next day, which was the first of May, the governor called aside the commissary, the controller, the assessor, myself, and a sailor, named Bartolome Fernandez, and a notary, Hieronymo de Alaniz: and being together, he said to us that he desired to penetrate into the interior of the country, and that the ships should go along the coast until coming to the port which the pilots said and believed was very near there, and on the way to Palmas. He desired us to give him our views.

I said it appeared to me that under no circumstances should we leave the vessels until they were in a secure and inhabited port; that he should observe that the pilots were not confident of the course they ought to take, and did not agree in any one thing, neither did they know where we were; that more than this, the horses were in no condition to profit us in any extremity which might occur, and, above all, that we were going without being able to communicate with the Indians by the use of speech, and without an interpreter where we could but poorly understand ourselves with them, or learn that which we desired to know of the land; that we were about entering a country of which we had no account, and had no knowledge of its character, or of what there was in it, or by what people inhabited, neither did we know in what part of it we were; and that over all this, we had not food to sustain us in going we knew not whither; that, with regard to the stores in the ships, there could not be given as rations to each man for such a journey more than a pound of biscuit and another of bacon: that my opinion was we should embark and seek a harbor and a land better

than this to settle, since what we had seen of it was desolate and poor, such as had never before been discovered in those parts.

To the commissary everything appeared the reverse. He said that we ought not to embark, but that, always keeping the coast, we should go in search of the port, for the pilots said it was only ten or fifteen leagues from there, and on the way to Panuco, and that it was not possible, marching ever by the shore, we should fail to come upon it, because they said it entered into the land a dozen leagues; that whichever should first find it should wait for the other; that to embark would be to brave the Almighty, after so many difficulties encountered since leaving Castile, so many storms, and so great losses of men and ships sustained before reaching there: that for these reasons we should march along the coast until coming to the port, and that those in the ships should take a like direction until arriving at the same place.

To all the remainder who were present this plan appeared the best to adopt, except to the notary, who said that before the ships should be abandoned they ought to be put into a known and safe haven, and a place with inhabitants; that this done, the governor might advance inland and do his pleasure.

The governor followed his own judgment, and the counsel of the others. I, seeing his determination, required, in behalf of your Majesty, that he should not quit the ships before putting them in port, and making them secure; and accordingly I asked a certificate of this from the hand of the notary. The governor responded that he should abide by the judgment of the commissary, and that of the majority of the other officers, and that I had not the right to make these requirements of him. He then asked the notary to give him a certificate that, inasmuch as there was no subsistence in that country for the maintenance of a colony, nor haven for the ships, he broke up the settlement he there had made, and took its inhabitants in quest of a port and land that should be better. He then commanded the people who were to go with him to be mustered, that they might be victualed with what was necessary for the journey. After having provided them, he said to me, in the hearing of those present, that, since I so much discouraged and feared entering the land, I should sail in charge of the ships and people

in them, and form a settlement, should I arrive at the port before him; but from this I excused myself.

After we had separated, the same evening, he having said that it did not appear to him that he could entrust the command to any one else, he sent to me to say that he begged I would take it; but finding, notwithstanding he so greatly importuned me, I still refused, he asked me the cause of my reluctance. I answered I rejected the responsibility, as I felt certain and knew he was never more to find the ships, nor the ships him; that this might be foreseen in the slender equipment with which we were entering the country; that I desired rather to expose myself to the danger which he and the rest adventured, and to pass through that which he and they might pass, than to take charge of the ships and give occasion to its being said that I had opposed the invasion and remained behind from timidity, and my courage go in question; and that I chose rather to risk my life than put my honor in such position. He, seeing that with me it availed nothing, begged many persons to speak with me on the subject, and they accordingly entreated me, to whom I answered in the same way I had him; and so he appointed for his lieutenant of the ships an alcalde he had brought with him, whose name was Caravallo.

## CHAPTER V.

## HOW THE GOVERNOR LEFT THE SHIPS.

ON Sunday, the first of May, the day of this occurrence, he ordered to be given to each man going with him two pounds of biscuit and half a pound of bacon; and thus victualled we departed to enter the country. The whole number of men we took with us was three hundred: among them went the commissary friar Juan Suarez, and another friar whose name was Juan de Palos, three clergymen, and the officers. We of the cavalry who accompanied them were forty mounted men. We traveled on the allowance we received fifteen days, without getting anything more to eat than palmettos, which are like those of Andalusia. In all this time we found not an Indian, nor saw a village nor house; and finally we arrived at a river, which we passed with great difficulty by swimming, and on rafts. It detained us a day in crossing, because of its very strong current. Arrived on the other side, there appeared to us as many as two hundred Indians, more or less. The governor met them, and, conversing by signs, they so insulted us with their gestures that we were forced to quarrel with them. We seized upon five or six,<sup>(E)</sup> and they took us to their houses, which were half a league off. Near by we found a large quantity of maize in a fit state to be gathered. We gave infinite thanks to our Lord for having succored us in so great necessity, for we were yet young in trials, and besides the weariness in which we came we were exhausted from hunger.

On the third day after our arrival, we met together, the controller, the assessor, the commissary and I, and we entreated the governor that he would send to look for the sea, that if possible we might find a port, for the Indians said that the sea was not very distant. He answered we should cease to speak of that, for it was remote; but as it was I who

mostly importuned him, he told me to go and look for it, and seek for a port, and to take forty men and go on foot. So the next day I left with Captain Alonso del Castillo and forty men of his company. We marched until noon, when we arrived at some sands of the ocean that appeared to lie a good way inland. We walked along them for a league and a half, with the water half way up the leg, treading on oysters which cut our feet badly and gave us much pain, until we arrived in the river we had before crossed, which empties into this bay. As we could not cross it by reason of the poor equipage we had for such purpose, we returned to the camp and told the governor what we had discovered. Since it became necessary to repass the river by the same place we had at first come over, in order to examine the outlet well and see if there was a port, the next day the governor ordered a captain, Velenzuela by name, with sixty men and six cavalry, that he should cross the river and follow it down until coming to the sea, and ascertain if there was a harbor. He returned after an absence of two days, and said that he had explored the bay, and that it was not deeper in any direction than to the knee, and that he found no harbor. He had seen five or six canoes of Indians, going from one shore to the other, wearing numerous tufts of feathers.

Having learned this much, we left the next day, going ever in quest of that country which the Indians had told us of as Apalache. We traveled until the seventeenth day of June, without seeing any Indians who would venture to await our coming up with them, when a chief approached, carried on the back of another Indian, and covered with a painted deer-skin, having a great many people walking in advance of him, playing on flutes of reed.<sup>(F)</sup> In this manner he came up to where the governor stood, and was with him an hour. By signs we gave him to understand that we were going to Apalache, and it appeared to us by those he made that he was an enemy to its people and would go to assist us against them. We gave him beads and hawk-bells, and other articles of traffic, and he presented the governor with the skin he wore, and then returned, we following him in the road he took.

That night we came to a river which was very wide and deep, and the current very rapid. As we could not venture to cross with rafts, we made a great canoe for the purpose, and spent a day in getting over.<sup>(G)</sup> If the Indians had desired to oppose us, they could well have

disputed our passage, for even with their help we had great difficulty. One of the horsemen, Juan Vasquez by name, a native of Cuellar, impatient of detention, entered the river, when the violence of the current cast him from his horse, he grasped the reins of the bridle, and both were drowned. The people of that chief, whose name was Dulchanchellin, found the body of the horse, and told us where we should find the corpse in the river below. The horse afforded supper to many that night. Leaving that place, the next day we arrived at the town of the chief, and he there sent us maize. In the night they shot at one of our men at a place where we got water, and it pleased God that he should not be wounded.

The next day we departed without one of the Indians making his appearance, for they had all fled; but going on our way they came in sight, and prepared for battle. We called to them, but they would not return, nor wait our arrival, but followed us on the road we were taking. The governor left some cavalry in ambush, which, sallying upon the Indians as they were about to pass, took three or four prisoners, who thenceforth served us as guides. They conducted us through a country very difficult to travel, and wonderful to behold. In it there are vast forests, the trees astonishingly high, and so many of them were fallen on the ground that they obstructed our march, in a manner that we could not get on without much going round, and greatly increased toil. Of those erect, many were riven from top to bottom by the bolts of lightning which fall in that country, where there are often violent storms and tempests. We labored through these impediments until the day after Saint John's, when we came in view of Apalache, without the inhabitants being aware of our approach.

We gave many thanks to God at seeing ourselves so near, believing it true what had been told us of that land, and that there would be an end to our hardships, which had been caused as much by the length and badness of the way as by our excessive hunger; for although we sometimes found maize, we oftener traveled seven or eight leagues without finding any; and besides this and the great fatigue, many had galls on their shoulders from carrying arms on their backs;—and more than these we endured. Yet having come to the place desired, and where we had been informed there was so much food and gold, it appeared to us that we had already recovered in a measure from our pains and toil.



## CHAPTER VI.

## HOW WE ARRIVED AT APALACHE.

WHEN we arrived in sight of Apalache, the governor ordered that I should take nine cavalry and fifty infantry, and enter the town. Accordingly, the assessor and I assaulted it; and having got in, we found none but women and boys, the men being absent, but they returned after a little time, while we were walking about, and began to fight, discharging arrows at us. They killed the horse of the assessor, but fled at last, and left us.

We found a large quantity of maize fit for plucking, and much dry that was housed. We found many deer-skins, and among them some mantelets of thread, small and not good, with which the women partially cover their persons. They had many mortars for the breaking of maize. There were forty small houses in the town, made low and in sheltered situations, from fear of the frequently occurring storms. Their material was thatch. They were surrounded by very dense woods, large groves, and many bodies of fresh water, in which there are so many and so large trees fallen that they form obstructions that render the travel there difficult and dangerous.

## CHAPTER VII.

## OF THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY.

THE land, for the most part, from where we came on shore to this town and country of Apalache is level, the ground of sand and stiff earth. Throughout there are immense trees and open woods, in which are walnut trees, laurels, and others called liquid ambers,\* cedars, savins, ever-green oaks, pines, and dwarf palmettos like those of Castile. There are also many lakes, both great and small, over all of it; some troublesome of fording, partly on account of their depth, and partly from the great number of trees lying throughout them. Their beds are of sand, and the lakes in the country of Apalache are much larger than those we found before coming there. In this province are many maize fields, and the houses are scattered over it in the manner that they are in Yelves. There are deer of three kind,<sup>(H)</sup> rabbits, hares, bears, lions,† and other wild beasts; and among them we also saw an animal with a pocket in its belly, in which it carries its young until they are old enough to seek their food; and if it happens that they should be out feeding, and persons come near, the mother will not run until she has gathered them in together. The country is very cold; it has very fine pastures for herds; there are birds of many kind, geese in great quantity, ducks, mallards, royal-ducks, fly-catchers, night-herons, herons, and partridges. We saw many falcons, gerfalcons, sparrow-hawks, merlins, and many other birds.

Two hours after our arrival at Palache,<sup>(I)</sup> the Indians that had fled from there came to us in peace, asking for their women and children,

\* Sweet-gum.—TR.

† A certain kind of beast not much unlike the lion of Affrica.—LINSCHOTEN.

which we granted; but the governor detained a cacique, which was the cause of great excitement among them. They returned the next day in consequence for battle, and attacked us with such suddenness and alacrity that they succeeded in setting fire to the houses in which we were, but as we sallied they betook themselves to the lakes near by, and because of these, and the large maize fields, we could do them no injury, except in the instance of one Indian whom we killed. The day following others came against us from a town on the opposite side of the lake, and attacked us in the same manner as the first had done, and escaped in the same way, all to one, who was also slain.

We were in the town twenty-five days, in which time we made three expeditions into the country, and found it very thinly peopled, and difficult of travel, because of the bad passages and woods and lakes that were in it. We inquired of the cacique we had kept, and of those we brought with us, who were the neighbors and enemies of these Indians, as to the nature of the country, the character and condition of its inhabitants, and of the food and all other things concerning it. They each of them answered us by himself that the largest town in all that country was Apalache, and that beyond it the people were fewer and poorer than here, that the land was little occupied and its inhabitants much scattered, and that thenceforward there were great lakes, spacious forests, vast deserts and solitudes.

We then asked them touching the region toward the south, as to the towns and subsistence in it. They said that in keeping that direction, nine days journeying to the sea, there was a town called Aute, and that the Indians of it had much maize, beans, and pumpkins, and from being so near the sea they had fish, and those people were their friends.

In view of the poverty of the land, and of the unfavorable accounts of the population, and of everything else that we heard, and as the Indians made continual war upon us, wounding our people and horses at the places where they went to drink, shooting with such safety to themselves that we could not retaliate because they were in the lakes, and they also had killed a lord of Tescuco named Don Pedro, whom the commissary had with him, we determined to leave that place and go in quest of the sea and that town of Aute of which we were told.

At the termination of the twenty-five days after our arrival, we

departed, and on the first day got through those lakes and passages without seeing an Indian; but on the second day we arrived at a lake of difficult crossing, for the water reached to the paps, and there were in it many fallen trees. On reaching the middle we were attacked by many Indians, from behind trees, who were thus covered that we might not see them, and others of them were on the fallen timbers. They drove their arrows at us so effectively that they wounded many of our men and horses, and before we got through the lake they took from us our guide. They now followed us, attempting to contest the passage from it, so that our coming out was of no relief to us nor gave us any better position, for when we wished to fight them they immediately retired into the swamp, and thence continued to wound our men and horses. Seeing this, the governor commanded those of the cavalry to dismount and charge them on foot. Accordingly, the controller got off with the rest, and thus engaged them. They all turned and ran into the lake at hand, and thus was the passage gained.

In this conflict some of our men were wounded, for whom the good armor they wore did not avail; and there were men this day who swore that they had seen two oaks, each as thick as the lower part of the leg, pierced through from side to side by the arrows of the Indians; and this is not so much to be wondered at, considering the force and precision with which they shoot; and I myself saw an arrow that had entered at the foot of an elm the depth of a palm.<sup>(K)</sup>

The Indians whom we had so far seen in Florida are all archers. They go naked, and as they are large of body, they appear at a distance to be giants. They are a people of admirable proportions, very tall and of very great activity and strength. The bows they use are as thick as the arm, of eleven or twelve palms in length, which they discharge at two hundred paces with so great exactness that they never miss.

Having got through this passage, at the end of a league we arrived at another of the same character—but worse, as it was longer—being half a league in extent. This we crossed freely, and without interruption from the Indians, who, as they had spent on the former occasion all their store of arrows, had nothing with which they dared to engage us. Going through a similar passage the next day, I discovered the trail of persons going ahead, of which I gave notice to the governor,

who was coming in the rear guard, and, consequently, although the Indians came upon us, they could do us no harm, as we were prepared for them. After coming out to the plain they still followed us; and we turned upon them by two directions. We killed two of them, and they wounded me and two or three others; and from our coming to woods we could cause them no further hurt or trouble.

In this manner we traveled eight days, but after this occurrence there came no more Indians against us until within a league of the place to which I have said we were going. There, while on our way, the Indians came upon us without our suspicion, and fell upon the rear guard. One of the gentlemen, named Avellaneda, hearing the cries of his serving boy, went back to its support, when he was struck by an arrow near the edge of his cuirass, and such was the wound that the shaft passed almost entirely through his neck, of which he presently died. We carried the corpse to Auté, where we arrived at the end of nine days' travel from Apalache. We found the inhabitants all gone, and the houses burnt. There was a great deal of maize, many pumpkins and beans, all beginning to be fit for gathering. We rested there two days, which being passed, the governor begged me to go and look for the sea, as the Indians said it was near, and we had before discovered it while on the way from a very great river, to which we had given the name of el rio de la Magdalena, the river of the Magdalen.

Accordingly, I set out the next day after to look for it, in company with the commissary, the captain Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and seven others on horseback and fifty foot. We traveled until the hour of vespers, when we arrived at a cove or entrance of the sea. We found oysters in abundance, at which the men were greatly pleased, and we gave thanks to God that he had brought us there. The next day, in the morning, I sent twenty men that they should survey the coast, and ascertain its position. They returned the next night, saying that those bays and creeks were very large, and lay so far inland as made it difficult to explore them agreeably to our desires, and that the sea coast was very distant.

These tidings obtained, and seeing our slender equipment and condition for the exploration of that coast, I went back to the governor. At our arrival, we found him with many others sick, and the Indians

the night before had assaulted them and put them to great hardships, in consequence of the malady that had come upon them, and they also had killed one of the horses. I gave a report of what I had done, and of the embarrassing nature of the country. We remained there that day.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## HOW WE WENT FROM AUTE.

THE next day following, we left Aute, and traveled all day before coming to the place I had visited. The journey was extremely arduous, for there were not sufficient horses to carry the sick, and every day these grew worse, and we knew no cure. It was a piteous and painful thing to witness the perplexity and distress in which we were. At our arrival, we saw the little means there were for advancing farther; there was not anywhere to go, and if there had been, the people could not move forward because the greater part of them were sick, and those were few that could be of any use. I cease here to relate any more of this, because every one may suppose what would occur in a country so remote and malign, so destitute of resource, whereby either to live in or go out of it; but the most certain assistance is in God, our Lord, on whom we never failed to have reliance. One thing occurred that afflicted us more than all the rest, which was that of the persons on horseback—the greater part commenced secretly to plot, hoping to secure a better fate for themselves by abandoning the governor and the sick, who were in a state of weakness and prostration. But, as among them there were many sons of noblemen and persons of good condition, they would not permit this to go on without informing the governor and the officers of your Majesty; and as we showed them the deformity of their purpose, and placed before them the moment when they should desert their captain, and those who were sick and feeble, and above all, the disobedience to the orders of your Majesty, they determined to remain, and that whatever might happen to one should be the lot of all, without any one forsaking the rest. After the accomplishment of this, the governor called them all to him, and of each by himself he

asked his advice what to do to get out of a country so miserable, and seek elsewhere that remedy which could not here be found, a third part of the people being very sick, and the number increasing every hour; for we regarded it as certain that we should all become so, and out of it we could pass only through death, which from its coming in such a place was to us only the more terrible. These and many other embarrassments considered, and entertaining many plans, we coincided in one great project, extremely difficult to put in operation, and that was to build vessels in which we might go away. This to all appeared impossible, for we knew not how to build, nor were there tools, nor iron, nor forge, nor tow, nor resin, nor rigging; finally, no one thing of so many that are necessary, nor any man who had a knowledge of their manufacture, and above all there was nothing to eat the while they were making, nor any knowledge in those who would have to perform the labor. Reflecting on all this, we agreed to think of the subject with more deliberation, and the discourse dropped for that day, each going his way, commending our course to God, our Lord, that he should direct it as would best serve him.

The next day it was His will, that one of the company should come saying, that he could make some pipes out of wood which with deer-skins might be made into bellows; and as we lived in a time when anything that had the semblance of relief appeared well, we told him to set himself to work. We assented to the making of nails, saws, axes, and other tools of which there was such need, from the stirrups, spurs, cross-bows, and the other things of iron that there were; and we said that for support while the work was going on, we would make four entries into Aute, with all the horses and men that were able to go, and that every third day a horse should be killed, which should be divided among those that had labored on the work of the boats, and those that were sick. The forays were made with the people and horses that were of any use, and in them were brought back as many as four hanegas of maize, but these were not got without quarrels and conflicts with the Indians.<sup>(L)</sup> We caused to be collected many palmettos for the benefit of the woof or covering, twisting and preparing it for use in the place of tow for the boats.

We commenced to build on the fourth, with the one only carpenter



in the company, and we proceeded with so great diligence that on the twentieth day of September five boats were finished of twenty-two cubits in length, each calked with the fibre of the palmetto. We pitched them with a certain resin, which was made from pine trees by a Greek named Don Theodoro; and from the same husk of the palmettos, and from the tails and manes of the horses we made ropes and rigging, and from our shirts sails, and from the savins that grew there we made the oars that appeared to us to be requisite. And such was the country in which our sins had cast us, that with very great trouble we could find stone for ballast and anchors to the boats, since in all of it we had not seen one. We flayed the horses, and took off the skins of their legs entire, and tanned them to make bottles in which we might carry water.

During this time, some went gathering shell-fish in the coves and creeks of the sea, at which the Indians twice attacked them, and killed ten of our men, in sight of the camp, without our being able to afford them succor. We found them traversed from side to side by the arrows, and although some had on good armor, it did not afford sufficient protection against the nice and powerful archery, of which I have spoken before. According to the declaration and oath of our pilots, from the bay to which we gave the name de la Cruz, of the Cross, to this place, we had traveled two hundred and eighty leagues,\* or thereabout. In all this region we had seen no mountains, and had no information whatever of any.

Before we embarked there died, without enumerating those destroyed by the Indians, more than forty men, of disease and hunger. By the twenty-second of the month of September, the horses had been consumed, one only remaining; and on that day we embarked in the following order: In the boat of the governor there went forty-nine men; in another, which he gave to the controller and the commissary, went others as many. The third he gave to Captain Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes, with forty-eight men; and another he gave to two captains, Tellez and Peñalosa, with forty-seven men. The last he gave to the assessor and me, with forty-nine men. After the provision and

\* In fact, about this number of geographical miles.—Tr.

clothes had been taken in, there remained not over a span of the gun-wales above the water; and, more than this, we went so crowded that we could not move: so much can necessity do, which drove us to hazard our lives in this manner, running into a sea so turbulent, with not a single one that went there having a knowledge of navigation.<sup>(M)</sup>

## CHAPTER IX.

## HOW WE DEPARTED THE BAY OF HORSES.

THE haven we left has for its name la Baya de Cavallos. We passed waist deep in water through sounds for seven days, without seeing any point of the coast, and at the close of them we came to an island near the land. My boat went first, and from her we saw Indians coming in five canoes, which they abandoned and left in our hands. The other boats, seeing us go towards them, passed ahead, and stopped at some houses on the island, where we found many mullet and mullet-roe dried, a great relief to the distress in which we were. After taking these, we went on, and two leagues thence we discovered a strait the island makes with the land, which we named San Miguel, from having passed through it on his day. Having come out, we went to the coast, where, with the five canoes I had taken from the Indians, we somewhat improved the boats, making waist-boards, and securing them so that the sides rose two palms above the water. With this we turned to travel along the coast in the direction of the river Palmas, every day increasing our hunger and thirst, for the provisions were very scant and getting near their end, and the water was gone, because the bottles we made from the legs of the horses soon rotted and were useless. Sometimes we entered coves and creeks that lay far in, and found them all shallow and dangerous. Thus we traveled thirty days among them, where we sometimes found Indian fishermen, a poor and miserable people.

At the end of this time, while the want of water was extreme, going near the coast at night we heard the approach of a canoe; and as we saw it we waited its arrival, but it would not meet us, and although we called, it would not return nor wait for us. As the night was dark, we did not follow it, but kept on our way. When the sun

rose we saw a small island, and went to it to see if we could find water, but our labor was vain, for it had none. Being there at anchor, a heavy storm overtook us, that detained us six days, without our daring to go to sea; and as it was now five days in which we had not drunk, our thirst was so excessive that it put us to the extremity of drinking salt water, and some of the men so greatly crazed themselves by it, that directly we had four of them to die. I state this thus briefly, because I do not believe there is any necessity for particularly relating the sufferings and toils in which we found ourselves; for, considering the place we were in, and the little hope we had of relief, every one may conceive much of what would have passed there.

