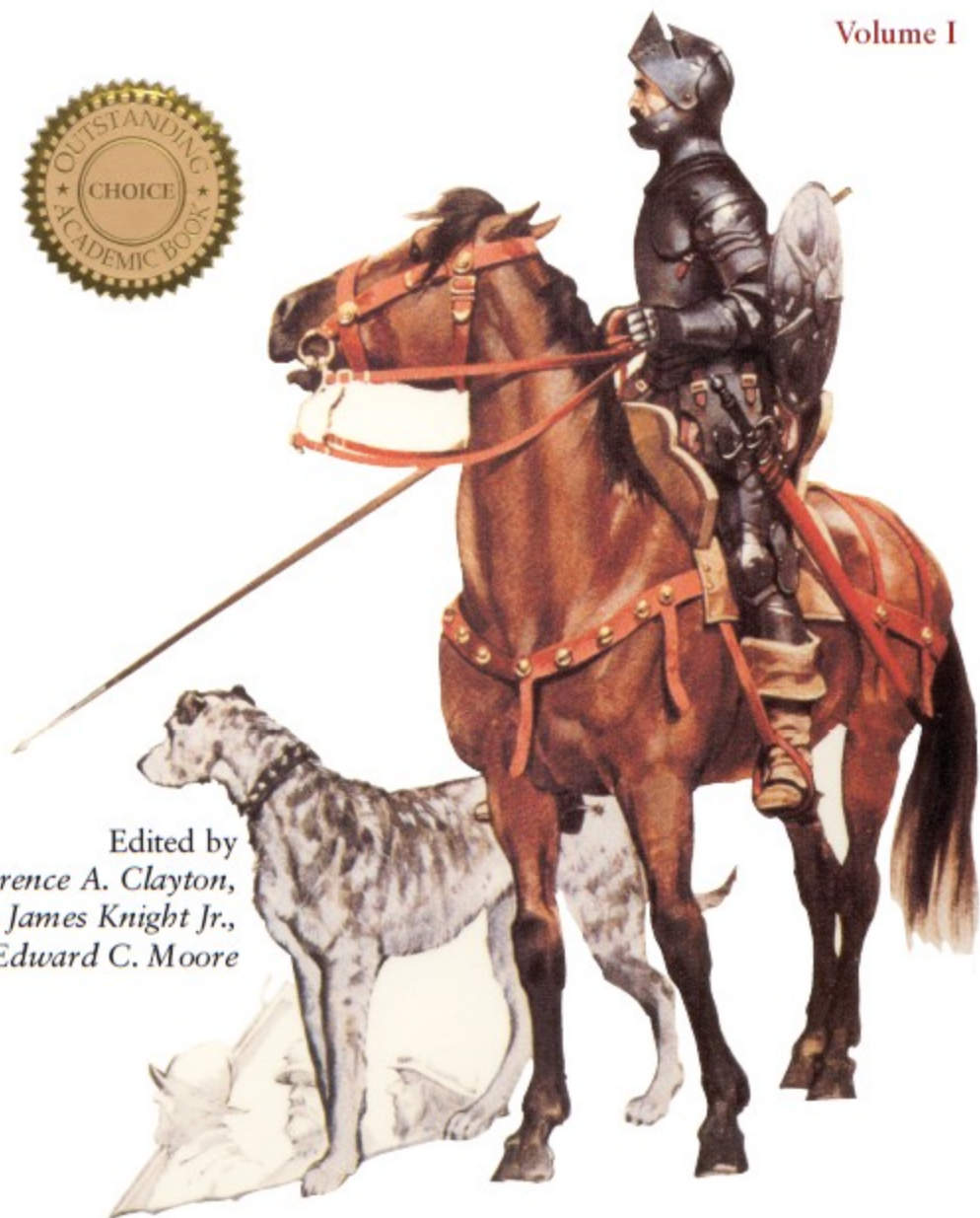


# *The De Soto Chronicles*

The Expedition of Hernando de Soto  
to North America in 1539–1543

Volume I



Edited by

*Lawrence A. Clayton,*

*Vernon James Knight Jr.,*

*and Edward C. Moore*

*The De Soto Chronicles*

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VOLUME I

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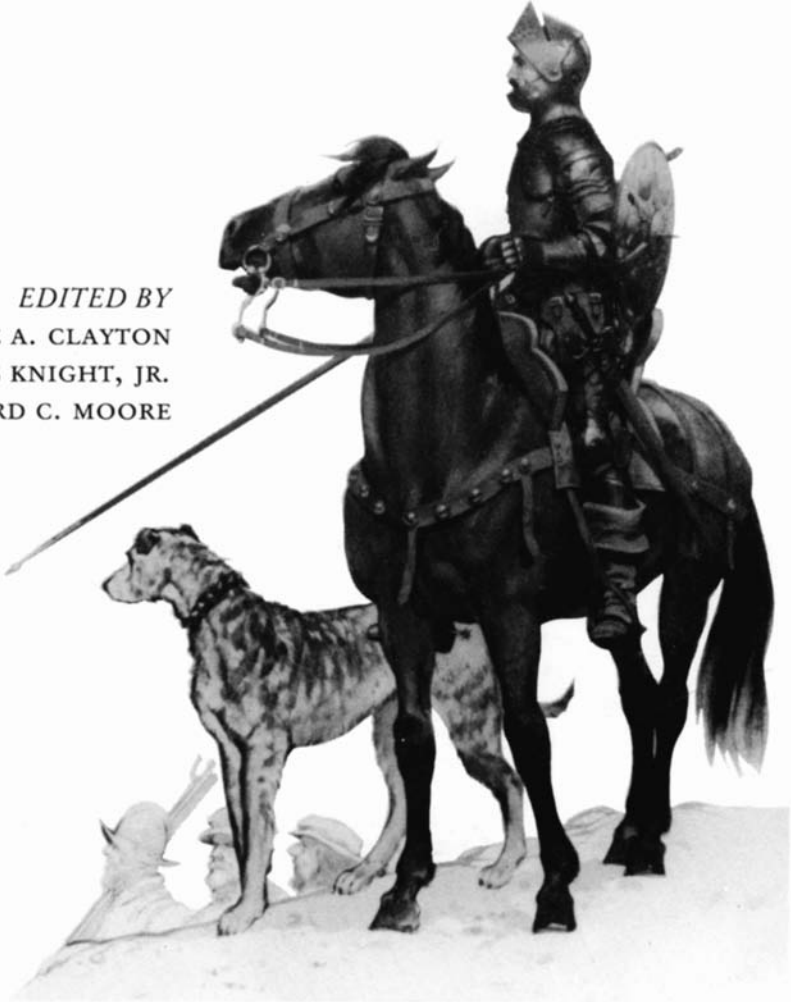
THE EXPEDITION OF HERNANDO

VOLUME I

# *Soto Chronicles*

DE SOTO TO NORTH AMERICA IN 1539-1543

*EDITED BY*  
LAWRENCE A. CLAYTON  
VERNON JAMES KNIGHT, JR.  
EDWARD C. MOORE



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To

DOUGLAS E. JONES

Chairman of the Alabama De Soto Commission  
and of  
The De Soto Trail Commission

*with many thanks.*



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Hernando de Soto, ca. 1495-1542  
(From the Library of Congress copy of  
*Retratos de los Españoles ilustres*  
*con un epítome de sus vidas* [Madrid, 1791])

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# *Foreword*

*by Lawrence A. Clayton*

The De Soto expedition forms an integral part of the great age of discovery and conquest in the Americas triggered by the Columbian voyages. In the wake of Columbus there came other explorers and conquistadors who pushed through the islands of the Caribbean and into the American mainlands during the first half of the sixteenth century. They came as explorers and discoverers, as conquerors and settlers, spreading the best and the worst of European civilization through the Americas.

A great part of the Western world's interest in commemorating the Columbian voyages has been in how to assess the long-range impact of Europe on America. In this clash, new peoples and new cultures were born, and ancient peoples and indigenous cultures were destroyed. The De Soto expedition was the first major encounter of Europeans with North American Indians in the eastern half of the United States and, as such, is of monumental importance in the study and analysis of the origins of North American history after the arrival of the Europeans.

In the years 1989–93, the United States commemorated the 450th anniversary of the expedition of Hernando de Soto to the southeastern United States. De Soto and his expedition of over six hundred men, including two hundred cavalry, spent four years (1539–43) traveling through what is now Florida, Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. De Soto discovered the Mississippi River, died of a fever, and was buried in the river.

As leader of the first European penetration into the interior of the area, then called La Florida, De Soto saw American Indians in their native towns and with their native customs, untouched, as yet, by foreign people. Accordingly, scholars have found the accounts of the De Soto expedition to be of major importance in understanding the Native Americans and their way of life. De Soto's army spent six months in Alabama. They traveled over five hundred miles of Indian trails in the process and had their greatest battle in

Alabama. For these reasons especially, Alabama has always had a great interest in De Soto.

For anthropologists and archaeologists, the surviving De Soto chronicles are uniquely valued for the ethnological information they contain. These documents are the only detailed eyewitness record of the most advanced native cultural achievement in North America—the Mississippian culture—a culture that vanished in the wake of European contact. Scholars are now engaged in the exciting prospect of uniting the ethnological record displayed in the De Soto chronicles with modern archaeological, historical, and linguistic findings in order to yield the first comprehensive picture of southeastern Mississippian Indian chiefdoms at the time of European contact.

For the historical record, the De Soto *entrada* initiated a long period of intermittent contact between Europeans and Native Americans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. De Soto's failures did not deter the Spanish from planting frontier outposts to protect their growing empire in Mexico and the Caribbean. St. Augustine, 1565, was perhaps the most famous, but it was followed by small missions and presidios that dotted the Southeast in the seventeenth century.

The Spanish, and their European rivals for colonial empire, vied for the control and loyalty of Native Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Englishmen jockeyed for empire.

The Amerindian peoples, caught in this tangle of European rivalry, were but a ghostly specter of the densely populated, well-organized Indian chiefdoms encountered by De Soto and his men in 1539–43. With De Soto marched the sickle of diseases that cut down Amerindians with no immunities. Part of the Columbian legacy was not only the conquest and assimilation of native peoples, not only the creation of new races through miscegenation, not only the bringing of Christianity, but a terrible destruction brought on by disease and by the demoralizing defeats at the hands of the Europeans.

De Soto's expedition was one of those primary events in the transformation of North American life initiated by the Columbian voyages, and it is within this context that we view the accounts included in these volumes as being of extraordinary importance.

## Preface

We have gathered in these two volumes English translations of the basic documents relating to the expedition of Hernando de Soto to the present-day United States in the years 1539–43.

In contrast to previous editions, where the items were published separately, at various times, and by various publishers, the four primary accounts of the expedition and some relevant supplementary documents have been included here. They appear in a single compact form, newly annotated, and with literary and historical introductions. As such, they should be readily available to scholars and to the general public alike.

Of the four primary accounts, one was originally written in Portuguese and three in Spanish. The one in Portuguese by the “Gentleman from Elvas” had a fine translation in 1933 and we use that translation. The remaining three appear in new translations. Two of them, the accounts by Luis Hernández de Biedma and Rodrigo Rangel, are most commonly referred to in translations published in 1866 and 1904, respectively. The third—the Garcilaso de la Vega account—was most recently done in 1951. Nevertheless, a new translation of the Garcilaso account by a leading scholar in the field was discovered recently, and we publish that translation for the first time. In sum, all three of the Spanish chronicles appear in new translations, newly annotated.

The classic literary account of the expedition, *La Florida*, was written by the Peruvian mestizo Garcilaso de la Vega, the Inca. This long, colorful narrative possesses an unchallenged literary quality lacking in the other three accounts. It has survived the ages and has been translated and republished many times in French, German, and English since first appearing in Spanish in 1605 in Lisbon, Portugal. Like other works by Garcilaso, it is considered by many to be a literary masterpiece. Its historical accuracy has not been so widely praised, however.

When we came upon a new translation several years ago in English, and

realized the translation had never been published, we decided to include it in this volume. The translation, done by a supremely well qualified Hispanist, Dr. Charmion Shelby, more than half a century ago, essentially takes up volume two of *The De Soto Chronicles*.

We realize that a great deal of controversy, both contemporary and modern, surrounds Garcilaso de la Vega's works: controversy over sources he used, over the literary merit versus the historical accuracy of his works, over his life and its significance as a mestizo son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca noblewoman. He was, in essence, the first of a new race of people born of unions between the Spanish conquerors and the Native American peoples they conquered, and his perspective colored the way he wrote about Hernando de Soto. Accordingly, we asked a modern Garcilaso de la Vega scholar, Dr. Frances Crowley, to write an extended introduction to Garcilaso, and a Spanish specialist, Dr. David Bost, to review and edit the Shelby translation by comparing her work against the original. The results are volume two. We trust the reader will find Garcilaso as much of a "page turner" as have previous generations, providing us with insights into the age of the conquerors.

The other three chronicles form the bulk of volume one of *The De Soto Chronicles*. The longest of these three was written by an unknown gentleman from the Portuguese city of Elvas who marched with De Soto in the expedition. The other two are shorter accounts, one produced by Hernández de Biedma, the king's factor on the expedition, and the second by Rodrigo Rangel, De Soto's private secretary.

As with the Garcilaso de la Vega account, we have new translations of the Biedma and Rangel accounts. Both were translated for this work by a young scholar, John Worth, whose anthropological training has been supplemented by indispensable experience in the General Archive of the Indies in Spain with original Spanish documents. John combines the best training of two disciplines—anthropology and history—and his annotations, reviewed by one of his professors, Dr. Charles Hudson of the University of Georgia, reflect a sensitivity to both areas.

## Acknowledgments

Thanks are due to the Alabama Museum of Natural History at The University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa—a town named after the great war chief Tascaluça, who figures so prominently in the accounts of the De Soto expedition. The editors wish to express their appreciation for the extensive assistance provided by the museum and its director, Dr. Douglas E. Jones, who, as chairman of the Alabama De Soto Commission, originally suggested this project, and to the assistant director for administration, Dr. Edward C. Moore.

Thanks are also due to The University of Alabama's Latin American Studies Program and to the History Department, which made the time of historian Dr. Lawrence A. Clayton available to serve as an editor; to the Department of Anthropology, which supported the services of a member of its faculty, Dr. Vernon James Knight, Jr., to serve as an editor; to Dr. Edward H. Moseley, director of the Capstone International Program Center, for his continuing support; to Dr. Spurgeon Baldwin, chairman of the Department of Romance Languages and Classics, for assistance with Spanish materials; and to Dr. Joseph Sánchez, director of the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico, who provided us with insights into several of the De Soto documents.

Our contributing editors and the members of our board of advisers are listed on other pages of this volume, but we would be remiss if we did not acknowledge their support and assistance during every phase of the project. All busy scholars, with many demands on their time, they were always present when we needed them, and their enthusiasm for the project sustained its driving force during some difficult days. We are grateful and we thank them.

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John Swanton; Jane Garner, archivist at the General Libraries of the University of Texas at Austin, for providing help in reviewing the Charmion Shelby papers in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection there and for providing us with a microfilm copy of the 1605 edition of *La Florida*; John H. Hébert, director of the Quincentenary Program of the Library of Congress, for biographical information concerning Dr. Shelby; Dean Joyce Lamont and Andrea Watson, special collections archivists at The University of Alabama Library, for assistance in many ways; Dr. Jeffrey P. Brain of Harvard University and Dr. John C. Hall of the Alabama Museum of Natural History at The University of Alabama for assistance with illustrations; Charles M. Hudson of the University of Georgia; Richard Hite, Superintendent of the De Soto National Memorial, Bradenton, Florida, for advice and counseling; Eduardo Kortright for assistance in translating material from the Spanish; Anne R. Gibbons for preparing the indexes for both volumes; and two students who have helped on this project, Lisa Zimmerman at Furman University who assisted Dr. Bost in checking the Shelby translation and Anna Bryan who worked on a preliminary index for *La Florida*.

No project as complex as this one could ever be brought to print without extensive assistance from the publisher. We are very grateful to the staff of The University of Alabama Press, and to its director, Malcolm M. MacDonald, who gave the project unswerving support.

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## *Notes on Translations and Names*

Four full narratives that were produced in the years following the De Soto expedition have survived. One of these is known simply as the Elvas account because its author only identified himself as a Portuguese gentleman from Elvas. A second is that of Rodrigo Rangel, private secretary to De Soto. The third, “presented in the year 1544 to the King of Spain in Council,” was written by Luis Hernández de Biedma, factor for the king. The fourth account, *La Florida*, was completed by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, in 1591, although it was not published until 1605. It is generally thought to have been based on interviews with Gonzalo Sylvestre, an officer under De Soto and a survivor of the expedition. These four accounts are customarily referred to as Elvas, Rangel, Biedma, and Garcilaso (or the Inca).

The four accounts have had an erratic publishing history and an even less orderly translation history. The classic translation of Elvas, by Dr. James Alexander Robertson, was published in 1933 by the Yale University Press for the Florida State Historical Society. It was a limited edition of only 360 copies. It is still the most recent translation.

Garcilaso’s *La Florida* is currently available in a translation by John and Jeannette Varner, published by the University of Texas Press in 1951.

Recently, there have been expressions of concern by scholars that most of the available translations were not literal enough to be really satisfactory, particularly for the needs of archaeologists and anthropologists. We have tried to meet this concern by being more literal in these translations.

Accordingly, we use the Robertson version of Elvas. This account, written originally in Portuguese, is currently out of print. It was completed by Robertson, then secretary of the Florida State Historical Society, in 1933 for that society and was published by the Yale University Press. It had excellent reviews at the time of its publication, and we see little likelihood of improving on it. At the time it appeared, Lesley Byrd Simpson wrote (*Hispanic American Historical Review* 14, no. 3 (August 1934): 346–48), “Dr. Rob-

ertson's method is to preserve the style of the original by reproducing in English as closely as possible, word for word, the Portuguese text. . . . This book is a monument of patient and thorough scholarship." To bring Robertson's material up to the current state of De Soto scholarship, Robertson's notes have been updated for this volume by Dr. John H. Hann.

For our version of the Garcilaso chronicle, we have identified in the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution a previously unpublished translation. Garcilaso's *La Florida* is the longest of the four accounts and occupies most of our second volume. This new translation was done by Dr. Clair Charmion Shelby for the 1935 U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission. In the final report of that commission, Dr. John Swanton, chairman of the commission, wrote, "The Commission employed Dr. Charmion Shelby, of Austin, Tex., an experienced translator of documents in sixteenth century Spanish, to provide an accurate translation of *La Florida of the Inca*. This translation covers 910 typewritten pages, double-spaced" (Swanton, John R., *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1939; reprint the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985, p. viii).

Dr. Shelby was indeed an experienced translator. She had earned a doctorate in Spanish history under Professor Charles Wilson Hackett at the University of Texas. She was cotranslator with him of *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, a two-volume work, and was translator of the original documents for Professor Hackett's monumental *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico*. Dr. Shelby worked for thirteen years, until her death in 1955, as a reference librarian for the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress.

Shelby's translation of *La Florida* was not published because Congress did not fund many of the projects of the 1935 Commission. At a later date (1950), the Hakluyt Society of England proposed to publish her translation and had it scheduled for publication when the Varner edition was published by the University of Texas Press. In the light of that, the Hakluyt Society dropped its plans for publication.

We believe interested parties should have both translations available. The Varners performed a great service to scholars in publishing the first complete English translation of *La Florida*, but Dr. Shelby was an expert in sixteenth-century Spanish, and her translation will give us the first translation of the longest chronicle done by a scholar whose expertise was in Spanish of the sixteenth century. It was edited for this book by Dr. David Bost of Furman University with notes by Dr. Vernon James Knight, Jr., of The University

of Alabama. The editors have made a few small corrections in places where Garcilaso's table of contents does not exactly match his chapter headings and enumeration.

We are greatly indebted to Dr. Bost, who not only checked the Shelby translation of Garcilaso word-for-word against the 1605 edition but also found time in his schedule to translate for us the several documents from the General Archive of the Indies in Seville, which appear in volume one of these *De Soto Chronicles*.

The account by Garcilaso de la Vega was first published in Lisbon in 1605. A second edition was published in 1723. Dr. Shelby used the 1605 edition, with reference where necessary to the 1723 edition. Because Garcilaso was not a member of the expedition, and his version is thought to be based on what he was told many years later by Gonzalo Sylvestre, it is considered to be the least accurate of the four. In addition to what he was told by Sylvestre, Garcilaso says he had access to accounts by two other members of the expedition, Alonso de Carmona and Juan Coles. Their accounts have not survived except in quotations by Garcilaso.

We also owe thanks to Dr. Frances Crowley of Southeast Missouri State University for the version of Garcilaso's *Genealogy of Garci Perez de Vargas*, which appears as an appendix to volume two. This document appears here in English for the first time. Dr. Crowley identified the *Genealogy* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and translated it for our use.

The two shorter accounts, by Rangel and by Biedma, are translated anew for this edition by John Worth at the University of Florida at Gainesville with annotation support from Dr. Charles Hudson of the University of Georgia.

The account by Rodrigo Rangel, De Soto's secretary, is a detailed itinerary covering the first three years of the expedition. This account was not published until 1851, when it appeared in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. Our translation was made from Oviedo's *Historia*.

The account by Biedma, the king's representative on the expedition, is the only one for which the original manuscript has survived. We have based our translation on a photostatic copy of that manuscript. Although the manuscript was written in 1544, it was only published in 1857 by Buckingham Smith.

We owe special thanks to Dr. Paul E. Hoffman of Louisiana State University, whose extensive knowledge of the history of the period and of the Spanish language was frequently drawn upon.

In preparing his translation of Elvas, Dr. Robertson added an extensive collection of notes. We have reproduced these in full, at the end of the Elvas account, because they are a valuable part of Robertson's work. In addition, we have had them updated for this present work by Dr. John H. Hann, who has also provided some of his own original notes, which appear as footnotes in our volume. Dr. Hann's original notes cover points distinct from those made by Robertson and originated from his comparative reading of Robertson's translation with the original Portuguese text. Some minor additional updating of Robertson's notes has also been done by Dr. Vernon James Knight, Jr. Dr. Knight's notes are identified with VJK in brackets. The editors have taken the liberty to standardize the name Hernando de Soto from the normal usage of "Fernando" in the original text.

Some minor alterations in quotations from the Portuguese have been made to accommodate the style of modern fonts and spellings. Where Elvas used the tilde  $\tilde{}$  in certain cases (*q* with a tilde, *hu* or *hua* with a tilde over the *u*, *e* with a tilde to indicate the dropping of a following *n*, and *d* with a tilde to indicate the dropping of a following *e*), modern usage has been adopted.

Another thorny problem is that of names—both Indian names and Spanish names. The Indians had no written alphabet at this time in their history. Accordingly, when one of the chroniclers heard the name of a town or a person, he translated it into his own alphabet as well as he could. Partly for this reason, the same Indian person or town will be called by different names in different chronicles. We adopted John Swanton's solution in his report for the 1935 U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission; he included a table showing the various Indian proper names used in the four chronicles. We have reproduced his table of names within volume one. Nevertheless, variant spellings of the same name often appear in the same source document—and even on the same page. Where this occurs, we have not selected among the alternatives but have reproduced the variants as found in our original authors.

A somewhat different problem presents itself with Spanish surnames when they are preceded by the word *de*. The general rule is to use lowercase for the *de* except at the beginning of a sentence. We have followed this rule for all names except that of *De Soto* when it stands alone without the first name. The usage *De Soto* has become such a common term in English that we consider it preferable to *de Soto* when standing by itself.

We have also made some slight changes in punctuation and capitalization to follow modern practices. For example, a comma may have been added before "and" in a series of three or more items, and a word in a chapter title may have been capitalized.

*Introduction:*  
*The De Soto Expedition, a*  
*Cultural Crossroads*

by Paul E. Hoffman

SPANISH CONTEXT AND THE SIGNIFICANCE  
OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION

We will probably never know when European seamen first laid eyes on peninsular Florida and lived to tell about it. The standard narrative accounts of early voyages, such as those of Peter Martyr, Gonzalo Fernández Oviedo y Valdés, and Bartholomé de Las Casas, and the manuscript correspondence, lawsuits, *residencias*, notarial records, and treasury records have failed, so far, to yield any clear evidence prior to the 1510s. Tantalizing clues exist: the Cantino Map, said to date to 1503; the discovery of Bermuda in 1505; the circumnavigation of Cuba in 1508; and in Juan Ponce de León's apparent knowledge of land west of the Bahamas when he asked for permission to seek "Bimini" in 1512. From the teens come more specific but still vague references to slaving voyages and the indirect evidence provided by the hostile reception that Ponce received.<sup>1</sup>

After Ponce de León's voyage of 1513, there was no doubt that land existed north of Cuba and west of the Bahamas. The extent of that land in either direction was, however, less clear and remained vague until the 1520s, because Spanish exploration was still driven, even in the 1510s, by various forms of the Columbian-Vespucian effort to fit the "new world" (Vespucci) or "another world" (Columbus) into Ptolemaic concepts of world geography. In those concepts, the new discoveries were either islands off of Asia or

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<sup>1</sup>The slaving voyages of Pedro de Salazar and Diego de Miruelo are discussed in Paul E. Hoffman, "A New Voyage of North American Discovery: The Voyage of Pedro de Salazar to the Island of Giants," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58 (1980): 415-26.



various peninsulas jutting out from it.<sup>2</sup> The job of explorers, according to this conceptualization of the world, was to go around these islands and peninsulas to the southeast and south, or, if starting from the southern side of the Isthmus of Panama, to sail west across the “great gulf” thought to separate the “new world” peninsula (or island) from Asia proper. Ferdinand Magellan’s voyage (1519–23), the explorations of Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1517–19) westward in the Gulf of Panama, and Gil Gonzalez Dávila’s exploration up the west coast of Central America (1520–23) fit this pattern, as do the “minor voyages” along the northeastern coast of South America in the years 1499–1519.<sup>3</sup>

A better understanding of the extent of North America developed rapidly after 1517. In that year, Francisco Hernández de Córdoba was sent to Yucatan, first explored by Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and Juan Díaz de Solís (1508–9). Hernández de Córdoba’s findings, soon amplified by Juan de Grijalva’s voyage as far as Cabo Rojo (1518), set in motion not only Hernán Cortés’s expedition of 1519, which resulted in the conquest of central Mexico two years later, but also the voyage of Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, sent in 1519 by Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica. Alvarez de Pineda was to seek the strait that one variant on the Ptolemaic theory suggested might lie north of the “new world,” now conceived as a very large island off the coast of Asia. Alvarez de Pineda did not find any opening along the northern and eastern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, nor did he divine that the “River of Flowers” that he had passed drained the interior of a continent.<sup>4</sup> He did, however, visit Cortés’s outpost at Vera Cruz and left a small Spanish force on the Pánuco River.

If, after Alvarez de Pineda’s exploration, it was clear that a land mass enclosed the Gulf of Mexico, the questions then became how far to the north that land ran and if there was open water between it and the land areas associated with the cod fisheries in the far north. Answers to these questions

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<sup>2</sup>John H. Parry, *The Discovery of South America* (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1979), 78–79.

<sup>3</sup>In addition to Parry, see Louis-André Vigneras, *The Discovery of South America and the Andalusian Voyages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

<sup>4</sup>Alvarez de Pineda’s map has been published in William P. Cumming, R. A. Skelton, and David B. Quinn, *The Discovery of North America* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), 68–69; his record of his voyage is incorporated into Alonso de Chaves, *Alonso de Chaves y el libro de su “Espejo de Navegantes,”* ed. by Pablo Castañeda, M. Cuesta, and P. Hernández (Madrid: privately printed, 1977), 120–22. The identification of the Río de Flores as the Mississippi is mine.

were obtained in 1521–25. In 1521, slavers sailing on behalf of two companies, each involving judges of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, made landfall at the South Santee River, in modern South Carolina. Subsequently, the Licenciado Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, one of the judges, obtained a royal contract for the exploration and then settlement of this new discovery, which he claimed was at 35°, 36°, and 37°N latitude (it was actually at 33°20'), the same “parallel” as Andalucía in Spain. His pilot, Pedro de Quejo, explored the coast from near Delaware Bay to Saint Simon’s Sound (1525) but found no evidence of a strait.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, from the north and in 1523, Esteban Gómez had sailed south to about the area of New York harbor, again finding no strait.<sup>6</sup> Thus, by the end of 1525, the Spaniards knew that North America stood between Europe and Asia. In addition, thanks to the Magellan-El Cano voyage (1519–22), they knew that the Pacific Ocean was very wide. The Americas, or, as the Spaniards called them, the Indies, truly were a “new world.”

Spanish attempts to conquer and colonize the newly revealed North American land mass began in 1521, when Francisco de Garay received a royal contract to conquer “Amichel,” and Ponce de León made a final, fatal attempt to gain control over the Indians of south Florida. Garay’s Amichel was a province whose southern border was at or near the Pánuco River in Mexico. To the east and north, “Amichel” ended wherever Juan Ponce de León’s “Florida” began, an undetermined point on the northern Gulf Coast. There is evidence that Garay intended all along to force his way into Mexico and that he had Alvarez de Pineda leave men on the Pánuco River in 1519 in preparation for that attempt. In the end, he failed because Cortés had control of the rich central provinces of New Spain, as the Spanish called Mexico, and so was able to suborn most of Garay’s men into joining him. Garay died at Mexico City in 1524, vainly trying to obtain recognition of his claim over the Pánuco drainage.<sup>7</sup> Ponce de León died at San Juan, Puerto Rico, in 1522 from wounds received when he and his men had tried to land among the Caloosahatchee Indians in April 1521.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast in the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 20–21, 35–36, 51–58.

<sup>6</sup>Samuel E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1:326–31.

<sup>7</sup>Robert S. Weddle, *Spanish Sea: The Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500–1685* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1985), 95–108, 130–46.

<sup>8</sup>Morison, *European Discovery*, 2:506–12 (1513 voyage), 2:515–16 (1521 voyage).

Along the Atlantic Coast, the Spanish attempt at conquest and settlement began in 1526, when Ayllón landed a colony of six hundred persons at the Santee River-Winyah Bay area. His plan, apparently, was to have his native interpreters (captured in 1521) guide him to the Indian chiefdom of Duhae (also, Du-a-e), in the interior. However, the interpreters fled. Moreover, the coastal zone was found to be largely empty of inhabitants and lacking in foods familiar to the Spaniards. Scouting parties Ayllón sent to explore the coast to the south reported the existence of an area with an Indian population that grew maize. So Ayllón moved his colony to the area of the Guale Indians who lived around Sapelo and St. Catherine's sounds in modern Georgia. Established on or about September 29, 1526, as San Miguel de Gualdape, this new colony was abandoned in late October or early November, following Ayllón's death on October 18.<sup>9</sup>

The next Spanish intrusion into the Southeast was the result of accident rather than design. Pánfilo de Narváez obtained a grant in 1526 that made him heir to Ponce de León and Garay, thus allowing him to colonize anywhere from Amichel on the west to the Cape of Florida on the east. His intention was to move into Amichel, the gateway to Mexico. But bad luck, in the form of a storm as his fleet neared Havana, forced him to seek shelter on the middle west coast of Florida during Holy Week, 1528. He had evidently provisioned his ships only for the leg of the trip from Trinidad to Havana and so now found himself in a strange land on short rations.

Although not indisputable, the available evidence shows that he landed at Johns Pass, just north of the entrance to Tampa Bay. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, whose account is almost all that we know of this expedition's history, indicates that the pilots and officials of the expedition were uncertain of their geography or location. In the end, over Cabeza de Vaca's objection, they decided to send the ships northward and then south to Havana for supplies and to march the army north, in the belief that they would soon find a "deep bay" reaching ten leagues into the land. There they would wait for the ships, meanwhile living off the stored food of the inhabitants.

Following this design, Narváez marched northward within a few leagues of the coast until he crossed the Withlacoochee River. In all of that area, his men found little to eat and no Indians. Once across the Withlacoochee, he turned inland and used Indian guides to move northward to Apalachee. According to Cabeza de Vaca, the army met few Indians but did encounter their maize fields at intervals of seven or eight leagues (seventeen to twenty-

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<sup>9</sup>Hoffman, *New Andalusia*, 66-80.

five miles, depending on which league he was using). Apalachee was also a disappointment, apparently because they were fooled into thinking that an outlying, rather small village was the entire province. Having rested there, the Spaniards decided to go west to Aute, said to have abundant food, and then to the sea, with the intention of making boats, or making contact with their own ships, so that they might escape to Amichel or Mexico. And that, in summary, is what they did, except that the boats they built were wrecked on the Texas coast. Only Cabeza de Vaca and two other men survived to reach Mexico in 1536.<sup>10</sup>

When Hernando de Soto returned from Peru to Spain to seek his own area of government in Ecuador or Guatemala, or permission to conquer some new area, the fate of the Narváez expedition was still not known, although its disappearance was. That fact fit with the gradually building reputation of the Gulf and Atlantic coasts of North America. Alvarez de Pineda had summed up his findings along the upper Gulf Coast by saying that “all the land is low and sterile.”<sup>11</sup> Ponce de León had found the Cape of Florida area inhabited by brave, skilled warriors who beat the Spaniards in pitched battles, an almost unheard-of event. The majority of Ayllón’s surviving colonists spread the word that the Atlantic Coast, too, was not suitable for colonization, even where there were Indians. Although fish and fowl were abundant, few sources of carbohydrates that were familiar or acceptable to the Spaniards seemed available.<sup>12</sup> Ayllón’s propaganda about it being a “new Andalucía” was false. Only the rumored pearls and “terrestrial gems” of an inland province called “Xapira” might still be true. But no one really knew, because Ayllón’s people had not reached into the interior, having lost their guides to that area at the Santee-Winyah Bay landing site (which was the one known to give access to Xapira, according to a report by a native captured in 1521). Cabeza de Vaca’s return to the Spanish world allowed De Soto to fill in this picture with knowledge of the experiences of Narváez on the west coast of peninsular Florida.

Hernando de Soto was the inheritor not only of all the previous grants,

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<sup>10</sup>Paul E. Hoffman, “Narváez and Cabeza de Vaca in Florida,” in Charles Hudson and Carmen McClendon, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1513–1704* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993).

<sup>11</sup>Included in the text of Francisco de Garay’s contract for the conquest of Amichel, June 4, 1521, in Martín Fernández de Navarrete, ed., *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1825–1837), 3:160.

<sup>12</sup>Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851–55), 3:631–33.

now consolidated into a single province of “La Florida,” but also of his predecessors’ painfully gained knowledge about the coast and interior.<sup>13</sup> Judging by his actions, he made as much use of this information as he could, beginning with the selection of a landing point and in deciding where to move next. The accuracy of this information was probably not very good, however, a fact that the modern reader should bear in mind.

Probably the first fruit that De Soto gathered from the work of his predecessors was that neither the Atlantic Coast nor the Gulf Coast was preferable. Neither offered deep, protected ports that also gave immediate access to large native populations. Ayllón’s San Miguel, a possible exception to this rule, was of unknown location; not even the pilot major of the House of Trade in Seville recorded it in his collection of sailing directions and coastal descriptions.<sup>14</sup> Because neither coast offered any particular advantage, De Soto seems to have opted for the Gulf Coast of peninsular Florida because it was close to Cuba and easy to reach on both legs of a trip back and forth. An Atlantic Coast port, while easy to reach from the Antilles, would have required a return via a long detour east of the Bahamas, through the Mona Passage, or even farther east into the Atlantic Ocean. Then there was the long and sometimes difficult journey around western Cuba and back into the Gulf to Havana. A voyage using the counter-current along the coast of Florida and then across the Gulf Stream to Havana was less difficult and lengthy, but it was more dangerous because it required sailing close to the shore in relatively shallow water.

Having decided his general line of approach to La Florida, De Soto next made use of Cabeza de Vaca’s information about the bay that Narváez had glimpsed and that his ships had found on their voyage south. According to Cabeza de Vaca, this bay, modern Tampa Bay, was “so uninhabited and so poor [a land] as had ever been found in those parts.”<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, De Soto sent Juan de Añasco to seek a better harbor, which he found seventy-five to eighty leagues north of Havana, rather short of the hundred leagues that was the standard estimate of the distance to Bahía Honda, that is, Tampa Bay.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>De Soto’s contract is published herein, vol. 1.

<sup>14</sup>Chaves, *Alonso de Chaves*, 124–25.

<sup>15</sup>Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *La relación de los naufragios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, ed. Martín A. Favata and José B. Fernández (Potomac, Md.: Scripta Humanistica, 1986), 18, my translation.

<sup>16</sup>Chaves, *Alonso de Chaves*, 121, No. 9. De Soto and the treasury officials described this port as “inhabited and very secure,” thus implicitly contrasting it to Narváez’s Bahía Honda. Quoted in John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*,

Whether that newly discovered port is where De Soto actually landed is another, much-debated question. The point is that De Soto sought to avoid the sterile bay that Narváez had found.

In the same way, De Soto's path north in the interior (rather than close to the coast) of peninsular Florida seems to have been based on the experience of Narváez. De Soto had better scouting and an efficient policy of moving from the central town of each chiefdom to that of the next, a technique probably learned in Central America. This took him to Apalachee, where he found the central town. Then he subjected the entire province to foraging activities, unlike Narváez, who had been kept at a minor village with little food.

De Soto's pace may also have been determined, at least initially, by the experience of Narváez. Elvas says that De Soto marched five or six leagues a day in populated areas, and as rapidly as his men and swine would allow in unpopulated ones to avoid hunger from lack of maize.<sup>17</sup> Swanton presents evidence that De Soto moved at about twelve miles per day during the march to the Withlacoochee River.<sup>18</sup> These figures are estimated averages. They are very close to the minimum distance (seven leagues) that Cabeza de Vaca mentions as that between Indian maize fields. The figures suggest that De Soto intended to avoid Narváez's experience of hunger. Narváez attributed the difficulty in getting food to the fact that his men did not make a day's march between sources of maize. Jeffrey Mitchem has suggested that De Soto's inclusion of pigs in his expedition was another effort to avoid Narváez's hunger.<sup>19</sup>

Apalachee's nature and general location relative to the coast were the last useful information De Soto could have derived from Narváez's experience. Of the knowledge that his predecessors had gathered about La Florida, only Ayllón's province of pearls and "terrestrial gems" remained as a guide to

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1938, reprint with introduction by Jeffrey Brain (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 101.

<sup>17</sup>"The Account by a Gentleman from Elvas," *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida, Now newly set forth by a Gentlemen of Elvas*, trans. and ed. James Alexander Robertson, herein, vol. 1. Cited hereafter as Elvas, *Relation*.

<sup>18</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 302. See also his p. 105.

<sup>19</sup>Jeffrey M. Mitchem, "Initial Spanish-Indian Contact in West Peninsular Florida: The Archaeological Evidence," in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2: *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 51.

future action. De Soto followed up on it because an Indian boy, Pedro, provided him with a description of Cofitachequi that matched part of the Ayllón material.

Once at Cofitachequi, De Soto's men found knives and beads that they recognized could have come from Ayllón's colony. Mistakenly believing that he had landed at only one place, they assumed that the river of Cofitachequi (probably the Wateree, which feeds into the Santee) was the river where Ayllón had died.<sup>20</sup> They called this river the Santa Elena and assumed that it came out at the point of the same name, a landmark that could be found because it was at 32°N according to Alonso de Chaves. They thus established, in their own minds, a way to approach the rich agricultural possibilities of Cofitachequi by using the sea and this river. A subsequent search in the mountains farther north and west failed to turn up any sign of the "terrestrial gems" (actually quartz and other types of crystal) or any minerals aside from some copper that the Native Americans had obtained by trade from mines located farther north than De Soto penetrated. In short, Ayllón's report of pearls in the interior was accurate, but the rest of his tale of "Xapira" seemed not to be.

De Soto was not interested in freshwater pearls and agricultural lands. Dreaming of new gold mines such as he and others had found in the mountains of Central America, he turned his army westward and continued the search. His next major stopping place was Coosa. It, like Cofitachequi, came to be remembered as a place of abundant food and good prospects for European agriculture. In fact, after the events of the next two years, Coosa took on the qualities of a Garden of Eden in the telling and retelling of the adventures of the army.

In sum, De Soto's expedition not only consolidated all prior grants into one, but it also used and checked the geographic knowledge deriving from those expeditions. It brought a closure to the early Spanish explorations and attempts at settlement in La Florida. At the same time, its experiences at Cofitachequi, and even more at Coosa, served to create a new piece of knowledge, perhaps better understood as a folkloric legend, about the Southeast: that these interior places would be good for Spanish settlement and might, because of dense Indian populations, allow the establishment of *encomiendas*, whose members would cultivate the soil for their new lords.

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<sup>20</sup>Luys Hernández de Biedma, "Relations of the Island of Florida," herein, vol. 1; Rodrigo Rangel, "Account of the Northern Conquest and Discovery of Hernando de Soto," herein, vol. 1; Elvas *Relation*, herein, vol. 1.

This new belief in the idyllic Coosa is well reflected in the words that Francisco Cervantes de Salazar put into the mouth of Zuazo in the following dialogue from his *Life in the Imperial and Loyal City of Mexico in New Spain* (1554): “ZUAZO: . . . Florida, lying distant only an easy and very short voyage by sea, and by land neither a long nor a difficult journey, should be conquered. . . . ALFARO: What advantage and profit would your province derive from this action? ZUAZO: Very much indeed, for whatever is produced by the other Spain in the Old World, from which merchandise is imported into ours with so much delay and difficulty, all this would be supplied by Florida, which produces much more abundantly and is contiguous to us.”<sup>21</sup>

Although later in date and of uncertain origins, Garcilaso de la Vega’s report of Viceroy Mendoza’s reaction to the De Soto story is along the same lines. Garcilaso says that although Mendoza was saddened by the loss of so many men and the hardships of the others, he was “very happy to hear of the spaciousness of that kingdom, the opportunity that it holds for raising all kinds of livestock, and the fertility of the land in corn, grains, fruits, and vegetables.”<sup>22</sup>

This vision of Coosa’s abundance and potential were among the main motives for the colonizing expedition of Tristán de Luna y Arellano. Luna went from Mexico to Florida in 1559 to build a series of Spanish settlements that would link Achuse (Pensacola Bay) on the Gulf of Mexico, with the Point of Santa Elena (Tybee Island at the mouth of the Savannah River) on the Atlantic Ocean. Each was to be built in the center of an Indian chiefdom, whose residents would in time be brought to obey the Spaniards and be placed in *encomiendas* awarded to the more meritorious colonists.<sup>23</sup> The expedition failed to achieve any of these goals. Its last soldiers withdrew from the shore of Pensacola Bay in 1561.

If the Luna expedition was the most direct consequence of De Soto’s *entrada* so far as the Spaniards were concerned, there were others of less consequence. Knowledge of the agricultural possibilities of the interior, of the relatively dense Native American populations there, and that there was a way to reach and cross the mountains and continue westward toward Mexico all seem to have played some role in Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s decision

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<sup>21</sup>Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Life in the Imperial and Loyal City of Mexico in New Spain* (1554), trans. Mimia Lee Barrett Shepard (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953), 79.

<sup>22</sup>Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida*, herein, vol. 2.

<sup>23</sup>Hoffman, *New Andalusia*, 144, 151.



to send Captain Juan Pardo into the interior in 1566 and 1567. Pardo left from the new Spanish post at Santa Elena town, established in the spring of 1566 on Parris Island, S.C.<sup>24</sup>

Another consequence was the confusion of Alvarez de Pineda's Bay of the Holy Spirit and De Soto-Moscoso's River of the Holy Spirit. The latter is the Mississippi, but the former appears to have been one of the bays on the Louisiana coast west of the "father of waters." The similarity of the names led to their conflation on later maps, with the river shown as emptying into the bay, which is placed farther west than the actual location of the Mississippi's delta. This mistaken placement had little effect on the Spaniards, who apparently never tried to find the River of the Holy Spirit until the 1680s. Later, it may have helped to convince the Sieur de la Salle and his French patrons that his incorrect latitude for the river's delta was somehow right, since it placed the outlet on the western side of the Gulf of Mexico, in the general vicinity of the Bay and River of the Holy Spirit.<sup>25</sup>

## THE NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

The De Soto expedition has long been recognized as vital to understanding the history of Native American cultures in the areas he visited. The accounts of the expedition provide a sort of snapshot of populations, political systems, and, seemingly, cultural ways that correspond to late phases of the Mississippian cultural horizon in the Southeast. As Ann Ramenofsky has recently noted, this information in the chronicles was a critical link in Cyrus Thomas's resolution of the so-called Mound Builder debate, and in most of the "direct historical" study of southeastern Indians since.<sup>26</sup> Much recent archaeological scholarship has tested data found in these accounts, while at the same time providing information and details that the Spaniards overlooked or thought unworthy of mention in their accounts. Ongoing controversies about "the route" have led to efforts to better understand selected

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<sup>24</sup>Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), provides details and transcriptions and translations of documents relating to these expeditions.

<sup>25</sup>Peter H. Wood, "La Salle: Discovery of a Lost Explorer," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 294–323. La Salle did not, however, mistake the River and Bay of the Holy Spirit as the outlets of the Mississippi, which he had named the Colbert.

<sup>26</sup>Ann F. Ramenofsky, "Loss of Innocence: Explanations of Differential Persistence in the Sixteenth-Century Southeast," in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, 33–35.

sites and to synthesize archaeological findings into larger pictures of polities and their cultures. Jeffrey Brain summarized this research (to 1984) in his introduction to the reprint of the 1939 United States De Soto Expedition Commission report.<sup>27</sup> Brain and Charles Ewen herein provide a bibliography that brings Brain's earlier bibliography up to date. In general, it appears that we now have a better understanding of the geographic extent of, social stratification of, and general subsistence and cultural ways of the peoples De Soto encountered in his peregrination through their maize fields. Much remains to be learned, especially about the supposed effects of De Soto's passing on Native American cultures.

The De Soto expedition's effects on the native peoples of the American Southeast have been much debated, especially because those effects may be an explanation for the apparent demographic, cultural, and political collapse of the Mississippian cultures, and the subsequent cultural and political reorganization that occurred between De Soto's time and the European penetration of the region that began in the late seventeenth century. In the most common explanation of the changes, De Soto's men are said to have spread disease that destroyed the demographic basis of the societies he visited, causing the disintegration of the culture.<sup>28</sup>

The demographic consequences of European, and not just De Soto's, contact with the southeastern Indians are the subject of recent works by G. R. Milner, Henry F. Dobyns, Marvin Smith, and Ann Ramenofsky.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*.

<sup>28</sup>Rochelle A. Marrinan, John F. Scarry, and Rhonda L. Majors, "Prelude to De Soto: The Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez," in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, 78, suggest that the Spaniards confronted the Indians with a reality that could not be contained in their worldview and that somehow caused cultural collapse. The basis for this suggestion is the work of Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). For a different view, see Janet E. Levy, J. Alan May, and David G. Moore, "From Ysa to Joara: Cultural Diversity in the Catawba Valley from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, 164. The similar case of the collapse of the Classic Maya culture in southern Yucatan has been ignored by students of the southeastern Indians. Single-cause explanations such as disease, failure of priests to predict some celestial event, or the invasion of corn fields (*milpas*) by grasses have been suggested at one time or another for the Maya case. Recent work suggests the compounding effects of an invasion from Central Mexico.

<sup>29</sup>G. R. Milner, "Epidemic Disease in the Post-Contact Southeast: A Reappraisal," *Mid-continental Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1980): 3-17; Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Marvin T. Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period* (Gainesville: University

Smith, especially, has better archaeological evidence (especially of mass burials) than was available to Dobyns. But all of these works rely heavily on analogy from modern epidemiological studies. They also sometimes accept unstated assumptions about the role of demographic change as a factor in cultural change. They extrapolate data from the rather vague numerical reports in the accounts of the De Soto and some other early expeditions and on the report of a disease that had caused the depopulation of a town near Cofitachequi the year before De Soto arrived.<sup>30</sup> They rely on the scanty evidence of what Coosa was like at the time of the De Soto and Luna expeditions and on the dating of artifacts.<sup>31</sup>

A nonspecialist in these matters often gets the impression that Old World diseases, arising *solely* from the De Soto expedition's passage, are a sort of "deus ex machina" that substitutes for what must in reality have been complex cause-and-effect relationships in a sequence of events. A step in the direction of a complex explanation of the changes and of demography's role in them is Ramenofsky's recent proposal for a Darwinian (environmental) model for responses to disease.<sup>32</sup> Clearly, some Old World diseases did reach epidemic levels among the southeastern Indians during the sixteenth century, but whether that was before or after or because of De Soto remains to be tested, as do their full effects on the political and social structures that De Soto's men recorded.

The very substantial problems presented by limited documentary data can be illustrated by the evidence from Coosa. De Soto's men described Coosa as flourishing; Luna's men found small villages and relatively little food eighteen years later. However, archaeologists and historians generally have not subjected these statements to skeptical examination as a possible example of "explorer's rhetoric" (De Soto's men) versus "settler's rhetoric"

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of Florida Press, 1987); Ann F. Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Ramenofsky, "Loss of Innocence," 31–48.

<sup>30</sup>Elvas, *Relation*, Biedma, "Relation," and Rangel, "Account of the Northern Conquest," herein, vol. 1; Garcilaso, *La Florida*, herein, vol. 2.

<sup>31</sup>Many strides have recently been made in isotope and trace-element analysis and in dating bead types, with the result that we have better dates, but still ones that are plus or minus a number, often a large number of years. Spanish artifacts, aside from beads, are nearly impossible to date to anything less than a century; the most datable beads, Nueva Cadiz, can be dated only as pre-1550 in manufacture. Native American ceramics are typically dated by the half-century or longer interval, and sometimes even by reference to their association with European objects!

<sup>32</sup>Ramenofsky, "Loss of Innocence," 37–44.

(Luna's men).<sup>33</sup> Nor have the folkloric qualities of the De Soto Coosa story been fully evaluated. Nor has much work been done on the narrative strategies of the De Soto chroniclers that might have led them to embellish Coosa's reality. Yet without such care to discover the biases behind the data, the data can give false impressions, leading to false conclusions. Put another way, historical "facts," like archaeological artifacts, have "proveniences" that give them meaning. They cannot be, as artifacts cannot be, simply "dug up."

In short, the proposition that De Soto's expedition, and its presumed diseases, largely if not completely accounts for the transformation of southeastern Indian societies remains a thesis or theory, whose verification awaits the development of archaeological and possibly ethnographic evidence that is better than any currently available for the 1540–1700 period.

The consequences for Native American societies of De Soto's activities that can be documented are limited to the diffusion of European manufactures, such as cloth, clothing, iron objects, and glass beads (all available from other contacts with Europeans), the deaths of large numbers (but probably not the thousands claimed) of Indians in battles with De Soto, and limited population movements caused by his forcing Indian burden bearers to leave their chiefdoms and enter neighboring, usually hostile, ones before he released them. An example of the latter is the Indian who explained to Alonso Velas, one of Pardo's soldiers, that he did not wish to accompany him any farther than Satapo because he had five brothers who had been captured by the Coosa while in the company of De Soto.<sup>34</sup> These were not insignificant consequences, but they may have been less important in the long run than other factors particular to the native cultures in question.

## RECENT CRITIQUES OF THE CHRONICLES

Literary studies of those De Soto chronicles published in these volumes have been limited in number, but they do provide important perspectives on the interrelatedness of the texts and on the factual veracity of the chronicles,

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<sup>33</sup>See Wayne Franklyn, *Discoverers, Explorers, and Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 70–71, 122–24. The folkloric quality of the Coosa story was suggested by the comments of George E. Lankford in "Legends of the Adelantado," a paper he presented to the 2nd Arkansas De Soto Conference, Fayetteville, March 28, 1990. Copy in collection of the author.

<sup>34</sup>Testimony in the "Long Bandera Relation," trans. Paul E. Hoffman, in Hudson, *Pardo Expeditions*, 272.

and thus on their utility for the details of Native American culture. Patricia Galloway, picking up threads from the work of the late Daymond Turner, has probed the possible links between the Rangel/Oviedo text and that of the Gentleman of Elvas, going so far as to suggest that Oviedo's printer probably had the manuscript additions to Oviedo's *Historia general*, in which the Rangel material was found, at the time that the printer moved to Portugal, which was not long before the Elvas account appeared in print.<sup>35</sup> That is to say, Elvas's account may be based upon the Rangel/Oviedo original, with additions by a Portuguese survivor of the expedition or someone else who was familiar with its legends.<sup>36</sup> Galloway also suspects that Elvas was the basic source for Garcilaso de la Vega's account.<sup>37</sup>

Garcilaso de la Vega's *The Florida of the Inca* has long been recognized as the most literary, and possibly the least reliable, of the four main accounts of the expedition.<sup>38</sup> Recently, David Henige has suggested that Garcilaso's literary purposes and the literary conventions of his time need to be taken into account, especially when using his descriptions of Indian society.<sup>39</sup> Both Henige and Galloway have called for modern critical, original-language editions of the sources, especially Oviedo.

Luís Hernández de Biedma's account (herein newly retranslated by John Worth), the only one to come down to us in a contemporary manuscript, has not been subjected to the same scrutiny as the Rangel/Oviedo, Elvas, and

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<sup>35</sup>Patricia Galloway, "Sources for the Hernando de Soto Expedition: Intertextuality and the Elusiveness of Truth," 12–13, 16. Paper presented to the Society of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, New Orleans, April 1990. Collection of the author. This "intertextuality" of Rangel/Oviedo and Elvas was noticed as early as 1901 by Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), 1:459, where, in commenting on the Rangel text he says "the account up to the burning of Chicaça appears to be independent of, while it substantially agrees with, those of the other writers. Beyond that, it follows very closely the Elvas narrative. . . . Many of the names correspond with those of the Elvas narrative."

<sup>36</sup>Lankford, "Legends of the Adelantado," chart 2, p. 7, shows that of the twenty-one legends found in the part of the expedition's story that the Elvas and Rangel/Oviedo texts have in common, eleven are about the same incidents. The other ten would have been contributed by some other source.

<sup>37</sup>Personal communication.

<sup>38</sup>Dennis Fernandez, "La Florida del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega." Ph.D. Dissertation. Florida State University. 1970.

<sup>39</sup>David Henige, "The Content, Context, and Credibility of *La Florida del Ynca*," *The Americas* 43 (1986): 1–23.

Garcilaso accounts. Swanton noted its brevity (and thus lack of utility for “route” studies) and that “it supported the Portuguese chronicler [Elvas] rather than the Inca,” but the implications of this observation have not been explored.<sup>40</sup>

The Cañete Fragment, here published for the first time together with Eugene Lyon’s commentary, also awaits comparative study with the other texts. Its concern with flora and fauna suggests that the complete account, if it can ever be found, will provide new information about De Soto and his men’s interest in the resources of the Southeast, unless, that is, it is shown that Cañete compiled his materials from Martyr and Oviedo.

Less controversial than the Henige-Galloway critiques of the nature and uses of the four sources is George Lankford’s recent examination of the accounts from the perspective of a folklorist. Lankford has suggested that the members of the De Soto expedition “emerged from their cocoon in La Florida with a common set of [folkloric] legends about most of the important events they had lived through. . . .”<sup>41</sup> He finds eighty-two legends in Garcilaso, many of which also appear in the other written accounts. Stripped of these legends, Garcilaso’s account is a “bare-bones story not significantly different from Elvas and Rangel in tone, although the details may vary.”<sup>42</sup> He concludes that Garcilaso probably used Elvas, the written sources he claimed to have used, and oral testimony in the form of folkloric legends gathered from Gonzalo Silvestre. All were woven into a text fitting certain literary canons of his time. The result has been an enjoyable tale read ever since and used by most popular writers as the basis for their retellings of the De Soto story.

The thrust of this recent critical scholarship of the accounts as interrelated rather than independent accounts and as literary documents is to confirm that a sequential itinerary can be constructed from the Biedma and Rangel accounts, supplemented by the derivative Elvas and Garcilaso accounts. Swanton’s “Parallel Itinerary of the Expedition,” reprinted here, is such a construction.

A measured itinerary, on the other hand, can be only partially reconstructed because Elvas provides most of the league distances, estimated in

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<sup>40</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 9. Ida Altman is preparing a deconstructionist analysis of Biedma’s text [personal communication, Patricia Galloway to author, October 3, 1990].

<sup>41</sup>Lankford, “Legends of the Adelantado,” 2.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 14

units of ten, and because the length of his league and those used by the other sources are uncertain.<sup>43</sup> Arguments about how far the army marched in a day, the other line of approach to a measured itinerary, seem problematical because they rest heavily on Garcilaso (for the day count) and on assumptions and partial data about actual distances made good.<sup>44</sup> This approach is useful to the extent that it points to particular archaeological sites that fit the accounts and date to the correct period, but those who use it are in constant danger of employing a circular argument from the sites to the estimated day's travel.

In sum, recent literary studies of the De Soto chronicles have raised new doubts about their use in reconstructions of "the route" while helping to sort out fact and possible fiction in studies of the Native American cultures that De Soto met.

## THE DE SOTO CHRONICLES PROJECT

Most present-day students of the expedition would not agree with Lowery that "it is a matter of comparatively small importance to trace the path of these Spanish adventurers with the precision of a modern railway. . . ." <sup>45</sup> It thus seems especially important that an edition of the best-available translations of all four accounts, and selected ancillary materials, be published. With all four narratives together, the curious student can better compare them to reach his/her own conclusions about their interrelatedness, literary and folkloric qualities, and veracity. Such an edition provides a basis from which to make a fresh start and to eliminate some of the old, erroneous answers still bandied about.

In addition to the four main chronicles, these volumes include selected materials from the United States De Soto Expedition Commission's *Final Report* of 1939 and the documents that Buckingham Smith published in 1866. To round out the presentation, Rocío Sánchez Rubio's recent biographical sketch of De Soto has been translated from the Spanish to provide

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<sup>43</sup>For the best modern scholarship on this controversy see Roland Chardon, "The Elusive Spanish League: A Problem of Measurement in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60 (1980): 294–302, and Charles Hudson and Marvin Smith, "Reply to Eubanks," *The Florida Anthropologist* 43 (1990): 36–42.

<sup>44</sup>Keith J. Little and Caleb Curren are the leading critics of the estimated day's travel approach. See "Conquest Archaeology of Alabama," *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, 170–71.

<sup>45</sup>Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 1:464.

some insight into how De Soto is viewed by a modern Spanish historian. This author's somewhat longer biography of De Soto to 1539 provides a different perspective on his life and character.

Finally, an observation about the arguments that have grown up, again, around "the route." An excitable and injudicious man himself, Hernando de Soto might be amused to see how much heat and controversy his legacy has produced.