Although the storm had not ceased, and we found that our thirst increased, and the water killed us, we resolved to commend ourselves to God, our Lord, and venture the peril of the sea, than await the certainty of death which thirst imposed. Accordingly, we went out by the way in which we had seen the canoe the night we came there. On this day we ourselves were many times overwhelmed by the waves, and in such jeopardy that there was not one who did not suppose his death certain. I return thanks to our Lord, that in the greatest dangers he should have shown us his favor; for at sunset we doubled a point made by the sand, and found great calm and shelter.

Many canoes came off, and the Indians who were in them spoke with us, and, being unwilling to wait for us, they returned. They were a people of large size, and well formed: they had no bows and arrows. We followed them to their houses near by, and jumped on shore. Before their houses were many clay pitchers of water, and a large quantity of cooked fish, which the chief of the territories offered to the governor, and then took him to his house. Their houses were of mats, and so far as we observed were not movable. After we entered the house of the cacique, he gave us much fish; and we gave him of the maize we brought, which the people ate in our presence. They asked for more and we gave it to them, and the governor gave the cacique many trinkets. While he was in the house, at the middle hour of the night, the Indians fell suddenly upon us, and on those who were very sick, scattered along the shore. They beset also the house in which the governor was, and struck him in the face with a stone. Those of our comrades who were present seized the cacique, but as his people were

which were a great many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, for the stream entered it impetuously. To parch some of the corn we had brought with us, since we had eaten of it raw for two days past, we went on the island; but as we found no wood we agreed to go to the river behind the point, which was one league off. We were unable to get there by any efforts, so violent was the current on the way, which drove us from the land while we contended and strove to gain it. The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it drove us to sea without our being able to overcome it. Half a league out we sounded, and found that with thirty fathoms we could not get the bottom, but we could not be satisfied that the river was not the cause of our failure to reach it. Toiling in this manner to fetch the land we navigated two days, and at the end of the time, a little while before the sun rose, we saw many smokes along the shore. While attempting to reach them, we found ourselves in three fathoms of water, and it being dark we dared not come to land; for as we had seen so many smokes we thought some danger might surprise us, and the obscurity leave us at a loss what to do. So we determined to wait until the morning. When it came, the boats had all lost sight of each other. I found myself in thirty fathoms, and keeping my course until the hour of vespers, I observed two boats, and as I drew near to them, I found that the first I approached was that of the governor, who asked me what I thought we should do. I told him that we ought to join that boat which went in the advance, and by no means to leave her, and the three being together that we should keep on our way to where God should be pleased to direct us. He answered me saying it could not be done, because the boat was far to sea, and he wished to reach the shore; that if I wished to follow him, I should order the persons of my boat to take the oars and work, as it was only by strength of arm that the land could be gained. He was advised to this course by a captain he had with him named Pantoja, who told him that if he did not fetch the land that day, in six days more they would not reach it, and in that time they must inevitably famish. I, seeing his will, took my oar, and the same did all who were in my boat, to obey it. We rowed until near sunset; but as the governor carried in his boat the healthiest men there were among the

whole, we could not by any means hold with or follow her. Seeing this, I asked him to give me a rope from his boat, that I might be enabled to keep up with him; but he answered me that he would do no little, if they, as they were, should be able to reach the land that night. I said to him, that since he saw the little strength we had to follow him and do what he had commanded, he should tell me what he would that I should do. He answered me that it was no longer a time in which one should command another, but that each should do what he thought best to save his own life; that he so intended to act; and saying this, he departed with his boat. As I could not follow him, I steered to the other boat at sea, which waited for me, and having come up with her, I found her to be the one commanded by the captains Peñalosa and Tellez.

Thus we continued in company, eating a daily ration of half a handful of raw maize, until the end of four days, when we lost sight of each other in a storm; and such was the weather, that it was only by Divine favor that we did not all go down. Because of the winter and its inclemency, the many days we had suffered hunger, and the heavy beating of the waves, the people began the next day to despair in such a manner that when the sun went down all who were in my boat were fallen one on another, so near to death that there were few among them in a state of sensibility. Among them all at this time there were not five men on their feet, and when the night came there were left only the master and myself who could work the boat. At the second hour of the night, he said to me that I must take charge of her, for that he was in such condition he believed that night he should die. So I took the paddle, and after midnight I went to see if the master was alive, and he said to me that he was better, and that he would take the charge until day. I declare that in that hour I would have more willingly died than seen so many people before me in such condition. After the master took the direction of the boat, I laid down a little while, but without repose, for nothing at that time was farther from me than sleep.

Near the dawn of day, it seemed to me that I heard the tumbling of the sea; for, as the coast was low, it roared loudly. Surprised at this, I called to the master, who answered me that he believed we were

near the land. We sounded and found ourselves in seven fathoms. He thought we should keep the sea until sunrise; and accordingly I took an oar and pulled on the side of the land, until we were a league distant, and we then gave her stern to the sea. Near the shore a wave took us that knocked the boat out of the water to the distance of the throw of a crowbar,<sup>(9)</sup> and by the violence of the blow nearly all the people who were in her like dead were roused to consciousness. Finding themselves near the shore, they began to move on hands and feet, and crawled to land in some ravines. There we made fire, parching some of the maize we brought with us, and where we found rain-water. From the warmth of the fire the people recovered their faculties, and began somewhat to exert themselves. The day on which we arrived here was the sixth of November.

## CHAPTER XI.

OF WHAT BEFEL LOPE DE OVIEDO WITH SOME INDIANS.

AFTER the people had eaten, I ordered Lope de Oviedo, who had more strength and was stouter than any of the rest, to go to some trees that were near, and having climbed into one of them to survey the country in which we were, and endeavor to get some knowledge of it. He did as I bade him, and made out that we were on an island. He saw that the ground was pawed up in the manner that the land is wont to be where cattle range, and hence it appeared to him that this should be the country of Christians; and thus he reported to us. I ordered him to return to examine much more particularly, and see if there were any roads in it that were worn, and without going far, because of the danger there might be.

He went, and coming to a path, he took it for the distance of half a league, and found some huts without any tenants, for the Indians had gone into the woods. He took from them an earthen pot, a little dog, and some few mullets, and thus returned. It appearing to us that he was long absent, we sent two others that they should look and see what might have befallen him. They met him near by, and saw that three Indians with bows and arrows followed and were calling to him, and he in the same way was beckoning them on. Thus they arrived where we were, the Indians remaining a little way back, seated on the same bank. Half an hour after, they were supported by fifty other Indian bowmen, whom, whether large or not, our fears made giants. They stopped near us with the three first. It were idle to think that there were any among us who could make defence; for it would have been difficult to find six that could raise themselves from the ground. The assessor and I went and called them, and they came to us. We



endeavored the best we could to recommend ourselves to their favor, and secure their good will. We gave them beads and hawk-bells, and each one of them gave me an arrow, which is a pledge of friendship. They told us by signs that they would return in the morning and bring us something to eat, as at that time they had nothing.

## CHAPTER XII.

## HOW THE INDIANS BROUGHT US FOOD.

THE next day at sunrise, the time the Indians had appointed, they came as they had promised, and brought us a large quantity of fish, and certain roots that are eaten by them, of the size of walnuts, some a little larger, others a little smaller, the greater part of them got from under the water, and with much labor. In the evening, they returned and brought us more fish, and some of the roots. They sent their women and children to look at us, who returned rich with the hawk-bells and beads that we gave them, and they came afterward on other days in the same way. As we found that we had been provisioned with fish, roots, water, and other things for which we asked, we determined to embark again and pursue our course. We dug out our boat from the sand in which it was buried; and it became necessary that we should all strip ourselves, and go through great exertion to launch her, for we were in such state that things very much lighter sufficed to make us much labor.

Thus embarked, at the distance of two cross-bow shots in the sea we shipped a wave that wet us all. As we were naked, and the cold was very great, the oars loosened in our hands, and the next blow the sea struck us capsized the boat. The assessor and two others held fast to her for preservation, but it happened to be for far otherwise, as the boat carried them over, and they drowned under her. As the surf near the shore was very high, a single roll of the sea threw the remainder into the waves, and half drowned on the shore of the island, without our losing any more than those the boat had taken under. Those of us who survived escaped naked as we were born, losing all that we had, and although the whole was of little value, at that time it was worth

much. As it was then in the month of November, the cold severe, and our bodies so emaciated that the bones might have been counted with little difficulty, we had become perfect figures of death. For myself, I can say that from the month of May past, I had not eaten other thing than maize, and sometimes I found myself obliged to eat it unparched; for although the horses were slaughtered while the boats were being built, I never could eat of them, and I did not eat fish ten times. I state this to avoid giving excuses, and that every one may judge in what condition we were. After all these misfortunes, there came a north wind upon us, from which we were nearer to death than life. Thanks be to our Lord, that, looking among the brands that we had used there, we found sparks from which we made great fires. And thus we were asking mercy of Him, and pardon for our transgressions, shedding many tears, and each regretting not his own fate alone, but that of his comrades about him.

At sunset, the Indians, thinking that we had not gone, came to seek us and bring us food; but when they saw us thus, in a plight so different from what it was formerly, and so extraordinary, they were alarmed and turned back. I went toward them and called to them, and they returned much frightened. I gave them to understand by signs how that our boat had sunk, and three of our number been drowned. There, before them, they saw two of the departed, and those that remained were near joining them. The Indians, at sight of the disaster that had befallen us, and our state of suffering and melancholy destitution, sat down amongst us, and from the sorrow and pity they felt for us they all began to lament, and so earnestly that they might have been heard at a distance, and they continued so doing more than half an hour. It was strange to see these men, so wild and untaught, howling like brutes over our misfortunes. It caused in me, as in others, an increase of feeling and a livelier sense of our calamity. Their cries having ceased, I talked with the Christians, and said that if it appeared well to them, I would beg these Indians to take us to their houses. Some, who had been in New Spain, said that we ought not to think of it, for if we should do so they would sacrifice us to their idols. But seeing no better course, and that any other led to nearer and more certain death, I disregarded what was said, and besought the Indians to

take us to their dwellings. They signified that it would give them great delight, and that we should tarry a little that we might do what we asked. Presently, thirty of them loaded themselves with wood, and started for their houses, which were far off, and we remained with the others until near night, when, holding us up, they carried us with all haste. Because of the extreme coldness of the weather, lest any one should die or fail by the way, they caused four or five large fires to be placed at intervals, and at each one of them they warmed us, and when they saw that we had regained some strength and warmth, they took us to the next so swiftly that they hardly permitted us to put our feet to the ground. In this manner, we went as far as their habitations, where we found that they had made a house for us with many fires in it. An hour after our arrival, they began to dance and hold great rejoicing, which lasted all night, although for us there was no joy, appetite, or sleep, awaiting the time they should make us victims. In the morning, they again gave us fish and roots, and showed us such hospitality that we were re-assured, and lost somewhat the fear of the sacrifice.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## HOW WE HEARD OF OTHER CHRISTIANS.

THIS day I saw an Indian with an article of traffic which I knew was not one we had presented; and asking whence it had come, I was answered by signs that it had been given by men like ourselves, who were behind. Hearing this, I sent two Christians, and with them two Indians, to show them those men. They met near by, as the others were coming to look after us; for the Indians of the place they left had given them information of us. They were the captains Andres Dorantes and Castillo, with all the men of their boat. Having come up to us, they were surprised at seeing us in the condition we were, and very much pained at having nothing to give us, for they had no other clothes than what they wore. Being thus with us, they related how that on the fifth day of that month their boat had capsized a league and a half from there, and they had escaped without losing anything. We all of us together agreed to refit their boat, and that those of us should go in her who might have vigor sufficient and disposition to do so; the rest should remain until they became well enough to go as they best might along the coast, and be there until God, our Lord, should be pleased to lead us together into a land of Christians. Directly as we planned it, we put ourselves to work. Before we threw the boat out into the water, Tavera, a gentleman of our company, died; and the boat which we thought to use came to its end, for not being able to float it went down.

As we were in the condition I have mentioned, the weather boisterous to travel in, and to cross rivers and bays by swimming, and we being without provisions or the means of a sufficient supply, yielded an obedience to what necessity required, which was to winter where we were. We also agreed that four men of the most robust should go to

Panuco, which we believed to be near, and if, by Divine favor, they should arrive there, they could give information of how we remained on that island, and of our sorrows and destitution. These men were excellent swimmers. One of them they called Alvaro Fernandez, a Portuguese, carpenter and sailor; the second was named Mendez; the third Figueron, who was a native of Toledo; and the fourth Astudillo, a native of Zafra. They took with them an Indian of the island.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## HOW THE FOUR CHRISTIANS DEPARTED.

THE four Christians being gone, after a few days such cold and tempestuous weather succeeded that the Indians could not pull up roots, the cane wears<sup>(P)</sup> in which they took fish no longer afforded any support whatever, and, as the houses were very open, our people began to die. Five Christians, who were of a mess on the coast, came to such extremity that they ate their dead; and the body of the last of them only was found unconsumed. The names of them were these: Sierra, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palacios, and Gonzalo Ruiz. The greatest change in the feelings of the Indians was produced by this act. It gave rise to so great censure, that, had they known it in time, doubtless they would have destroyed those who survived, and we should have found ourselves in the utmost embarrassment. Finally, of eighty men who arrived in the two instances, there remained only fifteen alive. After this, the natives of the country were visited by a sickness of the bowels, of which the half of their number died. They conceived that we destroyed them, and, believing it firmly, they concerted among themselves to murder those of us who remained.

Now, when they came to execute their plan, an Indian who had charge of me told them not to believe that we were the cause of the deaths among them, since if we had such power we should also have averted that fatality from so many of our people whom they had seen die without our being able to minister relief; that already there remained of us very few, that none of us did hurt or wrong, and that it would be better to leave us unharmed. God, our Lord, willed that the others should follow this opinion and counsel, and that they should be hindered in their purpose.

To this island we gave the name of Malhado.\* The people there are large and well formed: they have no other arms than bows and arrows, and in the use of them are extremely skillful. The men have one of their nipples bored from side to side, and some have both; and through the holes they wear a cane the length of two palms and a half, and the thickness of two fingers. They have the under lip also bored, and wear in it a piece of cane the thinness of half a finger. The women are accustomed to hard labor. The stay the Indians make on this island is from October to the end of February. Their subsistence is the root which I have spoken of, got from under the water in November and December. They have wears, but take fish only in this time, and afterward they live on the roots. At the end of February, they go into other parts to seek sustenance, for then the roots begin to grow and are not good. They love their offspring the most of any people in the world, and treat them with the greatest mildness. When it occurs that a son dies, the parents and kindred weep for him, and so does every one; and the wailing continues a whole year. They begin it in the morning of every day before sunrise, the parents first, and after them the whole town. They do the same at mid-day and at sunset. After a year of mourning has passed, they perform the rites of the dead, and they wash and purify themselves from the stain of smoke. They lament all the defunct in this manner, excepting the aged, for whom they show no regret, as they say that their season has passed, and there is no enjoyment for them, and that living they would occupy the earth and take the support of the young. It is their custom to bury the dead, unless it be those among them who have been physicians, and those they burn. While the fire kindles they are all dancing and making high festivity, until the bones become calcined. After the lapse of a year, the funeral rites are celebrated, and all take part in them. The dust is then presented in water to the relatives to drink.

Every man has an acknowledged wife. The physicians are allowed more freedom; they may have two or three wives, among whom exist the greatest friendship and harmony. When a daughter is to be married, from that time to the marriage, all that he who takes her to wife

\* Misfortune.—TR.



kills in hunting or catches in fishing, the woman brings to the house of her father, without daring to take or to taste any part of it, but victuals are taken thence to the groom. In all this interval, neither her father nor mother enters his house, nor can he enter theirs, nor the houses of the children; and if by chance they are in the direction of meeting, they turn aside, and pass the distance of a cross-bow shot from each other, carrying the head low the while, and the eyes cast on the ground; for they hold it an impropriety to see or to speak to each other. But the woman has liberty to converse and communicate with the parents and relatives of her future husband. The custom exists from this island to the distance of more than fifty leagues inland.

There is another custom, which is, when a son or brother dies, at the house where the death takes place, for three months they do not go after food, but sooner famish, and their relatives and neighbors provide what they eat. As in the time we were here a great number of the natives died, in most houses there was very great hunger, because of the observance of their ceremonial; and although they who sought after food worked hard, yet from the severity of the season they could get but little; in consequence, the Indians who kept me left the island, and passed over in canoes to the main into some bays where there were many oysters.

For three months in the year they eat nothing else than these, and drink very bad water. There is great want of wood, and mosquitos are in great numbers. The houses are of mats, set up on masses of oyster shells, which they sleep upon, and in skins, should they accidentally possess them. In this way we lived until the month of April, when we went to the sea shore, where we ate blackberries all the month, during which time the Indians did not omit to practice their rites and festivities.

## CHAPTER XV.

## OF WHAT BEFEL US IN THE TOWN OF MALHADO.

IN the island of which I have spoken, they wished to make us physicians without examination or inquiring for our diplomas. They cure by blowing upon the sick, and by the breath and the imposing of hands they cast out infirmity. They ordered us that we should do this likewise, and be of use to them in something. We laughed at what they did, telling them that it was folly, and that we knew not how to heal. In consequence, they withheld food from us until we should do what they required. Seeing our persistence, an Indian said to me that I knew not what I uttered in saying that that profited nothing which he knew, for that the stones and other things which grow in the fields have virtue, and that he by passing a hot stone along the stomach took away pain and restored health, and that we who were extraordinary men must of all others possess the greatest power and efficacy. At last we found ourselves in so great want that we were obliged to obey, but, however, without fear that we should be blamed for any failure of success.

Their custom is, on finding themselves sick, to send for a physician, and after the cure they give him not only all that they have, but they seek among their relatives for more to give. The practitioner scarifies over the seat of pain, and then sucks about the wounds. They make cauteries with fire, which is a remedy among them in high repute, and I have tried it on myself and been benefited by it. They afterwards blow on the spot that is painful, and, having finished, the patient believes that he is relieved. The method that we practiced was to bless the sick, breathe upon them, and recite a Pater-noster and an Ave-Maria, praying with all earnestness to God, our Lord, that he

would give them health and influence them to do us some great good. In his mercy, he willed that all those for whom we supplicated should, directly after we made the sign of the blessed cross over them, tell the others that they were sound and in health. For this the Indians treated us kindly; they deprived themselves of food that they might give to us, and they presented us with some skins and some trifles. So protracted was the hunger we there experienced, that many times I was three days without eating anything. The natives also endured as much; and it appeared to me a thing impossible that life could be so prolonged, although afterwards I saw myself in greater hunger and necessity, which I shall speak of farther on.

The Indians who had Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and the others that remained alive, were of a different tongue and ancestry from these, and went to the opposite shore of the main to eat oysters. They remained there until the first day of the month of April, when they returned. The distance is two leagues in the widest place. The island is half a league in breadth and five leagues in length. All the people of this region go naked. The women alone have any part of their persons covered, and it is with a moss that grows on the trees. The damsels cover themselves with deer-skin. They are a people generous to each other of what they have. They have no chief. All that are of a lineage keep together. They speak two languages; those of the one are called Capoques, those of the other Han. They have a custom when they meet, or from time to time when they visit, of remaining half an hour before they speak, weeping; and this over, he that is visited first rises and gives the other all he has, which is received, and after a little while he carries it away with him, and often goes without saying a word. They have other strange customs, but I have told the principal of them, and the most remarkable, that I may pass on and relate what more befel us.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## HOW THE CHRISTIANS DEPARTED FROM THE ISLAND OF MALHADO.

AFTER Dorantes and Castillo had returned to the island, they brought together the Christians who were somewhat separated, and found them in all to be fourteen. I, as I have said, was on the opposite shore, where my Indians had taken me, and where so great sickness had come upon me, that, if anything before had given me hopes of life, this were enough to have entirely bereft me of them.

When the Christians heard of my condition, they gave an Indian the cloak of marten skins we had taken from the cacique, as before related, to pass them over to where I was that they might visit me. Twelve of them crossed; for there were two so feeble that their comrades could not venture to bring them. The names of those who came were Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes, Diego Dorantes, Valdevieso, Estrada, Tostado, Chaves, Gutierrez, Esturiano a clergyman, Diego de Huelva, Estevanico a black, and Benitez; and when they reached the land they found another, who was one of our company, named Francisco de Leon. The thirteen together followed the coast along. So soon as they had crossed over, my Indians told me of it, and that there remained on the island Hieronymo de Alaniz and Lope de Oviedo.

But sickness prevented me from following my companions, nor did I see them. I was obliged to remain with the people of the island more than a year, and because of the hard work they put upon me and their harsh treatment, I determined to flee from them and go to those of Charruco, who inhabit the forests and country of the main, for the life I led was insupportable. Beside much other labor, I had to get out roots from below the water, and from among the cane where it grew in the ground. From this employment I had my fingers so worn that did

a straw but touch them it would draw blood. Many of the canes are broken, so that they often tore my flesh, and I had to go in the midst of them with only the clothing on me I have mentioned.

Accordingly, I put myself to work to get over to the other Indians; and afterward, while I was with them, affairs changed for me somewhat more favorably. I set myself to trafficking, and strove to turn my employment to profit in the ways I could best contrive, and by this means I got from the Indians food and good treatment. They would beg me to go from one part to another for things of which they have need; for, in consequence of continual hostilities, they cannot travel the country nor make many exchanges. With my merchandize and trade I went into the interior as far as I pleased, and I traveled along the coast forty or fifty leagues. The chief of my wares was pieces of sea-snails and their cones, conches that are used for cutting, and a fruit like a bean, of the highest value among them, which they use as a medicine and employ in their dances and festivities. There are sea-beads also and other articles. Such were what I carried into the interior; and in barter for them I brought back skins, ochre with which they rub and color their faces, and flint for arrow-points, cement and hard canes of which to make arrows, and tassels that are made of the hair of deer, ornamented and dyed red. This occupation suited me well, for the travel gave me liberty to go where I wished. I was not obliged to work, and was not a slave. Wherever I went, I received fair treatment, and the Indians gave me to eat for the sake of my commodities. My leading object, while journeying in this business, was to find out the way by which I should have to go forward, and I became well known to the inhabitants. They were pleased when they saw me, and I had brought for them what they wanted; and those that did not know me sought and desired my acquaintance for my reputation. The hardships that I underwent in this it were long to tell, as well of peril and privation as of storms and cold. Many of them found me in the wilderness and alone, but I came forth from them all by the great mercy of God, our Lord. Because of them I ceased to pursue the business in winter, for it is a season in which the natives themselves retire to their villages and huts, sluggish and incapable of exertion.