# THE ACCOUNT BY A GENTLEMAN FROM ELVAS

*Translated and Edited by James Alexander Robertson  
With Footnotes and Updates to Robertson's Notes by John H. Hann*

*The True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto*, by a Gentleman of Elvas, was translated from the Portuguese by James Alexander Robertson for the Florida State Historical Society and was published in two volumes for them by the Yale University Press as the society's publication number eleven. The first volume, published in 1932, was a photographic facsimile of the original Portuguese edition of Elvas in 1557. The second volume, published in 1933, was an English translation of volume one by Dr. Robertson, who was at that time the executive secretary of the Florida State Historical Society.

The Robertson translation has stood the test of over fifty years and is still considered to be an excellent translation. Relevant portions of the front material from volume one have been included here to clarify the context of Robertson's work. This is followed by the complete translation from volume two of the Robertson edition, which is reproduced below, followed by Dr. Robertson's notes.

In Robertson's notes, native towns and physical features are located according to a route reconstruction on modern maps by Theodore H. Lewis, published in the volume *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (1907). The decision to rely on Lewis was a rather eclectic one, because Lewis's reconstructions, though interesting, deviated widely from those of nearly all of his predecessors and contemporaries, leading John R. Swanton to call him the "great iconoclast" of De Soto route studies. No effort has been made in the present volume to update these locations, although the reader should be aware that in many, if not most, cases a better estimate might be had. Modern versions of De Soto's route, although they differ from each other, generally make use of ethnographic, linguistic, and archaeological data that were not available to Lewis. References to these more recent attempts may be found in our bibliography.

The notes in turn have been updated for this edition by Dr. John Hann, historic sites specialist for the state of Florida, the Bureau of Archaeological Research, under a grant from the Institute for Early Contact Period Studies at the University of Florida in Gainesville.

## FOREWORD

*[To Robertson volume one]*

This facsimile reproduction of the narrative of the expedition by Hernando de Soto into Florida and regions to the north and west thereof was made from the copy of the original "Relaçam" of 1557 owned by the New York Public Library. This work is so rare that but two other copies [those of the Bibliotheca de Ajuda, in Portugal, and of the British Museum] are known to be in existence. The publication, therefore, of a source so important for the history of the United States can be regarded only as an epochal event. A new translation into English of the original, with copious annotations, has been made by James Alexander Robertson, executive secretary of the Society. . . . The Committee thanks the New York Public Library for its courtesy in allowing its priceless volume to be photographed for reproduction; and the Yale University Press for the care with which it has executed the work.

John B. Stetson, Jr.,  
CHAIRMAN,  
F. Franklin Jameson,  
Charles B. Reynolds,  
George Parker Winship.  
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.



## PREFACE

*[To Robertson volume one]*

The excuse for a new edition of the “*Relaçam Verdadeira*” of the “Fidalgo” of Elvas is many fold: the rarity of the original; its intrinsic merit; its importance for the early history of lands now a part of the United States; the greater exactness of the translation. This narrative forms, indeed, one of the most valuable of the existing sources whereby the veil was lifted, at least momentarily, from the darkness enshrouding the life of a great part of the lands bordering upon the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico and the lands reaching north and northeast of that mighty inland water. The Florida of that early day, and for long after, covered an indefinite extent of territory. The name conveyed only a vague impression of vast space delimited perhaps at the west by the Las Palmas River, but extending northward no person knew whither. On that account, not only is this narrative of interest to the present State of Florida, but as well to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, [South Carolina], and Tennessee, and beyond the Father of Waters to Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and even other regions. One narrative only of the interior of the present United States is older than it—the account of that traveler of travelers, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, whose adventures, unique among such annals, as truly as those of Hernando de Soto, form an epic of the New World.

The brief glimpse afforded by the narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto of an aboriginal population struggling painfully along the pathway toward civilization, exhibiting many of the characteristics of older known peoples, together with many of the virtues and the frailties of the barbarian—unaware of the civilization of the Old World and of the white man—was not to be renewed, except momentarily, until almost a score of years later when Tristán de Luna y Arellano thrust himself up through Florida and Alabama on his abortive expedition. So vivid was the tale of the unknown Portuguese and so avid his audience “new things for to hear” that his book must have been literally read to pieces, for but three known copies of it are known to have survived to the present day. Even so early after its

publication as 1609, when that puissant man of letters, Richard Hakluyt, the father of English colonization, made the first translation of it into English, he seems to have been hard put to it to find a copy. The successive reissues of Hakluyt's translation; the new translation of the original into French and the translation of the latter into English near the end of the seventeenth century; the new translation from the Portuguese into English by Buckingham Smith and the latter reissues of this by Edward Gaylord Bourne and Theodore H. Lewis; and the reprint of the original Portuguese, albeit modernized in 1844; all these attest the abiding interest in, and the value of, the narrative.

As one of the basic documents of the early history of Florida, it appeared peculiarly fitting that the "Relaçam Verdadeira" should form one of the publications of the Florida State Historical Society. It was therefore planned, shortly after the foundation of the society, to publish it, not only in an English dress, but in its original form as well. This has now been done. The work is issued in two volumes, the first being the reproduction of the original and the second the translation. At first it was intended to reissue the translation by Buckingham Smith, but closer examination of this with the original proved the desirability of making a new and more exact translation. In performing this task, the work of the present writer was made much easier by virtue of the two preceding translations into English from the original Portuguese and the translation into French noted above. To these, especially to the translations by Richard Hakluyt and Buckingham Smith, of which the translator made continual use, his indebtedness is acknowledged.

In annotating the translation, constant reference was made to the translations of the narratives by Luis Fernández de Biedma and Rodrigo Rangel which appear in the second volume of Edward Gaylord Bourne's "Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto." The first was reprinted by Professor Bourne from the volume of Buckingham Smith; the second he translated himself from the narrative as incorporated in the great work of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo Valdez. Numerous citations have been made of each account, in each instance the fitting acknowledgment being rendered. It was thus possible to make some comparison of the incidents as related by the three chroniclers. A much less extensive use was made of the narrative by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, both for lack of space and because his account is the least dependable of the four narratives. Considerable use was made also of the footnotes of Theodore A. Lewis published in his edition of Buckingham Smith's translation of the "Relaçam Verdadeira," due acknowledgment being made for each citation. . . .

J. A. R. November, 1932

TRUE RELATION OF THE HARDSHIPS SUFFERED BY  
GOVERNOR HERNANDO DE SOTO &  
CERTAIN PORTUGUESE GENTLEMEN  
DURING THE DISCOVERY OF THE  
PROVINCE OF FLORIDA.  
NOW NEWLY SET FORTH  
BY A GENTLEMAN  
OF ELVAS.

¶TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

¶VOLUME TWO. TRANSLATION AND ANNOTATIONS.

¶DELAND, THE FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1933.

[Title page to Robertson volume two]





## PREFACE

*[to Robertson volume two]*

. . . Hernando de Soto seems to have been especially fortunate in most of the men who joined his expedition. They were recruited under his vigilant eye; and the enthusiasm with which they flocked to his standard is evidenced by the fact that many were left behind for lack of room in the vessels sailing to Cuba from San Lúcar; or because they were rejected as unfit. From all who offered themselves, he chose those whom he considered best fitted for the arduous undertaking that lay before them.

Some had campaigned with him in Peru. They were an asset, for they had been tried and had stood the test. They knew the hardships and uncertainties of a campaign in the wilderness. A considerable number were from De Soto's own town or province, and either they, or their families, were probably known by him. That Portuguese should join the expedition is not at all strange. Badajoz, a chief city of the then province of Extremadura, lay near the Portuguese town of Elvas. To this very day, each place is an active smuggling center. Each is a place of entry or departure into or from the other country. There is, and probably always has been, a constant passing from one place to the other. Still, the precaution seems to have been taken of enrolling the men who came from Elvas as being of the town of Badajoz—this undoubtedly to satisfy any official inquiry that might be made.

Some members of the expedition were of comparatively high rank—perhaps higher even than that of the commander. As such, they had behind them the power and prestige of family, and some, of wealth; and all had apparently been bred to the profession of arms. It is not strange to find some of them among the officers of the expedition. Lay priests and friars were also enrolled, one of whom had the name Soto, evidently a kinsman of the leader. Their primary function seems to have been the spiritual care of the men of the expedition, but their number would indicate that they were intended as well for the evangelization of the Indians whenever occasion might offer. Though the chroniclers do not so state specifically, the raising of a huge

cross on a high hill overlooking an Indian village, as related by the “Fidalgo” of Elvas, was probably suggested by the ecclesiastics. For the rest, they probably fought side by side with and suffered equally with the other members of the expedition. After the reverses at Mavilla and Chicaça, they were reduced to saying “dry masses” because of the loss of the wheaten hosts by fire, together with all the sacred ornaments; and it was not considered proper to use hosts made from maize flour.

There were apparently no convicts among the men. So ready were men to enlist in an expedition led by one who had played so prominent a part in the brilliant Peruvian campaign—De Soto was next to Francisco and Hernando Pizarro, and in moral worth far above them—that it was not necessary to open the doors of the jails in order to get enough men. Some of the men were of coarser mold than others and many were reckless and ruthless enough. There was exploitation of the Indians, and cruelty and lust were not absent. This, indeed, has been the story of the contact between white and red man from the beginning to the present day, and no colonizing nation and no country in the Americas can boast of a clean escutcheon. De Soto’s expedition, however, in comparison with some that preceded it and many that followed it, was of a superior tone. Much of the credit for this belongs to the leader himself. It can at least be said of him that he was not heedlessly cruel. He was impelled by the necessity for self-preservation. One may readily grant that to our present twentieth-century eyes the basic idea of the expedition was ethically wrong, but this conception was not that of the age of conquest in the Americas.

One and all, from the greatest to the least, were able to endure hardship and suffering. Even in times of plenty, they were dogged by the grim specter of hunger. A proof of De Soto’s ability as a leader is the absence of any attempt to mutiny; though there were signs of unrest among the men at the time of his death. Luis de Moscoso was not at all to be classed as a leader with De Soto; and it is evident that the idea of self-preservation held the expedition together under him. It is quite probable that a mutiny, if led by such men as Baltasar de Gallegos or Juan de Añasco, would have succeeded. It is to the credit of them all that the expedition ended as a unit.

De Soto was fortunate also in his officers, who were, in most instances, of more than ordinary ability. The devotion he inspired among his men is evidenced by the determination of Nuño de Tobar, who had been “maese de campo” and whom De Soto had deposed, to follow him to Florida as a private in the ranks. He ever gave unwavering loyalty to his leader. One altercation De Soto seems to have had with Tobar’s successor, Vasco Porcallo

de Figueroa, who returned to Cuba shortly after the expedition had reached Florida; but Porcallo seems to have borne him no enmity and aided the expedition from Cuba on more than one occasion.

As compared with the expedition of Pánfilo de Narvaez and that of Tristán de Luna y Arellano, and even that of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the personnel of the De Soto expedition was unquestionably of a higher type and was better kept in hand. There is one instance only when the men of the Narvaez expedition approached those of De Soto—that is, when they built their crazy boats near the present St. Marks, and perished almost to a man on their attempt to reach Mexico. The exploits of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca form an epic of their own quite apart from [those of] Narvaez.

The records of the expedition show the conquering Spaniards at their best. It was no slight undertaking to plunge into a new land, of which all were ignorant. Not knowing what was to be encountered from red man, wild beasts, the terrain itself, and the forces of nature, the expedition was as venturesome an undertaking as was that of Admiral Byrd and his men to Antarctica—perhaps more so, for notwithstanding De Soto's careful planning (much more careful than was usual at that epoch), he had little aid from science and all his apparatus was crude and clumsy as compared to that of the present day. But, as in all great undertakings, the men, we are told, longed for the hour of departure and thought they would never get to the fabulously rich land of Florida. Lured on by their love of adventure and the hope of achieving great wealth, they expected to find another Mexico or another Peru and their imaginations ran riot with the glories they were to achieve.

Never were men more grievously fooled. There was no wealth as they understood the term. They could not see the Florida of today. They could not visualize wealth as the result of the patient exploitation of nature. They had chosen for themselves four years of grueling hardship and suffering which, while they might "yield a pleasant tale to tell," were hard enough to bear. The survivors returned "sans everything."

On the other hand, many days of the expedition must have been extremely pleasant. There were many fine marches along the Indian trails which led beside pleasing streams or the shores of lovely lakes and through more or less open forests. Sometimes they hunted and fished and played with friendly Indians and had plentiful living. They frequently suffered unnecessarily because they were untrained to woodcraft. The problem of a sufficient food supply was among their greatest and most continual worries. They were not of the kind to establish a base where they might grow their

own food. They counted on getting most of this from the Indians, unmindful of the depredations they caused and the hostility they created for themselves. To build an enduring settlement was not to their taste. They were adventurers, and little else beside. If they could find another Peru, where settlements already existed, then they might settle down to a steady existence. They did not see even with the eyes of poor Tristán de Luna y Arellano, and they would have laughed to scorn the plans of that great colonial pioneer, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

They found no submission in the Indians as had been found in Peru or Mexico, where the Indians had long been disciplined into a partially sedentary life. Instead, they found that the plenty of today might turn to leanness tomorrow. The Indians were not to be coerced into obedience. Imprisoned or chained or mutilated they might be, but these things did not tame them nor calm the fury roused in them by the white strangers. Sometimes they killed their captors. Mavilla and Chicaça became grim reminders of what might be the common fate.

Gradually his men diminished in number—victims of disease, casualties, or sudden death from the Indians. Of the six hundred with which De Soto set out, three hundred and eleven only won through to Pánuco. The dwindling of his men and the loss of almost all his resources at last tempered the obstinacy of Hernando de Soto, and when sickness and death overtook him, near the shores of the “Great River” which he first of all white men is known to have crossed, he was intent on returning to Cuba, there to refit his expedition and set out once more on his quest of glory.

The death of the commander brought a new problem—how to get out of Florida and return to as much civilization as Cuba or Mexico had to offer. Moscoso, the leader appointed by De Soto while on his deathbed, was not the man De Soto had been. It would appear that Baltasar de Gallegos was more fitted for the leadership than was Moscoso, who, said the “Fidalgo” of Elvas, was fond of a gay life and of taking his ease. Still, however chaotic grew conditions, the expedition did not lose its heroic quality. The aimless marching and countermarching, without knowing directions, often through pathless forests and wildernesses, without reliable guide or interpreter, harassed by hostile Indians only too anxious to be rid of them, was no small thing. Quite lost at last, it is no wonder that the majority of them counseled a return to the “Great River” where they might build boats and pass out into whatever body of water it flowed into and so reach a land inhabited by Christians. The return was no easy thing in itself, for they passed through a land that had once learned to hate them. Not a little heroic was the building

of the vessels near the banks of the Mississippi and their sailing down the mighty stream to the gulf, harassed on their way by the Indians who came at them from all directions like angry hornets. Not the least wonder was their safe arrival at Pánuco after suffering various storms in the Gulf of Mexico.

Even in that frontier town, the survivors must have presented a curious and semi-ludicrous spectacle, clad as they were in skins and bark garments with which they had replaced the clothing lost at Mavilla and Chicaça. No shipwrecked mariners were probably more thankful at rescue than were they. Their reception at Pánuco was characteristic of the frontier. They were welcomed wholeheartedly and given freely of the best that could be had. Some of them found acquaintances or people from the same towns in Spain as themselves. The same hospitality was shown them all the way to Mexico City.

So ended the expedition. Some, we are told, looked back with regret at the land of Florida and in later years more than one tried to get permission to return thither. The results of the expedition are more interesting to the present age than to its own. It established for one thing the immensity of the northern American continent; as well as the difficulty of passing through its forests and over its rivers and lakes, and its impassable swamps and the cold regions in the northern interior. It also established, jointly with the Coronado expedition of 1540-1542, the absence of great centers of barbaric or semi-civilized splendor such as had been found in Mexico and Peru. The northern continent, therefore, lost much of its interest, until the rivalry of other European nations once more focused Spain's attention on these inhospitable regions and caused the sending out of other expeditions for settlement and colonization lest its rich colonies to the southward be lost by attack from the north.

J. A. R.  
[January, 1933]



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TRUE RELATION OF THE HARDSHIPS SUFFERED BY GOVERNOR  
DON HERNANDO DE SOTO AND CERTAIN PORTUGUESE  
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TRUE RELATION OF THE HARDSHIPS SUFFERED BY  
GOVERNOR DON HERNANDO DE SOTO AND  
CERTAIN PORTUGUESE GENTLEMEN IN  
THE DISCOVERY OF THE PROVINCE  
OF FLORIDA. NOW NEWLY  
SET FORTH BY A  
GENTLEMAN  
OF ELVAS.

*Examined by the Inquisitor*



Fernando da Silveira,<sup>1</sup>  
Senhor das Serzedas, great poet  
and very illustrious, respecting  
the material of this Book,  
in praise of its  
Author.

EPIGRAM

HE WHO WOULD SEE THE NEW WORLD,  
THE GOLDEN POLE, ACCORDING TO  
OTHER SEAS, OTHER LANDS,  
ACHIEVEMENTS GREAT, & WARS;  
AND ATTEMPT SUCH THINGS  
AS AMAZE AND GIVE PLEASURE,  
STRIKE TERROR AND GIVE DELIGHT:  
READ BY THIS AUTHOR  
THIS PLEASING NARRATIVE;  
AND HE WILL SEE NOT A FABULOUS [HISTORY]  
[BUT ONE] WORTHY OF BEING ESTEEMED,  
MADE USE OF, READ, AND DISCUSSED.

FINIS.





## ANDRÉ DE BURGOS TO THE PRUDENT READER.

Aristotle says that all or the most of men are always prone and inclined to see and hear new things, especially when those things pertain to very distant and remote countries. Those things, he says, furnish diversion to delicate and subtile minds, and re-animate dull minds; and this gives them a natural desire to see and to hear, and, if possible, to take part in them.\* This desire is for two reasons greater among the Lusitanians than among other nations: the first, because they are a warlike people and of very subtile minds; the second, because they are by nature great navigators, and have discovered more land, with wider sailing, than all the other nations of the world. And as it appeared to me that I do some little service to those who might read this book, I resolved to publish it, taking courage inasmuch as it was written by a Portuguese and in his own language; and likewise because Portuguese citizens of the city of Elvas aided in the discovery, as the narrative itself makes mention.† I believe beyond doubt that he has written truthfully, and that he has not recounted fables or fictitious things; for one must believe that the author, not having any interest in so doing, would not swerve from the truth. Besides this, he asserts that all that is here written passed before him. Should the language, by chance, not appear to you very polished, lay not the fault on me, for I did not write it but only published it. May God have you in His keeping.

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In these footnotes and in my updates of Robertson's notes (found at the end of the Elvas account), where sixteenth-century Portuguese spelling differed from modern spelling, I have used the modern spelling so that an interested reader may find the words in a modern Portuguese dictionary.—JH

\*In the Portuguese text, the words for "if possible" (*se possível fôsse*) are placed within parentheses and include a verb, which Robertson deleted along with the parentheses. A strictly literal rendering of the Portuguese would be "if it should be possible."

†In the Portuguese text, the words for "as the narrative itself makes mention" were enclosed in parentheses.



RELATION OF WHAT THE ADELANTADO OF FLORIDA,  
DON HERNANDO DE SOTO, SUFFERED IN CONQUER-  
ING IT: IN WHICH IS SET FORTH WHO HE WAS,  
AND SOME OF THOSE WHO WENT WITH  
HIM; SOME OF THE PECULIARITIES  
AND DIVERSITIES OF THE  
COUNTRY, AND ALL THEY  
SAW THEREIN; AND OF  
WHAT BEFELL  
THEM.

[The Discovery of Florida]



## FIRST.

### WHICH DECLARES WHO DON HERNANDO DE SOTO WAS, AND HOW HE OBTAINED THE GOVERNMENT OF FLORIDA.<sup>2</sup>

Captain Soto was the son of an esquire of Jeréz de Badajóz. He went to the Indies of Castile when Pedrías Dávila<sup>3</sup> was governor of the Indies of the Ocean Sea. There he found himself with nothing else his own except his sword and shield. Because of his good qualities and courage, Pedrías made him captain of a troop of horse, and by his order he went with Hernando Pizarro<sup>4</sup> to conquer Peru. There, according to the report of many creditable persons who were there, he distinguished himself over the other captains and principal persons, both at the seizure of Atabalipa,<sup>5</sup> lord of Peru, and in making the entrance into the city of Cuzco, and in all other places where they encountered resistance, and where he happened to be. For that reason, aside from his part in the treasure of Atabalipa, he got good repartimiento, from which in time he collected one hundred and eighty thousand cruzados,<sup>6</sup> which he took to Spain, with what fell to him as his share. Of this, the emperor took [by loan] a certain part which was repaid to him [Soto] by six hundred thousand reales<sup>7</sup> with interest in the silks of Granada, while all the rest was delivered to him at the casa de contratación<sup>8</sup> in Seville. He employed servants, including a majordomo, grand master of ceremonies, pages, equerry, chamberlain, footmen, and all the other servants requisite for an establishment of a gentleman. From Seville, he went to court, and at court was accompanied by Juan de Añasco,<sup>9</sup> of Seville, Luis Moscoso de Alvarado,<sup>10</sup> Nuño de Tobar, and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo. With the exception of Juan de Añasco, all the others had come with him from Peru; and each brought fourteen or fifteen thousand cruzados. They all went well and expensively dressed; and Soto, although because of his cupidity he was not liberal, yet since that was the first time he had to appear at court, spent very liberally, and went about closely attended by those I have named and by his servants and many others who came to him at court. He married Doña Isabel<sup>11</sup> de Bobadilla, daughter of Pedrías Dávila, conde de Puñonrostro. The emperor rewarded him by making him governor of the island of Cuba and adelantado of Florida, with the title of marquis to a certain part of the lands he might conquer.<sup>12</sup>

## SECOND.

### HOW CABEZA DE VACA CAME TO COURT AND GAVE ACCOUNT OF THE LAND OF FLORIDA; AND OF THE MEN WHO WERE GATHERED TOGETHER AT SEVILLE TO GO WITH DON HERNANDO DE SOTO.

After Don Hernando had obtained the government, a gentleman arrived at court from the Indies, Cabeza de Vaca by name, who had gone with Governor Narváez,<sup>13</sup> who had perished in Florida. He told how Narváez had perished at sea with all his men; and how he and four others had escaped and reached New Spain. He brought also a written relation of what he had seen in Florida. This stated in certain places, "In such a place I saw this. Most of what I saw there I leave for discussion between myself and his Majesty." He described in general the wretchedness of the land and the hardships he had suffered. To some of his kinsfolk, who were minded to go to the Indies and strongly urged him to tell them whether he had seen any rich land in Florida, he said that he could not tell this, because he and another (by name, Dorantes,<sup>14</sup> who had remained in New Spain with the intention of returning to Florida—for which purpose he [Cabeza de Vaca] came to Spain to beg the government from the emperor) had sworn not to divulge certain things which they had seen, lest some person might beg for it before hand. He gave them to understand that it was the richest land in the world. Don Hernando de Soto wished to take him [i. e., Cabeza de Vaca] with him and made him an advantageous proposal; but after they had come to an agreement, they fell out because Soto would not give him the money which he [Cabeza de Vaca] asked of him to buy a ship. Baltasar de Gallegos and Cristóbal de Espindola, his kinsmen, told him [Cabeza de Vaca] that since they had resolved to go to Florida with Soto because of what he had told them, he should advise them as to what they should do. Cabeza de Vaca told them that if he had given up going with Soto, it was because he expected to ask for another government and did not wish to go under the banner of another. Since Don Hernando de Soto already had the conquest of Florida, which he [Cabeza de Vaca] came to beg, he could not tell them, on account of his oath, what they wished to know. Nevertheless, he advised them to sell their estates and go with him [i. e., Soto], for in so doing they would act wisely. As soon as he had an opportunity, he spoke with the emperor and related to him all

he had suffered and seen and the other things he had succeeded in learning. Of this relation, made orally to the emperor by Cabeza de Vaca, the marqués de Astorga was informed. He determined at once to send his brother, Don Antonio Osorio, with Don Hernando de Soto, and two of his kinsmen made ready to go with him, namely, Francisco Osorio and Garcia Osorio. Don Antonio disposed of an income of six hundred thousand reales<sup>15</sup> which he received from the Church, and Francisco Osorio of a village of vassals he owned in the district of Campos. They joined the adelantado at Seville, as did also Nuño de Tobar, Luis de Moscoso, and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo, with the wealth, amounting to fourteen or fifteen thousand cruzados, which each one had brought from Peru. Luis de Moscoso took two brothers with him. Don Carlos, who had married the governor's niece,<sup>16</sup> went also and took his wife. From Badajóz went Pedro Calderón and three kinsmen of the adelantado, namely, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco. As Luis de Moscoso passed through Elvas, André de Vasconcelos spoke with him, and requested him to speak to Don Hernando de Soto in his behalf, and gave him patents issued by the marqués de Vilareal, conferring on him the captaincy of Ceuta, so that he might exhibit them. The adelantado saw these and found out who he [Vasconcelos] was and wrote him promising that he would favor him in every way and would give him men to command in Florida. From Elvas went André de Vasconcelos, Fernan Pegado, Antonio Martinez Segurado, Mem Royz Pereyra, Joan Cordeiro, Estevan Pegado, Bento Fernandez, and Alvaro Fernandez;<sup>17</sup> and from Salamanca, Jaen, Valencia, Albuquerque, and other parts of Spain many persons of noble family gathered in Seville; so much so that many men of good condition, who had sold their estates, remained behind in San Lúcar because there was no ship for them; although for other known and rich countries it was usual to lack men. The cause of this was what Cabeza de Vaca had told the emperor and given persons who conversed with him to understand respecting that land. Soto made him [i.e., Cabeza de Vaca] fine proposals but Cabeza de Vaca, having agreed to go with him as mentioned above,\* because Soto would not give him money to pay for a ship which he had bought, they disagreed, and Cabeza de Vaca went as governor to Rio de la Plata. His kinsmen, Cristóbal de Espindola and Baltasar de Gallegos went with Soto. Baltasar de Gallegos sold houses, vineyards, a rent of wheat, and ninety geiras<sup>18</sup> of olive orchard in the district of Seville. He obtained the post of chief constable and took his

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\*In the Portuguese text, the words for "as mentioned above," *como se já disse*, were enclosed in parentheses.



wife with him. Many other persons of rank also went with the adelantado, and obtained the following posts aided by powerful influence, for they were posts which were desired by many, namely: Antonio de Biedma<sup>19</sup> obtained the post of factor; Juan de Añasco<sup>20</sup> that of contador; and Juan Gaytán,<sup>21</sup> a nephew of Cardinal de Ciquenza, obtained the post of treasurer.

### III.

#### HOW THE PORTUGUESE WENT TO SEVILLE AND THENCE TO SAN LÚCAR; AND HOW THE CAPTAINS WERE APPOINTED OVER THE SHIPS, AND THE MEN WHO WERE TO GO IN THEM DISTRIBUTED.

The Portuguese left Elvas on the 15th of January. They reached Seville on St. Sebastian's eve and went to the governor's lodging. They entered the patio upon which looked some balconies where he was. He looked down and went to meet them at the stairs where they went up to the balconies. When they were up, he ordered chairs to be given them so that they might be seated. André de Vasconcelos told him who he and the other Portuguese were and how they had all come to accompany him and to serve him on his voyage. He [i.e., Soto] thanked him and appeared well pleased with their coming and proffer. The table being already laid, he invited them to eat; and while they were eating, he directed his majordomo to find lodgings for them near his inn. From Seville, the adelantado went to San Lúcar with all the men that were to go with him. He ordered a muster to be held, to which the Portuguese went armed with very splendid arms, and the Castilians very elegantly, in silk over silk, and many plaits and slashes. As such finery was not pleasing to the governor on such an occasion, he ordered a muster to be held on the next day and for every man to appear with his armor. To this the Portuguese came as at first, armed with very excellent armor, and the governor set them in order near the standard borne by his alferéz. Most of the Castilians wore poor and rusty coats of mail, and all [wore] helmets and carried worthless and poor lances. Some of them managed to get a place among the Portuguese. Thus they passed in review, and those who were to the liking of Soto and whom he wished were counted and enrolled and went with him to Florida. Those who went numbered in all six hundred men.<sup>22</sup> He had already bought seven ships and had placed in them the provisions

necessary, appointed captains, and assigned his ship to each captain, giving each one a list of the men he was to take.

### III.

#### HOW THE ADELANTADO AND HIS MEN LEFT SPAIN AND ARRIVED AT THE CANARY ISLANDS, AND AFTERWARD AT THE ANTILLES.

In the month of April, of the year 1538, the adelantado delivered the ships over to the captains who were to go in them. He took a new and good sailing ship for himself and gave one to André de Vasconcelos, in which the Portuguese went. He left the bar of San Lúcar on Sunday morning, on the day of St. Lazarus in that month, and as was later written, amid great festivity, ordering the trumpets to be sounded and many rounds of artillery fired. For four days he sailed amid favoring weather and then the wind lulled. The calms with a rolling sea lasted for a week, during which no headway was made. On the fifteenth day after his departure from San Lúcar, he reached Gomera, one of the Canary Islands, on the morning of Easter Sunday. The count of that island was clad entirely in white—cloak, jerkin, hose, shoes, and cap—and resembled a Gypsy count. He received the governor very cordially. The latter was well provided with lodgings, and all the men were lodged there without expense. For his money, he [Soto] was provided with many provisions, bread, wine, and meat; and they took what was needful for the ships. On the following Sunday, a week after their arrival, they left the island of Gomera. The count gave Doña Isabel, the wife of the adelantado, a bastard daughter<sup>23</sup> of his, as her maid. They reached the Antilles at the island of Cuba, at the port of the city of Santiago on Whitsuntide.<sup>24</sup> As soon as they arrived there, a gentleman of the city sent a very beautiful and well caparisoned roan horse to the shore for the governor and a mule for Doña Isabel; and all the men of foot and horse who were in the town came to the shore to welcome them. The governor was lodged, visited, and served by all the citizens of that city, and all the men were lodged free of expense. Those who wished to go into the country were quartered among the dwelling and farm houses by fours and sixes, in accordance with the possibility of the owners of the dwellings, and were furnished by the latter with the provisions of which they had need.<sup>25</sup>

## V.

### OF THE CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF SANTIAGO AND THE OTHER TOWNS OF THE ISLAND; AND OF THE QUALITY OF THE LAND AND THE FRUITS THEREOF.

The city of Santiago has about eighty large and well-apportioned houses.<sup>26</sup> Most of them have wooden walls and roofs of hay. A few are of stone and lime and are roofed with tiles. They have large farms on which are many trees differing from those of Spain—fig trees which produce figs as big as the fist, yellow inside and of little savor; and other trees which produce a fruit called “anona,” of the shape and size of a small pineapple.\* It is a tasty fruit, and when the rind is removed, the pulp resembles a piece of curd. On the farms in the country are other large pineapples which grow on low trees that resemble the aloe. They are of excellent odor and of fine taste. Other trees yield a good fruit called “mamei,”<sup>27</sup> of the size of a peach, which the islanders consider the best of all the fruits of the land. There is another fruit called guava, resembling the hazel nut in form, the size of a fig. There are other trees as tall as a good lance, with a single stalk having no branches, with leaves broad and as long as a javelin, the fruit of the size and form of a cucumber (on one bunch twenty or thirty); and also as the fruit goes on ripening, the tree goes on bending lower with it. They are called plantains in that land and are of agreeable taste. They ripen after being gathered, although those that ripen on the tree itself are better. The tree produces fruit but once. When the tree is cut down, others grow at the root which yield fruit the next year. There is another fruit on which many people live, especially the slaves, which they call “batata.”<sup>†</sup> These now grow in the island of

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\*The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as “They have large farms” is *têm grandes quintaes*. *Quintaes* here is the modern *quintal*, which is “back yard,” rather than the modern *quinta*, which means “country seat” or “rural residence.” This interpretation is suggested also by Elvas’s separate reference to “the farms in the country” as something distinct from the *quintaes* above. Consequently, the preferable translation is “They have large back yards.” In the same context, Elvas used *estância* for farm.

<sup>†</sup>*Batata*, which Robertson left in Portuguese, is the same word as the one he rendered as “potatoes” in describing *manioc* as resembling potatoes. The *batata* to which Elvas referred is probably the plant known in Cuba and the Dominican Republic as *aje*. See Bernardo Vega, ed., *El aje, un enigma decifrado* (Santo Domingo: Ediciones Museo del Hombre Dominicano, 1978).

Terceira belonging to this kingdom of Portugal. They grow under ground and resemble the yam. They have almost the taste of chestnuts. The bread of that land is also made from roots which resemble potatoes.<sup>28</sup> The bread made from those roots resembles the pith of the alder. The earth is heaped up and in each heap four or five stalks are planted; and after they have been planted for a year and a half, the roots are gathered. Should any person, thinking it to be a potato, eat any of it, he runs great risk of death, as was found by experience in the case of a soldier who, as soon as he ate a very little of a root, died immediately. They pare those roots and grate them and crush them in a press. The juice that comes out has a bad smell. The bread has but little taste and less nourishment. Of the fruits of Spain, it [Cuba] has figs and oranges. They produce fruit all year long because the land is very hot and vigorous. In that land are many horses and cattle; and all through the year [there is] green grass. There are many wild cattle and hogs whereby the people of the island are well supplied with meat.<sup>29</sup> In the country outside the town are many fruits; and it sometimes happens that some Christian gets lost and wanders about lost for fifteen or twenty days because of the many paths made by the cattle crisscrossing from one part to another through the dense forests. Thus wandering about lost, he keeps alive on fruits and palmetto cabbage, for there are many large palm trees throughout the island which yield no other fruit of any value. The island of Cuba<sup>30</sup> is three hundred leagues in extent from east to southeast, and in some places thirty, and in others forty, leagues from north to south. There are six towns of Christians, namely, Santiago, Baracoa, the Bayamo, Puerto Principe, Sancti Spiritus, and the Havana. Each one has between thirty and forty citizens, except Santiago and the Havana, each of which has seventy or eighty houses.<sup>31</sup> They all have churches and a chaplain who confesses the people and celebrates mass for them. In Santiago there is a Franciscan monastery. It has few friars, but is well provided with alms, because of the richness of the land. The church of Santiago has a suitable income, a parish priest, benefices, and many secular priests, it being the church of that city which is the capital of all the island.<sup>32</sup> There is much gold in this land, but few slaves to get it out, for many hanged themselves because of the harsh treatment received in the mines from the Christians. An overseer of Vasco Porcallo, a resident of that island, having learned that his Indians were about to hang themselves, with a rope in his hands,<sup>33</sup> went to await them in the place where they were to meet and told them that they could do nothing nor think of anything which he did not know beforehand; that he was going to hang himself with them, for if he

had given them a hard life in this world, he would give them a worse in the other. This caused them to change their minds and return to do what he ordered them.

## V. [I.E., VI].

### HOW THE GOVERNOR SENT DOÑA ISABEL WITH THE SHIPS TO THE HAVANA, AND HE WITH SOME OF HIS MEN WENT OVERLAND.

From Santiago, the governor sent Don Carlos, his brother-in-law [*sic*],<sup>34</sup> in the ships, together with Doña Isabel with orders to await him at the Havana, which is a port at the eastern<sup>35</sup> end of the island, one hundred and eighty leagues from the city of Santiago. The governor and those who remained with him bought horses and set out on their journey. The first town at which they arrived was the Bayamo,<sup>36</sup> and they were lodged by fours and sixes just as they went in company. And there where they were lodged they were given their food without expense. Nothing else cost them money except maize for their horses, because from town to town, the governor went to visit each one and assessed it a tax on the tribute and service of the Indians.<sup>37</sup> The Bayamo is twenty-five leagues from the city of Santiago. Near it runs a large river, larger than the Guadiana, called Tanto. In it are huge lizards<sup>38</sup> which sometimes do harm to the Indians or animals crossing the river. In all the land there are no wolves, foxes, bears, lions, or tigers. There are wild dogs which have left the houses for the woods and live on the hogs. There are some snakes as thick as a man's thigh and more.<sup>39</sup> They are very sluggish and do no harm. From Bayamo to Puerto Principe it is fifty leagues. Throughout the island, roads are made from town to town by means of the machete [*rocadoira*]; and any year they neglect to do this, the thickets grow to such an extent that the road does not show. So many are the paths made by the cattle that no one can travel without an Indian of the country for a guide, for most of it is covered with a very lofty and dense forest. From Puerto Principe, the governor went by sea in a canoe to the dwelling of Vasco Porcallo,<sup>40</sup> which is near the sea, in order to get news of Doña Isabel, who at that time (as was afterward learned) was in great distress—so much so that the ships were lost one from the other (two of them going within sight of the coast of Florida), and all suffered great need of water and food. After the storm

ceased, and the ships were come together again, without knowing whither they had been driven, they came upon the cape of San Antón, an uninhabited district of the island of Cuba. There they got water, and forty days after they had left the city of Santiago they reached the Havana. The governor learned of this immediately and went to Doña Isabel. Those who came overland—in number one hundred and fifty of horse—divided into two divisions in order not to burden the islanders, made their way to Sancti Spiritus,<sup>41</sup> sixty leagues from Puerto Principe. The food they took consisted of cassava bread, which is that I have mentioned above. It is of such quality that if water touches it, it immediately crumbles. On that account, it happened that some ate meat for many days without bread. They took dogs and a native of the country who hunted as they marched, or killed what hogs they needed at the place where they had to stop to sleep. They were well supplied with beef and pork on that journey. They suffered much annoyance from mosquitoes, especially in a swamp called the marsh of the watering trough [*pia*], which gave them considerable trouble in crossing from midday to night. There was more than a half league of water and for the distance of a good crossbow shot they had to swim it; and the rest of it reached to the waist. They were mired up to the knees; and on the bottom were clam shells which cut their feet badly, so that not a single sole of boot or shoe lasted whole for half the way. Their clothes and saddles were taken over on bits of bark from the palm trees. While crossing that swamp without their clothes, many mosquitoes attacked them, which when they stung raised a lump and smarted badly. They would strike at them with the hand, and from the slaps given they killed so many that the blood ran over the arms and bodies of the men. That night they got very little rest because of them, and the same thing was experienced on other nights at like places and seasons. They reached Sancti Spiritus, a town of thirty houses, near which flows a small river.<sup>42</sup> It is very pleasant and luxuriant, with many fine orange and citron trees and fruits native to the land. Half the men were lodged there, while the others went on twenty-five leagues farther to another town called Trinidad,<sup>43</sup> consisting of fifteen or twenty citizens. There is a hospital for the poor there, but no other in the whole island. They say that that town was once the largest of any in the island; and that before the Christians made an entrance into that land, while a ship was coasting along that shore, there came in it a very sick man who requested the captain to have him taken ashore. The captain did so and the ship proceeded on its way. The sick man remained on the shore in that land which so far had never been oppressed by Christians, where the Indians found him and took him and cared for him until he was

well. The lord of that town gave him his daughter in marriage. He [the chief] was at war with all his neighbors, and by means of the skill and courage of the Christian, he subdued and brought under his command all the people of that island. A long time afterward, Governor Diego Velázquez went to conquer it and discovered New Spain from that place. That Christian who was with the Indians pacified them and brought them under the subjection and into the obedience of the governor. From that town of Trinidad to Havana, there is a stretch of eighty leagues without a town, which they traveled. They reached Havana at the end of March where they found the governor and all the rest of the men who had accompanied him from Spain. From Havana, the governor sent Juan de Añasco with a caravel and two brigantines with fifty men to explore the port of Florida. He brought two Indians from there whom he seized on the coast. Thereat (both because they would be needed as guides and interpreters, and because they said by signs that much gold existed in Florida), the governor and all the men were greatly pleased, and thought they would never see the hour of departure, for it seemed to them that was the richest land which had yet been discovered.

## VII.

### HOW WE LEFT THE HAVANA AND REACHED FLORIDA; AND OF WHAT HAPPENED.

Before our departure, the governor deprived Nuño de Tobar of the post of captain general and gave it to Porcallo de Figueroa,<sup>44</sup> a citizen of Cuba, who was to see that the ships should sail well-provisioned, and who gave a number of large loads of cassava bread and many hogs. The governor took the post from Nuño de Tobar because he had made love to the daughter of the conde of Gomera, the waiting maid of Doña Isabel. He, notwithstanding that the post was taken from him, took her to wife and went to Florida with Soto, in order to be restored to favor and because she was already pregnant by him.\* The governor left Doña Isabel in the Havana<sup>45</sup> and with her the wives of Don Carlos, Baltasar de Gallegos, and Nuño de Tobar. As his lieutenant for the government of the island, he left a gentleman of the Havana, Juan de Rojas<sup>46</sup> by name. On Sunday, May 18, of the year 1539, the

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\*The words "in order to be restored to favor and because she was already pregnant by him" are enclosed in parentheses in the Portuguese text.

adelantado left the Havana with his fleet consisting of nine ships—five vessels with topsails, two caravels, and two brigantines. For seven days, they sailed attended by good weather. On Whitsunday, May 25, they sighted the land of Florida,<sup>47</sup> and for fear of shoals anchored a league from shore. On Friday, May 30, they disembarked on the land of Florida, two leagues from a town of an Indian chief called Ucita.<sup>48</sup> They disembarked the two hundred and thirteen horses which they carried, in order to lighten the ships so that they would need less water. All the men landed and only the seamen stayed aboard, who in a week, by going up with the tide for a short distance daily, brought the vessels near to the town. As soon as the men landed the camp was established on the shore near the bay which went up to the town. The captain general, Vasco Porcallo, taking with him seven horse, immediately overran the land for a half league round about and found six<sup>49</sup> Indians who tried to oppose him with their arrows—the weapons with which they are accustomed to fight. The horsemen killed two of them and the four [others] escaped, for the land being obstructed by woods and swamps, the horses, because of weakness from voyaging on the sea, became mired there and fell with their masters. That night following, the governor with one hundred men in the brigantines came upon a town which he found without people, because the Christians were perceived as soon as they came within sight of land; and they saw many smokes along the whole coast, which the Indians made in order to give information to one another. On the following day, Luis de Moscoso,<sup>50</sup> *maese de campo*, set the men in order, those on horse in three squadrons—the vanguard, the battle line, and the rear guard—and in that way they marched that day and the next, going around great mud flats which come from the bay. They arrived at the town of Ucita, where the governor was, on Sunday, June first, the day of the Trinity. The town consisted of seven or eight houses. The chief's house stood near the beach on a very high hill which had been artificially built as a fortress.<sup>51</sup> At the other side of the town was the temple and on top of it a wooden bird with its eyes gilded. Some pearls, spoiled by fire and of little value, were found there. The Indians bore them through in order to string them for beads, which are worn around the neck or arm, and they esteem them greatly.\* The houses were of wood and were covered with palm leaves. The governor was lodged in the houses of the chief and with him Vasco Porcallo and Luis de Moscoso; and in the other houses which were located in the middle of the town, the

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\*The Portuguese that Robertson translated simply as "arm" is *no colo de braço*, which means literally, "on the neck (or lap) of the arm" or, more comprehensibly, "the upper arm."



chief constable, Baltasar de Gallegos. And apart in the same houses were placed the provisions carried on the ships. The other houses and the temple were destroyed, and a mess of every three or four built a small house in which they were lodged.\* The land round about was greatly encumbered and choked with a vast and lofty forest. The governor ordered it to be cut down for the space of a crossbow shot about the town, in order that the horses might run and the Christians have the advantage of the Indians if the latter should by chance try to attack them by night. They posted foot soldiers as sentinels, in couples at each position along the roads and at proper places, who stood watch for four hours [*por quartes*]. The horsemen visited them and were ready to aid them if there should be an alarm. The governor appointed four captains over the horsemen and two over the foot soldiers. Those over the horse were: one, André de Vasconcelos,<sup>52</sup> and second, Pedro Calderón, of Badajóz, and the other two his kinsmen, the Cardeñosa (Arias Tinoco and Alfonso Romo), also natives of Badajóz. One of the captains over the foot soldiers was Francisco Maldonado of Salamanca, and the other Juan Rodriguez Lobillo.<sup>53</sup> While they were in that town of Ucita, the Indians<sup>54</sup> whom Juan de Añasco had captured along that coast and whom the governor brought along as guides and interpreters escaped one night through the carelessness of two men who were guarding them. The governor and all were very sorry for this, for some forays had already been made, but no Indians could be captured, as the land was swampy and in many parts covered with very lofty and thick woods.

## VIII.

### HOW SOME FORAYS WERE MADE AND A CHRISTIAN WAS FOUND WHO HAD BEEN IN THE POWER OF AN INDIAN CHIEF FOR A LONG TIME.

The Governor sent the chief constable, Baltasar de Gallegos, from the town of Ucita with forty horse and eight foot into the interior to see whether any Indian could be captured; and in another direction, Captain Juan

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\*The Portuguese word *desbaratar*, which Robertson translated as “destroyed,” can be rendered also as “dismantled.” In this context “dismantled” seems to make more sense inasmuch as De Soto’s men were building small huts for themselves to replace the ones that they allegedly “destroyed.” “Destroy” suggests fire and destruction by fire would possibly have endangered the house in which the provisions were stored or the one chosen by Gallegos.

Rodriguez Lobillo, with fifty foot, most of them armed with swords and shields. Others were arquebusiers and crossbowmen. They went over a swampy land where the horsemen could not go. A half league from camp they came upon some Indian huts near the river; [but] the people who were inside them plunged into the river. They captured four Indian women, and twenty Indians came at us and attacked us so stoutly that we had to retreat to the camp, because of their being (as they are) so skillful with their weapons. Those people are so warlike and so quick that they make no account of foot soldiers; for if these go for them, they flee, and when their adversaries turn their backs they are immediately on them. The farthest they flee is the distance of an arrow shot. They are never quiet but always running and crossing from one side to another so that the crossbows or the arquebuses can not be aimed at them; and before a crossbowman can fire a shot, an Indian can shoot three or four arrows, and very seldom does he miss what he shoots at. If the arrow does not find armor, it penetrates as deeply as a crossbow. The bows are very long and the arrows are made of certain reeds like canes, very heavy and so tough that a sharpened cane passes through a shield.\* Some are pointed with a fish bone, as sharp as an awl, and others with a certain stone like a diamond point. Generally when these strike against armor, they break off at the place where they are fastened on. Those of cane split and enter through the links of mail and are more hurtful. Juan Rodriguez Lobillo reached the camp with six men wounded, one of whom died. He brought the four Indian women whom he had captured in the quarters or huts.<sup>55</sup> Ablate de Gallegos, on going into the level terrain two leagues from town, saw ten or eleven Indians, among whom was a Christian, naked and on that account burned by the sun. He had his arms tattooed after the manner of the Indians and in no wise did he differ from them. As soon as the horsemen saw them they ran at them. The Indians took to flight and hid from them in a forest. They overtook two or three of them who had been wounded. The Christian, as one of the horsemen was about to charge him with his lance, began to cry out, "Sirs, I am a Christian; do not kill me. Do not kill these Indians, for they have given me my life."<sup>56</sup> Thereupon, he called the latter and reassured them; whereupon, they came out of the woods. The horsemen took both the Christian and the Indians before them and entered the camp at nightfall very joyful. When this was learned by the governor, and those who had remained in camp, they were received with the same rejoicing.

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\*The Portuguese word *rijas*, which Robertson translated as "tough," might be rendered also as "rigid" or "stiff" to reflect the nuance better.

## IX.

### HOW THAT CHRISTIAN WENT TO THE LAND OF FLORIDA, WHO HE WAS, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE WITH THE GOVERNOR.

That Christian was called Juan Ortiz and was a native of Seville, of a noble family. For twelve years he had been in the hands of the Indians. He had gone to that land with Governor Narvaez and had returned in the ships to the island of Cuba, where the wife of Governor Pánfilo de Narvaez had remained. At her order, with twenty or thirty others he returned to Florida in a brigantine. Arriving at the port, within sight of the town, they saw on land a cane sticking in the ground with its top split and holding a letter. They believed that the governor had left it in order to give news of himself when he resolved to go inland. They asked four or five Indians who were walking on the beach for it, but the latter told them by signs to come ashore for it, which Juan Ortiz and another did contrary to the wish of the others. As soon as they reached land, many Indians came out of the houses of the town and surrounded them and seized them so that they could not escape. The other man who tried to defend himself they killed immediately in that place, and Juan Ortiz they seized by the hands and led to their chief, Ucita. The men in the brigantine refused to land and made for the open sea and returned to the island of Cuba. Ucita ordered Juan Ortiz to be bound hand and foot on a grill laid on top of four stakes [*barra*]. He ordered a fire to be kindled under him in order to burn him there. The chief's daughter asked him not to kill him [Ortiz], saying that a single Christian could not do him any ill or good, and that it would be more to his [the cacique's] honor to hold him captive. Ucita granted this and ordered him taken care of; and as soon as he was well, gave him charge of the guarding of the temple, for at night wolves would carry off the corpses from inside it. He commended himself to God and watched over their temple. One night the wolves carried off from him the corpse of a child, the son of one of the principal Indians. Going after it, he threw a club, which struck the wolf carrying the body, which, finding itself wounded, abandoned it and went off to die nearby.\* He [Ortiz], not knowing what he had done as it was night, returned to the temple. At day-

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\*The word *vara*, which Robertson rendered as "club," is more likely to have been a "spear."

break, when he found the body of the child gone, he became very sad. As soon as Ucita learned of it, he determined to have him killed. He sent [men] along the trail where he [Ortiz] said the wolves had gone, and they found the boy's corpse and farther on the dead wolf. Whereupon, Ucita was greatly pleased with the Christian and at the watch he had kept in the temple, and thenceforward showed him great honor. After being in captivity to him for three years, another chief named Mocoço, who lived two days' journey from the port, came and burned the town. Ucita went in flight to another town he had in another seaport. Juan Ortiz lost his post and the favor he enjoyed from him. And since they [the Indians] are servants of the devil, they are accustomed to offer him souls and blood of their Indians or of any other people they can get. They say that when he [the devil] desires that sacrifice be made to him, he talks with them and tells them he is thirsty and that they should offer a sacrifice to him. Juan Ortiz learned from the girl who had saved him from the fire that her father had determined to sacrifice him the next day; and she told him that he should go to Mocoço, that she knew he would show him honor for she had heard him say that he would ask for him; and she said he would be glad to see him. At night, since he did not know the way, the Indian woman went a half league from the town and put him on it, and in order that this might not be perceived, returned [to the town].<sup>57</sup> Juan Ortiz traveled that night and in the morning came to a river which was already within the boundary of Mocoço and there he saw two Indians fishing. And since they were hostile to those of Ucita and their languages were different, and he did not know that of Mocoço, he feared lest, inasmuch as he did not know how to say who he was and how he came nor how to give an explanation concerning himself, they would kill him thinking him to be an Indian of Ucita. Before they saw him, he came to where they had their weapons, and as soon as they saw him, they ran along the road to the town. And although he told them to wait, that he would do them no harm, they did not understand him and ran away as fast as they could. And when they reached the town, shouting, many Indians came out toward him and began to surround him in order to shoot him with arrows. Juan Ortiz, seeing himself in so great an emergency, hid behind some trees and began to call out very loudly and to cry out and to say that he was a Christian who was fleeing from Ucita and came to see and serve Mocoço, their chief. It was God's will that an Indian who knew the language came up at that time and understood him and made the other Indians keep still, telling them what he [Ortiz] said to him. Three or four Indians were dispatched from there who went to

report to their chief, who came out to welcome him a quarter league from the town and was very glad to see him. He immediately made him swear according to his custom as a Christian that he would not run off to any other chief, and promised him that he would show him much honor and that, if at any time, Christians should come to that land, he would release him freely and give him permission to go to them. And so he swore according to his custom as an Indian. Three years after that, some Indians who were fishing in the sea two leagues from the town came to inform Mocoço that they had seen some ships. He called Juan Ortiz and gave him permission to go, who having bade him farewell reached the sea as soon as he could. But not finding the ships, he thought he had been deceived and that the cacique had done that to ascertain his desire. So he remained with Mocoço for nine years, now with little expectation of seeing Christians. As soon as the governor reached Florida, it was known by Mocoço. He immediately told Juan Ortiz that Christians were lodging in the town of Ucita. It seemed to the latter that he [Mocoço] was jesting with him as on the other occasion and told him that the Christians did not come to his mind nor anything else than to serve him. He [Mocoço] assured him of it and gave him permission to go to them, telling him that if he refused to do it, and the Christians returned, he must not hold him guilty, for he was accomplishing what he had promised him. So great was Juan Ortiz's joy that he could not believe it to be true. However, he thanked [Mocoço] and took his leave of him. Mocoço gave him ten or twelve<sup>58</sup> of the principal Indians to go in his company. On his way to the port where the governor was, he met Baltasar de Gallegos, as I have said above. As soon as he reached the camp, the governor ordered some clothes to be given him and some good arms and a beautiful horse. He asked him if he had heard of any land where there was gold or silver. He said no, he had never gone more than ten leagues round about from where he was, and that thirty leagues from there resided an Indian chief called Paracoxi,<sup>59</sup> to whom Mocoço and Ucita and all those of that coast paid tribute; that perhaps he might have some information of any good land; and that his land was indeed better than that of the coast and more fertile and abounding in maize. At this the governor was greatly pleased and said that he wished only to find provisions in order that he might go inland; that the land of Florida was so vast that there could not but be rich land at one end or the other. The cacique of Mocoço came to the port to visit the governor and made him the following talk:

“Very lofty and very mighty lord: In my own estimation, to obey you,

least of all those whom you hold under your command but greatest in my desire to perform greater services for you, I appear before your Lordship with as much confidence of receiving favor as if, in fact, this my good will were manifest to you by deeds (not for the small service which I did you of the Christian whom I hold in my possession, by giving him his liberty freely, for I was obliged to do that in order to keep my honor and what I had promised him), but because it belongs to the great to exercise their office with great magnificence; and I hold that you precede all those of the land both in bodily perfections and in ruling good men, as well as in the perfections of the mind with which you can boast of the liberality of nature. The favor which I await from your Lordship is that you consider me as your own, and feel free to command me in whatever I may serve you."<sup>60</sup>

The governor answered him saying that, although in freeing and sending him the Christian, he had kept his honor and his promise, he thanked him and appreciated him so much that there was no comparison and that he would always consider him as a brother and that he would protect him in every way. He ordered a shirt and other clothing to be given him, with which the cacique very happy bade him farewell and went to his town.

## X.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR SENT THE SHIPS TO CUBA AND LEFT ONE HUNDRED MEN IN THE PORT WHILE HE AND THE REST OF THE MEN MARCHED INLAND.

From the port of Espiritu Santo,<sup>61</sup> where the governor was, he sent the chief constable, Baltasar de Gallegos, with fifty horse and thirty or forty foot to the province of Paracoxi, in order to note the disposition of the land and gather information of the land that lay beyond and to send him word of what he found. He sent the ships to the island of Cuba with orders to return with provisions at a certain time.<sup>62</sup> Since the principal intent of Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, who came with the governor as captain general, was to send slaves from Florida to the island of Cuba where he had his lands and his mines, and since he had made some forays and found that he could not capture any Indians because of the dense thickets and vast swamps in that land, upon seeing the character of the land, he determined to return to

Cuba. And although there was some difference between him and the governor so that they did not willingly hold any communication or conversation with each other, he asked him [De Soto] courteously to leave and took his departure from him.<sup>63</sup> Baltasar de Gallegos reached Paracoxi and thirty Indians came to him on the part of the cacique who was absent from his town, one of whom spoke as follows:

“King Paracoxi, lord of this province, whose vassals we are, sent us to your grace to learn what you seek in this his land and in what he can serve you.”

Baltasar de Gallegos answered them saying that he thanked him [the cacique] heartily for his offer and that they should tell their lord that he should come to his town and that there they could converse and make peace and friendship which he very greatly desired. The Indians went and returned next day saying that their lord was ill and on that account could not come; and that they came before him [Gallegos] to see what he ordered. He asked them if they knew or had information of any rich land where there was gold or silver. They said yes, that there was a province toward the west called Cale,<sup>64</sup> and that the people of that land were hostile to others living in other lands where it was summer most of the year. That land had gold in abundance and when those people came to make war on the people of Cale, they wore hats of gold resembling helmets. When Baltasar de Gallegos perceived that the cacique did not come, as it seemed to him that all these messages were pretense, in order that he [the cacique] might meanwhile get away safely, and fearing lest if he allowed the thirty Indians to go, they would never return, he ordered them put in chains and had the governor informed by eight horse of what was happening. At this the governor and all those in the port with him received great joy, for they believed that what the Indians said might be true. The governor left Captain Calderón in the port with thirty horse and seventy foot with food for two years.<sup>65</sup> He and all the rest of the men marched inland and reached Paracoxi where Baltasar de Gallegos was, and from there, with all the men of the latter, he took the road toward Cale. He passed through a small town, Acela<sup>66</sup> by name, and reached another town called Tocaste.<sup>67</sup> Thence, with thirty horse and fifty foot, he went on toward Cale. As they passed through a town which had been depopulated, they saw some Indians of that town in a shallow lake, to whom the interpreter spoke. They came and gave an Indian to act as guide. He [the governor] came to a river with a swift current and on a tree in the middle of it, a foot bridge was made on which the men crossed. The horses crossed by swim-

ming by means of a tackle which was drawn by those on the other side, for the first horse they drove in without it was drowned. From there, the governor sent two horsemen to the men who had stayed behind, ordering them to hurry for the road was long and provisions were lacking.<sup>68</sup> He reached Cale and found the town without people. He seized three Indians who were spies. There he awaited the men who were coming behind, who were experiencing great hardship from hunger and bad roads, as the land was very poor in maize, low, and very wet, swampy, and covered with dense forests, and the provisions brought from the port were finished. Wherever any village was found, there were some blites [*bredos*],<sup>69</sup> and he who came first gathered them and, having stewed them with water and salt, ate them without anything else. Those who could not get any of them, gathered the stalks from the maize fields which being still young had no maize, and ate them. Having reached the river which the governor had crossed, they found palm cabbages in low palm trees like those of Andalusia. There came two horsemen whom the governor had sent, who told them that there was maize in abundance in Cale; at which all were rejoiced. As soon as they reached Cale, the governor ordered all the maize which was ripe in the fields to be taken, which was enough for three months.\* When they were gathering this, the Indians killed three Christians, and one of two Indians who were captured told the governor that seven days' journey farther on was a very large province with maize in abundance, called Apalache.<sup>70</sup> He immediately set out from Cale with fifty horse and sixty foot, leaving the *maestre de campo*, Luis de Moscoso, with all the rest of the men and ordering him not to move thence until getting word from him. Inasmuch as there was no one to serve them, the bread each one had to eat, he ground in a mortar cannon or mortar made of a log, with a pestle like a window bar. Some sifted the meal through their coats of mail. The bread was baked in some flat pieces of earthen vessels which they set on the fire, in the same way as I have already said was done in Cuba.† It is so difficult to grind that many, who would not formerly eat it unless it was ground, ate the maize parched and sodden.