I was in this country nearly six years,\* alone among the Indians, and naked like them. The reason why I remained so long was that I might take with me from the island the Christian Lope de Oviedo. De Alaniz, his companion, who had been left with him by Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes and the rest, died soon after their departure; and to get the survivor out from there, I went over to the island every year, and entreated him that we should go in the way we could best contrive in quest of Christians. He put me off every year, saying that in the next coming we would go. At last I got him off, crossing him over the bay, and over four rivers there are in the coast, as he could not swim. In this way we went on with some Indians, until coming to a bay a league in width and everywhere deep. From its appearance we supposed it to be that which they call Espiritu Santo.<sup>(Q)</sup> We met some Indians† on the other side of it, who came to visit ours; and they told us that beyond them there were three men like us, and gave their names; and we asked them for the others, and they told us that they were all dead of cold and hunger; that the Indians farther on, of whom they were, had for their diversion killed Diego Dorantes, Valdevieso, and Diego de Huelva, because they left one house for another;<sup>(R)</sup> and that other Indians, their neighbors, with whom Captain Dorantes now was, had, in consequence of a dream, killed Esquivel and Mendez.<sup>(S)</sup> We asked them how the living were situated, and they answered us that they were very ill used, for that the boys and some of the Indian men were very idle, and of cruelty gave them severe kicks, cuffs, and blows with sticks; and that such was the life they led among them.

We desired to be informed of the country ahead, and of the subsistence in it; and they said there was nothing in it to eat, and was thin of people, who suffered of cold, having no skins or other thing to cover them. They told us also if we wished to see those three Christians, two days from that time the Indians who had them would come to eat walnuts a league from there on the margin of that river; and that we might know what they had told us of the ill usage to be true, they slapped my companion and beat him with a stick, and I was not left without my portion. They frequently threw fragments of mud

\* From 1528 to 1533.—TR.

† Quevenes.—TR.

at us, and every day they put their arrows to our hearts, saying that they were inclined to kill us in the way that they had destroyed our friends. Lope Oviedo, my comrade, in fear said that he wished to go back with the women who had crossed the bay with us, the men having remained some distance behind. I contended strongly with him against his returning, and I urged many objections, but in no way could I keep him. So he went back, and I remained alone with those savages. They are called Quevenes, and those with whom he returned Draguanes.

## CHAPTER XVII.

HOW THE INDIANS CAME, AND ANDRES DORANTES, CASTILLO, AND ESTEVANICO.

Two days after Lope de Oviedo had gone, the Indians, who had Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes, came to the place of which we had been told, to eat walnuts. These are ground together with a kind of small grain, and are the subsistence of these people three months in the year without other thing; but even the nuts they do not have every season, for in some years the trees produce and in others do not. The fruit is the size of that of Galicia; the trees very large and numerous.

An Indian told me of the arrival of the Christians, and that if I wished to see them I must steal away and flee to the point of a wood to which he directed me, and that as he and others, kindred of his, would pass by to visit those Indians, they would take me with them to the spot where the Christians were. I determined to attempt this and trust to them, as they spoke a language distinct from that of the others.\* I did so, and the next day they left and found me in the place that had been pointed out, and accordingly took me with them.

When I arrived near their abode, Andres Dorantes came out to see who it could be, for the Indians had told him that a Christian was coming. When he saw me his astonishment was great, as he had for many a day considered me dead, and the Indians had likewise said that I was. We gave many thanks to God at seeing ourselves together, and this was a day to us of the greatest pleasure that we had enjoyed in life. Having come to where Castillo was, they inquired of me where I was going, and I told them that my purpose was to reach the land of Christians, and that I was then in search and pursuit of it. Andres

\* They appear to have been Susolas.—Tr.



Dorantes said that for a long time he had entreated Castillo and Estevanico to go forward, but that they dared not venture, because they knew not how to swim, and they greatly dreaded the rivers and bays which they should have to cross, as in that country there are many. Thus the Almighty had been pleased to defend me amidst many trials and diseases, and to conduct me in the end to the fellowship of those who had shunned me, that I might lead them over the bays and rivers that obstructed our progress. They advised me in no way to give the Indians a suspicion of my desire to go on, else they would destroy me; and that for success it would be necessary for me to remain quiet until the end of six months, when is the season in which these Indians go to another part of the country to eat prickly-pears; and that people would arrive there from parts farther on who bring bows to barter and exchange,\* with whom, after making our escape, we should be able to go on their return. Having consented to this plan, I remained.

The pear is the size of a hen's egg, vermilion and black in color, and of agreeable flavor. The Indians eat of it three months in the year and have nothing else.

I was given as a slave to an Indian, with whom was Dorantes. He was blind of an eye, as were also his wife and son, and also another who was with him; so that they were of a fashion all blind. These are called Marianes; and Castillo was with another, a neighboring people called Yguases.

While here the Christians related to me how they had left the island of Malhado, and had found the boat wrecked on the sea shore, in which the controller and the friars had sailed; and that going along crossing the rivers, which are four, very large and of rapid current, their boats were swept away and carried to sea, where four of their number were drowned; that thus they proceeded until they crossed the bay, getting over it with great difficulty, and fifteen leagues thence they came to another. By the time they had reached this they had lost two companions in the sixty leagues they had traveled, and those that remained were near death; and in all the way they had eaten nothing but crabs and rock-weed. Having arrived at this last bay, they found Indians in it eating mulberries, who, when they saw them went to an opposite cape.

\* The Avavares.—Tr.

While contriving and seeking for some means to cross the bay, there came over to them an Indian\* and a Christian, whom they recognized to be Figueroa, one of the four we had sent forward from the island of Malhado. He there recounted to them how he and his companions had got as far as this place, when two of them and an Indian had died of cold and hunger; for they had had, and had been exposed to, the most inclement of seasons. He and Mendez had been taken by the Indians, and while with them his associate had fled, going as well as he could in the direction of Panuco, and the natives had pursued and put him to death.

While living with these Indians, he learned from them that there was a Christian among the Mariames, who had come over from the opposite side; and that *they* had found him among the Quevenes. This was Hernando de Esquivel, a native of Badajos, who had come in company with the commissary.† From him he heard the end to which the governor, the controller, and the others had come.

He told him that the controller and the friars‡ had upset their boat at the confluence of the rivers; and that the boat of the governor, moving along the coast, came with its people to land. The governor went in the boat until arriving to that great bay, where he took in the people and crossed them to the opposite point, and returned for the controller, the friars, and the rest. And he related how being disembarked, the governor had recalled the commission of the controller, which he held as his lieutenant, and assigned the duties to a captain with him named Pantoja: that the governor stayed the night in his boat, and would not come on shore, and an officer remained with him, and a page who was unwell, there being no water or thing to eat on board; that at midnight, the boat having only a stone for an anchor, the north wind blew so strongly that it drove her to sea, no one seeing it, and they never knew more of their commander.<sup>(T)</sup>

The others went along the coast, and, as they were arrested by a wide extent of water, they made rafts with much labor, on which they crossed to the opposite shore. Going on, they arrived at a point of

\* One of the Quevenes.—Tr.      † Esquivel seems to have been one of the friars.—Tr.

‡ One of them was the commissary, Juan Suarez.—Tr.

woods on the banks of the water where there were Indians, who, as they saw them coming, put their houses into their canoes and went over to the opposite shore. The Christians, in consideration of the season, for it was now in the month of November, stopped at this wood, where they found water and fuel, some crabs and shellfish. They soon began, one by one, to die of cold and hunger; and more than this, Pantoja, who was now lieutenant, used them severely, which Soto Mayor (brother of Vasco Porcallo, he of the island of Cuba), who had come with the armament as camp-master, not being able to bear, he had a struggle with him, and, giving him a blow with a club, Pantoja was instantly killed.

Thus their number went on diminishing. The living dried the flesh of them that died, and the last that died was Soto Mayor, and Esquivel preserved his flesh, and, feeding on it, sustained existence until the first of March, when an Indian of those that had fled coming to see if they were alive, took Esquivel with him. While he was in the possession of this Indian, Figueroa saw him, and learning from him all that has been related, he besought him to come with him, that together they might pursue the way to Panuco; to which Esquivel would not consent, saying that he had understood from the friars that Panuco had been left behind; and so he remained there, and Figueroa went to the coast where he was accustomed to live.\*<sup>(U)</sup>

\* Both at the time living among the Quevenes.—Tr.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## OF THE ACCOUNT HE GAVE OF ESQUIVEL.

THIS account was all given by Figueroa, according to the relation he had received from Esquivel, and from one to another it came to me; whence may be seen and understood the fate of the armament, and the particular fortunes of the greater part of the people. Figueroa said, moreover, that if the Christians should at any time go in that direction, it were possible they might see Esquivel, for that he knew he had fled from the Indian with whom he was, to the Mariames, who were neighbors.

After he had done telling the story, he and the Asturian attempted to go to other Indians farther on; but as soon as they who had them discovered it, they followed after and beat them severely, and they stripped the Asturian and shot an arrow through his arm. Finally, they escaped by flight; and the other Christians remained, and prevailed on the Indians\* to receive them as slaves. In their service, they were so much abused as slaves never were before, nor men of any condition have ever been. Not content with frequently buffeting them, striking them with sticks, and pulling out their beard for amusement, they killed three of the six for only going from one house to another. These were the persons I have named before: Diego Dorantes, Valdevieso, and Diego de Huelva: and the three that remained looked for the same fate. Not to suffer this life, Andres Dorantes fled, and passed to the Mariames, which are those among whom Esquivel had stopped. They told him how they had had Esquivel there, and he had wished to run away because a woman dreamed that a son of hers would kill him; and that

\* The Quevenes.—Tr.

they followed on after and slew him. They showed Andres Dorantes his sword, beads, and book, and other things that had been his.

Thus they take life in obedience to their custom, and they destroy even their male children because of dreams. They cast away their daughters at birth, and allow them to be eaten by dogs. The reason of their doing this, as they state, is because all the nations of the country are their foes, and with them they have continual war, and if they were to marry away their daughters, they would so greatly multiply their enemies that they would be overcome and made slaves: that thus they prefer to destroy all, than that from them should be born a single enemy. We asked why they did not themselves marry them; and they also said it was a disgusting thing to marry them among their relatives, and that it was far better to kill than to give them either to their kindred or their foes. This custom is practiced by these, and others their neighbors, the Yguazes, and not by any other people of that country.

When the men are about to marry, they buy their women of their enemies; and the price that is paid for a wife is a bow, the best that can be got, with two arrows; and if it so happens that the suitor has no bow, then a net a fathom in length, and another in breadth. They kill their male children and buy those of strangers. The marriage state continues no longer than while the parties are satisfied, and they separate for the slightest cause. Dorantes was among this people, and after a few days he escaped.

Castillo and Estevanico went inland to the Yeguazes. This people are universally good archers, and of fine symmetry, although not so large as those we had left; and they have a nipple and a lip bored. Their support is principally roots, of two or three kinds, and they look for them over the face of all the country. These are a poor food, and gripe the persons that eat them. They require two days in roasting: many of them are very bitter, and withal difficult to be dug. They are sought after the distance of two or three leagues, and so great is the want these people experience that they cannot get through the year without them. Occasionally they kill deer, and at times they take fish, but the quantity is so small, and the famine so great, that they eat spiders, and the eggs of ants, worms, lizards, salamanders, snakes and vipers that kill whom they strike; and they eat earth, and wood, and

all that there is, the dung of deer, and other things that I omit to mention: and I honestly believe that if there were stones in that land they would eat them. They save the bones of the fish they consume, of snakes and other animals, that they may afterward pound them together and eat the powder. Among them the men bear no burthens, nor carry any things of weight, but such are borne by women and old men, who are the persons of the least esteem. They have not so great love for their children as those we have before spoken of.\* There are some among them who are accustomed to sin against nature. The women work very hard, and do a great deal; for in the twenty-four hours they have only six of repose, and the rest of the night they pass in heating the ovens to bake those roots they eat. At sunrise they begin to dig them, and to bring wood and water to their houses, and get in readiness other things that may be necessary. The majority of them are great thieves; for although they are free to divide, on turning the head even a son or a father will take what he can. They are great liars, and also great drunkards, which they become from the use of a certain liquor.

They are so accustomed to running, that without rest or fatigue they follow a deer from morning to night. In this way they kill many, for they pursue them until tired down, and sometimes they overtake them in the chase. Their houses are of matting, placed upon four hoops; they carry them on their backs, and they remove every two or three days in search of food. They plant nothing from which they may profit. They are a merry people, considering the hunger they suffer; and notwithstanding it they never cease to dance nor to observe their festivities and ceremonies. To them the happiest part of the year is the season of eating prickly-pears; for then they have hunger no longer, and pass all the time in dancing, and they eat day and night. While these last, they squeeze open and set them to dry, and after they are dry they put them in baskets like figs. These they keep to eat on the way back. The peelings they beat to powder.

It occurred to us many times while we were among this people, and there was no food, to be three or four days without eating, when

\* The people of Malhado.—Tr.

they, to revive our spirits, would say to us not to be sad, that soon there would be pears and we should eat a plenty, and drink of the juice, and that our bellies would be very big, and we should be content and joyful, having no hunger. From the time they first told us this, to that at which the earliest were ripe enough to be eaten, there was an interval of five or six months; so that we tarried until the lapse of this period, and when the season came we went to eat pears.

We found mosquitoes of three sorts, and all of them abundant in every part of the country. They poison and inflame, and during the greater part of the summer they gave us great annoyance. As a protection against them we made many fires, encircling the people, using rotten and wet wood to produce smoke without flame. This remedy occasioned us another trouble; and all night long we did nothing but shed tears from the smoke that came into our eyes, besides feeling intense heat from the many fires. Those of the interior have a different method, as intolerable and even more so than the one I have spoken of, which is to go with the brands in their hands firing the plains and forests within their reach that the mosquitoes may fly away, and at the same time to drive out lizards and other like things from the earth to eat. They are accustomed to kill deer also by surrounding them with fires. They take the pasturage from cattle by burning, that necessity may drive them to seek it in such places as it is wished they should go to. They encamp only where there are wood and water, and sometimes they all carry supplies of these when they go to hunt deer, which most usually are found where there is neither. On the day of their arrival, they kill the deer and other animals that they can, and consume the water in cooking and the <sup>wood in</sup> fires they may need to relieve them of mosquitoes. They remain the next day to get something to support them on their return; and when they leave, such is their state from the mosquitoes that they appear as if they had the affliction of holy Lazarus. In this manner do they appease their hunger two or three times in the year, and at the great cost I have mentioned. From having gone through it myself, I can state that no torment that is known in this world can equal it.

Inland there are many deer, and birds and beasts other than those I have spoken of. Cattle come as far as this. I have seen them three

times, and eaten of their meat. I think they are about the size of those of Spain. They have small horns like the cows of Morocco, and the hair very long and flocky like that of the merino. Some are light brown (*pardillas*) and others black. To my judgment the flesh is finer and fatter than that of this country. The Indians make blankets of the hides of those not full grown, and of the larger they make shoes and bucklers. They come as far as the sea coast of Florida in a direction from the north, and range over a district of more than four hundred leagues, and in the whole extent of plain over which they run, the people that inhabit near there descend and live on them, and scatter a vast many skins throughout the country.<sup>(v)</sup>



## CHAPTER XIX.

## OF HOW THE INDIANS SEPARATED US.

WHEN the six months had expired which I had to spend with the Christians to put in execution the plan we had concerted, the Indians went after pears, the place at which they were to be had being more than twenty leagues off. Now when we were at the point of flight, the Indians among whom we were quarreled about a woman; and they struck, beat, and bruised each other, and in consequence of their anger each took his lodge and went his way: whence it became necessary that the Christians there should also separate, and in no way could we come together until another year.

In this time, I passed a very hard life, caused as much by hunger as the treatment I received, which was such that three times I was obliged to run from the masters I had, and each time they went in pursuit and endeavored to kill me; but God, our Lord, in his mercy chose to preserve and protect me from them; and when the season of ripe pears returned we again came together in the same place. After we had arranged our escape, and appointed a time, that same day the Indians separated us, and all went back. I told my comrades that I would wait for them among the pear plants until the moon should be full. This day was the first of September, and the first of the moon; and I said to them that if in this time they did not come, I would leave them and go alone. So we parted, and each went with his Indians. I remained with mine until the thirteenth day of the moon, having determined to flee to others when it should be full.<sup>(w)</sup>

At this time, Andres Dorantes arrived with Estevanico, and informed me that they had left Castillo with other Indians near by, called Anagados;<sup>(x)</sup> that they had encountered great obstacles, and had wandered

about lost; that the next day the Indians among whom we were would move to where Castillo was, and were going to unite with those who held him, and become friends; for until this time they had been at war, and that in this way we should recover Castillo.

We had thirst all the time we ate the pears, and to quench this we drank their juice. We caught it in a hole we made in the earth, and when it was full we drank of it until satisfied. It is sweet, of the color of must; and they collect it in this manner for lack of vessels. There are many kind of pears, and among them are some very good, although they all appeared to me to be so, for hunger never gave me leisure to choose them, nor to reflect upon which were the best.

Almost all these people drink rain-water, which lies about in spots; for although there are rivers, as the Indians never have fixed habitations they have no familiar or noted places for getting water. Throughout the country are very extensive and beautiful plains, having good pasturage for animals; and I think it would be a very fruitful country, if it were worked and inhabited by civilized men. We saw no mountains in any part of it.

These Indians told us that there was another people next in advance of us, called Camones, living toward the coast, and that they had killed all the people that came in the boat of Peñalosa and Tellez, who had arrived so feeble that even while killing them they could offer no resistance, and were all destroyed. We were shown clothes and arms that had been theirs, and were told that the boat lay there stranded. This, the fifth boat, had remained till then unaccounted for. We have already stated how the boat of the governor had been carried out to sea, and that of the controller and the friars had been cast away on the coast, of which Esquivel had narrated the fate of the men. We have once told how the two boats in which Castillo, I, and Dorantes came, foundered near the island of Malhado.

## CHAPTER XX.

## OF HOW WE FLED.

THE second day after we had moved, we commended ourselves to God and set forth with speed, trusting that, notwithstanding the lateness of the season and the pears were about ending, with the mast that remained in the woods we might still be enabled to travel over a large district. Hurrying on that day in great dread lest the Indians might come upon us, we saw some smokes, and going in that direction we arrived at them after vespers, and found an Indian. As he discovered us coming toward him he ran away, not being willing to wait for us. We sent the negro after him, when he stopped as he saw him coming alone. The negro told him that we were seeking for the people that made those fires. He answered that their houses were near by, and he would guide us to them. So we followed him, and he ran to give knowledge of our approach, and at sunset we saw the houses. Before our arrival, at the distance of two crossbow shots from them, we found four Indians, who waited for us and received us well. We said to them, in the language of the Mariames, that we were going to look for them. They were evidently pleased with our company, and took us to their dwellings. Dorantes and the negro they lodged in the house of a physician, and myself and Castillo in that of another.

These people speak a different language, and are called Avavares. They are the same who used to carry <sup>us</sup> boxes to those with whom we formerly lived,\* and who went to traffic with them. Although they are of a different nation and tongue, they understand the language of the others. They had arrived that day, with their lodges, at the place

\* The Mariames.—Tr.

where we found them. The inhabitants directly brought a great many pears to us, having soon heard of our presence, and of how we cured, and the wonders which our Lord worked by us, which, although there had been no others, were sufficiently great to open a way to us through a poor country such as this, and to afford us people where oftentimes there are none, and to lead us through imminent dangers, not permitting us to be killed, sustaining us under great want, and putting into those nations for us the heart of kindness, as we shall relate hereafter.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## OF HOW WE HERE CURED SOME OF THE AFFLICTED.

THAT same night of our arrival there came some Indians to Castillo and told him that they had great pain in the head, begging him to cure them. After he had made over them the sign of the cross, and commended them to God, instantly they said that all the pain had left; and they went to their houses and brought us many pears, and a piece of venison, a thing to us little known. As the report of his performance spread, there came many others to us that night sick, that we should heal them, and each brought with him a piece of venison, until the quantity was so great we knew not where to dispose of it. We gave many thanks to God, for every day went on increasing his compassion and his gifts. After the sick were attended to, they began to dance and enact their ceremonial, rejoicing until the morning at sunrise; and because of our arrival their festivities were continued for three days.

When they were ended, we asked the Indians about the country farther on, and the people we should find in it, and of the subsistence there. They answered us that throughout all that country there was abundance of prickly pear plants, but that the fruit was gone, and there were no people, for they had gathered the pears, and all of them had returned to their homes. They said that their country was very cold, and few skins were there. Reflecting on the cold, and that it was already winter, we resolved to pass the season with these people.

Five days after our arrival, all the Indians went off, taking us with them to gather more pears, at a place where there were other nations, speaking different tongues. Having walked five days in great hunger, since on the way there were no pears or other fruit, we arrived at a river, where we put up our houses. This done, we went to seek the

fruit of certain trees which is like a pea. As there are no paths in the country, I was detained some time in the search. The others returned and left me by myself, and I, coming to look for them in the dark, got lost. I thank God that I found a burning tree, and in the warmth of it I passed through the cold of that night. In the morning, I loaded myself with sticks, and returned to seek them. In this manner, I wandered five days, ever with my torch and load, for if the wood had failed me where none could have been found, as many parts are without any, I should have had to seek for sticks elsewhere, and had no fire to kindle them. This was the only protection I had against the cold while walking, for I was naked as I was born. I prepared myself for the night by going to the low woods near the rivers, and stopping in them before sunset. I there made a hole and threw in wood, which the trees abundantly afford, and collected it for fuel in good quantity from the dry and fallen. About the hole I made four fires in the form of a cross, which I watched and made up from time to time. I also collected some bundles of the coarse straw that there abounds, with which I covered me in the hole. In this manner I protected myself from the cold at night. On one of these occasions while I slept, the fire fell upon the straw in which I was, and it had begun to blaze so rapidly that notwithstanding the haste I made to get out, I carried some marks on my hair of the danger to which I had been exposed. All this while I tasted not a mouthful, nor did I find anything I could eat. As my feet were bare, I bled a great deal. Through the mercy of God to me, the wind in all this time did not blow from the north, otherwise I should have died.

At the end of the fifth day, I arrived at the margin of a river where I found the Indians, who, with the Christians, had considered me dead, and supposed that I had been stung by a viper. All were rejoiced to see me, but the most so were my companions. They said that up to that time they had struggled with great hunger, which was the reason of their not having sought me. That night they all gave me of the pears they had, and the next morning we set out for where we found a large quantity, with which we all satisfied our great necessity, the Christians rendering thanks to our Lord that he had ever given us his assistance.

## CHAPTER XXII.

OF HOW THE NEXT DAY THEY BROUGHT TO US OTHER SICK.

IN the morning of the next day, many Indians came, and brought five persons who had cramps and were very unwell. They came for Castillo that he might cure them. Each offered him his bow and arrows, which he received. At sunset he blessed them, and commended them to God, our Lord; and we all prayed to Him the best we could that He would send them health, for that He knew there was no other way than through Him in which these people would aid us, and we could come forth from this unhappy existence. He did it so mercifully that, the morning having come, all got up as well and sound and were as strong as if they had never had a disorder. It caused great admiration, and inclined us to render many thanks to God, our Lord, whose goodness we now clearly beheld, and which gave us firm hopes that he would liberate and bring us to where we might serve him. For myself I can say that I ever had trust in His providence that he would bring me out from that captivity, and thus I ever spoke of it to my companions.