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\*The Portuguese term *sêco*, which Robertson rendered as "ripe," rendered literally is "dry."

†The Portuguese that Robertson translated as "in some flat pieces of earthen vessels" is *em uns têtos*. A *têsto* is a lid or cover of an iron or clay vessel.



## XI.

HOW THE GOVERNOR REACHED CALIQUEN, AND  
THENCE, TAKING THE CACIQUE WITH HIM,  
WENT TO NAPETACA, WHERE THE INDIANS  
ATTEMPTED TO REMOVE HIM [THE  
CACIQUE] FROM HIS POWER,  
AND IN TURN MANY WERE  
KILLED AND CAPTURED.

On the eleventh day of August, in the year 1540,<sup>71</sup> the governor left Cale and went to sleep at a small town called Ytara,<sup>72</sup> the next day at another called Potano, and the third at Utinama.<sup>73</sup> He arrived at another town to which they gave the name of Mala Paz [i. e., Bad Peace]<sup>74</sup> because an Indian came in peace saying that he was the cacique, that he wished to serve the governor with his people, [and asking] that he [the governor] should order twenty-eight Indian men and women, who had been seized from him the night before, to be set free; that he would order provisions taken to him and would give him a guide for the onward journey. The governor ordered the Indians freed and a guard put over him [the supposed cacique]. On the morning of the next day many Indians came and took position about the town near the forest. The Indian asked to be taken near them as he wished to speak to them and assure them, and that they would do whatever he ordered them. As soon as he found himself near them, he attacked the Christians stoutly and escaped and no one was able to overtake him; and all the Indians went fleeing through the woods. The governor ordered loosed a hound which he brought along, previously gluttoned on them, which passing by many other Indians went to seize the pretended cacique who had fled from the Christians and held him until the latter came to seize him. From there, the governor went to sleep at a town called Cholupaha; and as it had maize in abundance, they gave it the name Villafarta [Well-fed Town]. In front was a river over which a bridge of wood was built,<sup>75</sup> and he went for two days through an abandoned region. On August 17, he arrived at Caliquen<sup>76</sup> and got information of the province of Apalache. They told him that Narvaez had arrived there and that he had taken to boats there because he found no road on beyond; that there was no other village, but that it was all water in every direction. All were saddened at this news and advised the governor to return

to the port and leave the land of Florida; so that he might not get lost as had Narvaez; that, if he went on, when he might wish to return he could not; that the Indians would end by seizing the little maize that was to be found. To this the governor answered that he would not turn back until seeing with his own eyes what they said, which he could not believe, and that we should be ready saddled.<sup>77</sup> He ordered Luis de Moscoso to set out immediately from Cale and [said] that he was awaiting him there [in Caliquen]. It appeared to Luis de Moscoso and to many others that they must turn back from Apalache and they buried iron and other things in Cale.\* They reached Caliquen after great hardship for the land over which the governor had passed was destroyed and bare of maize. After all the men had gathered there, he ordered a bridge built over a river which flowed near the town. He left Caliquen on September ten,<sup>78</sup> taking the cacique with him. After a march of three days, Indians came in peace saying that they came to see their lord; and every day they came to the road playing on flutes, which is their sign by which they make known that they come in peace. They said that farther on a cacique called Uzachil,<sup>79</sup> a relative of the cacique of Caliquen, their lord, was waiting with great gifts. They asked the governor to free the cacique, but he refused to free him, for he feared lest they revolt and refuse to give him guides and from day to day he dismissed them with good words. He marched for five days, passing through several small towns, and reached a town, Napetuca<sup>80</sup> by name, on September 15. There fourteen or fifteen Indians came and asked the governor to set the cacique of Caliquen, their lord, free. He answered them saying that he did not hold him captive, but that he wished to keep him with him as far as Uzachil. The governor learned from Juan Ortiz that an Indian had revealed to him that they [the Indians] had decided to assemble and to come against him in order to give him battle and to take from him the cacique whom he was holding. On the day agreed upon, the governor ordered his men to be ready, and the horsemen armed and mounted, each one to be within his lodging, so that the Indians might not see them and would accordingly come to the town without fear. Four hundred Indians came within sight of the camp with their bows and arrows<sup>81</sup> and posted themselves in a wood. Then they sent two Indians to tell the governor to give up the cacique to them. The governor with six men of foot, taking the cacique by the hand and talking with him, in order to assure the

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\*The Portuguese, *ferragem*, which Robertson rendered as “iron,” could better be rendered as “hardware” or “iron fittings” and especially as “horseshoes,” as the meaning of *ferragem* is “things made of iron” rather than “iron” per se, which is *ferro*.

Indians, went toward the place where they were and seeing the time ready ordered a blast of the trumpet to be given. Immediately those who were in the houses in the town, both foot and horse, attacked the Indians, who were so surprised that their greatest thought was where they could escape. They killed two horses, one of which was that of the governor, who was immediately provided with another. Thirty or forty Indians were lanced. The rest fled toward two very large shallow lakes which were separated one from the other.\* There they went swimming about, while the Christians round about—arquebusiers and crossbowmen—shot at them from the outside. But as they were far away and they [the Spaniards] shot at them from a long distance they did no hurt to them. That night the governor ordered one of the two lakes to be surrounded; for, because of their large size, his men were insufficient to surround both of them. Being surrounded, the Indians, upon the approach of night, having made up their minds to take to flight, would come swimming very softly to the edge, and so that they might not be seen, would place water-lily leaves on their heads. When the horsemen saw the leaves moving they would dash in until the water was up to the breasts of the horses and the Indians would return in flight within the lake. In that way they passed that night without the Indians or the Christians having any rest. Juan Ortiz told them that since they could not escape, they would better surrender to the governor, which, forced by necessity and the coldness of the water, they did; and one by one as soon as the suffering from the cold conquered them, they would cry out to Juan Ortiz saying that they should not be killed for now they were going to put themselves in the hands of the governor. At day dawn they had all surrendered except twelve of the principal men who, being more honored and valiant, resolved to perish rather than come into his power. The Indians of Paracoxi who were now going about unchained, went in swimming after them and pulled them out by their hair. They were all put in chains and on the day following were allotted among the Christians for their service. While captive there they resolved to revolt and charged an Indian interpreter whom they held as a valiant man that as

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\*In the Portuguese here, *duas lagoas muito grandes* there is no explicit mention of the lakes as being shallow. Although *alagoa* or *lagoa* normally means a small lake or pond or swamp even, which one usually would presume to be shallow, Elvas's use of the terms "very large" to describe the lakes suggest a distinct possibility at least that they were deep also.

The Portuguese for Robertson's "were separated one from the other" is *que desuiadas uma da outra estavam*. *Desuiadas* has the sense of "distant" or "remote" from one another as well as "separated." Elvas's use of *desuiadas* might indicate that the two lakes were on opposite sides of the settlement.

soon as the governor came to talk with him, he should seize him about the neck with his hands and choke him. As soon as he saw an opportunity he seized hold of the governor, and before he got his hands about his neck, struck him so hard on the nose that it was all covered with blood. Immediately they all rose in revolt. He who could get weapons in his hand or the pestle for crushing maize tried with all his might to kill his master or the first man he met. He who could get a lance or sword in his hand so handled himself with it as if he had used it all his life. An Indian with a sword surrounded by fifteen or twenty men on foot in the public place, uttered [a] challenge like a bull, until some halberdiers of the governor came up, who killed him. Another one with a lance climbed up on a cane floor\* which they made to hold their maize (which they call *barbacoa*†) and there he made a noise as if ten men were inside; and while defending the door he was struck down by a javelin [*passador*]. In all, there were about two hundred Indians, all of whom were subdued. The governor gave some of the youngest boys to those who had good chains and cautioned them not to let them escape from them. All the rest he ordered to be punished by being fastened to a stake in the middle of the plaza and the Indians of Paracoxi shot them with arrows.

## XII.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR ARRIVED AT PALACHE AND WAS INFORMED THAT GOLD EXISTED IN ABUNDANCE IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LAND.

On September the 23rd, the governor left Napetaca [*sic*] and went to sleep at a river<sup>82</sup> where two Indians brought him a stag on the part of the cacique

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\*The Portuguese for Robertson's "Another one . . . climbed up on a cane floor" is *Outro se sobio . . . a um sobrado de canas*. *Sobrado de canas* has the sense of "upper story" as well as "cane floor." This structure is clearly the elevated granary supported by twelve beams described by Bishop Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón (see Lucy L. Wenholt, ed. and trans., "A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida," Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 95, no. 16, (1936), 13).

†The word *barbacoa*, which is of Arawakian derivation, was also used in Florida for a raised framework for smoking meat or fish (or the grill on which Ortiz was to be roasted by Ucita when he was first captured). *Barbacoa* was also the name for the chief's raised bench in the council house as well as for the benches that lined the council house wall.

of Uzachil. Next day he passed through a large town called Hapaluya<sup>83</sup> and went to sleep at Uzachil. He found no people there, for because of the news which the Indians had of the massacre of Napetaca they dared not remain. In the town he found an abundance of maize, beans, and pumpkins, of which their food consists, and on which the Christians lived there. Maize is like coarse millet and the pumpkins are better and more savory than those of Spain.\* From there the governor sent two captains, each one in a different direction, in search of the Indians. They captured a hundred head, among Indian men and women. Of the latter, there, as well as in any other part where forays were made, the captain selected one or two for the governor and the others were divided among themselves and those who went with them. These Indians they took along in chains with collars about their necks and they were used for carrying the baggage and grinding the maize and for other services which so fastened in this manner they could perform. Sometimes it happened that when they went with them for firewood or maize they would kill the Christian who was leading them and would escape with the chain. Others at night would file the chain off with a bit of stone which they have in place of iron tools, and with which they cut it. Those who were caught at it paid for themselves and for those others, so that on another day they might not dare do likewise. As soon as the women and young children were a hundred leagues from their land, having become unmindful, they were taken along unbound, and served in that way, and in a very short time learned the language of the Christians. The governor left Uzachil for Apalache and, in a march of two days, reached a town called Axille.<sup>84</sup> And because the Indians had not heard of the Christians, they were careless, [but] most of them escaped because the town was surrounded by a forest.<sup>85</sup> On the morning of the next day, October first, the governor left there and ordered a bridge to be built over a river where he had to cross. It was necessary to swim for a stone's throw where the bridge was built, and beyond that a crossbow-shot's distance the water came up to the waist. And there was a very high, thick wood through which the Indians would come to see if they could prevent the passage and those who were building the bridge. The crossbowmen came to their aid and made the Indians take to flight. Some timbers were put in over which some men passed which assured the cross-

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\*The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "coarse millet" is *Milho Zaburo*. Both Taylor's *A Portuguese-English Dictionary* and Hildebrando Lima and Gustavo Barroso's *Pequeno dicionario brasileiro da lingua portuguesa*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira S/A, Editôra, 1939), define *milho zaburro* as "sorghum." Millet is *painco*, *milho miúdo*, or *milho da itália*. *Milho* by itself is the modern Portuguese word for "maize."



*A Coin from De Soto's First Winter Camp. This four maravedi copper coin was excavated by archaeologists at the Governor Martin site in Tallahassee, Florida. These coins were minted in Spain between 1505 and 1517. The Martin site is the only one in the southeastern United States where there is compelling, direct evidence of the presence of De Soto's army. (Courtesy of the Florida Division of Historical Resources)*

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ing. The governor crossed over on Wednesday, the day of St. Francis. He went to sleep at a town called Vitachuco<sup>86</sup> which was subject to Palache. He found it burning, for the Indians had set fire to it. Beyond that place, the land was very populous and maize abounded. He passed through many open districts like villages. On Sunday, October 25, he arrived at a town called Uzela,<sup>87</sup> and on Monday, at Anhaica Apalache<sup>88</sup> where the lord of all that land and province lived. In that town, the maestre de campo, whose

office it is to allot and provide lodgings, lodged them all. Within a league and a half league about that town were other towns where there was abundance of maize, pumpkins, beans, and dried plums<sup>89</sup> native to the land, which are better than those of Spain and grow wild in the fields without being planted. Food which seemed sufficient to last over the winter was gathered together from those towns on into Anhaica Apalache. The governor was informed that the sea was ten leagues from there. He immediately sent a captain and some horse and foot, and after going six leagues the captain found a town called Ochete.\* He reached the sea and found a large tree which had been cut down and made into troughs [*couchos*] fixed with some posts which were used as mangers and saw skulls of horses.<sup>90</sup> With this message he came and what they said of Narvaez was considered true, namely, that he had there built the boats with which he left that land and in which he was lost at sea. The governor immediately sent Juan de Añasco with thirty horse to the port of Espiritu Santo, where Calderón was, ordering them to abandon that port and all to go to Apalache. He [Añasco] set out on Friday, November 17.<sup>91</sup> In Uzachil and at other towns on the way, he [Añasco] found many people already careless. He would not capture Indians in order not to be detained, for it did not suit him to give the Indians time to assemble. He passed through the towns at night and rested for three or four hours at a distance from habitation. In ten days he reached the port, brought twenty Indian women whom he captured in Utara and Potano near Cale, sent them to Doña Isabel in two caravels which he sent from the port to Cuba, and brought all the men of foot in the brigantines, coasting along toward Palache. Calderón with the men of horse and some foot crossbowmen went by land. In some places, the Indians attacked him and wounded some of his men. As soon as they reached Apalache, the governor immediately ordered planks hewn and spikes taken to the sea, with which was built a piragua large enough to hold thirty well-armed men who went by way of the bay to the sea and coasted about waiting for the brigantines. Several times they fought

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\*Whereas Elvas's account and Robertson's translation placed the sea ten leagues from Anhaica and Ochete six leagues distant from Anhaica, Buckingham Smith's translation rendered both distances as eight leagues. And in addition, Smith described Ochete as "eight leagues on the way to the sea." Despite the contradiction implicit in Smith's two distances of eight leagues, which should have made editors or publishers investigate, editions of the Smith translation as recent as that by Palmetto Books in 1968 have presented Smith's mistranslation of this passage without comment.

with Indians who were going along the keys in canoes.\* On Saturday, November 29,<sup>92</sup> an Indian came through the sentinels without being seen and set fire to the town; and because of the high wind blowing, two-thirds of it were quickly burned. On Sunday, the 28th of December, Juan de Añasco arrived with the brigantines.<sup>93</sup> The governor sent Francisco Maldonado, captain of the foot soldiers, with fifty men to coast along toward the west and look for a port, for he had decided to go by land in order to explore in that direction. On that day, eight horse, by order of the governor, went out into the open country for two leagues about the town to look for Indians; for now the latter had become so daring that they would come within two crossbow-shots of the camp to kill the men. They found two Indians and one Indian woman gathering beans. Although the men could have escaped, in order not to abandon the Indian woman who was the wife of one of them, they resolved to die fighting. Before being killed they wounded three horses, one of which died a few days afterward. Calderón with his men marched along the seacoast. From a wood close to the sea some Indians came out to attack him and forced him to leave the road, and many of those with him to abandon some necessary food they were carrying. Three or four days after the time limit set by the governor to Maldonado for going and coming (although he had planned and determined not to await him longer if he did not come within a week from that time), he [Maldonado] came and brought an Indian from a province called Ochus,<sup>94</sup> sixty leagues from Apalache, where he had found a port of good depth and sheltered. And because he hoped to find farther on a good land, the governor was very happy and sent Maldonado<sup>95</sup> to Havana for provisions with orders to wait at the port of Ochus which he [Maldonado] had discovered; and that he [the governor] would go overland in search of it; and that if he [the governor] were delayed and should not go [to that port] that summer he [Maldonado] should return to

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\*The word that Robertson rendered as “keys” is *caez*. The Spanish *cayo* for “key” or “islet” does not seem to have passed into Portuguese. Elvas, of course, would have been familiar with the Spanish form, but his *caez* is more suggestive of the modern Portuguese *cais*, which is “wharf” or “pier.” Buckingham Smith (1968:48) rendered *caez* as “estuary.”

*Almadias*, the word Elvas used for “canoes” here, signifies a very long and narrow African or Asiatic vessel. Apropos of a possible sixteenth-century distinction made between *almadias* and *canoas*, Suzanne Lussagnet in her *Les Français en Amérique pendant la Deuxième Moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Les Français en Floride* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958) noted that René Laudonnière used *almadias* when speaking of small dugouts and *canoas* when speaking of larger ones.



the Havana, and the next summer return to wait at the port, for he [the governor] would do nothing else than go in search of Ochus. Francisco Maldonado went and Juan de Guzmán remained in his stead as captain of the foot soldiers of his company. From among the Indians captured at Napetuca, the treasurer, Juan Gaytán, brought along a youth who said that he was not of that land, but that he was from another very distant one lying in the direction of the sunrise, and that some time ago he had come in order to visit [other] lands; that his land was called Yupaha<sup>96</sup> and a woman ruled it; that the town where she lived was of wonderful size; and that the chieftainness collected tribute from many of her neighboring chiefs, some of whom gave her clothing and others gold in abundance. He told how it was taken from the mines, melted, and refined, just as if he had seen it done, or else the devil taught him; so that all who knew anything of this said it was impossible to give so good an account of it unless one had seen it; and all when they saw the signs he made believed whatever he said to be true.

### XIII.

#### HOW THE GOVERNOR SET OUT FROM APALACHE TO LOOK FOR YUPAHA AND OF WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM.

On Wednesday, the 3rd of March, 1540,<sup>97</sup> the governor left Anhaica Apalache in search of Yupaha. He ordered all his men to provide themselves with maize for a journey of sixty leagues through uninhabited land. Those of horse carried the maize on their horses, and those of foot on their backs; for most of the Indians whom they had to serve them, being naked and in chains, died because of the hard life they suffered during that winter. After a march of four days, they came to a deep river,<sup>98</sup> where a piragua was made and, because of the strong current, a chain cable was made and fastened on each side of the river. The piragua crossed over alongside it and the horses crossed swimming by means of ropes and tackle which were pulled along by them. After crossing the river, in a day and a half they reached a town called Capachiqui.<sup>99</sup> On Friday,<sup>100</sup> March 11, they saw the Indians had risen [and gone into the woods]. Next day, five<sup>101</sup> Christians went to look for mortars which the Indians use for crushing their maize. They went to certain houses contiguous to the camp surrounded by a wood. Within the wood many

Indians were walking about who came to spy on us. Five of them separated from the others and attacked our men. One of the Christians came running to the camp, shouting "To arms." Those who were most ready attended to the alarm. They found one Christian dead and three badly wounded. The Indians fled through a swamp with a very dense wood where the horses could not enter. The governor left Capachiqui and crossed over an abandoned region. On Wednesday, the 21st of the month, he came to a town called Toalli. Beyond that place, a difference was seen in the houses, for those behind were covered with hay and those of Toalli<sup>102</sup> were covered with canes in the manner of tile.<sup>103</sup> Those houses are very clean and some have their walls plastered and appear to be made of mud.\* Throughout the cold lands each of the Indians has his house for the winter plastered inside and out.† They shut the very small door at night and build a fire inside the house so that it gets as hot as an oven, and stays so all night long so that there is no need of clothing. Besides those houses they have others for summer with kitchens nearby where they build their fires and bake their bread. They have barbacoas in which they keep their maize. This is a house raised up on four posts, timbered like a loft and the floor of cane. The difference which the houses of the lords or principal men have from those of the others is that besides being larger they have large balconies in front and below seats resembling benches made of canes;‡ and round about many large barbacoas in which they gather together the tribute paid them by their Indians, which consists of maize and deerskins and native blankets resembling shawls, some being made of the inner bark of trees and some from a plant like daffodils [*abroteas*] which when pounded remains like flax.<sup>104</sup> The Indian women cover themselves with these blankets, draping one around themselves from the waist down and another over the shoulder with the right arm uncovered

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\*The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "walls plastered and appear to be made of mud" is *paredes envaradas q pareciam de taipa*. *Envaradas* is from the modern *envarar*, meaning "to place wattles or laths horizontally." *Taipa* could be either "mud" or "tabby." A more literal rendering of this passage would be "wattled walls that appear to be of mud."

†The word that Robertson translated as "plastered" is again *envaradas* or "wattled."

For a description of a larger communal version of this structure in the Guale village of Asao at the mouth of the Altamaha River, see Gary N. Shapiro and John H. Hann, "The Documentary Image of the Council Houses of Spanish Florida Tested by Excavations at the Mission of San Luis De Talimali," in Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, p. 513.

‡The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "resembling benches made of canes" is *assentos de caniços a maneira descanhos*. It might be rendered more literally as "cane seats resembling chairs." *Escano* in Spanish is a bench with a back.

in the manner and custom of Gypsies. The Indian men wear only one over the shoulders in the same way and have their privies covered with a truss of deerskin resembling the breech clouts formerly worn in Spain. The skins are well tanned and are given the color that is desired; and so perfectly that if the color is vermillion, it seems to be very fine grained cloth, and that colored black is splendid.\* And of this same they make shoes. They give the same colors to the blankets. The governor left Toalli on March 24. At supper time on Thursday he came to a little stream where a footbridge was made on which the men crossed. Benito Fernandez, a Portuguese, fell off it and was drowned.<sup>105</sup> As soon as the governor had crossed the stream, he found a village called Achese<sup>106</sup> a short distance on. Although the Indians had never heard of Christians they plunged into a river. A few Indians, men and women, were seized, among whom was found one who understood the youth who was guiding the governor to Yupaha. On that account, the governor was more certain of what the latter said, for they had passed through lands having different languages, some of which he did not understand. The governor sent one of the Indians captured there to call the cacique who was on the other side of the river. He came and spoke as follows: "Very exalted and very mighty and very excellent Lord: Things which seldom happen cause wonder. Therefore, what must the sight of your Lordship and your men, whom we have never seen, be to me and mine; and the entrance into my land with so great haste and fury, and on animals so fierce as are your horses, without me having known of your coming. It was a thing so new and caused such terror and fear in our minds that it was not in our power to await and welcome your Lordship with the ceremony due so exalted and distinguished a prince as is your Lordship. Confiding in your greatness and singular virtues, not only do I hope to be held free of guilt but to receive rewards. The first thing I beg of your Lordship is that with my person and land and vassals, you do as with a thing [of] your own; and secondly, that you tell me who you are, whence you come, whither you go, and what you seek, so that I may better serve you." The governor answered him saying that he thanked him heartily for his offer and for his good will, as if he had welcomed him

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\*The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "if the color is vermillion, it seems to be a very fine grained cloth" is *que se he vermelho parece muito fino pano de grã*. It might be rendered more literally as, "if it be red, it looks like a very fine grenadine cloth." *Graã* or *grã* in modern Portuguese is a red dye extracted from a type of oak-tree gall or from the cochineal insect or from other sources that produce a scarlet dye. As Elvas may not have been familiar with cochineal at this early date, grenadine seems a likely candidate for the tone of red he described.

and offered him a great treasure; that he [the governor] was a son of the sun and came from where it dwelt and that he was going through that land and seeking the greatest lord and the richest province in it. The cacique said that a great lord lived on ahead; that his domain was called Ocute.<sup>107</sup> He gave him a guide and interpreter for that province. The governor ordered his [the cacique's] Indians to be set free and departed from his town on the first day of April, marching through his land up along a river with many villages. He left a wooden cross raised very high in the middle of the public place. And as time did not allow more, he only declared that that cross was a memorial of that on which Christ suffered, who was God and man and created the heavens and the earth and suffered to save us and, therefore, they should reverence it. They signified that they would do so. On April 4, the governor passed through a town, by name, Altamaca;<sup>108</sup> and on the tenth day of the month reached Ocute. The cacique sent him two thousand Indians bearing gifts, namely, many rabbits, partridges, maize bread, two hens,<sup>109</sup> and many dogs, which are esteemed among the Christians as if they were fat sheep because there was a great lack of meat and salt. Of this there was so much need and lack in many places and on many occasions that if a man fell sick, there was nothing with which to make him well; and he would waste away of an illness which could have been easily cured in any other place, until nothing but his bones were left and he would die from pure weakness, some saying: "If I had a bit of meat or some lumps of salt, I should not die." The Indians do not lack meat; for they kill many deer, hens, rabbits, and other game with their arrows. In this they have great skill, which the Christians do not have; and even if they had it, they had no time for it, for most of the time they were on the march, and they did not dare to turn aside from the paths. And because they lacked meat so badly, when the six hundred men with De Soto arrived at any town and found twenty or thirty dogs, he who could get one and who killed it thought he was not a little agile. And if he who killed one did not send his captain a quarter, the latter, if he learned of it, upbraided him and gave him to understand it in the watches or in any other matter of worth that arose with which he could annoy him. On Monday, April 12, the governor left Ocute, the cacique having given him four hundred tamemes,<sup>110</sup> that is, Indians for carrying. He passed through a town, whose lord was called Cofaqui; and reached a province of an Indian lord called Patofa,<sup>111</sup> who, since he was at peace with the lord of Ocute and the other lords round about, had heard of the governor some days before and desired to see him. He came to visit him and spoke as follows:

"Powerful Lord: Now with reason I will beg fortune to pay me some

slight adversity for so great happiness; and I call myself happy for I have obtained what I desired in this life—that of seeing your Lordship and being able to render you some service. Although speech is the image of what is in the heart and what my heart feels with this happiness it cannot conceal, yet my tongue is not sufficient to enable me to express that happiness entirely. From whence did this your land, which I am governing, merit the visit of so sovereign and so excellent a prince to whom all people in the world owe service and obedience? And from whence has come so great a good fortune to those who inhabit this land, they being so insignificant, unless to recall to their memory some great misfortune which might happen in accordance with the arrangement of fortune? Therefore, now and forever, if we are worthy of your Lordship holding us as yours, we can not cease to be favored and maintained in true justice and reason and called men; for those who lack reason and justice can be compared to brute beasts. In my heart with the respect due to such a prince as your Lordship, I offer myself, and beg you that in payment of this true good will, you may wish to be served by my person, land, and vassals.”

The governor answered him saying that his offers and good will exhibited by deeds would greatly please him; that he would always remember to honor and protect him as a brother.

This land, from that of the first peaceful cacique to the province of Patofa—a distance of fifty leagues—is a rich land, beautiful, fertile, well watered, and with fine fields along the rivers. From thence to the port of Espiritu Santo, where we first reached the land of Florida—a distance of about three hundred and fifty leagues or so—it is a lean land, and most of it covered with rough pine groves, low and very swampy, and in places having lofty dense forests, where the hostile Indians wandered so that no one could find them nor could the horses enter there—which was annoying to the Christians because of the provisions which had been carried off and the trouble experienced by them in looking for the Indians to guide them.



*Spaniards Meet with a Mississippian Chief. Chiefs in Mississippian societies were at the top of a highly structured and ranked social system. In some cases they were treated by their subjects almost as if they were gods. They were accustomed to courtesy and respect from visitors. De Soto, in seeking peaceful passage, burden bearers, women, and food supplies, would routinely arrest the local chief and take him along as a hostage to the border of the next chiefdom. (Painting by John Berkey © National Geographic Society)*

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### XIII.

#### HOW THE GOVERNOR LEFT THE PROVINCE OF PATOFA AND CAME UPON AN UNINHABITED REGION, WHERE HE AND ALL HIS MEN EXPERIENCED GREAT VICISSITUDES AND EXTREME NEED.

In the town of Patofa, the youth<sup>112</sup> whom the governor brought as interpreter and guide began to foam at the mouth and to throw himself to the ground as if possessed by the devil. They prayed the evangel over him and that fit left him. He said that four days' journey thence toward the rising sun was the province of which he spoke. The Indians of Patofa said that they knew of no settlement in that direction, but that toward the northwest they knew a province called Coça,<sup>113</sup> a well provisioned land and of very large villages. The cacique told the governor that if he wished to go thither, he would furnish him service of a guide and Indians to carry; and if in the direction indicated by the youth he would also give him all those he needed; and with mutual words of affection and promises they said farewell to each other. He [the chief] gave him [De Soto] seven hundred tamemes. He took maize for four days and marched for six days along a path which gradually grew narrower until it was all lost. He marched in the direction where the youth guided him and crossed two rivers<sup>114</sup> by fording, each of which was two crossbow-shots wide. The water came to their stirrups and had a swift current, so that it was necessary for the men on horseback to form a line one in front of the other in order that those on foot might cross above them by virtue of their support. He came to another river<sup>115</sup> with a more powerful current and wider which was crossed with greater difficulty, for the horses swam as they got out for the length of a lance. That river being crossed, the governor came out to a pine grove and threatened the youth and made as if he would throw him to the dogs because he had deceived him, saying that it was a march of four days, and for nine days he had marched making seven or eight leagues on each day; and now the men and horses were become weak because of the great economy which had been practiced with regard to the maize. The youth said that he did not know where he was. That there was no other whom Juan Ortiz understood availed in preventing him from being thrown to the dogs. The governor with them [the youth and Ortiz] and with some horse and foot, leaving the camp established in a pine grove, marched five or six leagues that day looking for a road, and at night returned greatly

disheartened without having found any signs of habitation. Next day different opinions were expressed as to whether he should turn back or what he should do. Inasmuch as the land behind through which they had come was left very desolate and lacking in maize, and the maize they brought was finished, and the men very weak, as well as the horses, they were in great doubt as to whether they could reach a place where they might be aided. Moreover, they considered that if they went on like defeated men, if any Indians dared to attack them, they could not escape either because of hunger or war. The governor determined to send horsemen thence in all directions to look for habitation. On the next day he sent four captains in different directions, each one with eight horsemen. They returned at night some leading their horses by the bridle and others driving them before them with a stick, for they could not carry them they were so tired out, and without finding any road or sign of habitation. Next day, the governor sent four others [i. e., captains] each with eight horse, men who could swim, in order to cross the mud and streams which they might come to, and chosen horses, the best in the camp. The captains were Baltasar de Gallegos, who went upstream; Juan de Añasco, who went down; Alonso Romo and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo, who went inland.<sup>116</sup>

The governor had taken thirteen sows to Florida and was now driving three hundred pigs. He ordered half a pound of flesh to be given to each man daily, it having been three or four days since maize was lacking. With that small amount of meat and with some herbs boiled with considerable trouble, the men were sustained.