The Indians being gone, and having taken their friends with them in health, we departed for a place at which others were eating pears. These are called Cutalches and Malicones, who speak other tongues. Adjoining them were others called Coayos and Lusolas, and on the opposite side others called Atayos,<sup>(v)</sup> who were at war with the Lusolas, and exchanged arrow-shots daily. As through all the country they talked but of the wonders which God, our Lord, worked through us, persons came from many parts to seek us that we might cure them. At the end of the second day after our arrival, there came to us some of the Lusolas, and besought Castillo that he would go to cure one wounded and others sick: and they said that among them there was one very

near his end. Castillo was a timid practitioner, and chiefly so in the cases most fearful and dangerous; for he believed that his sins must weigh upon him, and at some time hinder him from performing cures. The Indians told me to go and heal them; for they liked me well, and remembered that I had ministered to them in the walnut grove, for which they had given us nuts and skins, and it occurred when I first joined the Christians. So I had to go with them, and Dorantes accompanied me with Estevanico. When I came near their huts, I perceived that the sick man we went to heal was dead; for there were many persons around him weeping, and his house was prostrate, which is a sign that the one who dwelt in it is dead. When I arrived, I found the eyes of the Indian rolled up, he was without pulse, and having all the appearances of death, as they seemed to me, and as Dorantes said. I removed a mat with which he was covered, and I supplicated our Lord as fervently as I could that he might be pleased to give health to him, and to all the rest that might have need of it. After he had been blessed and breathed upon many times, they brought me his bow, and gave me a basket of pounded pears.

They took me to cure many others who were sick of a stupor, and they presented me with two more baskets of pears, which I gave to the Indians that had accompanied us. We then went back to our lodgings. Those to whom we gave the pears tarried, and returned to their houses at night, and reported that he who had been dead and for whom I had wrought before them, had got up hale, and had walked, and eaten, and spoken with them, and that all to whom I had ministered were well and very merry. This caused great wonder and fear, and in all the land they spoke of nothing else. All those to whom the fame of it reached came to seek us, that we should cure them, and bless their children.

When the Indians, the Cutalchiches\* which were in company with ours, were about to return to their country, before they went they left us all the pears they had for their journey, without keeping one: and they gave us flints a palm and a half in length, with which they cut,

\* The same as Cutalches. The Indian names are given in every instance as they are in the original edition.—Tr.



and which are of high value among them. They begged that we would remember them, and pray to God that they might always be well; and we promised it. They left us the most satisfied beings in the world, having given us all the best they had.

We remained with these Indians, the Avavares, eight months, which we reckoned by the number of moons. In all this time, the Indians came to seek us from many parts, and they said that most truly we were children of the sun. Dorantes and the negro had to this time not attempted to practice, but because of the great solicitation made by those coming from different parts to find us, we all became physicians, although in being venturous and bold I was the most remarkable. No one for whom we performed but told us he was left well; and so great confidence had they that they would become healed if we should but administer to them, that they believed that whilst we remained there none of them could die. These and the rest of the people behind related to us an extraordinary circumstance, and, by the way they counted to us, there appeared to have been fifteen or sixteen years since it had occurred.

They said that a man wandered through that country whom they called bad-thing, that he was small of body and had beard, but they never could distinctly see his features. When he came to the house where they were, their hair stood up and they trembled. Presently there shone at the door of the house a blazing torch, and then he entered and seized whom he chose of them, and giving him three great gashes in the side with a very sharp flint the width of the hand and two palms in length, he put his hand through and drew forth the entrails, from one of which he would cut off a portion more or less the length of a palm, and throw it on the embers. Then he would give three gashes to an arm, and the second cut on the inside of the elbow, and would sever the limb. A little after this, he would begin to unite it, and, putting his hands upon the wounds, these would instantly become healed. They said that oftentimes, while they danced, he appeared among them in the dress of a woman, and at others in that of a man; that when it pleased him he would take up a buhio, or house, and, lifting it high, after a little he would come down with it in a heavy fall. They also told us that many times they offered him victuals, but that

he never ate; that they asked him whence he came, and where was his home, and he showed them a fissure in the earth and said that his house was there below. These things that they told us of we much laughed at and ridiculed; and they, seeing that we did not believe them, brought to us many of those they said he had seized, and we saw the marks of the gashes he had made in the places according to the manner they had described. We told them that he was an evil one, and in the best way we could, we gave them to understand that, if they would believe in God, our Lord, and become Christians like us, they would have no fear of him, nor would he dare to come and inflict on them these injuries; and that they might be certain that while we remained in the land he would not dare to appear in it. At this they were delighted, and lost much of their dread.

These told us that they had seen the Asturian and Figueroa, with Indians farther along the coast, whom we had called *los de los higos*, the people of the figs. They are all ignorant of time either by the sun or moon, nor do they reckon by the month or year; but they better know and understand the differences of the seasons, when the fruits come to ripen, the fish to die,<sup>(2)</sup> and the position of the stars, in which they are ready and practiced. By these we were ever well treated, although we dug our own food, and brought our supplies of wood and water. Their houses, and also the things they eat, are like those of the nation from which we had come,\* but they suffer far greater want, for they have no maize, acorns, or nuts. We always went naked like them, and at night we covered ourselves with deer-skins.

Of the eight months we were among them, six we sustained in great want, for even fish are not found where they are. At the expiration of this time, the pears began to ripen, and I and the negro went, without these Indians knowing it, to others farther on, a day's journey distant, called Maliacones, whom we reached. At the end of three days, I sent him to bring Castillo and Dorantes; and they having arrived, we all set out with the Indians who were going to eat a small fruit of certain trees on which they support themselves ten or twelve days whilst the pears are maturing. They were joined by others called

\* The Yguases.—Tr.

Arbadaos, whom we found to be very weak, lank, and swollen, so much so as to cause in us great astonishment. The Indians with whom we came returned by the same route. We told them that we wished to remain with the others, at which they showed regret; and so we remained with these people on the plain near their houses. As soon as they noticed this, after having talked among themselves they came together, and each of them taking one of us by the hand they led us to their houses. Among these we underwent greater hunger than with the others, for we ate daily not more than two hands full of pears, which were green, and so milky that they burnt our mouths. As we had lack of water, those who ate of them suffered great thirst. Our extremity was great, and we bought two dogs, giving in exchange for them some nets, with other things, and a skin which I used to cover me.

I have already stated that throughout all this country we went naked, and, as we had not been accustomed to it, we shed our skins twice a year like serpents. The sun and air produced great ring-worms on our breasts and backs, which gave us sharp pain, because of the large loads we carried which were very heavy, and caused the cords to cut into our arms. The country is so broken and thick-set, that often when we got our wood in the forests, the blood flowed from us in many places, caused by the thorns and shrubs that obstructed us, and tore our flesh wherever we touched. At the times when it was my turn to break wood, after it had cost me much blood, I could not bring it out either on my back or by dragging. In these labors I had no other relief or solace, than in thinking of the suffering of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and in the blood which he shed for me, in considering how much greater must have been the torment that he sustained from the thorns than that which I then received.

I traded with these Indians in combs that I made for them, and in bows, arrows, and nets. We made mats for them, of which they have great necessity, and although they know how to make them, they wish not to do anything else than give their full time to getting food, for when they are otherwise employed they are pinched with hunger. At other times the Indians would set me to scraping and softening skins: and the greatest prosperity I found myself in while there was on the day in which they gave me a skin to dress; for I would scrape it a very

great deal and eat the scraps, which would last me for two or three days. It happened to us among these people, as it had also among others we had left behind, that we had given to us a piece of meat, which we would eat raw; for if we had put it to roast, the first Indian that came by would have taken it off with him and devoured it. It appeared to us not well to expose it to this risk, and besides we were in such condition that it would have given us pain to eat it roasted, and we could not have digested it so well as raw. Such was the life we spent there; and that meagre subsistence was earned by the matters of traffic which were the work of our hands.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

## HOW WE LEFT AFTER HAVING EATEN THE DOGS.

AFTER having eaten the dogs, it seeming to us that we had some strength to go forward, commending ourselves to God, our Lord, that he would guide us, we took our leave of the Indians. They went with us as far as where were some persons of their language, who lived near by. While upon our journey it rained, and we traveled all the day wet. Besides this, we lost our way, and went into an extensive wood to stop. We plucked many leaves of the pear, and we put them at night in an oven which we made, and gave them so much heat that in the morning they were baked. After eating them, we put ourselves under the care of God and departed. We found the way we had lost. Having passed the wood, we found other houses, and, coming up to them, we saw two women and some boys walking in the forest, who were frightened at the sight of us, and fled, running into the woods to call the men. These having arrived, they stopped behind some trees to look at us. We called to them, and they came up with much timidity. After conversing with them they told us that they had great scarcity of food, but that near there were many houses of their people to which they would guide us. That night we came to where there were fifty houses. The inhabitants were astonished at our appearance, and showed much fear. After they had become somewhat accustomed to us, they reached their hands to our faces and bodies, and passed them in like manner over their own.

We stayed there that night, and in the morning the Indians brought us their sick, beseeching us that we would bless them. They gave us of what they had to eat, which was the leaves of the pear and the green fruit roasted. As they did this with kindness and good will, and were happy to be without anything to eat that they might have to

give to us, we continued with them some days. While there, other people came from beyond, and when they were about to depart, we told our entertainers that we wished to go with them. It gave them much uneasiness, and they pressed us warmly to stay: however, we took our leave, and left them weeping for our departure, as it pressed upon them heavily.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## OF THE CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS OF THAT COUNTRY.

FROM the island of Malhado to this land, all the Indians whom we saw have the custom that from the time in which their wives find themselves pregnant, they sleep not with them until two years after they have given birth. They suckle their children until the age of twelve years, when they are old enough to get support for themselves. We asked them why they reared them in this manner, and they said because of the great poverty of the land it happened many times, as we witnessed, that they were two or three days without eating, and sometimes four, and that for this reason the children were allowed to suck, that in years of scarcity they might not famish, otherwise those who lived would be delicate and of little strength. If it chanced that any one falls sick in the desert and cannot keep up with the rest, they leave him to perish, unless it be a son or a brother, and him they will assist and even carry on their backs.

It is common among them all to leave their wives when there is no conformity, and they directly connect themselves with whom they please. This is the course of the men who are childless, but those who have children remain with their wives and never abandon them. When they dispute and quarrel in their towns, they strike each other with their fists, fighting until exhausted, and then separate. Sometimes they are parted by the women going between them, but the men never interfere. For no disaffection that arises do they go to their bows and arrows. After they have fought or had their dispute, they take their houses and go into the woods and live apart from the others until their heat has subsided. When no longer offended and their anger is gone, they return to the village. Thenceforward they are friends, as if nothing had passed between them; nor is it necessary that any one should mend their friendships, for in this way they unite them. If those that quarrel are

single, they go to some neighboring people, and although these should be enemies, they receive them well, and welcome them warmly, and they give them so largely of what they have, that, when their animosity cools, and they return to their town, they go rich.

They are all warlike, and have as much strategy for protecting themselves against their enemies as they could have were they reared in Italy in continual feuds. When they are at a place in which their enemies may attack them, they place their houses on the skirt of a wood the most tangled and deep they can find, and near it they make a ditch, in which they sleep. The warriors are covered by small pieces of stick, through which they have loop-holes; and they are so hidden, and have so false an appearance, that if come upon they are not discovered. They make a very wide road entering into the midst of the wood, and they there prepare a spot on which the women and children may sleep. When night comes they kindle fires in their lodges, for if there be any spies they think to find them there; and before daybreak they again light the same fires. If the enemy comes to assault the houses, they who are in the ditch make a sally, and from their trenches do much injury without those who are outside seeing them, or being able to find them. Where there is no wood in which they can shelter themselves in this way and make their ambuscades, they settle on open ground at a place they select. They invest themselves with trenches covered with broken sticks, and make apertures whence to discharge arrows at their enemies. These preparations are made for night.

While I was among the Aguenes,<sup>(AA)</sup> their enemies coming unawares at midnight fell upon them, killed three and wounded many, so that they ran from their houses to the fields before them. As soon as these ascertained that the others had withdrawn, they returned to their houses without being suspected. At four o'clock in the morning they attacked them and killed five, without enumerating the many others that were wounded, and made them flee and leave their houses and bows, with all their property. In a little while came the wives of the Quevenes to them and formed a treaty whereby the parties became friends; however, the women are sometimes the causes of the wars. All these nations, when they have personal enmities, and are not of one family, assassinate at night by waylaying, and inflict gross barbarities on each other.



## CHAPTER XXV.

## HOW THE INDIANS ARE VIGILANT IN WAR.

THESE are the most watchful in danger of any people I have ever seen. If they fear an enemy they are awake the night long, with each a bow by his side and a dozen arrows. He that sleeps tries his bow, and if it is not strung, he gives the turn necessary to the cord. They often come out from their houses, bending to the ground in such manner that they cannot be seen, and look and watch on all sides to catch every object. If they perceive anything about, they are all in the bushes with their bows and arrows, and there they remain until day, running from place to place where it is useful to be, or where they think their enemies are. When the light has come, they unbend their bows until they go out to hunt. The strings are of the sinews of deer.

The method they have of fighting is lying low to the earth, and whilst they shoot they move about, speaking and leaping from one point to another, screening themselves from the shafts of their enemies. So effectual is this manoeuvring that they can receive very little injury from crossbow or arquebus, but they rather scoff at them; for these arms are of little value employed in open field, where the Indians go loosely. They are proper for defiles and in water; everywhere else the horses will be found the most effective, and are what the natives universally fear. Whosoever would fight against them must be cautious to show no weakness or desire for anything that is theirs, and whilst war exists, they must be treated with the utmost severity; for if they discover any timidity or covetousness they are a race that well discern the opportunities for vengeance, and gather strength from the fear of their adversaries. When they use arrows in battle and exhaust their store, each returns by his own way without the one party following the

other, although the one be many and the other few, for such is their custom. Oftentimes their bodies are traversed from side to side by arrows, and they do not die of the wounds, but soon become well, unless the entrails or the heart be struck.

I believe they see and hear better, and have keener senses than any people there are in the world. They are great in the endurance of hunger, thirst, and cold, as if they were made for these more than others by habit and nature.

Thus much I have wished to say beyond the gratification of that desire which men have to learn the customs and manners of each other, that those who hereafter at some time find themselves amongst these people may be intelligent in their usages and artifice, the value of which they will not find inconsiderable in such event.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## OF THE NATIONS AND TONGUES.

I ALSO desire to enumerate the nations and tongues that exist from the Island of Malhado to the farthest limit.<sup>(BB)</sup> In the Island of Malhado there are two languages; the people of the one are called Caoques, those of the other Han. On the terra firma, over against the island, is another people called Chorrucó, who take their name from the forests where they live. Advancing by the shores of the sea, others inhabit who are called Doguenes, and in the rear of them others by the name of Mendica. Farther along the coast are the Quevenes, and after them, in the interior, the Mariames; and continuing by the coast are others called the Guaycones; and behind them inland, the Yguazes. Back of them are the Atayos; and in their rear others the Acubadaos, and beyond them there are many on the same path. By the coast also live those called Quitoles, and behind, in the interior, are the Avavares, to whom adjoin the Maliacones, the Cutalchiches, and others called Susolas, and the Comos; and by the coast farther on are the Camoles; and on the same coast in advance are those whom we call Los de los Hijos, the people of the figs.<sup>(CC)</sup>

They have all of them habitations, villages, and tongues unlike. Among them there is a language in which, calling to persons for "look here," they say "arre aca," and to a dog "xo." Everywhere they produce stupefaction with a smoke, and to enjoy it they will give whatever they possess. They drink a tea from the leaves of a tree like the oak, which they toast in a pot; and after these are parched, the pot is filled with water and remains on the fire. When the liquor has been twice boiled, they pour it into a jar and cool it, using the half of a calabash. So soon as it is covered thickly with froth it is drunk as

warm as it can be supported; and from the time it is taken from the pot until it is used they are crying aloud, "Who wishes to drink?"<sup>(DD)</sup> When the women hear these cries, they instantly stop, without daring to move; and although they be heavily loaded, they dare do nothing further. Should one of them move, they dishonor her, and beat her with sticks, and, greatly vexed, they throw away the liquor they have prepared; while they who have drunk void it, which they do readily and without pain. They give a reason for the usage, that when they are about to drink, if the women move from where they hear the cry, something malign enters the body in that liquid, and causes them shortly to die.

So likewise at the time of boiling, the vessel must be covered; and if it happens to be open when a woman passes, they use no more of the liquor, but throw it out. Its color is yellow. They are three days in drinking it, taking no nourishment, and every day each one drinks of it an arroba and a half.<sup>(EE)</sup> When the women have their indisposition, they seek food only for themselves, as no one else will eat of what they bring. In the time I was thus among these people I witnessed a diabolical act, a man living with another, who was one of those that are emasculate and impotent. These go habited like women, and perform their duties, use arrows, and carry heavy loads. Among them we saw many thus mutilated as I describe. They are more muscular than other men, and taller: they bear very weighty burthens.<sup>(FF)</sup>

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## OF HOW WE MOVED AWAY AND WERE WELL RECEIVED.

AFTER parting with those we left weeping,\* we went with the others to their houses, and were hospitably received by those in them. They brought their children to us that we might touch their hands, and gave us a quantity of the flour of Mezquiquez. This is a fruit that, while hanging on the tree, is like that of the carob. It is eaten with earth, and thus it is sweet and wholesome. The method they have of preparing it is this: they make a hole in the ground of requisite depth, and, throwing in the fruit, they pound it with a stick the size of the leg, and a fathom and a half in length, until it is well mashed. To that which sticks to the earth of the hole they bring and add more handsfull, turning to beat it again a little time. They afterward throw it into a jar, the shape of a pannier, and pour on water until it rises above and covers the mixture. He that beats tastes it, and if it appears to him not sweet, he asks for earth and stirs it in; and this he does until he finds it sweet. They all sit round; each puts in his hand, and takes out as much as he can, and they throw on to hides the pits and skins. These are taken by him that has pounded, and put into the jar, whereon he pours water as at first. They express the juice and water, and again the pits and skins are thrown upon hides. This they do two or three times to each pounding.<sup>(66)</sup> Those who are present, for whom it is a great banquet, have their stomachs greatly distended by the earth and water they swallow. The Indians made a great feast of this for us; and they had great dances and ceremonies as long as we remained there. At night, while we slept before the door of the camp which we

\* The Arbadaos.—TR.

occupied, each of us was watched by six men with great care, none daring to come in to us until the sun was up.

When we proposed to leave them, some women of another people came there who lived farther along. They informed us whereabouts were their houses, and we set out for them, although the inhabitants entreated us to remain for that day, because the houses whither we were going were distant; there was no path to them; the women had come tired, and would the next day go with us refreshed and show us the way. Soon after we had taken our leave, some of the women who had together come on from the same town followed behind us. As there were no paths in the country we presently got lost, and thus traveled four leagues, when, stopping to drink, we found the women in pursuit of us at the water, who told us the great exertion they had made to overtake us. We went on, taking them for guides, and passed over a river toward evening, the water reaching to the breast. It might be as wide as that at Seville, and its course was very rapid.<sup>(HH)</sup>

At sunset we reached a hundred Indian habitations. Before we arrived all the people who were in them came out to receive us, with such yells as were terrific, striking the palms of their hands violently against their thighs. They brought out gourds bored with holes and having pebbles in them, an instrument for the most important occasions, and produced only at the dance, and to effect cures, and which none but they who have them dare touch. They say that those have virtue, and because they do not grow in that country, that they come from heaven; nor do they know where they are to be found, but only that the rivers bring them in their floods. So great were the fear and distraction of these people, and some of them to reach us sooner than others, that they might touch us, pressed us so closely that they lacked little of killing us; and without letting us put our feet to the ground they carried us to their houses. We were so crowded and pressed upon by numbers, that we went into the houses they had made for us. We would not consent that they should in any way rejoice more that night over us. They passed the night long among themselves in ceremonial and dancing; and the next day they brought to us all the people of that town, that we should touch and bless them as we had blessed others among whom we had been. After they had done this, they

presented many arrows to some women of the other town, who had accompanied theirs.

The next day we left, and all the people of the place went with us; and when we came to other Indians we were as well received as we had been by the last; and they gave us of what they had to eat, and the deer they had killed that day. Among them we witnessed another custom, which is, from those who came to be cured, they who were with us took their bows and arrows, shoes and beads if they wore any, and then would bring them before us that we should cure them. These, after being attended to, would go away highly pleased, saying that they were well. So we parted from these Indians, and went to others by whom we were welcomed. They brought us their sick, which we having blessed, they declared that they were sound: and he that was not healed believed that we could cure him; and with what the others we had cured would relate, they made great rejoicing and dancing, so that they left us no sleep.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## OF ANOTHER STRANGE CUSTOM.

LEAVING these Indians, we went to the numerous dwellings of others. From this place began another novel custom, which is, that while the people received us very well, those who accompanied us began to use them so ill as to take their goods and ransack their houses without leaving them anything. It gave us great concern to witness this unjust procedure, inflicted too on those who received us hospitably; and we feared also that it might provoke offence, and be the cause of some tumult between them; but, as we were in no condition to make it better, or to dare chastise such conduct, for the present we had to bear with it, until the day when we should have greater authority among them. They themselves, also, who lost their effects, noticing our sadness, attempted to console us by saying that we should not be grieved on this account, as they were so gratified at having seen us, that they held their properties as well bestowed, and that farther on they would be repaid by others, who were very rich. On all this journey we had great interruption from the many who followed us; and we could not have escaped from them had we attempted it, for they made great haste to overtake us, that they might touch us. So great was their importunity for this act, that we consumed three hours in going through with them, that they might depart. The next day they brought to us all the inhabitants of the town. The greater part of them were clouded of one eye, and others were in like manner entirely blind,<sup>(1)</sup> which caused in us great astonishment; and are whiter than any of the many we had seen until then.

Here we began to see mountains. They appeared to come in succession from the north sea; and, according to the information the



Indians gave us, we believe they rise fifteen leagues from the sea. We set forth in a direction toward them with these Indians, and they guided us by the way of some kindred of theirs, for they wished to take us only where their friends lived, and were unwilling that their enemies should come to such good, as they thought it was, to see us. After we had arrived, they that went with us plundered the others; but as the people there knew the fashion, they had hidden some things before we arrived; and after they had received us with great festivity and rejoicing, they brought out and presented to us what they had concealed. These were beads, ochre, and some little bags of silver. We, in pursuance of custom, directly gave them to the Indians that came with us; and when they had received them they began their dances and festivities, and sent to call others from a town near by, that they should come to see us.

In the afternoon they all came and brought to us beads, and bows, and trifles of other sort, which we also distributed. Desiring to leave the next day, the inhabitants all wished to take us to others, friends of theirs, who were at the summit of the ridge, and they said that many houses were there, and people who would give us many things. As it was out of our way, we did not wish to go to them, and took our course along the plain near the mountains, which we believed to be not far from the sea. The people of the coast are all evil disposed, and we considered it preferable to travel inland; for those of the interior treated us mildly, and are of a better condition, and we felt sure that we should find it more populous and better provisioned. Moreover, we chose this course because, in traversing the country we should learn particulars of it, so that should God our Lord be pleased to bring any of us thence, and lead us to the land of Christians, we might give some information and news of it. As the Indians saw that we were determined not to go where they would take us, they said that in the direction we would go, there were no inhabitants, nor any pears or other thing to eat, and begged us to tarry there that day, and we accordingly remained. They directly sent two of their number to seek for people in the direction that we wished to go; and the next day we left, taking with us many of the Indians. The women went carrying water, and so great was our authority that no one dared to drink of it without our permission.