The governor sent the Indians of Patofa back since he had nothing to give them to eat. They, upon ceasing to accompany and serve the Christians in their need, and manifesting great sorrow to him at returning without leaving them in a village, returned to their own land.

Juan de Añasco came on Sunday afternoon and gave news of finding a small town twelve or thirteen leagues away. He brought an Indian woman and a boy whom he captured. With his coming and with the news, the governor and all were so glad that it seemed to them that they had then come back from greedy death. On Monday, the 26th of April, the governor set out for the town which was called Aymay,<sup>117</sup> to which the Christians gave the name of the town of Socorro [i. e., Relief]. At the place where the camp was established he left a letter buried at the foot of a pine tree and on the pine some words cut on the bark with a machete [*māchil*], as follows: "Dig at the foot of this pine tree and you will find a letter," doing this so that when the captains came, who had gone to look for a village, they might see the letter



and might learn what the governor had done and where he had gone. There was no other way to the town than marks left cut on the trees by Juan de Añasco. The governor, with some of those who had the best horses, reached the town on Monday; and all striving to reach it as soon as possible slept, some at a distance of two, and others at three or four, leagues from the town, each one according as he could march and his strength aided him. In the town was found a barbacoa full of parched maize meal and some maize which was given out by rationing. There four Indians were captured, and no one of them would say anything else than that they did not know of any other village. The governor ordered one of them to be burned. Thereupon, another said that two days' journey thence was a province called Cutifachiqui.<sup>118</sup> On Wednesday arrived the captains, Baltasar de Gallegos, Alonso Romo, and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo, who had found the letter and followed to the town whither the governor had gone. Two men belonging to the company of Juan Rodriguez were lost because of their tired horses. The governor chid him severely for having left them and sent him to look for them, and as soon as they came set out for Cutifachiqui. On the way three Indians were captured who declared that the chieftainess of that land had already heard of the Christians and was awaiting them in one of her towns. The governor sent to her by one of them an offer of his friendship and the information that he was coming thither.

The governor arrived and immediately four canoes came to him in one of which was a sister<sup>119</sup> of the cacica. Coming to the governor, she said these words: "Excellent Lord: My sister orders me to kiss your Lordship's hands and say to you that the reason why she has not come in person is that she thought she could better serve you by remaining as she is doing to give orders that all her canoes should be made ready quickly so that your Lordship might cross and so that you might rest, for you will be served immediately." The governor thanked her and she returned to the other side of the river. Shortly thereafter, the cacica came from the town in a carrying chair in which certain principal Indians carried her to the river.\* She entered a canoe with an awning at the stern and on the bottom of which was already spread a mat for her and above it two cushions one on top of the other, on which she seated herself. With her principal men and other canoes filled with Indians who accompanied her, she went to the place where the governor was; and on

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\*The Portuguese *andor*, which Robertson rendered as "carrying chair," has the primary meaning today of the litter or platform with poles used for carrying religious images in a procession.

her arrival spoke as follows: "O, Excellent Lord: May your Lordship's coming to these your lands be of very good augury, although my possibility does not equal my wishes and my services are not equal to what I desire and to the merits of so powerful a prince as your Lordship; for good will is more worthy of acceptance than all the treasures of the world which may be offered without it. With very sincere and open good will I offer you my person, my lands, my vassals, and this poor service." And she presented him a quantity of clothing of the country which she brought in the other canoes, namely, blankets and skins. And from her neck she drew a long string of pearl beads and threw it about the neck of the governor, exchanging with him many gracious words of affection and courtesy. She ordered canoes to go thither in which the governor and his men crossed. As soon as he was lodged in the town, another gift of many hens<sup>120</sup> was made him. That land was very pleasing and fertile, and had excellent fields along the rivers, the forest being clear and having many walnuts and mulberries. They said that the sea was two days' journey away. About the town within the compass of a league and a half league were large uninhabited towns, choked with vegetation, which looked as though no people had inhabited them for some time. The Indians said that two years ago there had been a plague in that land and they had moved to other towns. In the barbacoas of the towns there was considerable amount of clothing—blankets made of thread from the bark of trees and feather mantles (white, gray,\* vermillion, and yellow), made according to their custom, elegant and suitable for winter. There were also many deer-skins, well tanned and colored, with designs drawn on them and made into pantaloons, hose, and shoes.† The cacica, observing that the Christians esteemed pearls, told the governor that he might order certain graves in that town to be examined, for he would find many, and that if he wished to send to the uninhabited towns, they could load all their horses. The graves of that town were examined and fourteen arrobas<sup>121</sup> of pearls were found, babies and birds being made of them.

The people were dark, well set up and proportioned, and more civilized than any who had been seen in all the land of Florida;‡ and all were shod and clothed. The youth told the governor that he was now beginning to enter

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\*Robertson has mistranslated the Portuguese *verdes* as "gray." *Verdes* is "green."

†The Portuguese *calças, y meas calças*, which Robertson rendered as "pantaloons, hose," might be rendered also as "trousers, leggings."

‡The Portuguese *polida* that Robertson rendered as "civilized" might be rendered also as "polite" or "well mannered."

that land of which he had spoken to him. And since it was such a land and he understood the language of the Indians, some credence was given him. He requested that he be baptized, for he wished to become a Christian. He was made a Christian and was called Pedro. The governor ordered him to be loosed from the chain in which he had gone until then. That land, according to the statement of the Indian, had been very populous and was reputed to be a good land.\* According to appearances, the youth whom the governor had taken as guide had heard of it, and what he learned from hearsay he asserted to have seen, and enlarged at will what he saw. In that town were found a dagger and some beads of Christians, whom the Indians said had been in the port two days' journey thence;† and that it was now many years since Governor Licentiate Ayllón<sup>122</sup> had arrived there in order to make a conquest of that land; that on arriving at the port, he died; and there ensued a division, quarrels, and deaths among several of the principal persons who had accompanied him as to who should have the command; and without learning anything of the land they returned to Spain from that port.

All the men were of the opinion that they should settle in that land as it was an excellent region; that if it were settled, all the ships from New Spain, and those from Peru, Santa Marta, and Tierra Firme,<sup>123</sup> on their way to Spain, would come to take advantage of the stop there, for their route passes by there; and as it is a good land and suitable for making profits.

Since the governor's purpose was to seek another treasure like that of Atabalipa, the lord of Peru, he had no wish to content himself with good land or with pearls, even though many of them were worth their weight in gold and, if the land were to be allotted in repartimiento, those pearls which the Indians would get afterward would be worth more; for those they have, inasmuch as they are bored by fire, lose their color thereby. The governor replied to those who urged him to settle that there was not food in that whole land for the support of his men for a single month; that it was neces-

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\*The Portuguese *os índios*, which Robertson rendered as "the Indian," is plural rather than singular. In translating *os índios* as singular, Robertson has changed the meaning of the Portuguese to make Perico the speaker. The Portuguese *esta terra segundo os índios diziam havia sido muito povoada* should be rendered thus, "that land, according to what the Indians were saying, had been very populated." In the context, the Indians speaking seem to be the Indians of Cutifachiqui in general.

†Robertson's "in the port two days' journey thence" is an obvious reference to goods left behind by the Vázquez de Ayllón settlers. Together with Charles Hudson's placement of Cutifachiqui near Camden, South Carolina, this raises questions for those who locate the Ayllón settlement on the Savannah River or even farther south in Guale territory.

sary to hasten to the port of Ochus where Maldonado was to wait; that if another richer land were not found they could always return to that one whenever they wished; that meanwhile the Indians would plant their fields and it would be better provided with maize. He asked the Indians whether they had heard of any great lord farther on. They said that twelve days' journey thence was a province called Chiaha which was subject to the lord of Coça. Thereupon, the governor determined to go in search of that land; and as he was a man, hard and dry of word, and although he was glad to listen to and learn the opinion of all, after he had voiced his own opinion he did not like to be contradicted and always did what seemed best to him. Accordingly, all conformed to his will, and although it seemed a mistake to leave that land, for another land might have been found round about where the men might maintain themselves until the planting might be done there and the maize harvested, no one had anything to say to him after his determination was learned.

## FIFTEEN.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR LEFT CUTIFACHIQUI TO GO IN SEARCH OF COÇA; AND OF THE THINGS THAT HAPPENED TO HIM ON THE WAY.

On May 3,<sup>124</sup> the governor set out from Cutifachiqui, and because the Indians had already risen, and it was learned that the cacica was minded to go away if she could without giving guides or tamemes for carrying because of offenses committed against the Indians by the Christians—for among many men there is never lacking some person of little quality who for very little advantage to himself places the others in danger of losing their lives—the governor ordered a guard to be placed over her and took her along with him; not giving her such good treatment as she deserved for the good will she had shown him and the welcome she had given him. He made true the old proverb which says “For well doing,” etc. And so he took her along on foot with her slave women, so that they [the Indians] might show respect because of her. In all the towns through which the governor passed, the cacica ordered the Indians to come and carry the loads from one town to the other. We traversed her lands for a hundred leagues, in which, as we saw, she was very well obeyed, for all the Indians did with great efficiency and dili-

gence what she ordered of them. Perico, the youth who was guiding us, said that she was not the ruler but that she was the ruler's niece\* and that she had come to that town to execute justice on certain of the principal men under command of the ruler who had rebelled against her and kept the tribute. No credit was given to him because of the lies in which he had been found; but everything was endured in him because of the need of him to tell what the Indians said. In seven days, the governor reached a province, by name Chalaque,<sup>125</sup> the poorest land in maize seen in Florida. The Indians live on roots of herbs which they seek in the open field and on game killed with their arrows. The people are very domestic, go quite naked, and are very weak.† There was a lord who brought the governor two deerskins as a great act of service. In that land are many wild hens.<sup>126</sup> In one town they performed a service for him, presenting him seven hundred of them, and likewise in others they brought those they had and could get.

It took five days to go from this province to another one called Xualla.<sup>127</sup> They found little maize, and for that reason, although the men were tired and their horses very weak, the governor did not stop over two days. From Ocute to Cufitachiqui it was about one hundred and thirty leagues, eighty of which were without inhabitants. From Cutifa[chiqui] to Xualla it was two hundred and fifty leagues, over mountainous country.<sup>128</sup> The governor set out from Xualla for Guaxule, crossing over very rough and lofty mountains. Along that way, the cacica of Cutifachiqui, whom the governor brought as above said for the purpose of taking her to Guaxule<sup>129</sup>—for her lands reached that far—going one day with her slave women who were carrying

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\*Robertson's phrase "but that she was the ruler's niece" needs some comment. The word "ruler" does not appear explicitly in the Portuguese text, and the Portuguese could conceivably be rendered to make the ruler her niece. The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "Perico . . . said that she was not the ruler, but that she was the ruler's niece" is *dizia Perico . . . que não era aquela a senhora mas que era uma sua sobrinha*. Rendered with extreme literalness, the sentence reads as follows: "Perico . . . said that the lady in charge was not that one, but that it (or she) was a (or one) her niece." Rendered more loosely the last phrase would be "but that she was a niece of hers." Consequently, one could read the Portuguese text either as saying that the Lady of Cutifachiqui was the ruler's niece or that the ruler was the niece of the Lady of Cutifachiqui. The use of the indefinite article *uma* with the possessive *sua* in this fashion is an odd construction. When *uma* is so used, it can have the meaning of "certain" in the sense, in this context, of "it was a certain niece of hers." Of the two possible renditions, the one that makes the ruler the niece of the Lady of Cutifachiqui seems preferable.

†The Portuguese *muy debilitados*, which Robertson rendered as "very weak," might be rendered more properly as "very debilitated," to reproduce the nuance suggested by Elvas's choice of that word rather than *fraco*, the one usually used for "weak."

her, stepped aside from the road and went into a wood saying that she had to attend to her necessities. Thus she deceived them and hid herself in the woods; and although they sought her she could not be found. She took with her a box of canes made like a coffer which they call “petaca,”<sup>130</sup> filled with unbored pearls. Some who had most knowledge of them said they were very valuable. An Indian woman was carrying them for her whom she took with her. The governor, in order not to cause her unhappiness in everything, left them, intending to ask them from her at Guaxulle, when he should give her leave to return. She took it and went to stop at Xualla with three slaves who had escaped from the camp and with a horseman who remained behind, for being sick with fever he wandered from the road and was lost. This man, named Alimamos tried to have the slaves abandon their evil intention and go with him to the Christians—which two of them did. Alimamos and they overtook the governor fifty leagues from there in a province called Chiaha. They related how the cacica had remained in Xualla with a slave of André de Vasconcellos who refused to come with them; and it was very certain that they held communication as husband and wife, and that both had made up their minds to go to Cutifachiqui.<sup>131</sup>

In five days, the governor arrived at Guaxulle. The Indians there made him service of three hundred dogs, for they observed that the Christians liked them and sought them to eat; but they are not eaten among them [the Indians]. In Guaxulle and along that road there was very little maize. The governor sent an Indian thence with a message to the cacique of Chiaha,<sup>132</sup> asking him to order some maize brought them, so that they might rest several days in Chiaha. The governor left Guaxulle and after a march of two days reached a town called Canasagua.<sup>133</sup> Twenty Indians came out to meet him each carrying his basket of mulberries which grow in abundance and good from Cutifachiqui thither and also on into other provinces, as well as walnuts and plums. The trees grow wild in the fields without being planted or manured and are as large and as vigorous as if they were cultivated and irrigated in gardens. After the governor left Canasagua, he marched five days through an uninhabited region. Two leagues before reaching Chiaha, fifteen Indians, bearing maize, whom the cacique sent, met him and told him in behalf of the cacique that the latter was awaiting him with twenty barbacoas full, and [that] he with all the rest, including his person, land, and vassals, were all at his service.

On July 5,<sup>134</sup> the governor entered Chiaha. The cacique moved out of his houses in which he was lodging and welcomed him very hospitably, with the following words: “Powerful and excellent lord: I consider myself so fortu-

nate in that your Lordship is pleased to use my services that no greater happiness could come to me nor any that I could esteem as much. Your Lordship ordered me from Guaxulle to have maize for you in this town for two months. I have here for you twenty barbacoas full of choice maize, and the best that can be found in all the land. If your Lordship was not received by me in accordance with what is due to so great a prince, have consideration for my few years which acquit me of guilt, and receive the good will which, with great, true, and sincere loyalty, I shall always have for what concerns your service.”

The governor answered him saying that his service and offer pleased him greatly and that he would always consider him as a brother. In that town, there was an abundance of butter in gourds, in melted form like olive oil. They said it was bear’s grease. There was also found considerable walnut oil which like the butter\* was clean and of a good taste, and a pot of bee’s honey; which before or after was not seen in all the land—neither honey nor bees.

The town was isolated between two arms of a river and was settled near one of them.<sup>135</sup> At a distance of two crossbow-shots above the town, the river divided into those two arms which were reunited a league below. The field between the one arm and the other was in places about the width of one crossbow-shot, and in places of two. They were of great width and both were fordable. Very excellent fields lay along them and many maize fields. Inasmuch as the Indians were in their town, only the governor was lodged in the houses of the cacique, and his men in the open field. Wherever there were any trees each one took his own. In this way the camp was established with some widely separated from the others and without any order. The governor overlooked this since the Indians were peaceable and the weather was quiet<sup>136</sup> and the men would have suffered great discomfort if they had not done this.

The horses reached there so weak that they were unable to carry their owners through weakness, because of having come from Cutifachiqui all the way with but little maize. They [the horses] had suffered hunger and fatigue all the way from the unpopulated region of Ocute. Since most of the men were not fit to fight on them even if it should be necessary, they put the horses out to pasture at night a quarter of a league from the camp.

The Christians were in great danger, for if at that time, the Indians had

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\*The Portuguese *mãteiga*, which Robertson translated as “butter” should probably be translated as “lard,” which is the primary meaning of *manteca*, its Spanish equivalent.

attacked them, they were in a poor position for defending themselves. There the governor rested for thirty days, during which time the horses grew fat because of the luxuriance of the land. At the time of his departure, because of the importunity of some who wished more than was proper, he asked the cacique for thirty Indian women as slaves.<sup>137</sup> The cacique answered that he would talk with his principal men; but one night, before returning an answer, all the Indians left the town<sup>138</sup> with their wives and children and went away. Next day, when the governor had made up his mind to go to look for them, the cacique came, and on arriving spoke as follows to the governor: "Powerful Lord: I am ashamed and fearful of your Lordship, because my Indians, against my will, decided to go away. I fled without your permission; and having perceived the mistake I committed, I have come as a loyal vassal to deliver myself into your Lordship's power so that you may do what you please with my person, for my people do not obey me nor do anything except what an uncle of mine orders, who is governing these lands for me until I am of proper age. If your Lordship wishes to follow them and execute on them what they deserve for their disobedience, I will be your guide, for my fortune refuses at present to let me do more."

The governor immediately went in search of the Indians with thirty horse and a like number of foot. Passing through some towns of the principal Indians who had gone off, he cut down and destroyed their large maize fields; and went to hold the river above where the Indians were on an islet, whither the men of horse could not go. He sent word to them there by an Indian that they should return to their town and should have no fear and that they should furnish him tamemes for carrying as had been done by all the Indians before; that he did not wish any Indian women since it cost them so dearly to give them to him.

The Indians considered it well and came to the governor and made their excuses to him; and so they all returned to the town. A cacique from a province called Acoste<sup>139</sup> came there to visit the governor. After offering himself to him and exchanging words of politeness and courtesy with him, the governor asked him whether he knew of any rich land. He said he did; that there was a province to the north called Chisca,<sup>140</sup> and that there was a foundry for copper and other metal of that color, except that it was finer and of much more perfect color and much better in appearance; and that they did not make so much use of it as it was softer. The same thing had been told the governor in Cutifachiqui where we saw some copper hatchets which they said had a mixture of gold. However, the land was thinly populated as far as that region and they said that there were mountain ridges which the horses



could not cross. On that account, the governor did not wish to go thither by direct road from Cutifachiqui, and thought that if he went through a populated region while the men and horses were in better condition and he more certain of the truth of what there was, he could turn hither through ridges and better populated land where he could travel better. He sent two Christians from Chiaha with Indians who knew the land of Chisca and its language, in order that they might examine it, with orders that they should go to report what they found at the place where he said he would await them.

## XVI.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR SET OUT FROM CHIAHA AND WAS IN DANGER OF BEING KILLED IN ACOSTE AT THE HANDS OF THE INDIANS, AND HOW HE ESCAPED THROUGH WARNING; AND OF WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM ON THIS JOURNEY, AND HOW HE ARRIVED AT COÇA.

When the governor made up his mind to go from Chiaha<sup>141</sup> to Acoste, he ordered the cacique to come<sup>142</sup> to him, and took leave of him with courteous words, and gave him some pieces of cloth with which he was very happy.\* He reached Acoste in seven days. On the second of July, he ordered the camp made in the open field two crossbow flights from the town and with eight men of his guard he went toward the town where he found the cacique, who apparently received him with great friendliness. While he was talking with him, some of the foot soldiers went to the town from the camp to look for maize, and not being satisfied with it, went rummaging around and searching the houses and seized what they found. Annoyed at this the Indians began to get excited and to seize their arms. Some of them with clubs in their hands went to five or six Christians who angered them and with blows served them to their liking.

The governor seeing them all excited and himself among them with so few Christians, in order to escape out of their hands, practiced a stratagem quite

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\*The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "some pieces of cloth" is simply *peças*. "Pieces of cloth" is among the meanings of *peças*, but *peças* could be pieces of various things. However, pieces of cloth is probably what De Soto gave him.

contrary to his usual disposition,<sup>†</sup> which was very direct and open; and although it grieved him greatly that any Indian should dare, either with or without reason, to show contempt for the Christians, he seized a club and went to their aid against his own men, which was done for the purpose of assuring them [the Indians]. Straightway he secretly sent a message to camp through a man for armed men to come to him. He took the cacique by the hand while conversing with him very courteously and with some of the principal Indians who were with him drew him from the town to a level road, and within sight of the camp whence the Christians began gradually to come, under an innocent guise, and to take position round about. Thus the governor led the cacique and his principal men until he got into the camp with them. When near his tent, he ordered them to be placed under guard and told them that they could not go until giving him a guide and Indians for carrying and until some sick Christians should come from Chiaha whom he had ordered to come down the river in canoes, and those also whom he had sent to the province of Chisca, who had not yet come. He feared lest the Indians had killed both parties.

Three days afterward they came. Those from Chisca said that the Indians had taken them through a land so poor in maize and so rough and with such lofty mountains that it was impossible for the camp to march through it; and seeing that the road was getting long and they were greatly delayed, they considered it advisable to return from a small, poor village where they saw nothing that might be of use. They brought a cowskin which the Indians gave them, as soft as the skin of a kid,<sup>143</sup> with hair like that of the soft wool of a sheep between that of the common and that of the merino. The cacique furnished a guide and tamemes, and with the governor's permission went away.

The governor set forth from Coste on July 9<sup>144</sup> and went to sleep at a town called Tali. The cacique came out to meet him on the road<sup>145</sup> and spoke as follows: "Excellent lord Prince, worthy of being served and obeyed by all the princes of the world. Just as one can judge in greater part of the inner virtue by the face, and since who you are and your power have been known to me before now, I do not wish to bear the consequence of how small I am in your presence by expecting that my poor service will be pleasing and

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<sup>†</sup>The Portuguese *de mau jeito*, which Robertson rendered as "excited," would be better rendered as "in a bad disposition" in that context. The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "usual disposition" is the same word, *geito*, preceded by *seu* ("his"). In this context and combined with *seu*, it would be better rendered as "his manner."

acceptable, for where the strength fails, it is not unbecoming for the good will to be praised and received. On this account I dare to beg your Lordship only to consider and observe, in this your land in which you command, how I may serve you.”

The governor answered him saying that he thanked him as much for his good will and tenders as if he had offered him all the riches of the world, and that he would always be protected and esteemed by him as a true brother. The cacique ordered brought thither the provisions needed for the two days the governor should be there; and at the time of his leaving he made him service of four Indian women and two Indian men who were needed as carriers.

The governor marched for six days, passing through many towns subject to the cacique of Coça, and as he entered his lands, many Indians daily came to him on the way on the part of the cacique with messages, some going, others coming.

He reached Coça on Friday, July 16.<sup>146</sup> The cacique came out to welcome him two crossbow flights from the town in a carrying chair borne on the shoulders of his principal men, seated on a cushion, and covered with a robe of marten skins of the form and size of a woman’s shawl.\* He wore a crown of feathers on his head; and around about him were many Indians playing and singing.

As soon as he came to the governor, he saluted him and addressed the following words to him: “Excellent and powerful Lord, superior to all those of the earth: Although now I come to welcome you, long ago I have welcomed you in my heart, namely, from the day on which I heard of your Lordship. With so great a desire, joy, and happiness to serve you, what I show is nothing compared to what I feel, nor could it have any comparison. You may consider it as true that to receive dominion over the world would not gladden me so much as does the sight of you; nor should I consider it as great happiness. Do not expect me to offer you what is yours, namely, my person, lands, and vassals. I wish only to occupy myself in commanding my people to welcome you with all diligence and due reverence from this place to the town with music and singing, where your Lordship will be lodged and

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\*The Portuguese *tiros de besta*, which Robertson translated as “crossbow flights,” might be better rendered as “crossbow shots,” as “shot” is the primary meaning of *tiro*.

The Portuguese *andor*, which Robertson translated as “carrying chair,” is more properly a platform on poles used by Latin peoples for carrying religious statues in street processions.

served by me and by them; and you will do with all I possess as though it were your own for, if your Lordship so do, I shall be favored.”

The governor thanked him, and both talking together very joyfully, they went on to the town. He ordered his Indians to move out of their dwellings, in which the governor and his men were lodged. In the barbacoas and fields there was a great quantity of maize and beans. The land was very populous and had many large towns and planted fields which reached from one town to the other. It was a charming and fertile land, with good cultivated fields stretching along the rivers. In the open fields were many plums, both those of Spain and those of the land, and grapes along the rivers on vines climbing up into the trees. Beyond the streams were the low stocks of large, sweet grapes, but because they were not cultivated or well taken care of they had large seeds.<sup>147</sup>

The governor was accustomed to place a guard over the caciques so that they might not go away, and took them along with him until leaving their land; for by taking them, the people would await in their towns and they would give a guide and Indians as carriers. Before departing from their lands, he would give them leave to return to their homes—as well as the tamemes—as soon as he reached another dominion where others were given to him.

Those of Coça, seeing their lord detained, thought ill of it and revolted and went away to hide themselves in the woods—both those of their lord’s town and those of other chief towns, who were his vassals. The governor sent four captains, each in a different direction, to look for them. They seized many Indians, men and women, who were put in chains. Upon seeing the harm they received and how little they gained in absenting themselves, they came, saying that they wished to serve in whatever might be commanded them. Some of the principal men among those imprisoned were set free on petition of the cacique. Of the rest, each man took away as slaves those he had in chains, without allowing them to go to their lands. Nor did many of them return except some whose good fortune and assiduous industry aided them, who managed to file off their chains at night; or some, who were able, while on the march, to wander away from the road upon observing any lack of care in their guard, who went off with their chains and with their loads and the clothes they were carrying.<sup>148</sup>

## XVII.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM COÇA TO TASTALUCA.

The governor rested in Coça for twenty-five days. He set out on Friday, August 20, to look for a province, by name, Tascaluca,<sup>149</sup> taking the cacique of Coça with him. That day he passed through a large town called Talimuchase,<sup>150</sup> which was without people. He went to sleep a half league beyond near a stream. Next day he reached a town called Ytaua,<sup>151</sup> subject to Coça. He stayed there for six days because of a river which ran hard by the town, and was swollen at that time. As soon as the river allowed crossing, he set out, and went to sleep at a town called Ullibahali.<sup>152</sup> Ten or twelve of the principal Indians, all with feather plumes, and with bows and arrows, came to him on the road bearing a message on the part of the cacique of that province, to offer themselves to him. The governor, on reaching the town with twelve horse and some foot belonging to his guard, for he had left his men a crossbow flight from town, entered therein and found all the Indians under arms; and judging from their manner, he thought them evilly disposed. It was learned later that they had concerted to take the cacique of Coça out of the governor's possession, if he [the cacique] should request this of them. The governor ordered all his men to enter the town which was enclosed and near which flowed a small river. The enclosure, like that in other towns seen there afterward, was of thick logs, set solidly close together in the ground, and many long poles as thick as an arm placed crosswise. The height of the enclosure was that of a good lance, and it was plastered within and without and had loopholes. On the other side of the river was a town where the cacique was at the time. The governor ordered him to be summoned and he came immediately. After exchanging some verbal promises with the governor, he gave him the necessary tamemes and thirty Indian women as slaves. A Christian of noble parentage, named Manzano, a native of Salamanca, who wandered away to look for grapes which are abundant and excellent there, was lost in that place.<sup>153</sup> On the day the governor set out thence, he went to sleep at a town subject to the lord of Ullibahali, and next day reached another called Toasi.<sup>154</sup> The Indians gave the governor thirty Indian women and the necessary tamemes. He marched ordinarily five or six leagues daily when going through a peopled region, and as much as he could through a depopulated region, in order to avoid the necessity of a lack of

maize. From Toasi, passing through some towns subject to a cacique, the lord of a province called Talise,<sup>155</sup> he marched for five days. He reached Tallise on September 18. The town was large and was located near a deep river. On the other side of the river were other towns and many fields of maize. On both sides, it was a land very well supplied with maize in abundance. They [the inhabitants] had abandoned the town. The governor ordered the cacique summoned. He came and an exchange of words of courtesy and of promises took place between them. He gave him [the governor] the service of forty Indians.<sup>156</sup> At that town one of the principal Indians came to the governor in the name of the cacique of Tascaluca and spoke to him as follows: "Very powerful, virtuous, and esteemed Lord: The great cacique of Tascaluca, my lord, orders me to kiss your Lordship's hands and to report to you that he is aware that you deservedly excel all those of the land, because of your perfections and power; that all, wherever your Lordship goes, serve and obey you, which he knows is your due. He desires as he does life to see and serve your Lordship. Therefore, he sends to offer with his person his land and his vassals, in order that whenever your Lordship should please to go through his lands, you may be received in all peace and love, and be served and obeyed; and that as payment of this desire which he has to serve you, you grant him the favor of informing him when you will come, for the earlier you come the greater favor and happiness will he receive." The governor received and dismissed him graciously, giving him some beads (which were not much regarded among them) and other pieces of cloth to take to his lord; and gave the cacique of Coça permission to return to his lands. The cacique of Tallise gave him the tamemes necessary; and after resting there for twenty days he set out for Tascaluca. The day he left Tallise, he went to sleep at a large town called Casiste,<sup>157</sup> and next day he passed through another town and reached a small town of Tascaluca. The next day he slept in a wood two leagues from the town where the cacique lived and was at that time.<sup>158</sup> He sent the *maestre de campo*, Luis de Moscoso, with fifteen horse to inform him that he was coming. The cacique was in his dwelling under a balcony.\* Outside, in front of his dwelling, on an elevated place, was spread a mat

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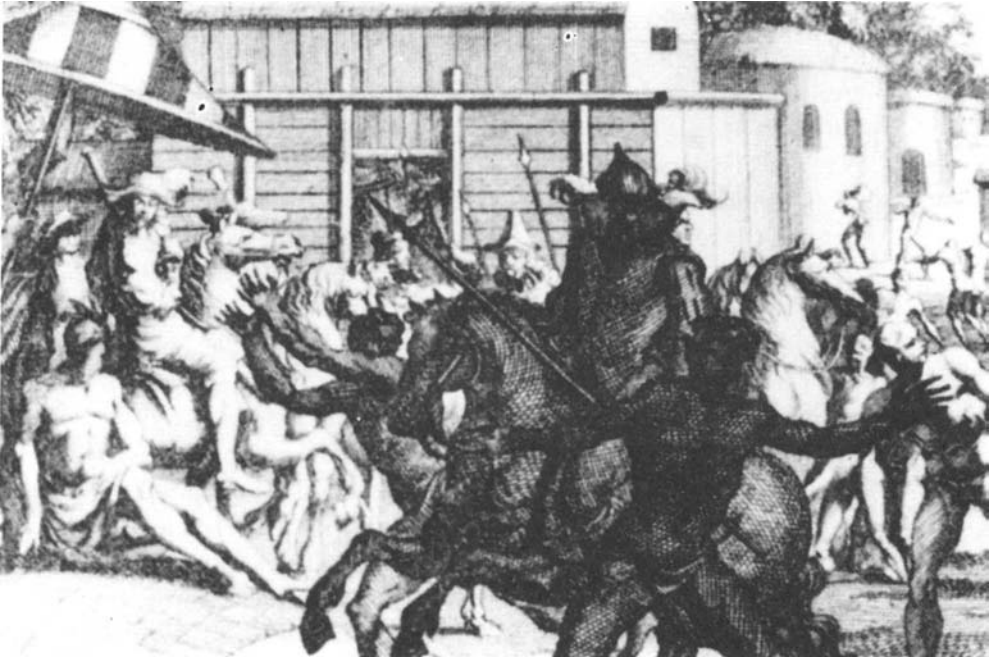
\*The Portuguese *apouentos*, which Robertson translated as "dwelling," is plural and consequently should be rendered as "dwellings" or "lodgings." It was customary for Creek leaders to have compounds containing a winter house and a summer house. The protruding balcony, indicating a two-story structure, suggests that this structure was the cacique's summer house. Robertson's "dwelling" in the next sentence, which is *pousadas* in the Portuguese, is also plural.

for him and on it two cushions, one above the other, where he came to seat himself. His Indians gathered about him, separated somewhat, so that they formed a courtyard and open space where he was—his most principal Indians being nearest him, and one holding a sort of fan of deerskin which kept the sun from him, round and the size of a shield, quartered with black and white, with a cross made in the middle.<sup>†</sup> From a distance it looked like taffeta, for the colors were very perfect. It was set on a small and very long staff. This was the device he bore in his wars. He was a man, very tall of body, large limbed, lean, and well built.<sup>159</sup> He was greatly feared by his neighbors and vassals. He was lord of many lands and many people. In his aspect he was very dignified. After the *maestre de campo* talked with him, he [the *maestre de campo*] and his men came, galloped their horses in front of him, turning them from one side to the other, and at times toward the *cacique*. He with great gravity and unconcern from time to time raised his eyes and looked as if in disdain. The governor arrived but he made no movement to arise. The governor took him by the hand and both went to seat themselves on a seat below the balcony. The *cacique* spoke to him as follows: “Powerful Lord: May the coming of your Lordship be very propitious. At sight of you, I receive as great pleasure and happiness as if you were one of my brothers whom I hold in great affection. Regarding this, it is unnecessary to discuss further, for it is not wise to utter in many words what can be said in few; for as it is one’s desire that determines deeds, and deeds give testimony of truth, therefore you will perceive how determined and clear is my will to serve you, and how pure my motive.<sup>160</sup> The favor which you showed me by reason of the pieces of cloth which you sent me, I esteem as much as it is proper to esteem them, and chiefly because they were yours. Now, see in what you may command me to serve you.” The governor made him happy with pleasing and very brief words. When he set out thence, he determined, for several reasons, to take him [the *cacique*] with him. After a march of two days he reached a town called Piache.<sup>161</sup> Near it flowed a large

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<sup>†</sup>The Portuguese that Robertson translated as “courtyard and open space” is *terreiro i câpo despejado*. *Terreiro* can be rendered also as “public square” or “plaza” and *câpo despejado* as “cleared field.” This possibility suggests the Creek “square ground,” in an informal sense at least, but with a low mound for the chief to sit on.

The Portuguese that Robertson translated as “cross” is *aspa*. An *aspa* is an instrument of torture made in the form of an X or, in this case, the somewhat more horizontal St. Andrew’s Cross, rather than the standard cross suggested by Robertson’s unannotated translation of the word as simple “cross.” The cross on the deerskin fan described was thus probably a St. Andrew’s Cross.



*The Hernando de Soto Expedition Encounters Chief Tascaluça. "The cacique was on a balcony which was made on a mound to one side of the plaza, about his head a certain headdress, like an almaizar, worn like a Moor, which gave him an appearance of authority, and a pelote or blanket of feathers down to his feet, very authoritative, seated upon some high cushions, and many principals of his Indians with him" (Rangel, Ch. 7). In this Dutch engraving the cacique is seated to the left, while one of De Soto's men attempts to intimidate him with a show of horsemanship. The architecture in the background is entirely fanciful and inaccurate. (From De Gedenkwaardige Voyagie van don Ferdinand de Soto, Leyden: P. Van der Aa, 1706, courtesy of the W. S. Hoole Special Collections Library, The University of Alabama)*

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river. The governor asked the Indians for canoes. They said that they did not have any, but that they would make rafts of canes and dry wood on which he could cross. Diligently and quickly they made them and steered them; and since the water was quiet, the governor and his men crossed in great safety. From the port of Espiritu Santo to Palache—a distance of about one hundred leagues—the governor marched from east to west; from Apalache to Cutifachiqui—a distance of about four hundred and thirty leagues—from southwest to northeast; from Cutifachiqui to Xualla—a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues—from south to north; and from Xualla to Tascaluca—a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues also—he marched one hundred and ninety from east to west, namely, to the province of Coça, and sixty from Coça to Tascaluca from north to south.<sup>162</sup> After crossing the river of Piache, a Christian left the ranks there and went to look for an Indian woman who had escaped from him, and the Indians captured or killed him. The governor urged the cacique to inform him of the man and threatened him that if he did not appear, he would never let him [the cacique] go. The cacique sent an Indian from that place to Mavilla,<sup>163</sup> whither they were marching—a town of one of the principal Indians, his vassal—saying that he was sending him [the messenger] to advise him [his vassal] to have provisions prepared and Indians for carrying; but as it afterward appeared he ordered him to assemble there all the warriors whom he had in his land. The governor marched for three days, the third day through a continuously peopled region. He reached Mavilla on Monday, the eighteenth of October,<sup>164</sup> he going in the vanguard with fifteen horse and thirty foot.<sup>165</sup> A Christian, whom he had sent with a message to the chief three or four days before, in order that the latter might not go away, and also in order to see the disposition of the Indians, came out of the town. He told him [the governor] that it appeared to him [the messenger] that they [the Indians] were evilly disposed, because when he was there many men and many arms had entered the town and they had made great haste to strengthen the stockade. Luis de Moscoso told the governor that it would be well to camp in the open field since the Indians were so disposed. The governor answered that he would lodge in the town, and that he was tired out with sleeping in the open field. On his arrival near the town, the cacique came out to welcome him with many Indians playing music and singing, and after tendering his services to him, gave him three blankets of marten skin. The governor, with the caciques and with seven or eight men from his guard, and three or four horse, who dismounted in order to accompany him, entered the town and seated himself under a balcony. The cacique of Tascaluca asked him to let

him stay in that town and not to give him more trouble of marching; and seeing by his talk that he did not grant him permission, changed his purpose and, dissembling, pretended that he wished to talk with some of the principal Indians. He rose from the place where he was with the governor, and entered a house where were many Indians with their bows and arrows. When the governor saw that he did not come, he called him, but he said that he would not come out of there and that he would not leave that town and that if he [the governor] wished to go in peace he should go immediately and should not insist on trying to take him out of his lands and dominion by force.

## XVIII.

### HOW THE INDIANS ROSE AGAINST THE GOVERNOR AND OF WHAT HAPPENED.

The governor, on seeing the determination and furious reply of the cacique, endeavored to soothe him with pleasant words. To them he made no reply but, on the contrary, he withdrew very haughtily and disdainfully to a place where the governor could not see or talk with him. As one of the principal Indians was passing that place, the governor called him in order to send him to tell him [the cacique] that he could stay and welcome in his land, but that he should consider it well to have a guide and Indians for carrying sent him, in order to see whether he could pacify him [the cacique] with soft words. The Indian with great haughtiness said that he would not do it. Baltasar de Gallegos, who was there, seized him roughly by a cloak of marten skin which he wore as a covering, but he slipped it off over his head and left it in his [Gallegos's] hands. And because all the Indians straightway rose in revolt, Baltasar de Gallegos gave him a slash which opened up his back. Immediately, all the Indians came out from the houses shouting loudly and discharging their arrows. The governor, seeing that he could not escape if he stayed there, and that if he should order his men who were outside the town to enter, the Indians could kill the horses for him from inside the houses and do much damage, went out running; but before getting out of the town, he fell two or three times, and those who were with him helped him to rise. He and those with him were severely wounded. In the town five Christians were immediately slain. The governor went out from the town shouting for all his men to go outside, for they were doing him much damage from the stock-

ade. The Indians, seeing that the Christians were withdrawing but some or most of them nevertheless at a walk, with great boldness continued to shoot at them and to bring down those they could overtake. The Indians, whom the Christians were bringing in chains, had set down their loads near the stockade, and as soon as the governor and his men became separated, those of Mavilla put the loads on their backs and took them [the Indians] within the town and immediately freed them from their chains and gave them bows and arrows with which to fight. In this way they got possession of all the clothing and pearls, and everything the Christians had and which their Indians were carrying for them. And inasmuch as the Indians had been peaceful thitherto, some [of the Christians] were bringing their weapons in the packs and were left without arms. From others of those who had entered with the governor, they [the Indians] took away their swords and halberds and fought therewith. When the governor found himself in the open field, he asked for a horse, and with some men who accompanied him, turned about and struck two or three Indians through with a lance. Most of the Indians withdrew into the town and continued to shoot their arrows from the stockade. Those who dared would insolently go out to fight for the distance of a stone's throw; and from there would again retire from time to time when the Christians turned on them. At the time when the return [of the Christians] began, there were a friar and a secular priest in the town, as well as a servant of the governor with a slave woman, and they did not have time to go outside but shut themselves in their house. Thus they remained inside the town after the Indians got control of it. They closed the door with a grating;\* and they had one sword among them, which the governor's servant owned. He stationed himself behind the door with it, thrusting at the Indians who tried to effect an entrance; with the friar and the secular priest, on the other side, each with a club in his hands,† to strike down whomever might first enter. The Indians, seeing that they could not enter through the door, began to uncover the house at the top. At this time, all the horse and foot who came marching behind, happened to reach Mavilla. They were of different opinions there as to whether they should attack the Indians in order to enter into the town or whether this should be avoided as the entrance was doubtful, but at last, it was decided to attack them.

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\*The Portuguese *cancela*, which Robertson rendered as "a grating," is a "lattice-work door" or "gate."

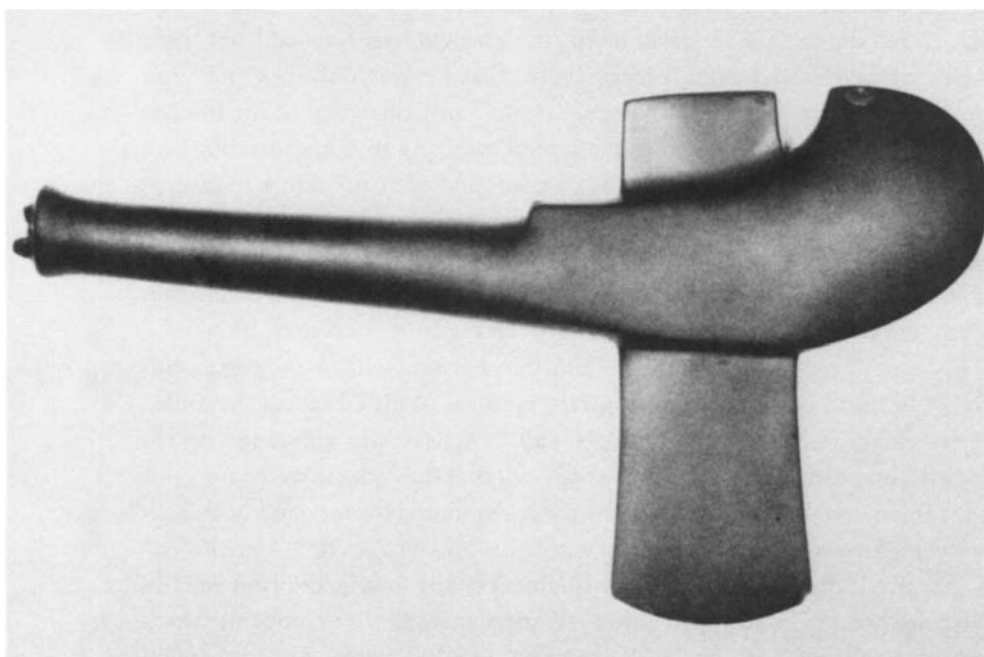
†The Portuguese *tranca*, which Robertson translated as "club," is a "door-bar" rather than a club per se.

## XIX.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR DREW HIS MEN UP IN ORDER AND ENTERED THE TOWN OF MAVILLA.

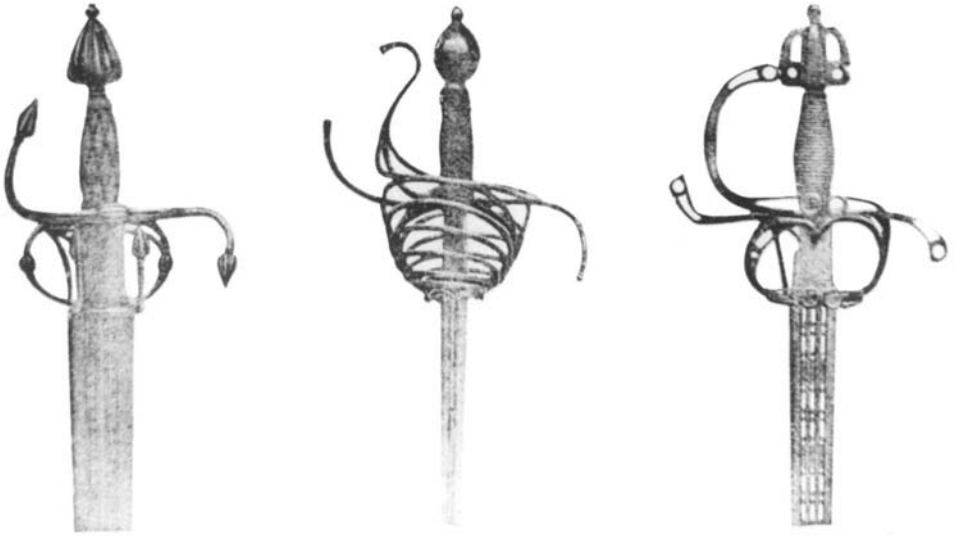
As soon as the battle line and rear guard reached Mavilla, the governor ordered all those who were best armed to dismount and made four companies of foot. The Indians, on seeing how the governor was drawing up his men, urged the cacique to leave, telling him, as was later learned from some Indian women who were captured there, that he was only one man and could fight for one only; that there were many principal men of the Indians there, very daring and skillful in matters of war, any of whom could direct all the other men; that since matters of war and victory were a hazard of fortune and there was no certainty as to which of the sides would be victorious, he should endeavor to place his person in safety, so that if they should end their lives there, as they had resolved to do rather than allow themselves to be vanquished, he would be left to govern the land. However, he refused to go, but so much did they urge him that he went out of the town with twenty or thirty of his Indians. From the clothing of the Christians he took a scarlet cloak and some other pieces—all that he could carry and which pleased him most. The governor was advised that the Indians were going out of the town, and he ordered those who were mounted to surround it. In each foot company, he ordered a soldier with a firebrand to set fire to the houses so that the Indians would have no shelter. Having arranged all his men in order, he ordered an arquebus fired. At the signal, all four companies, each in its own position, attacked with great fury and doing great damage entered the town from one side and the other. The friar and the secular priest and those who were with them in the house were rescued, which cost the life of two men of ability and courage who went thither to help them.

The Indians fought with so great spirit that they drove us outside again and again. It took them so long to get back that many of the Christians, tired out and suffering great thirst, went to get a drink at a pond located near the stockade, but it was tinged with the blood of the dead and they returned to the fight. The governor, seeing this, with those who accompanied him entered the town on horseback together with the returning foot. This gave an opportunity for the Christians to succeed in setting fire to the houses and overthrow and defeat the Indians. As the latter fled outside the town from those on foot, those on horse again drove them within the gates, where,



*Monolithic Ax. This Mississippian artifact is meticulously made from a single piece of stone. Such a piece would undoubtedly have had more symbolic than practical value. A more typical example would have a stone blade set in a wooden handle of the same form. Mississippian warfare was conducted using battle axes and clubs, in addition to the bow and arrow. Moundville site, Hale County, Alabama. (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian/Smithsonian Institution)*

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*Spanish Swords. Swords of the period were individually crafted and came in a wide variety of styles. Most were long with straight, double-edged blades. The swords shown here are among the more elaborate ones. A similar example has been found at a native village site in northwest Georgia. (From Albert F. Calvert, Spanish Arms and Armour, London: John Lane, 1907)*

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having lost hopes of escape, they fought courageously; and after the Christians had come among them cutting with the sword, seeing that they were assailed beyond repair, many fled into the burning houses, where, piled up one on top of the other, they were suffocated and burned to death. In all, those who were killed there numbered two thousand five hundred or thereabout. Of the Christians eighteen<sup>166</sup> were killed there, one of whom was Don Carlos, the governor's brother-in-law, another, his nephew, another, Juan Gamez, [and others including] Mem Rodriquez, a Portuguese, and Juan Vázquez of Villanova de Barcarota—all men of honor and pride. The others [killed] were foot soldiers. Besides those killed, one hundred and fifty Christians were wounded, receiving seven hundred arrow wounds. It was God's will that they were healed shortly of very dangerous wounds. Twelve horses were also killed and seventy wounded. All the clothing carried by the Christians, the ornaments for saying mass, and the pearls were all burned there. The Christians set fire to them; for they considered as more annoying the hurt which the Indians could do them from within the houses where everything was gathered together.<sup>167</sup> The governor learned there that Francisco Maldonado was awaiting him in the port of Ochuse and that it [Ochuse] was six days' journey from there. He arranged with Juan Ortiz that he should keep still about it, so that the men might not oppose his determination, and because the pearls which he desired to send to Cuba as samples had been burned; for if the news [of the ship] were noised about the men might desire to go to that land [Cuba]. And fearing that if news were heard of him, unless they saw gold or silver, or anything of value, it [Florida] would acquire such a reputation that no man would desire to go thither when people might be needed; consequently, he determined not to give news of himself so long as he did not find a rich land.

## XX.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR SET OUT FROM MAVILLA FOR CHICAÇA, AND OF WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM.

From the time the governor entered Florida until leaving Mavilla, one hundred and two Christians had died, some of their illnesses and others being killed by the Indians. He remained in Mavilla for twenty-eight days because of the wounded, during which he was always in the open field. It

was a very populous and fertile land. There were some large enclosed towns and a considerable population scattered about over the field, the houses being separated from one another one or two crossbow flights.\* On Sunday, November 18,<sup>168</sup> now that it was learned that our wounded men were getting well, the governor set out from Mavilla, all the men having provided themselves with maize for two days. They marched for five days through an unpeopled region, and arrived at a province called Pafallaya and a town called Taliepataua. Thence, they went to another town by name Cabusto,<sup>169</sup> near which flowed a large river. The Indians on the other side of it gave loud cries, telling the Christians that if they crossed over the river to them they would have to kill them. The governor ordered a piragua built inside the town, so that the Indians might not perceive it. It was made in four days. When it was finished, he ordered it to be transported one night a half league up stream.† In the morning, thirty well-armed men entered it. The Indians perceived what was being planned and those who were nearest ran up to forbid the crossing. They resisted it as well as they could until the Christians were near them; and seeing that the piragua was about to land fled through some canebrakes. The Christians mounted their horses and went upstream to assure a crossing where the governor, with all those who remained with him, crossed over. Along the river were some towns well provided with maize and beans. From that place to Chicaça,<sup>170</sup> the governor marched for five days through an unpopulated region. He reached a river where some Indians on the other side tried to forbid him crossing. In two days another piragua was made. When it was finished, the governor ordered an Indian to announce to the cacique that he should desire his friendship and should await him peacefully. But the Indians on the other side of the river killed him in his [the governor's] sight, and immediately went away uttering loud cries. Having crossed the river next day, December 17, the governor reached Chicaça, a small town of twenty houses. After they were in Chicaça they suffered great hardships and cold, for it was already winter, and most of the men were lodged in the open field in the snow before having any place where they could build houses. This land was very well peopled, the population being spread out as was that of Mavilla. It was fertile and abounding in maize, most of this being still in the fields. The amount necessary for passing

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\*The Portuguese *tiros de besta*, which Robertson translated as "crossbow flights," would be better rendered as "crossbow shots."

†In his translation of the passage, "he ordered it to be transported one night a half league upstream," Robertson deleted a detail found in the Portuguese stating that the pirogue was transported *em carretões* or "in carts."



the winter was gathered. Certain Indians were captured, among whom was one who was greatly esteemed by the cacique. By means of an Indian the governor sent word to the cacique that he desired to see him and wished his friendship. The cacique came to offer himself to him, together with his person, land, and vassals. He said that he would cause two caciques to come in peace. A few days afterward they came with him accompanied by their Indians, one being named Alimamu and the other Nicalasa. They presented the governor with one hundred and fifty rabbits and some clothing of their land, namely blankets and skins. The cacique of Chicaça came to visit him frequently and sometimes the governor ordered him summoned and sent him a horse to go and come. He [the cacique] made complaint to him [the governor], that one of his vassals had risen against him, withholding his tribute, and asked that he protect him against him, saying that he was about to go to seek him in his land and punish him as he deserved—all pretense, for it was planned that while the governor went with him and the camp was divided into two parts, some would attack the governor and others those who remained in Chicaça. He [the cacique] went to the town where he lived and came with two hundred Indians with their bows and arrows. The governor took thirty horse and eighty foot and went to Saquechuma,<sup>171</sup> as the province of the principal man was called, who he [the cacique] told him [the governor] had rebelled against him. They found an enclosed town which had been abandoned by the Indians, and those who were with the cacique set fire to the houses in order to conceal their treachery. But since the men taken by the governor were very watchful and prudent, as well as those who remained in Chicaça, on that occasion they did not dare attack us. The governor invited the cacique and certain of the principal Indians [to visit him] and gave them some pork to eat. And although they were not accustomed to it, they lusted after it so much that Indians would come nightly to certain houses a crossbow shot away from the camp where the hogs were sleeping and kill and carry off as many as they could. Three Indians were seized in the act, two of whom the governor ordered to be shot with arrows and the hands of the other cut off. In that condition he sent him to the cacique, who expressed regret that they had troubled the governor and was glad that justice had been executed on them. He [the cacique] was in an open plain a half league from where the Christians were.\* Four of the horsemen went thither without orders, namely, Francisco Osorio, a servant of the Marquis de As-

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\*The Portuguese *campina*, which Robertson rendered as “open plain,” has the sense of “extensive meadow without trees,” or “rangeland,” or “natural pasture.”

torga, named Reynoso, and two servants of the governor, one his page, named Ribera, and the other his chamberlain, named Fuentes.<sup>172</sup> They seized some skins and blankets from the Indians, at which the latter were greatly offended and abandoned their houses. The governor learned of it and ordered them [the four horsemen] seized. Francisco Osorio and the chamberlain he sentenced to death, as being the principals, and all to the loss of their possessions. The friars and secular priests and other principal persons importuned him to leave Francisco Osorio alive, and to moderate the sentence, which he refused to do for anyone. And while he was already giving the order to take them to the public place to behead them, certain Indians came who had been sent by the cacique to make complaint against them. Juan Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Gallegos and other persons, changed their words, telling the governor that the cacique said that he had learned that his Lordship had seized those Christians on his account; that they were not guilty nor had they done any wrong to him; that if he [De Soto] would do him a favor, he should let them go free. To the Indians, he [Ortiz] was to say that the governor said that he had seized them and would give them such punishment that it would be an example to others. The governor ordered the prisoners released. As soon as March was come, he determined to leave Chicaça and asked the cacique for two hundred tamemes. The latter replied to him that he would talk it over with his principal men. On Tuesday, the eighth of March, the governor went to where the cacique was to ask him for the tamemes. He said he would send them next day. As soon as the governor came to Chicaça, he told Luis de Moscoso, the *maestre de campo*, that the Indians looked ill-disposed to him, and that night he should keep careful watch, which the latter heeded but slightly. The Indians came at the quarter of the *modorra* [second or sleepy watch]\* in four companies, each company coming from a different direction. As soon as they were perceived, they beat a drum and with loud cries rushed forward, and so rapidly that they arrived at the same time as the spies who had carelessly gone out a distance from the camp; and when they were perceived by those who were within the town, half the houses were burning from the fire which they kindled. That night, three horsemen were by chance at watch, two of whom were of low degree, the most worthless of the camp, and the other was the governor's nephew, who until then had been considered a good man.<sup>173</sup> There he proved himself as cowardly as each one of them [i.e., the other two], for they all fled, and the Indians not finding any resistance came and

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\*The word *modorra* means sleepiness, or drowsiness, or sluggishness.

set fire to the town and awaited the Christians outside behind the doors, who came out of the houses without having time to arm themselves; and as they rose, maddened by the noise and blinded by the smoke and flame of the fire, they did not know where they were going nor did they succeed in getting their arms or in putting saddle on horse; neither did they see the Indians who were shooting at them. Many of the horses were burned in their stables, and those which could break their halters freed themselves. The confusion and rout were of such a nature that each one fled wherever it seemed safest, without any one resisting the Indians. But God who punishes His own as is His pleasure, and in the greatest needs and dangers holds them in His hand, blinded the Indians so that they might not see what they had done, and they thought that the horses which were running about loose were the horsemen gathering together to assault them. The governor alone, and with a soldier called Tapia, got mounted and attacked the Indians, and giving the first one he met a thrust with his lance, went down and his saddle with him; for in the haste he had badly fastened the girth and fell from his horse. All the men who were afoot and were in flight through a wood outside the town, sought protection there. And as it was night and the Indians thought the horses, as above said, were mounted men who were attacking them, they fled away and only one remained there dead, namely, the one the governor had struck with his lance. The town was consumed by fire. A woman was burned there who had gone there with her husband. Both of them going outside the house, she returned for some pearls which they had forgotten; and when she tried to get out, already the fire was at the door and she could not, and her husband could not help her.<sup>174</sup> Three other Christians got away from their houses so badly hurt by the fire that one of them died three days later, and each of the other two was carried for many days in his bed upon some poles which the Indians carried on their shoulders, for they could not have journeyed in any other way. In that turn of fortune eleven Christians and fifty horses died. Of the swine, one hundred were left, and four hundred were burned. If, perchance, any one still had had any clothing left from the fire at Mavilla, it was now all burned up in that place [Chicaça]; and many were naked as they had no time to snatch their jerkins.<sup>175</sup> There they endured great suffering from the cold, for which they got relief in large fires. The whole night was passed turning from one side to the other without sleeping, for if they were warmed on one side they froze on the other. They managed to make some mats out of dry grass woven together, and placed one mat below and the other above. Many laughed at this contrivance, but afterward necessity forced them to do likewise. The

Christians were become so demoralized, together with the lack of saddles and weapons, which had been burned, that if the Indians had returned the second night, they would have routed them with little trouble. They moved thence to the village where the cacique usually lived as it was a site in the open field.<sup>176</sup> A week later they had made many saddles and lances. There were some ash trees there from which they were made as good as those of Vizcaya.

## XXI.

### HOW THE INDIANS AGAIN ATTACKED THE CHRISTIANS; AND HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT TO ALIMAMU, WHERE THEY AWAITED HIM ON THE WAY TO THE FIGHT.