Two leagues from there we met those who had gone out, and they said that they had found no one; at which the Indians seemed much cast down, and began again to entreat us to go by way of the mountains. We did not wish to do so, and they, seeing our disposition, took their leave of us with much regret, and returned down the river to their houses, while we ascended along by it. After a little time we came upon two women with burthens, who put them down as they saw us, and brought to us of what they carried. It was the flour of maize. They told us that farther up on that river we should find houses, a plenty of pears, and of that flour. We bade them farewell; for they were going to those whom we had left.

We walked until sunset, and arrived at a town of some twenty houses, where we were received weeping and in great sorrow; for they already knew that wheresoever we should come, all would be pillaged and spoiled by those who accompanied us. When they saw that we were alone, they lost their fear, and gave us pears, but nothing else. We remained there that night, and at dawn the Indians broke upon their houses. As they came upon the occupants unprepared and in supposed security, having no place in which to conceal anything, all they possessed was taken from them, for which they wept much. In consolation the plunderers told them that we were children of the sun, and that we had power to heal the sick and to destroy; and other lies even greater than these, which none know better than they how to tell when they find them convenient. They told them to conduct us with great respect, that they should be careful to offend us in nothing, and should give us all that they might possess, and endeavor to take us where people are numerous; and that wheresoever they arrived with us they should rob and pillage the people of what they have, for that it was customary.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## OF HOW THE INDIANS PLUNDERED ONE ANOTHER.

AFTER they had told and shown these Indians well what to do, they left us together and went back. These, remembering what the others had instructed them in, began to treat us with that same fear and consideration that the others had shown. We went three days' journey with them, and they took us where there were many inhabitants. Before we arrived among them, these informed them of our coming, and told them respecting us all that the first had imparted, and added much more; for all these people are very fond of romance, and are great liars, particularly so where they have any interest. When we arrived near the houses all the inhabitants came out with delight and great festivity to receive us. Among other things, two of their physicians gave us two gourds, and thenceforward we carried these with us, and added to our authority this token, which was highly revered by them. Those who accompanied us rifled the houses, but as these were many and they few, they could not carry away all they took, and they abandoned more than the half.

From here we went along the base of the ridge, striking inland more than fifty leagues, and at the end of them we found more than fifty houses. Among the articles that were given to us, Andres Dorantes received a bell of copper, thick and large, figured with a face, which they had shown, greatly prizing it. They told him that they had gotten it from others, their neighbors; and we asking them whence these had obtained it, they said that it had been brought from the direction of the north, where there was much copper, and that it was highly esteemed. We concluded that whencesoever it came there was a foundery, and that work was done in hollow form.

We departed the next day, and traversed a ridge seven leagues in width. The stones on it are of scoria and iron. At night we arrived at many houses situated on the banks of a very beautiful river. The masters of them came half way on the road to meet us, carrying their children on their backs. They gave us many little bags of pearl, and of pounded antimony, with which they rub the face. They gave us many beads, and many blankets of cowhide, and they loaded all that accompanied us with some of everything they had. They eat pears, and the seed of pines. There are in that country small pine trees, and the cones of them are like small eggs; but the seed is better than those of Castile, as its husk is very thin, and while green it is beat and made into balls, and thus eaten. If dry, it is pounded in its husk, and consumed in the form of flour.

Those who there received us, after they had touched us went back running to their houses, and directly returned, and did not stop running, going and coming, bringing to us in this manner many things for consumption on the way. They fetched a man to me and stated that he had a long time since been wounded by an arrow in the right shoulder, and that the head of the shaft was lodged above his heart, which, he said, gave him much pain, and in consequence he was always sick. I probed the wound and felt the arrow-head, and found that it had passed through the cartilage. With a knife I had, I opened the breast to the place, and saw that the point was reversed, and very difficult to take out. I continued to cut, and, putting in the point of the knife, at last with great difficulty I drew it forth. It was very large. With the bone of a deer, and by virtue of my calling, I made two stitches that threw the blood over me, and with the hair of a skin I stanchd the wound. They asked me for the head after I had taken it out, and I gave it, and the whole town came to look at it, and they sent it into the back country, that the people there might view it. In consequence of this operation they had many dances and festivities, as usual. The next day I cut the two stitches, and the Indian was well. The wound I had made appeared only like a seam in the palm of the hand. The Indian said he did not feel any pain or sensitiveness in it whatever. This cure gave us control over them throughout the land in all that they had power, or deemed of any value or cherished. We showed

them the bell which they had brought, and they told us that in the place whence that had come, there were many plates of the same material buried, and that it was a thing they greatly esteemed, and whence it was there were fixed habitations. The country we considered to be on the South Sea, which we had ever understood to be richer than that of the North.

We left these, and traveled through so many sorts of people, of such diverse languages, that the memory fails to recall them. They ever plundered each other, and those that lost, like those that gained, were fully content. We drew so many followers after us, that we had not use for their services. While on our way through these vales, each of the Indians carried a club three palms in length, and kept himself on the alert. On raising a hare, which are abundant, they surround it directly, and numerous clubs are thrown at it, and with a precision astonishing to see. In this way they cause it to run from one to another; so that, according to my thinking, it is the most pleasing sport that can be conceived of, as oftentimes the animal runs into the hand. So many of them did they give us, that at night when we stopped, each one of us had eight or ten back loads. Those who had bows were not with us, but dispersed about the ridge in quest of deer; and when they came at night they brought five or six for each of us, besides birds, the quail and other game. Indeed, all that they found or killed they put before us, without themselves daring to take anything until we had blessed it, though they should be dying of hunger, for they had so established the custom since marching with us.

The women carried many mats, of which the men made us houses, each of us having a separate one, with all his attendants. After these were put up, we ordered the deer and hares to be roasted, with the rest that had been taken. This was soon done, by means of certain ovens made for the purpose. We took a little of each, and the remainder we gave to the principal personages that came with us, directing them to divide them among the rest. Every one brought his portion to us, that we should give it our benediction; for not until then dared they to eat of it. Frequently we were accompanied by three or four thousand persons, and as we had to breathe upon and sanctify the food and drink for each, and give them permission to do the many things they would come

to ask, it may be seen how great to us were the trouble and annoyance. The women first brought us the pears, spiders, worms, and whatever else they could gather; for even if they were famishing, they would eat nothing unless we gave it to them.

In company with these, we crossed a great river coming from the north, and, passing over some plains thirty leagues in extent, we found many persons who came from a great distance to receive us, and they met us on the road over which we had to travel, and received us in the manner of those we had left.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## OF HOW THE FASHION OF RECEIVING US CHANGED.

FROM this place there was another method of receiving us as respects the pillage. Those who came out in the ways to bring us presents were not plundered, but on our coming into their houses themselves offered us all that they had, and the houses as well. We gave the things to the chief personages who accompanied us, that they should divide them; and those that were despoiled always followed us until coming to a country that was populous, where they might repair their loss. They would tell those among whom we came, that they should retain everything and conceal nothing, as it could not be done without our knowing it, and then that we should cause them to die, for that the sun revealed everything to us. So great was the fear upon them, that during the first days they were with us, they were continually trembling, without daring to do, speak, or raise their eyes to the heavens. They guided us through more than fifty leagues of desert, over very rough mountains, which being very dry were without game, and in consequence we suffered much from hunger.

At the termination we forded a very large river,\* the water coming up to our breasts. From this place many of the people began to sicken from the great privation and labor they had undergone in the passage of those ridges, which were sterile and difficult in the extreme. They conducted us to certain plains at the foot of the mountains, where people came to meet us from a great distance, and they received us as the last had done; and they gave so many of the goods to those who came with us, that the half were left because they could not take them away. I

\* The Arkansas, near its junction with the Canadian River.—Tr.

told those that gave to resume them, that they might not lie there and be lost: but they answered us that they would in nowise do so, for it was not their custom, after they had bestowed a thing, to take it back; and so, considering the goods no longer of value, they left them to perish.\*

We told these people that we desired to go where the sun sets; and they said that they who lived in that direction were remote. We commanded them to send and make known our coming; but they strove to excuse themselves the best they could; for that people were their enemies, and they did not wish us to go to them. Yet they dared not to disobey. They sent two women, one of them their own, and the other a captive from that people, for the women can negotiate even though there be war. We followed them, and stopped at a place where we had agreed to wait for them; but they tarried five days; and the Indians said they could not have found anybody.

We told them to conduct us toward the north, and they answered us as they had done before, saying that in that direction there were no people, except afar off; that there was nothing to eat, nor could water be found. Notwithstanding all this, we persisted, and said that in that course we desired to go; and they still tried to excuse themselves in the best manner possible. At this we became offended, and one night I went out to sleep in the woods, apart from them; but they directly went to where I was, and remained there all night without sleeping, and in great fear, talking to me, and telling me how terrified they were, beseeching us to be no longer angry, and that though they knew they should die on the way, they would nevertheless lead us in the direction we desired to go.

Whilst we still feigned to be displeased, that their fright might not leave them, there happened a remarkable circumstance, which was, that on this same day many of them became ill, and the next day eight men died. Abroad in the country wheresoever this became known, there was such dread, that it seemed as if the inhabitants at sight of us would die of fear. They besought us that we would not remain angered, nor require that more of them should die. They believed that we caused their death by only willing it; when in truth it gave us so much pain

\* El Ynca, L. V, P. I, C. III.—Tr.



that it could not be greater; for beyond the loss of them that died, we feared they might all die, or abandon us out of fear, and all other people thenceforward should do the same, seeing what had come to these. We prayed to God our Lord, that he would relieve them, and thenceforth all those that were sick began to get better.

We witnessed one thing with great admiration, that the parents, and brothers, and wives of those that died had great sympathy for them in their suffering; but after their deaths they showed no feeling, nor did they weep or speak among themselves, nor make any signs, nor did they dare approach the bodies until we commanded that these be taken to be buried.

While we were among these people, which was more than fifteen days, we saw no one speak to another; nor did we see an infant smile; and the only one that cried they took off to a distance, and with the sharp teeth of a rat they scratched it from the shoulders down, and nearly to the ends of the legs. I, seeing this cruelty, and offended at it, asked them why they did so: they said for chastisement, because the child had wept in my presence.<sup>(KK)</sup> These terrors they imparted to all those who had lately come to know us, that they might give us whatever they had; for they knew that we kept nothing, and would give all to them. This people were the most obedient we had found in all the land, the best conditioned, and were usually comely.

The sick having recovered, and it being now three days that we were in the place, the women got back whom we sent away, and said that they had found but very few people, and that they had nearly all gone for cattle, for it was then in the season of them. We ordered the convalescent to remain, and the well to go with us, and at the end of two days' journey those two women should go with two of our number to fetch up the people, and bring them on the road to receive us. Consequently, the next day, in the morning, the most robust departed with us. At the end of three days' travel we stopped, and the next day Alonso del Castillo set out with Estevanico the negro, taking the two women as guides. She that was the captive led them to a river which ran between certain ridges, where there was a town at which her father lived; and these habitations were the first seen that had the appearance and structure of houses.

Here Castillo and Estevanico arrived, and after having talked with the Indians, Castillo returned at the end of three days to the spot at which he had left us, and brought five or six of the people. He told us how he had found fixed dwellings of civilization, and that the inhabitants lived on beans and pumpkins, and that he had seen maize. This news the most of anything in the world delighted us, and for it we gave infinite thanks to our Lord. Castillo told us that the negro was coming with all the population to wait for us in the road not far off. Accordingly we left, and, having traveled a league and a half, we met the negro, and the people coming to receive us; and they gave us beans, and many pumpkins, and calabashes, blankets of cowhide, and other things. As this people and those who came with us were enemies, and spoke not each other's language, we discharged the latter, giving them what we received, and we departed with the others. Six leagues from there, as the night set in, we arrived at the houses, where great festivities were made over us. We remained one day, and the next set out with these Indians, who took us to the settled habitations of others, who lived upon the same food.

From that place onward there was another usage, that those who knew of our approach did not come out to receive us on the roads, as the others had done, but we found them in their houses, and others they had made for our reception. They were all seated with their faces turned to the wall, their heads down, and the hair brought before their eyes, and their property placed in a heap in the middle of their houses. From this place forward they began to give us many blankets of skin, and they had nothing that they did not give to us. They have the finest persons of any that we saw, and of the greatest activity and strength, and who best understood us and intelligently answered our inquiries. We called them *los de las vacas*, the cow nation, because most of the cattle that are killed are destroyed in their neighborhood; and along up that river over fifty leagues they kill great numbers.

They go entirely naked, after the manner of the first we saw. The women are covered with skins of deer, and some few men, chiefly of the aged, who are incapable of fighting. It is a very populous country. We asked them how it was that they did not plant maize: they answered us that it was that they might not lose what they should

have to put in the ground, for that two years in succession the rains had failed, and the seasons had been so dry that all had lost their seed by the moles, and they could not venture to plant again until after the water had fallen copiously. They begged us to tell the sky to rain, and to pray for it; and we told them that we would do so. We also desired to know whence they had got that maize; and they told us from where the sun goes down, and that it grew throughout the region, and that the nearest of it was by that path. Since they did not wish to go thither, we asked them by what direction we might proceed best, and to inform us concerning the way: they said that the path was along up by that river toward the north; and that in a journey of seventeen days\* we should not find anything to eat but a fruit they call chacan, which is ground between stones, and even after this preparation it could not be eaten for its dryness and pungency; which was so, for they showed it to us there, and we could not eat it. They told us also that whilst we traveled by the river upward,\* we should all the way pass through a people that were their enemies, who spoke their tongue, and who had nothing to give us to eat, but would receive us with the best good-will; that they would present us with many blankets of cotton, hides, and other articles of their wealth; but for all this, it appeared to them we ought not by any means to take that course.

Doubting what would be best to do, and which way we should choose for suitableness and support, we remained with these Indians two days, and they gave us beans and pumpkins for our subsistence. Their manner of cooking these is so new, that from its strangeness I desire to speak of it here, that it may be seen and remarked how curious and diversified are the contrivances and ingenuity of the human family. They have not discovered the use of pipkins, and to boil what they would eat, they fill the half of a large calabash with water, and throw on the fire many stones of such as are most convenient and readily take the heat. When hot, they take them up with tongs of sticks, and drop them into the water in the calabash until it boils with the fervor of the stones. Then, whatever is to be cooked is put in, and until it is done they continue taking out the cool stones and throwing in hot ones, that the heat may be kept up: and thus they boil their food.

\* To the West.—TR.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## OF HOW WE TOOK THE WAY TO THE MAIZE.

Two days having been spent while we tarried there, we determined to go in quest of the maize. We did not wish to follow the path that leads to where the cattle are, because it is toward the north, and for us was very circuitous, since we ever held it certain that going toward the sunset we must find that which we desired. Thus we took our way, and traversed all the country until coming out at the South Sea. Nor did the dread we had of the sharp hunger through which we should have to pass (as in verity we did) throughout the seventeen days' journey of which they had spoken, suffice to hinder us. During all that time, in ascending by the river, the natives gave us many blankets of cowhide; and we did not eat of the fruit, but our sustenance each day was about a handful of deer-suet, which we had a long time been used to saving for such trials. Thus we passed the entire journey of seventeen days, and at the end we crossed the river and traveled other seventeen days.<sup>(LL)</sup> As the sun went down, upon some plains that lie there between chains of very great mountains, we found a people who for the third part of the year eat nothing but the powder of a certain straw,<sup>(MM)</sup> and it being that season at the time we passed, we also had to eat of it, until we had reached permanent habitations, where there was abundance of maize in close succession. They gave us a large quantity of it in grain and flour, and calabashes, beans, and blankets of cotton.<sup>(NN)</sup> Of all of these we loaded the people who had guided us there, and they then returned, the happiest creatures on earth.

We gave many thanks to God our Lord, for having brought us there where we had found so much food. Some of the houses were of earth, and the others of cane mats. From this point we marched

through more than a hundred leagues of country, and continually found settled domicils, and great abundance of maize and beans. The people gave us many deer and many blankets of cotton, which were better than those of New Spain; also, many beads, and certain corals that are found in the South Sea, and many of the fine turquoise they have that come from the north. Indeed, they gave us everything they had. To me they gave five emeralds made into arrow-heads, that they use at their celebrations and dances. They appeared to me to be very precious. I asked from whence they had got these; and they said that they were brought from some lofty mountains that stand toward the north, where there were populous towns and very large houses, and that they purchased them in exchange with bunches of plumes and feathers of parrots.

Among this people the women are treated with more decorum than in any part of the Indias we had visited. They wear a shirt of cotton that falls as low as the knee, and over it half sleeves, with skirts reaching to the ground, made of dressed deer skin. It is open in front, and brought close with straps of leather. They soap this with a certain root that extremely cleanses, by which they are enabled to keep it becomingly.<sup>(oo)</sup> This people wear shoes. They all came to us that we should touch and bless them; and for it they were very urgent, so that we could accomplish it only with great labor, for sick and well all wished to go with a benediction. Many times it occurred that of the women who accompanied us some gave birth, and so soon as the children were born they would bring them to us, that we should touch and bless them. The Indians always accompanied us, until they had delivered us to others; and all of them held it in full faith that we came from heaven. While we traveled with them, we went without eating all day until night, and we ate so little they were astonished at it. We never felt exhaustion, neither were we in fact at all weary, so inured were we to hardship. We possessed over them great influence and authority; and to preserve these we talked with them but seldom. The negro was in constant conversation with them; he informed himself about the ways we wished to take, of the towns that there were, and concerning the things of which we desired to know.

We passed through many and dissimilar tongues. Our Lord granted us favor with the people that spoke them, for they always

understood us, and we them. We questioned them and received their answers by signs, just as if they spoke our language and we theirs; for although we knew six languages, we could not everywhere avail ourselves of them, there being a thousand differences.

Throughout all these countries the people who were at war immediately made friends, that they might come to meet us, and bring us all that they possessed. In this way we left all the land at peace, and we taught all the inhabitants by signs which they understood, that in heaven there was a man whom we called God; that he had created the sky and the earth, and him we worshiped and had for our master; that we did what he commanded, and from his hand came all good things, and if they would do as we did all would be well with them. So ready of apprehension did we find them, that if we had had the use of language by which to make ourselves perfectly understood, we should have left them all Christians. Thus much we gave them to understand the best we could; and afterward, when the sun rose, they opened their hands together with loud shouting toward the heavens, and then drew them down all over their bodies. They did the same again when the sun went down. They are a people of good condition and substance, and capable in any pursuit.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

## OF HOW THEY GAVE US THE HEARTS OF DEER.

IN the town where they gave us the emeralds they gave Dorantes over five hundred split hearts of deer, of which they ever keep a great abundance for their consumption, and in consequence we gave that place the name of el pueblo de los corazones, the Town of Hearts. It is the entrance into many provinces that are on the South Sea; and whoever go to seek it and do not enter there, they will be lost; for there is no maize on the coast; the inhabitants eat the powder of corn (*bledo*)<sup>(PP)</sup> and of straw, and fish caught in the sea from rafts, as they have no canoes. The women conceal their nudity with grass and straw. They are a melancholy and emaciated people.

We think that near the coast, by the way of the towns through which we came, there are more than a thousand leagues of inhabited country. It is plentiful of subsistence, for thrice a year it is planted in beans and maize. There are three kinds of deer, one of them the size of the young steer of Castile. There are immovable houses, which the inhabitants call *buhios*. They have poison, which is from a certain tree the size of the apple. No more is necessary for effect than to pluck the fruit and moisten the arrow with it, or, if there be no fruit, to break a twig, and with the milk from it to do the same. This tree is abundant, and so deadly that if the leaves are bruised and steeped in some neighboring water, all the deer and other animals that drink of it soon burst.<sup>(QQ)</sup>

We were in this town three days. A day's journey farther there was another town, at which the rain fell so heavily while we were there, that the river became so swollen we could not cross it, and we were detained fifteen days. In this time Castillo saw on the neck of an

Indian the buckle of a sword-belt, and tied to it a nail for a horse shoe. He received them, and we asked the native what they were, and he answered that they came from heaven. We questioned him further as to who had brought them thence; and they all responded, that certain men who wore beards like us, had come from heaven and arrived at that river, and that they brought horses, and lances, and swords, and that they had lanced two Indians. In a manner of the utmost indifference that we could feign, we then asked them what had become of those men; and they answered us that they had gone to sea, had put their lances beneath the water, and went themselves under the water, and that afterward they were seen on the surface going toward the sunset. We gave many thanks to God our Lord for that which we heard; for we had despaired of ever hearing more news of Christians. But now oppositely were we left in great doubt and gloom, thinking how that people were no more than some who had come by sea on discoveries. However, as we had such exact information of them, we made greater speed on our way; and as we advanced, the news of the Christians continually grew. We told the natives we were going in search of this people, to tell them not to kill them, nor to make them slaves, nor to take them from their country, nor do them other injustice; and of this they were very glad.

We passed through many territories, and we found them all vacant; for their inhabitants wandered fleeing among the mountains, without daring to have houses, or to till the earth, for fear of the Christians. It was a sight of infinite pain to us, the view of a land very fertile and beautiful, abundant in waters and streams, with its hamlets deserted and burnt, the fugitives thin and weak, and all gone and concealed. As they did not plant, they appeased their fierce hunger by eating roots, and the bark of trees. We bore a share in this famine on the whole length of the journey, for these unfortunates could but poorly provide for us, being so reduced that they looked as though they would willingly die. They brought to us blankets of those which they had hidden because of the Christians, and gave them to us; and moreover, they related to us how the Christians at other times had entered by land, and had destroyed and burnt the towns, carrying away half of the men, and all the women and boys, and that those who had been able to



escape were wandering about fugitives. We found them so alarmed that they dared not remain anywhere. They would not, nor could they plant, but preferred to suffer rather than to live in dread of such cruel usage as they had received. They showed themselves very greatly delighted with us; yet we feared that on our arrival among those who held the frontier and fought for it against the Christians, they would treat us badly, and revenge upon us the conduct of their enemies. But when God, our Lord, was pleased to bring us to where they were, they began to dread and respect us as the others had done, and even somewhat more; at which we remained a little wondering; whence it may be very clearly seen that to bring all these people to be Christians and to the obedience of Imperial Majesty, they must be won by kindness, and that this is a certain way, and no other is.

They took us to a town on the edge of a range of mountains, to which the ascent is over difficult crags. We found many people there collected together, out of fear of the Christians. We received more than two thousand back loads of maize, which we gave to the distressed and hungered beings who had guided us to that place. The next day we dispatched four messengers through the country, as we were accustomed to do, that they should call together all the rest of the Indians they could at a town distant three days' journey. We departed the day after, with all the people. We continually discovered the tracks and marks of where the Christians had slept. At midday we met our messengers, who told us that they had found no Indians, for they were roving for concealment in the forests, fleeing, that the Christians might not kill them, nor make them slaves: that the night before they had observed the Christians from behind some trees, and noticed what they were about, and they saw that they were carrying away many natives in chains.

They who came with us were alarmed at this intelligence, and some of them returned to spread the news over the land, that the Christians were coming; and many more would have done the same had we not forbid it, and told them to cast aside their fear; and with this they reassured themselves, and were well content. At that time we had Indians with us belonging a hundred leagues behind, but we were in no condition to discharge them, that they could return to their

homes. To encourage them, we stayed there that night, and the day after we marched, and slept on the road. The day following, those we had sent forward as messengers guided us to where they had seen Christians. We arrived there in the afternoon, and saw at once that they had told the truth. We perceived that the persons were mounted, by the stakes to which the horses had been tied.

From this spot, which is at the river called Petutan, to the river to which Diego de Guzman came, where we heard of the Christians, may be as many as eighty leagues; thence to the town where the rains overtook us twelve leagues, and it is twelve leagues from the South Sea. Throughout this region, wheresoever the mountains extend, we saw clear traces of gold and antimony, iron, copper, and other metals. Where the settled habitations are the climate is hot; even in January it is very warm. From thence toward the equator, the country, which is desert to the North Sea, is unhappy and sterile. There we underwent great and incredible hunger. Those who inhabit and wander over it are a very wild race, of savage nature and cruel customs. The people of fixed residences, and those back of them, regard silver and gold with indifference; nor can they conceive for what they can be useful.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

## HOW WE SAW MARKS OF CHRISTIANS.

AFTER we saw sure signs of Christians, and heard how near we were to them, we gave thanks to God our Lord for having chosen to bring us out of a captivity so melancholy and wretched. The delight that we felt let each one conjecture, when he shall remember the length of time we were in that country, and the pains and perils we underwent. That night I entreated one of my companions to return three days' journey after the Christians who were moving about over the country to which we had given assurances of protection. They received this proposal badly, excusing themselves because of weariness and exhaustion; and although either of them might have done it better than I, being younger and more athletic, yet seeing their unwillingness, the next morning I took the negro and eleven Indians with me, and, following the Christians by the trail they left, I traveled ten leagues and passed three villages, at which they had slept. The next day I overtook four of them on horseback, who were astonished at the sight of me, so strangely habited as I was, and in the company of Indians. They stood staring at me a length of time so confounded, that they neither hailed me nor drew near to make any inquiry. I told them to take me to their chief; and accordingly we went together for half a league to where Diego de Alcaraz, their captain, was.

After we had conversed, he stated to me that he was completely lost there, for he had been unable in many days to take any Indians; he knew not which way to go, and they had already begun to experience hunger and privation. I told him how Castillo and Dorantes remained behind ten leagues off with a multitude that conducted us. He thereupon sent to them three cavalry, with fifty of the Indians that accom-

panied him. The negro went back to guide them, and I remained. I asked the Christians to give me a certificate of the year, month, and day that I had arrived there, and of the manner of my coming; and they accordingly did so. From this river\* to the town of the Christians, which is named San Miguel, within the government of the province they call New Galicia, there are thirty leagues.

\* Petutan.—Tr.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## OF HOW I SENT FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

FIVE days having elapsed, Andres Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo arrived with those who had been sent after them, and they brought with them more than six hundred persons of that town whom the Christians had driven up into the woods, and who had wandered in concealment over the land. Those who had accompanied us so far had drawn them out, and given them to the Christians, who thereupon dismissed those they had brought with them: they having come to where I was, Alcaraz begged me that we would send to summon the people of the towns on the banks of the river, who straggled about under cover of the woods, and command them to bring us something to eat. This last was unnecessary, for they were ever diligent to bring us all that they could. We directly sent our messengers to call them, and there came six hundred souls, who brought us all the maize in their possession. They fetched it in certain jars closed up with clay, which they had buried and concealed. They brought us whatever else they had, but we wished only the provision, and the rest we gave to the Christians, that they might divide it among themselves. After this we had many and high words with them, for they wished to make slaves of the Indians that had brought us.

In consequence of the difficulty, we left, at our departure, many bows of Turkish shape that we had along with us, and many pouches. The five arrows with the points of emerald were forgotten among the others, and we lost them. We gave the Christians many blankets of cowhide, and other things which we brought. We found great trouble to induce the Indians to return to their houses, to feel no apprehension, and to plant corn. They were willing to do nothing until they had

been with us, and delivered us into the hands of other Indians, as had been the custom; for if they returned without doing so, they were afraid they should die; and while in our company they feared neither Christians nor lances. Our countrymen were made jealous by this, and caused it to be told to them in their tongue that we were of them, that we had for a long time been lost, and that we were persons of mean condition and low esteem; but that they were the lords of that land, whom the Indians should obey and serve. They cared little or nothing for what was told to them, and conversed among themselves, saying that the Christians lied, for we had come from whence the sun rises, and they whence it goes down; that we healed the sick, and they killed the sound; and that we had come naked and barefooted, and they in clothing and on horses, and with lances: that we were not covetous of anything, but that all that was given to us we directly turned to give, remaining with nothing; and the others, that they had no purpose but to rob whomsoever they found, and give nothing to any one.

In this way they spoke of all the matters concerning us, and they enhanced these by contrasting them with those of the others, and their response was delivered accordingly, and translated into the language of the Christians. They made it known to the other Indians by means of a tongue they have among them, through which they understood us. Those to whom it belongs we call distinctively *Primahaitu*, which is like saying Biscayans.<sup>(RR)</sup> We found it in use over more than four hundred leagues of our travel, without another in the whole extent. Even to the last I could not convince the Indians that we were of the Christians, and with great effort and solicitation we got them to return to their residences. We commanded them to put aside apprehension, establish their towns, plant and cultivate the soil. From abandonment it had already grown up thickly in trees. It is doubtless the best there is in all these Indias, the most prolific and plenteous in provision. Three times in the year it is planted. It produces a great variety of fruit; it has beautiful rivers, and other many and good waters. There are ores, and clear marks of gold and silver. Its people are well disposed: they serve such Christians as are their friends with great good-will. They are good-looking, much more so than the Mexicans. Indeed, it is a land that needs no quality to make it blessed.<sup>(SS)</sup>

The Indians, at taking their leave, told us that they would do what we had commanded, and would build their towns, if the Christians would suffer them; and this I say and affirm most positively, that if they have not done so it is the fault of the Christians.

After we had dismissed the Indians in peace, and thanked them for the toil they had supported with us, the Christians with subtlety sent us on under charge of one Zeburos, an alcalde, who was attended by two men. They took us by the way of forests and solitudes, to hinder us from intercourse with the natives, that we might neither witness nor have knowledge of the act they would commit. It is but an instance of how frequently men are mistaken in their aims; for we, who went about to preserve the liberty of the Indians, when we thought that we had secured it, the contrary appeared; for the Christians had arranged to go and spring upon those we had sent away in peace and confidence. They executed their plan as they had designed it, taking us through the woods, wherein for two days we were lost, without water and without way. Seven of our men died of thirst, and we all of us thought to have perished. Many of the friends of the Christians who accompanied them were unable to reach the place where we got water the second night, until the noon of the next day. We had traveled twenty-five leagues, a little more or less, and reached a town of friendly Indians. The alcalde left us there, and we went on three leagues farther to a town called Culiazan, where was Melchoir Diaz, principal alcalde and captain of the province.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

OF HOW THE CHIEF ALCALDE RECEIVED US KINDLY THE NIGHT OF OUR ARRIVAL.

THE chief alcalde had heard of the expedition, and our return, and immediately that night he left and came to where we were. He wept with us, giving many praises to God our Lord for having extended to us so much care. He comforted and entertained us kindly, and in behalf of the Governor, Nuño de Guzman, and himself, he tendered to us all that he had, and the services within his power. He showed much regret for the seizure, and for the injustice we had received from Alcaraz and others. We were sure that, had he been present, that which was done to the Indians and to us would not have occurred.

The night having passed, we departed the next day. The chief alcalde besought us to tarry there, as in this we could do eminent service to God and your Majesty; for that the land was deserted and without tillage, and all badly wasted; the Indians were fleeing and concealing themselves in the thickets, unwilling to occupy their towns; that we should send to call them, and in behalf of God and your Majesty we should command them to return to live in the plains and cultivate the ground.

To us this appeared very difficult to effect, for we brought with us no Indian of our own, nor of those who would accompany us according to custom, intelligent in these affairs. At last we attempted it with two of the Indians who were brought there captives from that country, and were with the Christians whom we first overtook. They had seen the people who conducted us, and learnt from them the great authority and command we had carried with us throughout those parts and exercised, the wonders we had worked, the sick we had cured, and the other many things. We commanded them, with others of the town, that



they should go together to summon the hostile Indians among the mountains, and those of the river Petaan, where we had found the Christians, and say to them that they must come to us, that we wished to speak to them. For their protection, and as a token to the others of our will, we gave them a gourd of those we were accustomed to bear in our hands, which had been our principal insignia and mark of high rank, and with this they departed.

They were gone seven days, and returned with three chiefs of those who were revolted among the ridges, who brought with them fifteen men, and presented us beads, turquoises, and feathers. The messengers told us that they had not found the people of the river where we appeared, for the Christians had made them flee again into the ridges. Melchoir Diaz said to them on our part, in the language he was accustomed to speak with those Indians, that we came in the name of God, who is in heaven; that we had traveled about the world many years, telling all the people we found that they should believe in God, and serve him, for that he is the master of all things on the earth; that he benefits and rewards the virtuous, and to the bad he gives perpetual punishment of fire; that when the good die, he takes them to heaven, where none ever die, nor feel cold, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor any inconvenience whatsoever, but the greatest enjoyment possible to conceive: that those who will not believe in him, nor obey his commands, he casts beneath the earth into the company of demons, and into a great fire, which is never to cease, but torment everlastingly. That over this, if they desired to be Christians and serve God in the way that we required them to do, the Christians would cherish them as brothers, and behave towards them very kindly: that we would command them to give no offence, nor take them from their territories, but be their great friends: but if they did not do this, the Christians would treat them very badly, and would take them away as slaves into other lands.

To this they answered in the same tongue, that they would be true Christians, and serve God: and being asked to whom they sacrifice and offer worship, and from whom they ask rain for their corn fields, and health for themselves, they answered, of a man who is in heaven. We inquired of them his name, and they told us Aguar; and they believed that he had created the whole world, and the things in it. We returned

to question them as to how they knew this; and they answered that their fathers and grandfathers had told them, and from distant time came their knowledge of it; and that they knew that rain and all good things were sent to them by him. We told them that the name of him of whom they spoke we called God, and if they would call him so, and would worship him as we directed, they would find their welfare. They responded, that they had well understood what we had said, and that they would do accordingly. And we commanded them to descend from the mountains and come in confidence and peace, inhabit the whole country, build their houses, and among these they should build one for God, and at its entrance place a cross like that which we had present; and when the Christians should come among them, they should go out to receive them with their crosses in their hands, without bows and without arms, and that they should take them to their dwellings and give them of what they had to eat, and they would do no harm, but be their friends; and they told us that they would do as we had commanded.

The captain gave them blankets, and entertained them; after which they returned, taking with them the two captives that had been used as emissaries. This took place before the notary, and in the presence of many witnesses.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## OF HOW WE MADE THEM BUILD CHURCHES IN THAT LAND.

As soon as these Indians returned, all those of that province friendly to the Christians, and who heard of us, came to visit us, and they brought us beads and feathers. We commanded them to build churches and put crosses in them; for to that time none had been raised; and we made them bring the children of their principal men to be baptized.

Then the captain made a solemn vow to God, not to invade nor consent to invasion, nor to enslave any of that country and people to whom we had guaranteed safety: and that this he would enforce and defend until your Majesty, and the Governor Nuño de Guzman, or the Viceroy in your name, should direct what would be most to the service of God and your Majesty.

After the children had been baptized, we departed for the town of San Miguel, where, so soon as we came, Indians arrived who told us that many people had come down from the mountains and were living on the plains; that they had made churches, and crosses, and did all that we required: and each day we heard how these things were going on fully completing.

Fifteen days of our residence having passed, Alcaraz got back with the Christians from the incursion, and they related to the captain the manner in which the Indians had come down and peopled the plain; that the towns were populous which before had been tenantless and deserted, and that the residents had come forth to receive them with crosses in their hands, and had taken them to their houses and given them of what they had, and the Christians had slept with them over night. They were astonished at a thing so novel; but, as the Indians

told them that they had been assured of their safety, it was ordered that they should receive no injury, and the Christians took a friendly leave.

God our Lord of his infinite mercy is pleased that in the days of your Majesty, under your might and dominion, these nations should come to be thoroughly and voluntarily subject to the true Lord, who created and redeemed. We regard this as certain, and that your Majesty is to be he who is to do so much, not difficult to accomplish; for in the two thousand leagues we traveled on land, and on water in boats, and in that which we traveled unceasingly for ten months after coming out of captivity, we found neither sacrifices nor idolatry. In the time we thus traversed from sea to sea, from the information gathered with great diligence, it appears that from one to the other, at the widest part, may be a distance of two thousand leagues, and we learnt that on the southern coast there are pearls and great riches, and that all the best and most opulent countries are near there.

We were in the village of San Miguel until the fifteenth day of May, and the cause of our so long detention was because from thence to the city of Compostella, where the Governor, Nuño de Guzman, resided, there is a hundred leagues of country which was entirely devastated and filled with enemies, and where it was necessary we should have protection. There went with us twenty mounted men for forty leagues, and after that six Christians accompanied us, who had with them six hundred slaves. Arrived at Compostella, the governor entertained us graciously, and gave us of his clothing for our own. I could not for many days wear that which I had, nor could we sleep anywhere but on the ground. After ten or twelve days we left for Mexico, and all along on the way we were well entertained by Christians. Many came out on the roads to gaze at us, and they gave thanks to God for his having saved us through so many calamities. We arrived at Mexico on Sunday, one day before the vespers of Saint Iago, where we were handsomely treated by the Viceroy and the Marquis del Valle,\* and welcomed with joy. They gave us clothes, and offered us whatsoever they had. On the day of Saint Iago there was a celebration, and a joust of reeds and bulls.

\* Antonio de Mendoza and Hernan Cortés.—Tr.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF WHAT OCCURRED WHEN I WISHED TO RETURN.

AFTER I had rested in Mexico two months, I desired to return to these kingdoms, and being about to embark in the month of October, there came a storm that capsized the ship, and she was lost. In consequence of this, I determined to remain until the winter had passed, for in those parts it is a boisterous season for navigation. After the winter had gone, Dorantes and I left Mexico about Lent, to take shipping at Vera Cruz. We remained there waiting for wind until Palm Sunday, when we went on board, where we were detained fifteen days longer for a wind. In this time the vessel in which I was leaked a great deal, so that I left her, and went to one of two others that were ready to sail, but Dorantes remained.

On the tenth day of April, the three vessels left the port, and sailed together one hundred and fifty leagues. Two of them made a very great deal of water, and one night the vessel I was in lost their company; for their navigators and masters, as it afterwards proved, dared not proceed with the vessels; so, without telling us of their intention, or leaving us to know more of them, they put back to the port they had left. We pursued our voyage, and on the fourth day of May we entered the harbor of Havana, in the Island of Cuba. We remained there waiting for the other two vessels, believing them to be on their way, until the second day of June, when we sailed, in much fear of falling in with Frenchmen, as a few days before they had taken three Spanish vessels. Having arrived at the Island of Bermuda, we were struck by a storm such as take those who pass there, according to what they say who sail thither. All one night we considered ourselves lost, and I am thankful that when the morning came, the storm ceased and we went on our course.

At the end of twenty-nine days after our departure from Havana, we had sailed eleven hundred leagues, which it is said there are thence to the town of Azores. The next day, passing by the island they call Cueruo, we fell in with a French ship. At the hour of noon she began to follow, bringing with her a caravel captured from the Portuguese, and gave us chase. In the evening we saw nine other sail, but they were so distant that we could not make out whether they were Portuguese or of the same flag that pursued us. At dark the Frenchman was within the shot of a lombard from our ship, and when it was dark we stole from our course to evade him; and this we did three or four times. It was at his pleasure to take us then, or leave us until the morning. I remember with gratitude that when the sun rose, and we found ourselves close with the Frenchman, that near us were the nine sail which I have said we saw the evening previous, and which we now recognized to be of the fleet of Portugal. I gave thanks to our Lord for having saved me from the danger of the land and the perils of the sea; for the Frenchman, as he discovered their character, let go the caravel he had taken with a cargo of negroes as a prize, and which he had kept with him to make us think he was a Portuguese, that we might wait for him. When he cast her off he told the pilot and the master of her that we were French and under his convoy. This said, he put out sixty oars from his ship, and thus with these and sail, he commenced to flee, moving so fast that it was hardly credible. The caravel that he let go went to the galleon, and informed the commander that our ship was French. As ours were drawing nigh to the galleon, and all the fleet saw that we were coming down upon them, they made no doubt that we were French, and, putting themselves in order of battle, they bore up for us, and when near we hailed them. Finding that we were friends, they discovered that they were mocked in permitting the corsair to escape them, by being told that we were French and of his company.

Four caravels were sent in pursuit. The galleon drawing nigh, after salutation from us, the commander, Diego de Silveira, asked us whence we came, and what merchandize we carried; and we answered him that we came from New Spain, and were loaded with silver and gold. He asked us how much there might be; and the captain told

him that we carried three hundred thousand castellanos.<sup>(TT)</sup> The commander answered, "Boa fe que venis muito ricos, pero trazedes muy ruin navio y muyto ruyn artilleria, o fide puta can a renegado frãccs, y que bon bocado perdio bota deus. Ora sus pos vos avedes escapado seguime, y non vos apartedes de mi, que cõ ajuda de deus en vos porne en Castela."<sup>(UU)</sup>

After a little time, the caravels that had pursued the Frenchman returned, for plainly he moved too fast for them, and they did not wish to leave the fleet, which was guarding three ships that came laden with spices. Thus we reached the Island of Terceira, where we reposed fifteen days, taking refreshment and waiting the arrival of another ship that was coming with a cargo from India, and a companion of the three of which the fleet came in charge. The time having run out, we parted thence with the fleet, and arrived at the port of Lisbon on the ninth of August, in the afternoon of the day of our master, Saint Lawrence, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven.

That it is true what I have stated in my foregoing narrative, I subscribe it with my name.

CABEZA DE VACA.

The relation whence this has been copied, is signed with his name, and bears the impress of his escutcheon.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF WHAT BEFELL THE REST WHO WENT TO THE INDIAS.

SINCE giving this full account of the facts attending the voyage to Florida, the invasion, and the going out from thence, and our return into these realms, I desire to write what became of the ships, and the persons that remained in them. I have not touched this before, for we knew nothing about them until we came into New Spain, where we found many of the persons, and others here in Castile, from whom we heard the incidents and final event.

At the time we left the three ships, for one ship had been lost on the breakers, they were in much danger, and there were on board near a hundred souls with few stores. Among them were ten married women, and one of them had told the Governor many things that afterward befell him in the voyage. She cautioned him before he went inland not to go, for that she was confident that neither he nor any that were going with him would ever return; but, if there should any come back, the Almighty would work great wonders in his behalf, though she believed that few or none would escape. The Governor said that he and all that were to follow him were going to fight and conquer many and very unknown nations and countries, and he knew that in overcoming them many would be slain, but that those who survived would arrive to no common fortune, as, from the information he had of the great riches of that land, they must become very wealthy. And further he said to her, that he begged she would inform him whence she had learnt these things she had then spoken of, and before time. She said to him that in Castile a Moorish woman of Hornachos had told them to her. This she had said to us before we left Castile, and while on the passage many things happened to us as she had predicted.



After the Governor had made Caravallo, a native of Cuenca de Huete, his lieutenant and commander of the ships and people that were left, with the order that they should use all diligence to repair on board, and proceed directly on the way to Panuco, always keeping along the shore, and examining the best they could for the harbor, and that on finding it they should enter there and wait our arrival. They say that when they had betaken themselves to the ships, all of them present saw that woman, and distinctly heard her say to the females, that well, since their husbands had gone inland and put their persons in so great jeopardy, their wives should in no way take more account of them, but ought soon to be looking after whom they would marry, for that she should do so. She did accordingly, and she and the others were married, or became the concubines to those that remained in the ships.

After we left, the ships made sail and took up their course onward, but did not find the harbor, and returned. Five leagues below the place at which we had debarked, they found a harbor which entered the land seven or eight leagues. It was the same that we had discovered when we found the cases of Castile spoken of containing the dead bodies of men, which proved to be those of Christians. In this haven, and along this coast, the three ships passed with the other ships and the brigantine that came from Cuba, looking for us nearly a year; and as they did not find us they went to New Spain.

The haven of which we speak is the best in the world, and lies inland seven or eight leagues. It has six fathoms of water at the entrance, and five near the land. The bottom is fine white sand. There is no sea on it, nor boisterous tempest, and it can shelter many vessels. Fish are in abundance. It is a hundred leagues from Havana, a town of Christians in Cuba, and is with it North and South. Here the north-east winds ever prevail; and vessels go from one to the other and return in four days, for the reason that they sail either way on the quarter.

As I have given account of the ships, it may be well that I say who are, and from what parts of these kingdoms come the persons whom our Lord has been pleased to set free from these misfortunes. The first is Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, native of Salamanca, son of Doctor Castillo and Doña Aldonza Maldonado: the second is Andres Dorantes, son of Pablo Dorantes, native of Bejar, and citizen of Gibraleon: the

third is Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, son of Francisco de Vera, and grandson of Pedro de Vera, he that conquered the Canary;<sup>(vv)</sup> and his mother's name was Tereza Cabeza de Vaca, native of Xeres de la Frontera. The fourth is named Estevanico: he is an Arabian black, native of Azamor.

DEO GRACIAS.



## NOTES.

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(A) He arrived at the Island of San Domingo about the month of September, in the year 1527, and he left Cuba, returning to Spain, on the 2d day of June, 1537. From the time he landed in Florida until he arrived at the Spanish settlements on the Gulf of California there was an interval of eight years, and one year more elapsed before he left Vera Cruz.

It is necessary, at the beginning, to understand his mode of reckoning time: a day, and a part of the day before and of the one after, he would count as three days.

(B) Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, the same who went with Soto from Cuba, as his lieutenant-general in the year 1539, and returned to the Island from Tampa Bay after the first skirmish.—EL INCA, l. i, c. xii.

(C) Seventeen and a half leagues, according to the usage of the Spanish and Portuguese navigators of the time, measured one degree, which gives three and a half geographical miles to each league.—HERRERA, His. General, d. iii, l. vi, c. vii.

A mile will often be found nearer the distance accounted league in the narrative.

(D) Oviedo speaks of buhios as distinguished from other forms of Indian habitations in being made with two sheds, "fechas a dos aguas." The word was used on Tierra Firme, and the Island of Hispaniola, where Cabeza probably heard it; but from what appears farther on in the narrative, he seems to have understood it only as a general name.

(E) This appears to have been the first difficulty the Spaniards had with the natives.

When Soto came with his army to a town of Tampa Bay, the cacique refused to intrust his person with the Spaniards, giving as a reason, that Narvaez had

caused his nose to be cut off and his mother to be torn in pieces by dogs. This is according to the statement in Garcilasso, lib. ii, cap. ii; but the narrative of the Portuguese, of which I suppose Alvaro Fernandez to be the author, is silent on the subject. There is nothing of it either in the report of Biedma, or in the letter of Soto to the municipality of Saint Jago de Cuba, which gives a circumstantial account of what had occurred since leaving Havana, to the 9th day of July, within a short time of marching into the interior; nor does anything of the kind appear in the relation of Herrera, which was sketched from additional authorities. If such an act had been committed, it was little likely to have faded from the memory of the High Sheriff; and it would seem quite as improbable that he could have refrained from making it known. The report and the letter are known to the public through the French translations of Ternaux.—*Recueil*, HERRERA, d. vii, l. i, g. xv; and l. vii, c. xii.

(F) In the Second Part of De Bry's Voyages and Discoveries, there are pictures descriptive of the Indians and their customs, such as were observed by the French chiefly about the entrance of the Saint John's River [River May], and not long after the middle of the sixteenth century, which may be found interesting to examine in connection with this account. The volume of Bernard Romans, "A Concise History of East and West Florida," printed in 1775, and which, unfortunately, has become fully as scarce as this work, published toward the close of the sixteenth century, shows the customs and character of the tribes along the Gulf coast, seventy-five years ago, to have differed but little from those that Cabeza had before described.

(G) It is difficult to designate the point at which Narvaez crossed the Sawanee River, or to mark the line of country on his way thence to the sea. From the length of time employed in marching from the Withlacooche River to the Sawanee, it is pretty evident that he struck the river high up; and from no river afterward being spoken of in going to the sea, that he was conducted by the Indians through the least fertile and least inhabited districts, they showing him a small town and some fields of corn as all that composed Apalache. He appears to have been guided along upon the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, about the heads of the streams on which to the south a few years later were found considerable towns, a numerous population, and extensive plantations: and they brought him at last to a place distant from their dwellings. Garcilasso de la Vega, who seems to have had this narrative before him at the time of writing his account of the march of Soto, thinks that the course of Narvaez had been to the south of it, and that the town was not the principal, but one of small importance.

(H) He means, no doubt, the elk, the antelope, and the common deer: the two first he probably saw afterward farther to the west.

(I) See Note X.

(K) The palmo, palm, is the measure of two linear quantities, the one of the spread hand from the extremity of the little finger to that of the thumb; the other of the four fingers of the hand placed together.—*Diccionario de la lengua Castellana*, word "Palmo."

(L) Five fanegas measure nearly eight bushels; so that the quantity of maize got in Ante was about six hundred and forty bushels.—KELLY'S *Universal Cambist*.

(M) The appearance that this place presented in the year 1539, when visited by a squadron from the army of Soto under Juan de Añasco, is thus stated by the Ynca:—

Guided by three Indians, they arrived at a very wide and spacious bay, and, keeping its shore, they came to the place at which Pamphilo de Narvaez had stopped. They saw where there had been a furnace in which were made the spikes for his boats, and much charcoal was lying about it. They saw also some large hollowed logs, which had been used as troughs for feeding horses.

The Indians showed them the place where the enemy had killed ten of the Spaniards, and as Cabeza de Vaca has written it in his history. They took them step by step over all that Narvaez had gone, and they pointed them to the spots where such and such an event had passed. Finally, they left no memorable thing which had occurred to Pamphilo de Narvaez in that bay untold, by signs and by words well or badly understood, some of them spoken in the Castilian, which they had learned beforetime.

The Captain Añasco and his soldiers sought diligently in the holes and under the bark of trees for letters, in the places where it was the custom of the discoverers to conceal them, that they might have account of what those who had gone before had seen and observed; but they discovered nothing they desired to find. After this they followed the shore of the bay to the sea three leagues, and with the ebb tide ten or twelve swimmers went out with some old canoes which they found abandoned, and sounded the depths of the bay in mid-channel.—Qa. P. del L. 2o, cap. vi.

I am aware that in venturing to designate the bay of Apalachicola as that of Cavallos, I have gone wide of the only point in the route on which history appears to have settled with confidence, and that I have even run contrary to some authority, such as that to be drawn from the account in Herrera of the

march of Soto, and that of Charlevoix, who was at San Marcos de Apalache in the year 1722, and there wrote: Cette Baye est précisément ce que Garcilasso de la Vega appelle dans son Histoire de la Floride le Port d'Auté.—Let. xxxiv.

It is not improbable that the course of march through this country may yet be ascertained with some particularity, perhaps with those additional circumstances that would be known only to the Indians, and which the missionaries of Christianity, who formed early settlements in Florida, are likely to have preserved in their writings among matters of more sober interest. My expectations, however, are very moderate; for in a long series of years the additions to the early history of the southern portion of the United States have been very small. Of those religious men we know even less of their perils and peaceful conquests, and only but a little more of the destruction of their establishments, and a number of themselves, in the early part of the eighteenth century. Some idea is formed of the number and extent of these settlements from two sheets in the Atlas of Popple, 1773, and a map, Carolinae, Floridae, nec non Insularum, Bajamensium, cum partibus adjacentibus delineatio; published at Nuremberg in the year 1775.

(N) In the year 1540, when the soldiers under Soto came to the town of Mavila, they heard that Don Dorotheo, with his companion, had been there, and they were shown a dirk that had been his.—*Relation par BIEDMA: Recueil*, p. 72.

The Greek, having got thus far in safety, could have learned the difficulties of traversing the region of water and swamp on the other side of the great river in advance, and may have traveled inland. It is possible that, invited by the appearance of a country plentiful in subsistence, and of a less barbarous people, he may, as we shall see hereafter, have taken "the road to the cattle," and, getting far north, have passed his life among the hunters of the bison.

(O) Juego de herradura. The expression refers to the distance the bar of iron is thrown in the exercise of *el juego de la barra*, much practiced in Spain, and the passion of the Navares. The instrument, often a crowbar, is grasped in the middle and cast erect, so as to fall point downward.

(P) See DE BRY'S *Voyages and Discoveries*, Part 1, xiii plate; also, Part 2, iii plate.

(Q) These words, and others of like import in Biedma, I suppose to refer to a discovery made in the first voyage of Garay. The northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, according to Peter Martyr, had been run by him in the year 1518.

"But *Garaius* searching those shores after the death of *Iohannes Pontius*, saith hee founde *Florida*, to be no Iland, but by huge crooked windings & turn-

inges to bee ioyned to this mayne Continent of *Tenustitan*." \* \* \* \* "and as wee gather by the Chart or map which *Garaius* his painters brought, it bendeth like a bow, so that descending from *Tenustitan* to the North, it bendeth alwayes more and more to the middle of a bowe. And presently againe it bendeth by litle and litle to the South, so that if a line be stretched from the shore of *Teunstitan*, to that part of the lande which *Iohannes Pontius* first touched, from the North side of *Fernandina*, it will make the string of the bow. *Garaius* thinketh that coast to be very litle profitable, because he sawe tokens & signes of small store of golde, and that not pure."—*De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe*: Lok's translation, 5 D., 1 ch., fol. 176: also 8 D., 2 and 3 ch.

In the third volume of Navarrete's collection of voyages and discoveries is the royal patent issued in 1521 to Francisco Garay, authorizing him to colonize the province of Amichel, on the main land, which, it sets forth, he had discovered in the year 1519, with four ships under command of Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, while sailing toward the cape of Florida searching for a strait; and that, according to his report, the land of Florida intercepting his course, he sailed back, and, following the coast along carefully, examined the country, ports, and rivers, until he came upon Hernando Cortez on the same shore; thence having marked the limit of discovery of more than three hundred leagues, he sailed back, exploring, and returned; that accordingly, Diego Velasquez, Juan Ponce de Leon, and he, have been the discoverers of all that land: and it is ordered that a surveyor settle the lines of their discoveries. With this document is connected a plat of the decision. The limit of Ponce on the Gulf is much farther to the north than the account in Herrera will allow him to have sailed. The patent is of some interest. It enjoins that the Indians are to be well treated and not enslaved, that the women are not to be violated, promises are to be kept, and that no gaming, games, or cards are to be allowed; and no doubt in its time it constituted what would be called at this day a close charter.

Conclusive as may seem to be the authority and the evidence for believing these voyages to have been the first, there is still another map (for a knowledge and a copy of which I am indebted to Peter Force), in the geography of Ptolemy, printed at Venice in 1513, that gives with general accuracy the peninsula of Florida, and a river in the Gulf coast that appears to have been intended to represent the Mississippi. A geography under the same name, and with a like map, was issued in 1525, whereon the region of Florida is marked *Parias*, as it were to distinguish the Northern from the Southern continent, which is called *Terra Nova*. A geography, "*Orbis Typus*," printed at Nuremberg in 1515, contains a brief account of *Parias*, described as a large island, and of its inhabitants, their customs, and its products.





(R) —porque se havian passado de una casa a otra. It means, probably, for quitting one tribe to go to another; as he says that those of a family or lineage live apart from the rest.

(S) Mendez was one of the number who had been sent to Panuco; Esquivel had belonged to the boat of the Controller and the Commissary.

(T) Bernal Diaz gives his portrait from recollection, after the lapse of half a century, as he saw him in New Spain in the year 1520.

Narvaez was in appearance about forty-two years of age; tall, very muscular, of full face, and had a red beard. He reasoned well, his presence was agreeable, leisurely in discourse, with a voice of great volume, like that of one in a vault. He rode well, and was reputed to be courageous. The place of his nativity was Valladolid, or Tudela on the Duero. He was married to a lady María de Valenzuela. He had been a captain in Cuba, was wealthy, and said to be penurious. He had an eye put out in the time we overthrew him. He went to Castile to complain of Cortez and us, and His Majesty conferred on him the government of Florida, in which country he expended all his treasure and was lost.—*Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva-España*, cap. ccv.

(U) The boat of the Comptroller met with the disaster at the mouth of Pensacola Bay, and the people reached the land on the western shore. Being joined there by those from the Governor's boat, they continued along the coast until they came to the bay at the mouth of the Perdido River, where they were crossed by Narvaez to the opposite side. Before morning the boat, with the Governor in it, had disappeared. The people continued their course until they arrived at the entrance of the great bay, and, having made a raft, they reached the next shore, which was that of an island, and, coming to the westernmost termination hungry, cold, and famishing, they stopped for the conveniences and sustenance it afforded. From this point the survivor was taken to the main in a canoe by one of the Quevenes, and afterward he escaped to the Mariames.

This explanation may be found to reconcile the many particulars of the account with the geography of the country. The map, notwithstanding, is marked to agree as far as possible with the text. The Perdido Bay is "about thirty miles in length, and from two to six miles wide."—WILLIAMS' *Florida*, 1837.

In the year 1699, while MM. Chateamora and D'Iberville were exploring the western coast of Florida, east of the Mississippi River, the latter landed on an island at the mouth of Mobile Bay, and near the main land. At that time it had a commodious harbor, with five fathoms of water at all tides. When Charlevoix wrote, 1727, it had been closed some years with sand thrown in by the sea,

during a tempest. D'Iberville called the island Massacre, from discovering on the south-west point of it the skeletons of some sixty persons with cooking utensils about them, whom he judged to have been murdered. It is possible that these may have been the remains, and here the resting place of the companions of Figueroa. 2 *His. de la Nouvelle France*, liv. xviii, p. 257.

The island has since undergone some physical changes. It became divided north and south into two nearly equal portions, the western part taking or retaining the name of Massacre, which it had been the purpose of the French colonists of the year 1717 to extinguish. On the chart of a later authority, Romans, 1774, a small island is placed to the west of them, which I do not find marked or mentioned before; and in the description of Hutchins, 1784, the middle island appears with the name of Petit-Bois. At the present time the disagreeable name is confined to the westernmost, a bank of sand covered by the sea at every tide, that in a short time is likely to disappear.

(v) It will be found pretty obvious that Cabeza de Vaca has generalized the facts which belong to this part of the narrative with his subsequent experience, and some of the information he obtained on coming upon the western prairies.

The bison was no doubt known to the East and South-east nearly as far as the land extends. Romans says he saw the tracks of six or eight of these animals between the sources of the Manatee and the Amazura (now Withlacooche) rivers so plainly as to be satisfied of their presence. Buffalo, a cape in the bay of Tampa, is the translation of Civola, a name given by the Spaniards. It is also the name of a bluff near St. Mary's, Georgia. See *Ausführliche Nachricht von den Saltzburgischen Emigranten, in America*. Halle, 1835-'52.

(w)

NATIONAL OBSERVATORY,

WASHINGTON, June 22d, '50.

DEAR SIR—I send you a table showing, both for Old and New Style, the new moons that occurred nearest the first of September from 1530 to 1540.

It is probable that Cabeza de Vaca dated new moon from the time he first saw it, and when it probably might have been a day old. If so, and if you take it that the full moon occurred on the 13th, when he determined to flee, it would bring the year to 1532, though it may have been in 1535, if we suppose him not to be very particular as to the actual date of change days.

However, I send you the tabular statement, which Professor Keith, U. S. N., has prepared.

Respectfully, &c.,

M. F. MAURY.

BUCKINGHAM SMITH, Esq.

☾ ☽ ☼			
A. D.	Date, Old Style.	Date, New Style.	Hour, Civil Time.
1530	Aug. 22	Sept. 1	23.2
1531	Sept. 10	" 20	20.5
1532	Aug. 30	" 9	17.6
1533	" 20	Aug. 30	8.4
1534	Sept. 8	Sept. 18	8.5
1535	Aug. 28	" 7	17.1
1536	" 16	Aug. 26	15.0
1537	Sept. 4	Sept. 14	11.4
1538	Aug. 24	" 3	11.1
1539	Sept. 12	" 22	6.2
1540	" 1	" 11	12.1

(X) The Nacadoch; the A, as in the case of Apalache, being probably intrusive and Arabic. I am indebted for the idea of this orthography to a passage at page 21, in "A Description of the English Province of Carolana," &c. By Daniel Coxe. 1722.

(Y) The Adayes or Adaize lived in the year 1805, according to the report of Dr. John Sibley, about forty miles from Natchitoches.—*Documents accompanying President's Message*, 1806.

(Z) "Muere," to die, is the word in the text. It is so reprinted in the edition of Barcia, 1749. Probably the word should be mueve, to move or run, or muerde, to bite.

(AA) He has not spoken before of having been among the Aguenes, nor does the word occur but once, although the Spaniards must have been long in their neighborhood. It may be another name for Yguases. They were always at war, and Cabeza was for some time among them.

(BB) I have marked in their succession on the maps the nations of savages living along the shores, beginning with those of the Island of Santa Rosa, and going west to the farthest limits "hasta los ultimos ay," which I conjecture to be about the mouth of Pearl River, where the coast is first broken by the marshes of Louisiana. Some of the names, and much the greater part, have received their localities without positive authority, but in placing them an effort has been made to fix their relative positions. The place of the arrival of Peñalosa and Tellez, as marked, is necessarily supposititious.

(CC) The Caoques or Capoques may have been the Cadoques. Charlevoix writes of the *Caoquias* as a tribe of the Illinois. He found them in the winter of 1721 reunited to the Tamarouas, a kindred tribe, composing the inhabitants of a populous town on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, below its junction with the Missouri.—*Lettre* xxviii, pp. 392–8. Other names are suggestive in their sounds of other nations; the Aguenes of the Ayennes or Inies, the Charrucó of the Challakee, the Guaycones of the Tawak'ones residing on the River Wachita.

(DD) The tea was made from the yupon, and universally drank throughout the southernmost regions of the United States. In some parts where the plant did not grow spontaneously, it was carefully cultivated. Le Moyne has given a picture of Indians engaged in preparing and using it, under the name of *cacine*.—Plate xxix, and the text in DE BRY's Second Part of *Voyages and Discoveries*. Charlevoix tells how it is prepared, adds the name of *apalachine*, and gives a drawing and description of the now well-known shrub, *Ilex vomitiva*.

(EE) The arroba is nearly equal to four and a quarter gallons wine measure. There is also the arroba of oil, measuring three and a third gallons.—KELLY's *Universal Cambist*.

(FF) Second part of DE BRY, plates xvii and xxiii. 1 *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, chap. xxviii. By DUMONT. Paris, 1753.

(GG) At times they (the Indians of Sonora) also avail themselves of the fruit of the Tepeguajes, or Mezquites, a small kind of Algorova, abundant in that country. It is crushed in large mortars of wood; the flour is somewhat sweet and well flavored, affording both drink and food. Pp. 6, 284. RIBAS, 1645.

According to the account given by a western trapper, "the mosquito trees bear a pod in the shape of a bean, which is exceedingly sweet. It constitutes one of the chief articles of Indian subsistence; and they contrive to prepare from it a very palatable kind of bread, of which we all became very fond. The wild animals also feed upon this pod."—*The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*. 1833.

The so-called *mezquite*, says A. Wislizenus, belongs to the family of the mimosæ, and is a species of *algorobia*.—*Memoir of a Tour to Mexico*, connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition in 1846–7.

These trees are not found to the east of the Mississippi River; they are first seen on drawing nigh the River Bravo del Norte in going to the west. The sweet locust resembles the mezquite, and it is probably of the fruit of this that Cabeza now speaks.

(HH) The only persons whom they may have been leaving behind them alive were Theodoro, who went on shore in Saint Andrew's Bay, and the negro, Oviedo, who returned towards Malhado, and Figueroa and the Asturian, who had last been heard of as being on the coast near Pearl River, among the people of the figs.

(II) The story has its parallel. This passage is from a traveler who was at a town of the Shoccories in the year 1701: "Most of these *Indians* have but one Eye; but what Mischance or Quarrel has bereaved them of the other I could not learn."—*New Voyage to Carolana, &c.*, by JOHN LAWSON, Gent., Surveyor-General of North Carolina. London, 1709.

(KK) This custom among Indians is thus described by Romans as practiced by the Muscogeas. They make their boys "frequently undergo scratching from head to foot through the skin with broken glass or garfish teeth, so as to make them all in a gore of blood, and then wash them in cold water: this is with them the *Arca-num* against all diseases: but when they design it as a punishment to the boys, they dry scratch them, (*i. e.*) they apply no water for the operation, which renders it very painful." This people in 1774 had become mixed by numerous accessions from the remnants of other tribes. P. 96.

(LL) Because of the threatening privations of these plains, *llanos estocados*, Moscoso, in the year 1542, turned towards the East, notwithstanding the riches of the South Sea, the prospect of subsistence and repose for his army, and the contiguity of New Spain with the probable control of the great houses in the North, of which "the Columbus of the land" had spoken.

If the route on the map from the Canadian River be found correct, it presents a doubt as to the alleged direction of Coronado in the year 1541, towards the North-east from a town thirty leagues to the North of Tihuex. It appears by the relation of Castañeda, that, after many days' travel, the army came to a village where Cabeza de Vaca had been; but the account by Jaramillo is, that they met an aged Indian, who gave them to understand that he had seen Cabeza and the rest, and nearer than they were then to New Spain.

Several circumstances attending this excursion awaken suspicions that the guide conducted the army to the East and South from the place of setting out, and they may even be considered to draw it somewhat strongly to those directions. The Spaniards passed among herds of buffaloes and bands of roving savages "living like Arabs," first the Querechos, and then the Teyas to the South of them, whom they afterwards discovered to have the manners and characteristics of the people living in Quivira. They were told that this town of which they were in search was towards the North, and they returned under their direction by a nearer way

and in a shorter time than they had gone out, arriving at Quivira, thirty leagues to the South of the place of their departure.

On an English map of North America by Eman Bowen, 1763, an Indian town, Kiryreches, is put down on Red River, latitude  $35^{\circ} 15' N.$ , longitude  $79^{\circ} 45' W.$  from Ferro. Conoatino, which may be the Cona of Castañeda, is marked to the South of it about one degree and a half.

(MM) Polvos de paja. It was probably the seed of grass which they ate. I am told by a distinguished explorer, that the Indians to the West collect it of different kinds, and from the powder make bread, some of which is quite palatable.

(NN) If the successive seasons of drought which had occurred to the East were also felt here, it is not extraordinary that Cabeza did not speak of the River Bravo del Norte, as he probably found it very low, presenting no interruption. The incident of his passage through this country was long remembered by the Indians, as appears in many accounts of early expeditions. Antonio de Espejo, who came from the South in command of a military force in the year 1583, by the River Conchos, while beyond its mouth observed some lights of religion among the natives, who told him that they had been instructed in these by three white men and a black; and they brought their wives and children to receive the blessing from the friars it had been the custom of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions to give. Espejo speaks of these Indians as numerous, agricultural, and warlike, living in towns having houses of stone, and occupying a large district of country. For twelve days he passed through their territories in going to the North. Their name was Jumanos, and were called by the Spaniards Patarabueyes.—HACKLUYT, iii, where the original is to be found with the translation.

(OO) The yucca resembles in appearance the palm tree, and thence commonly called palmilla. There are several species, from three to fifty feet in height. The root of the palmilla is "often used for washing instead of soap, and called *amole*; it is a fibrous spongy mass, containing mucilaginous, and probably even alkaline parts."—WISLIZENUS' *Memoir*, p. 36.

(PP) Polvo de bledo. The only explanation I can offer for these words is little satisfactory. It was the practice of the Indians, both of New Spain and New Mexico, to beat the ear of young maize, while in the milk, to a thin paste, hang it in festoons in the sun, and, being thus dried, was preserved for winter use. The recipe is in TORQUEMADA, lib. v, cap. xxx.

(QQ) On remarqua dans cet endroit (Corazones) un poison qui, d'après ce que l'on vit, était le plus dangereux que l'on pût trouver; c'était la sève d'un petit arbre semblable au lantisque, qui il vient dans les terrains argileux. \* \* \* Ils (ces Indiens) combattirent contre nous autant qu'ils purent. Ils ont des poisons avec les quels ils tuèrent beaucoup de Chrétiens. From the Relation given by Jaramillo of the march of Coronado, in Ternaux.

Lieut. R. W. Hardy, R. N., in writing, a few years ago, of the trees and plants that flourish, "more or less," in Lower California, mentions "the Yerba del benado, and yerba de la flecha; the latter used for intoxicating fish, and by some tribes of Indians for poisoning arrows."

(RR) —aquellos que la usan llamamos propriamente Primahaitu (que es como decir Vascongados)—. By this he desires to express that the language and people are primitive, and like those of Vizcaya. For a long time I considered Primahaitu to be the name of a nation, the Pimas with an additional word: at last primogenito occurred to me as the true word, and I have rendered it, the meaning of the remainder of the sentence having been before suspected.

(SS) Ribas describes the manners and customs of the Indians of Cinaloa with seeming care and truth, and the region as affording variety of climate through aridity and elevation. The valleys of the rivers, he says, produce maize, beans, pumpkins, and cotton; and the earth even to where the rills take their rise in the mountains of Topia is penetrated to such a degree by the flood which annually descends almost without failure, that with little labor, and without the assistance of rain, come redundant harvests.

(TT) The value of a castellano or peso de oro by weight, is three dollars seven cents, American currency; its comparative value in the early part of the sixteenth century with what it is now, is eleven dollars sixty-seven cents.—1 PRESCOTT'S *Peru*, b. iii, ch. 7.

(UU) The words are in Portuguese. "In honest truth you come very rich, although you bring a very sorry ship, and a still poorer artillery. O! I declare to Heaven, that renegade whoreson Frenchman has lost a good mouthful. Now that you have escaped follow me, and do not leave me, that I may, with God's help, deliver you in Castile."

(VV) The Fortunate Islands, seven in number, were known first to the people of Carthage, who colonized them. They were forgotten after the downfall of the

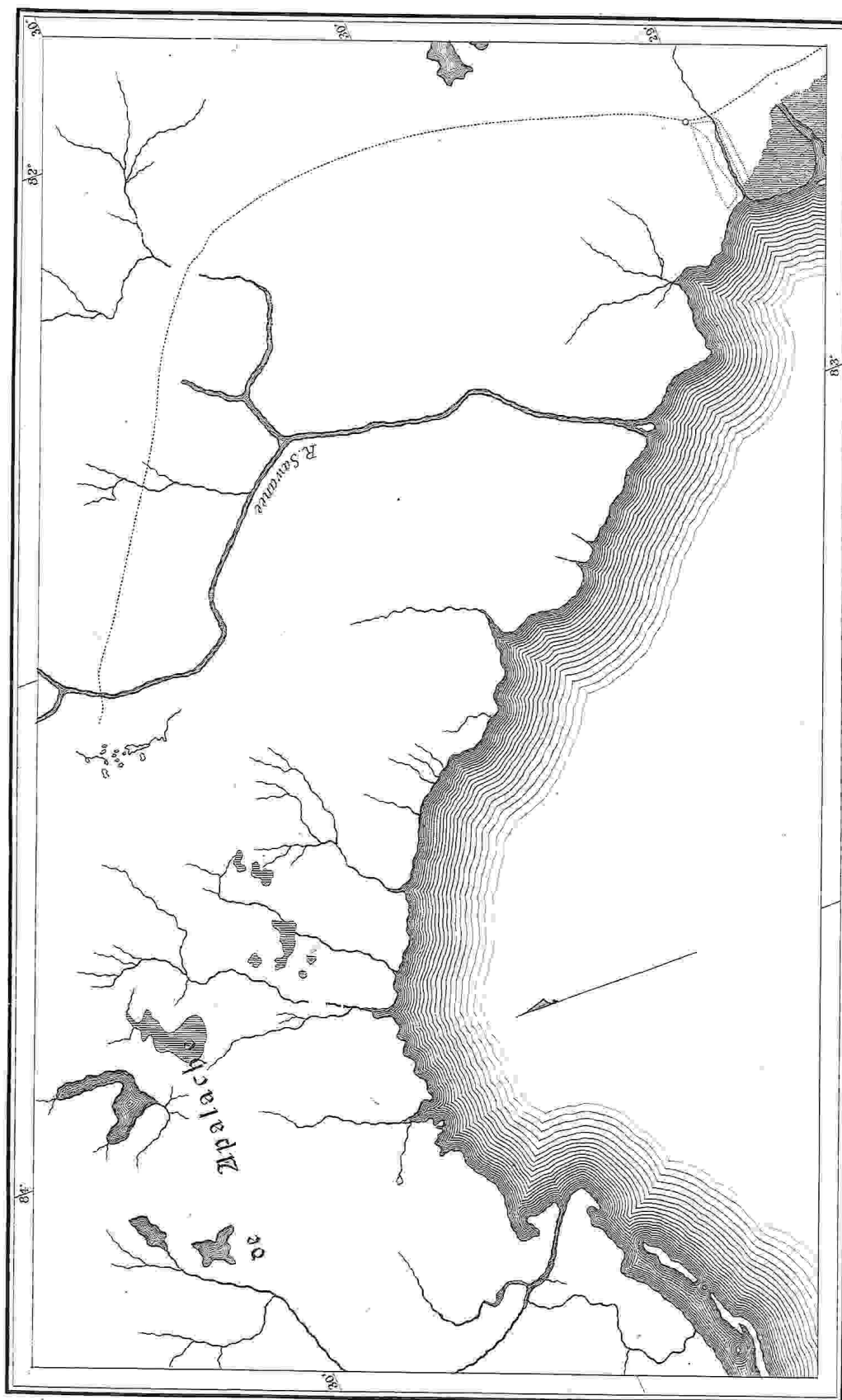


city, until A. D. 1405, when they were found by Betanchor under Castile and Leon, and called the Canaries. He conquered and settled two of them, and two more were subdued by Fernando Pereria and wife. "The other three," says Peter Martyr (Eden's translation), "were subdued in our tyme;" the largest, which is the Gran Canaria, one hundred and fifty miles in circumference, by Pedro de Vera, a citizen of Xeres, and Miguel de Moxica; and the two remaining by Alphonso Lugo, at the expense of the crown.—*De Rebus Oceanicis et Nove Orbe*, i d., i b., fol. 8. *His. General de las Indias*, lib. i, cap. v, fo. vi, 2.









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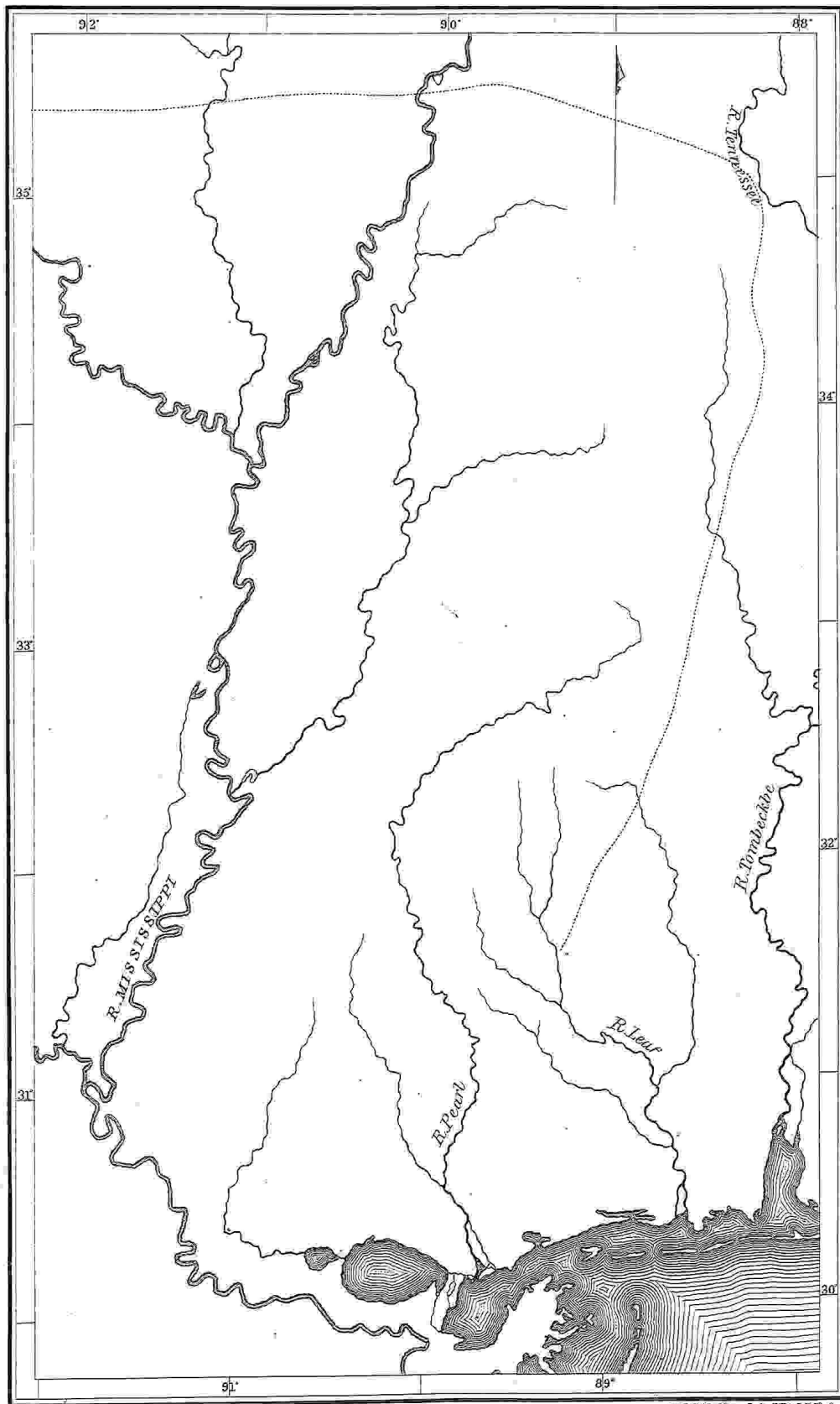






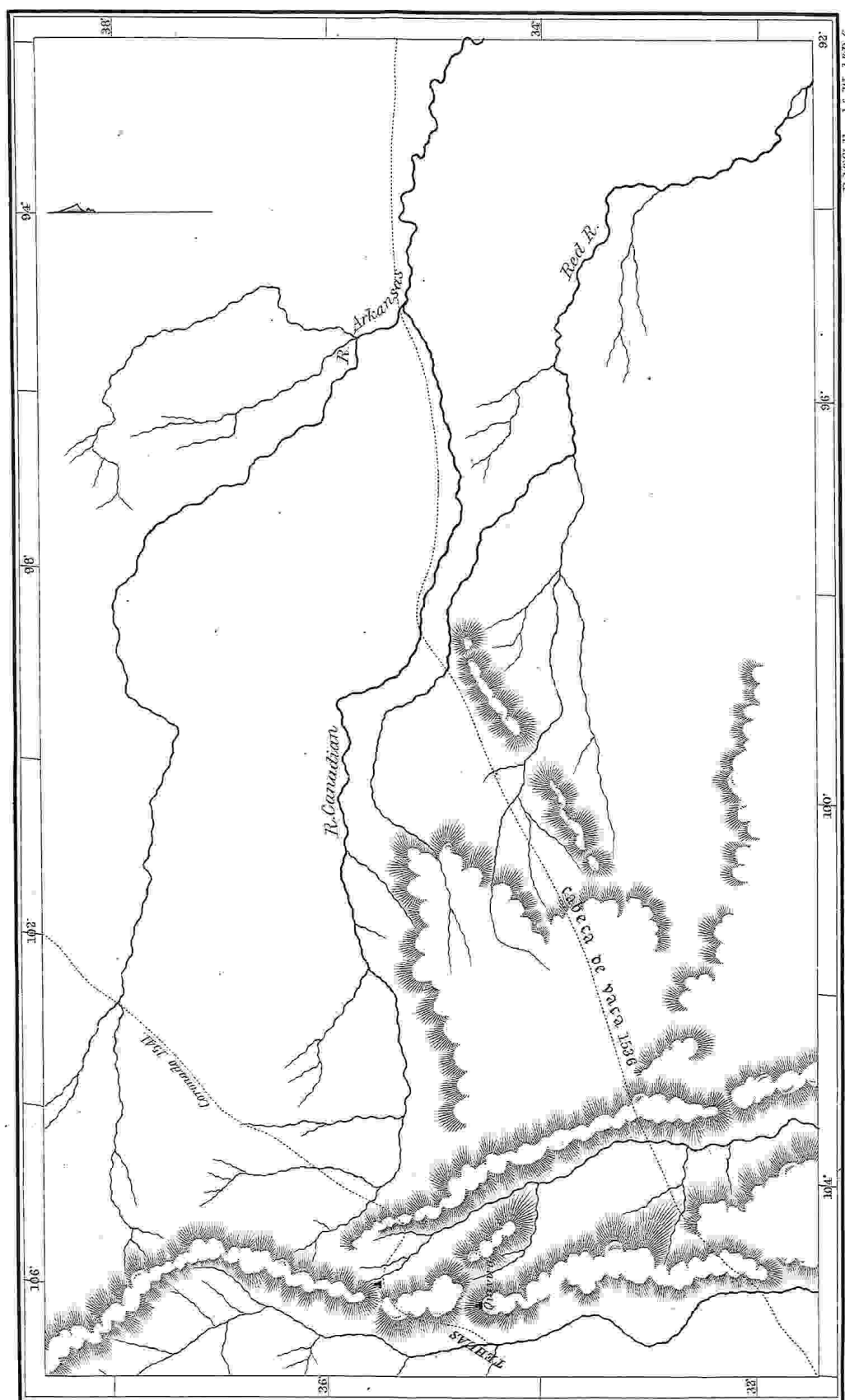




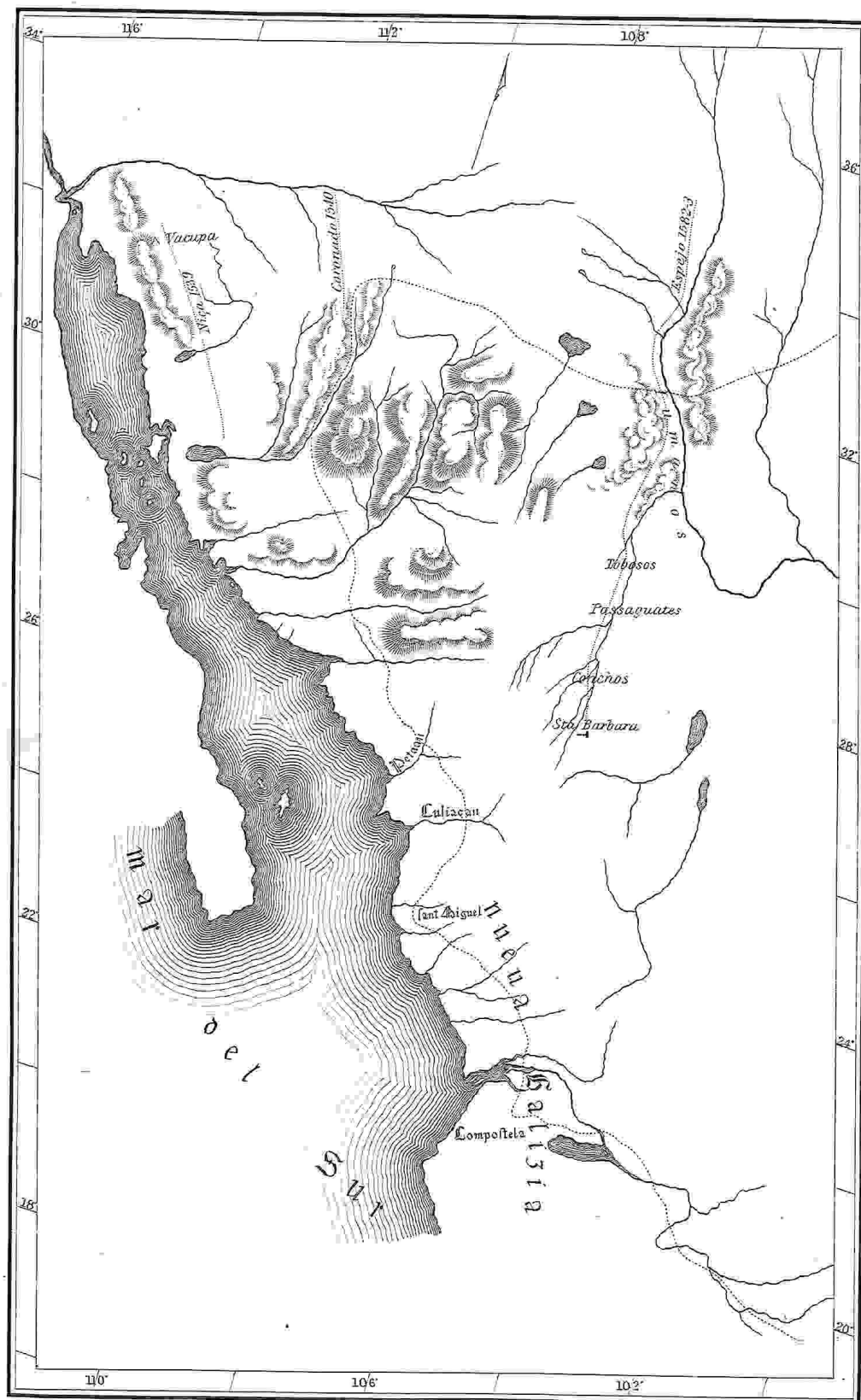


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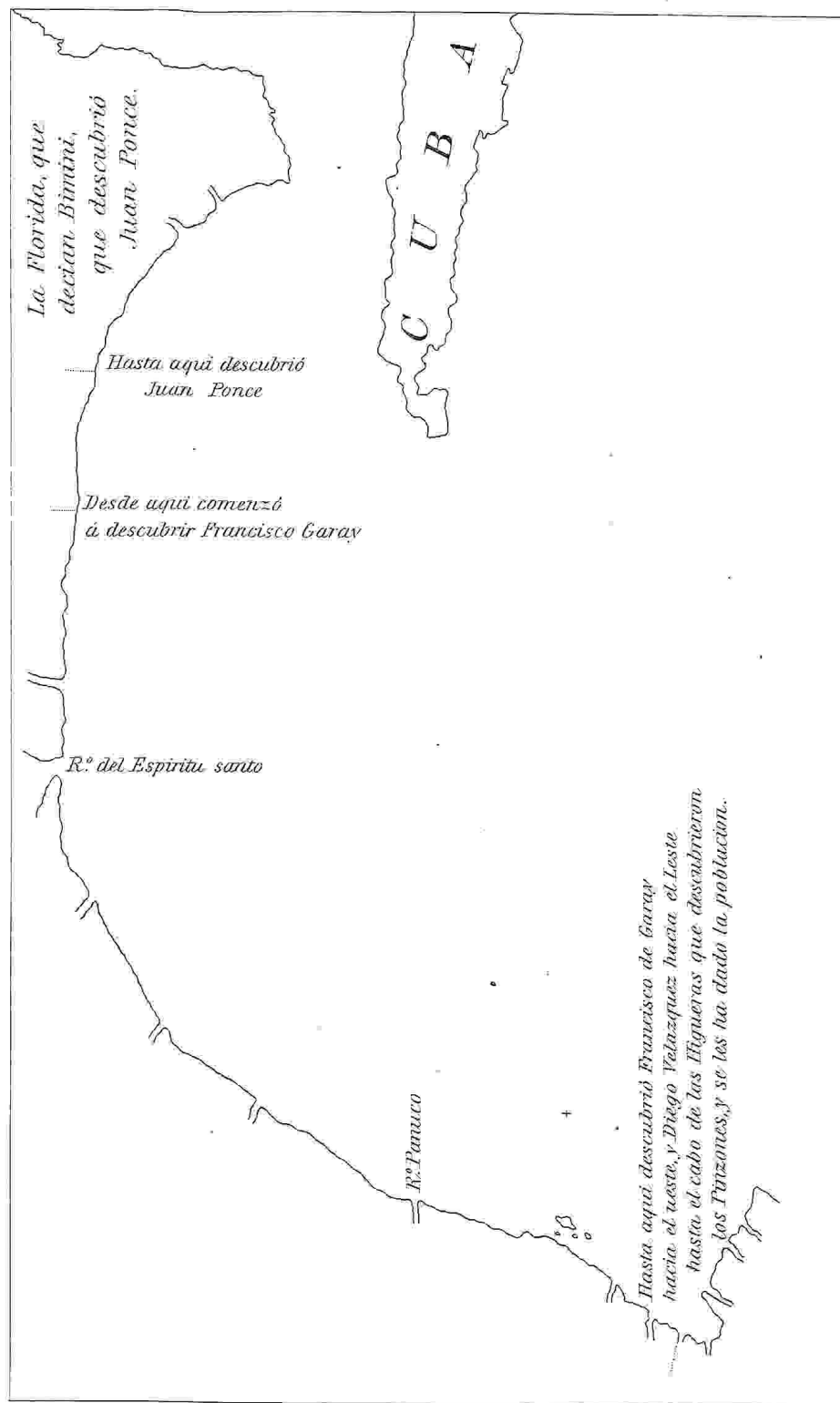














near they liberated him, leaving in our hands a blanket of the skins of civet-martens. These are the best I think that can be found in the world: they have a fragrance that is like nothing but amber and musk, and strongly perceptible at a distance. We saw others there, although none equal to these. Those of us who were present, seeing the governor wounded, put him into his boat, and we caused the rest of the people to betake themselves with him to their boats, some fifty of us remaining to withstand the Indians. They attacked us thrice that night, and with so great impetuosity that each time they made us retire more than a stone's throw. There was not one among us who escaped injury: I was wounded in the face. They had not many arrows, but had they been more provided, doubtless they would have done us much harm. In the last onset, the captains Dorantes, Peñalosa, and Tellez put themselves in ambuscade with fifteen men, and fell upon their rear in such a manner that they fled and quitted us.

The next morning, I broke up more than thirty of their canoes, which were useful to us for fuel against a north wind that blew, as we were kept there all day in severe cold, without daring to go to sea, because of the rough weather there was upon it. This having gone down, we again embarked, and navigated three days. As we had taken little water, and the vessels we had to hold it in were few, we were brought to the last extremity of want. Following our course, we entered an estuary, and being in it we saw coming a canoe of Indians. We called to them, and they came to us. The governor, at whose boat they first arrived, asked them for water, which they consented to give, asking for something in which they might bring it, when a Christian Greek, by name Dorotheo Theodoro (who has been spoken of before), said that he wished to go with them. The governor and others tried to dissuade him from it, but could not, so that he was determined to go, whatever might happen. Accordingly he went, and took with him a negro, and the Indians left two of their number as hostages. At night the natives returned, and brought to us our vessels without water, and did not bring the Christians they had taken; and when those they had left had been spoken to by them they tried to plunge into the sea. But the men in the boat detained them, and thereupon the Indians in the canoe fled, leaving us much dejected and sad with the loss of the two Christians.

## CHAPTER X.

## OF THE ASSAULT FROM THE INDIANS.

THE morning having arrived, there came to us many Indians in canoes, asking us for their two companions who had remained in the boat as hostages. The governor said he would give them up when they should bring the Christians they had taken. With them had come five or six chiefs, who appeared to us to be the most comely persons, of more authority and condition, than any we had hitherto seen, although not so large as the others of whom we have spoken. They wore the hair loose and very long, and were covered with blankets of martens like those we had before taken. Some of them were made up after a strange fashion, and having ties of lion-skin that appeared very bravely. They entreated us to go with them, and said that they would give us the Christians, and water, and many other things. They continued to collect about us in many canoes, attempting with them to take possession of the mouth of that entrance; and because of this, as well because it was hazardous to remain in that land, we went out to sea, where they remained by us until about mid-day. As they were not willing to deliver to us the Christians, for that reason we would not give up the Indians, and they commenced to throw clubs at us and to sling stones, making threats of shooting arrows, although among them all we had not seen more than three or four bows. While in this affray the wind freshened, and they went back and left us.<sup>(N)</sup>

So we sailed that day until the middle of the afternoon, when my boat, which was first, discovered a point made by the land, and against a cape opposite a broad river passed. I anchored by a little island which forms the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The governor did not choose to come up, but entered a bay near by, in