On Wednesday, the 15th of March, 1541,<sup>177</sup> after the governor had been for a week in a level field, a half league from the place where he had lodged during the winter, having already set up a forge and having tempered the swords which had been burned in Chicaça and having made many shields, saddles, and lances, on Tuesday night, at the hour of dawn, many Indians came to attack the camp, formed into three companies, each company coming from a different direction. Those who were on watch sounded the alarm. The governor, with great quickness, drew up his men in order in three other companies, with some men staying behind to guard the camp, and hastened to the attack. The Indians were thrown into confusion and took to flight. The land was flat and suitable for the Christians to profit thereby. Already the dawn had come bright and clear, but there was some confusion, which was the reason why they did not kill thirty or forty more Indians, namely, a friar in the camp raised a loud cry "To the camp! To the camp!" without any reason for so crying out. On that account, the governor and all the men ran to the rescue, and the Indians had time to get away safely. Some Indians were captured, from whom the governor got information relative to the land beyond. On April 25,<sup>178</sup> he left Chicaça and went to sleep at a small village called Alimamu.<sup>179</sup> It had very little maize and it was necessary after leaving there to commit themselves to an unpopulated region for seven days' journey. Next day, the governor sent three captains with horse and foot—each one taking a different direction—to search out provisions in order to cross the unpopulated region. Juan de Añasco, the accountant, went with fifteen

horse and forty foot along the road where the governor was to go, and found a strong stockade where the Indians were waiting.<sup>180</sup> On top of it were many armed men daubed over with red ochre and with their bodies, legs, and arms painted black, white, yellow, and red, in the manner of stripes which made them look as though they were in breeches and doublet. Some had feather plumes on their heads and others horns, with their faces black and the eyes ringed round in red in order to look more ferocious. As soon as they saw the Christians approach, with loud cries and beating two drums, they came out in great fury to meet them. It seemed best to Juan de Añasco and those with him to keep away from them and to inform the governor. They withdrew over a level ground for the distance of a crossbow flight from the stockade and in sight of it. The men of foot, the crossbowmen, and those having shields placed themselves before the horsemen so that the horses might not be wounded. The Indians came out by sevens and eights to shoot their arrows and then to retire. In sight of the Christians, they made a fire and seized an Indian—one by the feet and others by the head—and pretended they were going to throw him into the fire, first giving him many blows on the head, signifying that so they would do to the Christians. Juan de Añasco sent three horse to inform the governor. The latter came immediately, and since he thought he should drive them thence, saying that if he did not do so, they would become emboldened to attack him at a time when they could do him more hurt, he ordered the horsemen to dismount and having divided them into four companies gave the signal and they attacked the Indians. The latter resisted until the Christians reached the stockade; and as soon as they saw that they could not defend themselves they fled along a way where a stream flowed near the stockade, and from the other shore shot some arrows. And inasmuch as no crossing was found for the horses for the time being, they [the Indians] had time to get away. Three Indians were killed there, and many Christians were wounded, fifteen of whom died on the march a few days later. It seemed to all that the governor was much to blame in not having had an examination made of the disposition of the land which lay on the other side of the stream and of ascertaining the crossing before attacking them; for with their hope of escaping by flight in that direction whenever they might not be seen by his men, they fought until they were routed; and they were thus enabled to defend themselves until then and to offend the Christians with safety.

## XXII.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM ALIMAMU TO QUIZQUIZ AND THENCE TO A LARGE RIVER.

Three days having passed since they had looked for some maize (and it was little that was found in proportion to what was needed), and for this reason, even though rest was needed because of the wounded, on account of the great need of finding a place where there was maize, the governor was obliged to set out immediately for Quizquiz.<sup>181</sup> He marched seven days through an unpopulated region of many swamps and thick woods, but all passable on horseback except several marshes or swamps which were crossed by swimming. He reached the town of Quizquiz without being perceived. He seized all the people of the town before they got out of their houses. The cacique's mother was captured there, and then he [the governor] sent to him [the cacique] one of the Indians who had been seized there, bidding him come to see him and [saying] that he would give him his mother and all the other people who had been taken there. For reply, he [the cacique] said that his Lordship should order them released and sent [to him] and that he would come to visit and serve him. Inasmuch as his men were ill and weary for lack of maize and the horses were also weak, he [De Soto] determined to pleasure him, in order to see whether he could have peace with him. So he ordered the mother and all the others released and dispatched them and sent them [to the cacique] with words of kindness. Next day when the governor was awaiting the cacique, many Indians came with their bows and arrows with the intention of attacking the Christians. The governor ordered all the horsemen to be armed and mounted and all in readiness. When the Indians saw that they were on guard, they stopped a crossbow flight from the spot where the governor was, near a stream, and after they had stayed there for a half hour, six of the principal Indians came to the camp and said that they were come to see what people they were and that they had learned from their ancestors that a white race would inevitably subdue them; and that they were about to return to the cacique to tell him to come immediately to render obedience and service to the governor. And after offering him six or seven skins and blankets which they brought they took leave of him and, together with the others who were waiting on the shore, returned. The cacique did not again come, nor did he send another message. Inasmuch as there was little maize in the town where the governor was, he moved to

another town located a half league from the large river,<sup>182</sup> where maize was found in abundance. He went to see the river and found there was an abundance of timber near it from which piraguas could be constructed and an excellently situated land for establishing the camp. He immediately moved thither, houses were built, and the camp was established on a level place, a crossbow flight from the river. All the maize of all the towns behind was collected there, and the men set to work immediately to cut timber and square the planks for canoes. Immediately the Indians came down the river, landed, and told the governor that they were vassals of a great lord called Aquixo, who was lord of many towns and people on the other side of the river. On his behalf they informed him [the governor] that he [the cacique] would come the next day with all his men to see what his Lordship would command him. Then next day, the cacique came with two hundred canoes full of Indians with their bows and arrows, painted with red ocher and having great plumes of white and many colored feathers on either side [of the canoes] and holding shields in their hands with which they covered the paddlers, while the warriors were standing from prow to stern with their bows and arrows in their hands. The canoe in which the cacique came had an awning spread in the stern and he [the cacique] was seated under the canopy. Also other canoes came bearing other Indian notables. The chief [of each canoe] from his position under the canopy, controlled and gave orders to the other men. All the canoes were together and came to within a stone's throw from the bluff. From there, the cacique told the governor, who was walking along the river with others whom he had brought with him, that he had come to visit him and to serve and obey him, for he had heard that he was the greatest and most powerful lord of all the earth and that he should be-think him in what to command him. The governor thanked him and asked him to land so that they might better be able to talk, but without answering this, he [the cacique] ordered three canoes to come up in which he brought a quantity of fish and loaves made of the pulp of plums in the shape of bricks. All having been received, he [the governor] thanked him and again asked him to land. But since his intent was to see whether he might do some damage by means of that pretense, upon seeing that the governor and his men were on their guard, they began to withdraw from land. With loud cries, the cross-bowmen who were ready, shot at them and struck five or six. They withdrew in splendid order; no one abandoned his paddle even though the one near him fell. Flaunting<sup>183</sup> themselves, they retired. Afterward they came frequently and landed, and when they [the Christians] went toward them, they would return to their canoes. Those canoes were very pleasing to see,

for they were very large and well built; and together with the awnings, the plumes of feathers, the shields, and banners, and the many men in them, they had the appearance of a beautiful fleet of galleys. During the thirty days the governor was there, they made four piraguas, in three of which, one early morning three hours before it became light, he ordered a dozen horse to enter, four to each one—men whom he was confident would succeed in gaining the land in spite of the Indians and assure the crossing or die in doing it—and with them some of foot—crossbowmen and rowers—to place them on the other side. In the other piragua, he ordered Juan de Guzmán to cross with men of foot, he having become captain in place of Francisco Maldonado. And because the current was strong, they went up stream along the shore for a quarter of a league and in crossing they were carried down with the current of the river and went to land opposite the place where the camp was. At a distance of two stones' throw before reaching shore, the men of horse went from the piraguas on horseback to a sandy place of hard sand and clear ground where all the men landed without any accident. As soon as those who crossed first were on the other side, the piraguas returned immediately to where the governor was and, in two hours after the sun was up, all the men finished crossing. It [the crossing] was nearly a half league wide, and if a man stood still on the other side, one could not tell whether he were a man or something else. It [the river] was of great depth and of very strong current. Its water was always turgid and continually many trees and wood came down it borne along by the force of the water and current. It had abundance of fish of various kinds, and most of them different from those of the fresh waters of Spain as will be told hereafter.<sup>184</sup>

### XXIII.

#### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM AQUIXO TO CASQUI AND THENCE TO PAC[A]HA; AND HOW THAT LAND DIFFERS FROM THAT BEHIND.

Having got across the great river, the governor marched a league and a half and reached a large town of Aquixo, which was abandoned before his arrival. Over a plain they saw thirty Indians coming whom the cacique had sent to learn what the Christians were intending to do, but as soon as the latter had sight of them they fled. Those of horse pursued them killing ten



and capturing fifteen. And since the town whither the governor was marching, was near the river, he sent a captain with the men he deemed sufficient to take the piraguas up stream. And because by land they frequently turned away from the river in order to get around arms which thrust out of the river, the Indians had opportunity to attack those in the piraguas and put us in great danger. For because of the strong current of the river, they did not dare to go any distance from land and they [the Indians] shot arrows at them from the bluff. As soon as the governor reached the town, he immediately sent some crossbowmen down stream who were to come as his rear guard. When the piraguas reached the town he [the governor] ordered them taken apart and the nails kept for other piraguas when they might be needed. He slept there one night and next day marched in search of a province called Pac[a]ha, which he was informed lay near Chisca where the Indians said there was gold. He marched through large towns in Aquixo which had been abandoned for fear of the Christians. From some Indians who were captured, he learned that a great cacique lived three days' journey thence, called Casqui.<sup>185</sup> He reached a small river where a bridge was made on which he crossed.<sup>186</sup> On that day, they walked continually through water until sunset, which in places reached to the middle and in places to the knee. When they came to dry land, they were very glad, for it seemed to them that they would be walking about lost through the water all night. At noon they arrived at the first town of Casqui. They found the Indians off guard for they had not heard of them [the Christians]. Many Indians, both men and women, were seized, besides a quantity of clothing—blankets and skins—both in the first town and in another which was within sight of it [the first town] in an open field a half league from it, whither the horsemen had galloped. That land is more high, dry, and level than the land of the river behind which they had thus far seen. In the open field were many walnut trees with soft nuts shaped like acorns;<sup>187</sup> and in the houses were found many which the Indians had stored away. The walnut trees did not differ in any other way from those of Spain, or from those seen before except only in having a smaller leaf. There were many mulberry trees and plum trees having red plums like those of Spain, and others gray,<sup>188</sup> differing, but much better, and all the trees as verdant all year as if set out in gardens and in a clear grove. For two days the governor marched through the land of Casqui before arriving at the town<sup>189</sup> where the cacique was, and most of the way continually through land of open field, very well peopled with large towns, two or three of which were to be seen from one town. He sent word to the cacique through an Indian that he was coming to where he was for the purpose of procuring his friend-

ship and of considering him as a brother. To which he [the cacique] answered that he [the governor] would be welcome, that he would receive him with special pleasure, and that he would do everything his Lordship ordered. He sent his offerings to him on the road, namely, skins and blankets and fish. After these gifts, the governor found all the towns through which he passed inhabited, in which the Indians were awaiting him peacefully and offered him blankets and skins and fish. The cacique, accompanied by many Indians, came out of the town where he was living for a half league on the road to welcome the governor, and meeting him spoke as follows: "Very lofty, powerful, and illustrious Lord: May the coming of Your Lordship be very propitious. As soon as I had notice of your Lordship, of your power and perfections, although you entered my land killing and making captive the inhabitants of it and my vassals, I resolved to conform my will to yours, and as yours to consider as good all that your Lordship might do; believing that it is proper that it might be so for some just consideration, in order to provide for some future event, revealed to your Lordship, but concealed from me; for, indeed, one evil may be permitted in order to avoid another greater evil, and therefrom good may result, which I believe will be so; for from so excellent a prince it is not right to presume that the nobility of your heart and the effect of your good will would allow you to permit an injustice. My capacity to serve you as your Lordship merits is so slight that if my good will should abundantly and humbly offer every kind of service, you would acquire no honor [thereby]. In your Lordship's presence, I merit very little. But if it is proper that that capacity may be esteemed, may you receive it, and me and my land and vassals as your own, and of me and them make use according to your pleasure; for if I were lord of all the world, your Lordship would be received, served, and obeyed with the same good will." The governor replied to him fittingly and in few words made him happy. For a while after that, they both went on exchanging words generous in offers and of great courtesy, and he [the cacique] begging that he [the governor] should lodge in his houses. The governor, in order to preserve peace better, excused himself, by saying that he preferred to lodge in the open field; and because the heat was very great, the camp was established a quarter league from the town among some trees. The cacique went to his town and returned with many Indians singing. As soon as they came to the governor, they all bowed themselves to the ground. Among them were two blind Indians. The cacique made a speech which, in order not to be prolix, I will relate in a few words only the substance of the matter. He said that since he [the governor] was the son of the sun and a great lord, he begged him to do him the favor of giving

health to those blind Indians. The blind men immediately rose and with great earnestness begged this of the governor. He replied saying that in the lofty heaven was He who had power to give them health and everything they might ask of Him, whose servant he [the governor] was; and that that Lord made the heavens and the earth and man in His likeness; that he suffered<sup>190</sup> on the tree of the true cross to save the human race, and rose again on the third day; that inasmuch as He was man He died, and inasmuch as He was divinity, He is immortal; that He ascended to heaven where He was with open arms in order to receive all those who wished to be converted to Him. He [the governor] immediately ordered him [the chief] to make a very high wooden cross which was set up in the highest part of the town, [the governor] declaring to him that the Christians adored it in conformity to, and in memory of, that on which Christ suffered. The governor and his men knelt before it and the Indians did the same. The governor told him [the cacique] that thenceforth they should adore and beg the Lord, of whom he had told them and who was in heaven, for everything of which they had need. He asked him [the cacique] how far it was from there to Pacaha. He said it was a day's journey and that on the edge of his land was a marsh like an estuary which gave into the large river; that he would send men to build in advance a bridge by which he might cross. The day on which the governor left, he went to sleep at a town of Casqui; and the next day he passed in sight of the other towns and reached the swamp, which was half a crossbow flight in width and very deep and flowing.<sup>191</sup> When he reached it, the Indians had just finished building the bridge, which was constructed of wood in the manner of beams [*viroses*] extending from tree to tree, and at one of the sides a line of wood higher than the bridge in order to support those who should cross. The cacique of Casqui went to the governor and took his men with him. The governor sent word by an Indian to the cacique of Pacaha that although he [the cacique of Pacaha] was hostile to the cacique of Casqui and the latter should be there, he would make no quarrel with him or do him no harm if he waited peacefully and wished his friendship, but that he would treat him as a brother. The Indian whom the governor had sent came and said that the cacique gave no heed to what he had told him but that he had gone away in flight with all his people out of the other side of the town. The governor immediately entered and together with the men of horse charged ahead where the Indians were fleeing; and at another town situated a quarter of a league from that place captured many Indians. And as the horsemen captured them, they delivered them over to the Indians of Casqui, who, being their enemies, carefully and with great pleasure took them to the town

where the Christians were; and the greatest sorrow they had was in not having permission to kill them. Many blankets, deer, lion, and bear skins, and many cat skins were found in town. Many [of the men] were still poorly clad and there clothed themselves. From the blankets were made loose coats and cassocks; and some made gowns and lined them with the catskins, as well as the cassocks. From the deerskins were also made some jerkins, shirts, stockings,\* and shoes and from the bear skins very good cloaks, for water would not go through them.<sup>192</sup> They found there shields made of raw cowhide<sup>193</sup> with which the horses were provided with armor.

## XXIII.

### HOW THE CACIQUE OF PACAHA CAME IN PEACE, AND HE OF CASQUI WENT AWAY AND RETURNED TO EXCUSE HIMSELF; AND HOW THE GOVERNOR MADE HIM AND THE CACIQUE OF PACAHA FRIENDS.

On Wednesday, June 19,<sup>194</sup> the governor entered Pacaha. He lodged in the town where the cacique lived, which was very large, enclosed, and furnished with towers; and in the towers and stockade many loopholes. In the town was abundance of old maize and new maize in the maize fields in great quantity. Located at a league and half a league were large towns, all enclosed. Where the governor was lodged, there was a large marsh which came near to the enclosure, and entered through a ditch round about the town so that but little of the town remained to enclose.† A channel had been made from the

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\*The Portuguese *calças*, which Robertson rendered as “stockings,” could be rendered also as “trousers” or “leggings.” “Trousers” is probably the preferable rendering here.

†The Portuguese that Robertson translated as “large marsh” is *grande alagoa*. *Alagoa* can be rendered also as “lake,” but Robertson’s rendition seems the preferable one here.

The clause, *que perto da cerca chegava*, which Robertson translated as “which came near to the enclosure,” might be rendered more clearly as “which came close to the palisade.”

The Portuguese *i por uma caua que aoredor do pouo hia entrava com que pouco delle quedava por cercar*, which Robertson translated as “and entered through a ditch round about the town so that but little of the town remained to enclose,” might be rendered a little more literally and clearly as “and it entered by way of a ditch, which ran around the settlement, so that it almost encircled it.”

marsh to the large river through which the fish entered the former.\* This the cacique had there for his recreation and pleasure.† As many fish as they wished were caught with nets which were found in the town; and however many of them were drawn out, there was never lack of them found. In many other swamps thereabout, there were also many fish, but they were soft and not so good as those which came from the river, and most of them were different from those of the fresh water of Spain. There was a fish called “bagre,” a third of which was head; and it had large spines like a sharp shoemaker’s awl at either side of its throat and along the sides. Those of them which were in the water were as large as a “pico.” In the river there were some of one hundred and one hundred and fifty pounds. Many of them were caught with the hook. Another fish resembled the “barbel” [*barbo*]; and others were like the “choupa,” with a head like that of the “*besugo*” and between russet and brown.‡ This was the one that was most relished. There was another fish called the “pexe palla.” Its snout was a cubit in length and the tip of its upper lip was shaped like a shovel. There was another fish which resembled a shad [*savel*]. All had scales except the “bagres” and the “pexe palla.” There was another fish which the Indians brought sometimes, of the size of a hog, called “pexe pereó.” It had rows of teeth below and above.<sup>195</sup> The cacique of Casqui frequently sent gifts of fish in abundance, and blankets, and skins. He told the governor that he would give the cacique of Pacaha into his hands. He went to Casqui, ordered many canoes brought up the river, while he went overland with many of his people. The governor, with forty of horse and sixty of foot, took him [the cacique] with him up the river. His Indians who were in the canoes discovered where the cacique of Pacaha was on an islet between two arms of the river. Five Christians embarked in a canoe, among whom went Don Antonio Osorio, going ahead to see what people the cacique had with himself. There were five or six thousand souls on the islet. As soon as they saw them, thinking that the Indians in the canoes were Christians also, the cacique and those who belonged to three canoes they had there, fled in great haste to the other side of the river. The rest, in great fear and confusion, betook themselves hastily to the water

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\*The Portuguese *acéquia*, which Robertson rendered as “channel,” might be rendered more literally and clearly as “irrigation ditch.”

†The Portuguese *deporte*, which Robertson rendered as “pleasure,” might be rendered more literally as “sport.”

‡The Portuguese *ruino*, which Robertson rendered as “russet,” is literally “reddish-yellow” or “red.” *Ruino* is the word used to denote red-headed people.

swimming, where many people were drowned, principally women and children. Then the governor, who was on land, not knowing what was happening to Don Antonio and those who went with him, ordered Christians and Indians to enter with great haste in the canoes of the Indians of Casqui; and they immediately went to Don Antonio on the islet where they captured many Indians—men and women—and a quantity of clothing, from the abundance of clothing which the Indians [of Pacaha] had in hurdles and on wooden rafts in order to take it across from the other side.\* It went floating down stream; and the Indians of Casqui filled their canoes with it. And fearing lest the Christians would seize it, the cacique and his men went down stream with them to his land without taking leave of the governor. On that account the governor was indignant at him. Immediately returning to Pacaha, two leagues away, along the road from Casqui, he made a raid, on which he seized twenty or thirty of his [the cacique's] Indians. And because the horses were tired and there was no time to go farther that day, he returned to Pacaha, planning to attack Casqui from there three or four days later. He immediately released one of the Indians of Pacaha, and sent him to tell the cacique that if he wished for his friendship he should come to him and that they would go to make war on Casqui. Immediately many of the Indians of Pacaha came and brought an Indian under the name of cacique, which was revealed by a brother of the cacique who was a prisoner. The governor told the Indians that their lord should come, for he knew well that that one was not he, and that they could do nothing that he did not know before they thought of it. Next day came the cacique accompanied by many Indians bringing a gift of many fish, skins, and blankets. He made a talk which all were glad to hear and concluded by saying that even though his lordship had wrought damage to his land and vassals without him having deserved it, nevertheless he would not cease to be his, and would always be at his service. The governor ordered his brother and some others of the principal Indians whom he had captured to be released. That day came an Indian on the part of the cacique of Casqui and said that his lord would come immediately next day in order to beg pardon for the error he had committed in having gone away without the governor's permission. The governor told him [the Indian messenger] to tell him [the cacique of Casqui] that if he did not come in his own proper person he would go to get him and give him the

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\*The Portuguese *em caniçadas i balsas de madeira*, which Robertson rendered as "in hurdles and on wooden rafts," would be better rendered as "on fences (or trellises) and wooden rafts." *Canಿçados* connotes a wickerwork type of fence made of reeds or canes.

punishment he deserved. Immediately next day came the cacique of Casqui, and made the governor a gift of many blankets, skins, and fish. He gave him one of his daughters, saying that his greatest desire was to unite his blood with that of so great a lord as he was. On that account he brought his daughter and begged him to take her as his wife. He made a long and discreet argument, praising him highly, and concluded by asking that he pardon him, by the love of that cross which he had left him, for having gone off without his permission; that he had gone away for shame of what his people had done without his consent. The governor answered him saying that he had taken a good protector and that if he had not come to beg pardon, he had planned to go to get him and burn his towns for him and kill him and his people and ravage his land for him. He replied to him saying "Lord, I and mine are your Lordship's, and my land is yours. Therefore, if you should go, you would destroy your own land and kill your own people. All that comes to me from your hand, I shall receive as from my lord, both punishment and favor. Know that what you did for me in leaving me that cross, I consider a very notable thing and greater than I have ever deserved. For you will know that the maize fields of my lands were lost because of the great drouth; but as soon as I and my people knelt down before the cross and begged it for waters, our need was alleviated." The governor made him and the cacique of Pacaha friends and placed them at table with him so that they might eat with him. In regard to the seats, the caciques had a quarrel as to who was to sit at his right hand. The governor made peace between them by saying that among Christians one side was accounted as the other, and that so they should consider it. Since they were his guests no one would pay any attention to them; and each should seat himself in the first seat he should find.<sup>196</sup> Hence he sent thirty men of horse and fifty of foot to the province of Caluça<sup>197</sup> to see whether they could bend back toward Chisca by that way where the Indians said there was a foundry for gold and copper. They went for seven days through an uninhabited region and returned after much hardship, eating green plums<sup>198</sup> and maize stalks which they found in a poor town of six or seven houses. From there on toward the north, the Indians said that the land was very poorly inhabited because it was very cold, and that there were so many cattle<sup>199</sup> that no field could be protected because of them, and that the Indians sustained themselves on their flesh. The governor, seeing that in that direction the land was so poor in maize that they could not sustain themselves, asked the Indians where the most populous district lay. They said that they had heard of a large province and of a very well provided land called Quiguatè<sup>200</sup> and it was toward the south.

## XXV.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM PACAHA TO QUIGUATE AND TO COLIGOA AND ARRIVED AT CAYAS.

The governor rested in Pacaha for forty days. During all that time, the two caciques gave him service of abundance of fish, blankets, and skins, and they tried to see which of them could perform the greater services. At the time of his departure, the cacique of Pacaha, gave two of his sisters to him, saying that if he would remember him he should take them as wives as a testimonial of love. The name of the one was Macanoche, and of the other Mochila.<sup>201</sup> They were very well disposed, tall of body and plump in figure. Macanoche was of good appearance, and in her address and face appeared a lady; the other was robust. The cacique of Casqui ordered the bridge repaired, and the governor gave a turn through his land and lodged in the open field, near his town, whither he [the cacique] came with a quantity of fish and two Indian women whom he exchanged with two Christians for two shirts. He gave a guide and tamemes. The governor went to sleep at one of his towns and next day at another near a river, where he ordered canoes brought for him in which to cross and with his permission returned. The governor took his way toward Aquiguate.<sup>202</sup> On the fourth of August, he reached the town where the cacique was living. On the way, the latter sent him a service of many blankets and skins, but not daring to remain in the town went away. The town was the largest which had been seen in Florida. The governor and his men were lodged in half of it; and a few days afterward seeing that the Indians were going about deceitfully, he ordered the other half burned, so that it might not afford them protection, if they came to attack him at night, and be an obstacle to his men of horse in resisting them. An Indian well attended by many Indians came saying that he was the cacique. He [the governor] delivered him to his guard that they might look after him. Many Indians went off and came bringing blankets and skins. Seeing poor opportunity for carrying out his evil thought, the pretended cacique going out of the house one day with the governor, started to run away so swiftly that there was no Christian who could overtake him; and plunged into the river which was a crossbow shot's distance from the town. As soon as he had crossed to the other side, many Indians who were walking about there, uttering loud cries, began to shoot arrows. The governor crossed over



to them immediately with men of horse and of foot, but they did not dare await him. On going in pursuit of them, he arrived at a town which had been abandoned, and on beyond it a swamp<sup>203</sup> where the horses could not cross. On the other side were many Indian women. Some men of foot crossed over and captured many of the women and a quantity of clothing. The governor returned to the camp; and soon after on that night a spy of the Indians was captured by those who were on watch. The governor asked him whether he would take them to the place where the cacique was. He said yes, and he [the governor] went immediately to look for him [the cacique] with twenty men of horse and fifty of foot. After a march of a day and a half he found him [the cacique] in a dense wood, and a soldier, not knowing him, gave him a cutlass stroke on the head. He [the cacique] cried out not to kill him saying that he was the cacique. He was taken captive and with him one hundred and forty of his people. The governor went to Quiguate and told him that he should make his Indians come to serve the Christians; and after waiting for some days hoping for them to come, but they not coming, he sent two captains, each one on his own side of the river, with horse and foot. They captured many Indians, both men and women. Upon seeing the hurt they received, because of their rebellion, they came to see what the governor might order them. Thus they came and went frequently and brought gifts of clothing and fish. The cacique and two of his wives were left unshackled in the governor's house, being guarded by the halberdiers of the governor's guard. The governor asked them in what direction the land was more densely populated. They said that on the lower part of the river toward the south were large settlements and caciques who were lords of wide lands and of many people, and that there was a province called Coligoa<sup>204</sup> toward the northwest, situated near some mountain ridges. It seemed advisable to the governor and to all the rest to go first to Coligoa, saying that perhaps the mountains would make a difference in the land and that gold or silver might exist on the other side of them. Both Aquiguate and Casqui and Pacaha were flat and fertile lands, with excellent meadow lands along the rivers where the Indians made large fields. From Tascaluca to the great river, the distance was about three hundred leagues, the land being very low and with many marshes.<sup>205</sup> From Pacaha to Quiguate, the distance is about one hundred and ten leagues.<sup>206</sup> The governor left the cacique of Quiguate in his town; and an Indian who guided him through large pathless forests conducted him for seven days through an uninhabited region where they lodged each night amid marshes and streamlets<sup>207</sup> of very shallow water. So plentiful were the fish that they killed them by striking them with clubs; and the Indians whom

they took along in chains roiled the water with the mud of the waters, and the fish, as if stupefied would come to the surface, and they caught as many as they wished. The Indians of Coligoa had not heard of Christians, and when they [the Christians] came within sight of the town<sup>208</sup> so that they [the Indians] saw them, they took to flight up a river which flowed near the town. Some plunged into the river, but Christians who went along both banks captured them. Many Indians were captured there, both men and women, and among them, the cacique. At his command, many Indians came three days afterward bearing gifts of blankets and deerskins and two cow-hides. They said that five or six leagues beyond toward the north were many cattle, but because the land was cold, it was poorly populated; that the best land they knew of, as being more plentifully supplied with food and better inhabited, was a province toward the south called Cayas. From Quiguate to Coligoa, the distance was about forty leagues. That town of Coligoa was situated at the foot of a mountain in a field of a river half the size of the Caya River which flows through Estremadura. It was a fertile land and so abundant in maize that the old was thrown out in order to store the new. There was also a great quantity of beans and pumpkins, the beans being larger and better than those of Spain; and the pumpkins likewise. When roasted the latter have almost the taste of chestnuts. The cacique of Coligoa gave a guide to Cayas and remained in his town. We traveled for five days and reached the province of Palisema.<sup>209</sup> The house of the cacique was found with coverlings of colored deerskins drawn over with designs, and the floor of the house was covered with the same material in the manner of carpets. The cacique left it so, in order that the governor might lodge in it as a sign that he was desirous of peace and his friendship, but he did not dare remain. The governor, upon seeing that he had gone away, sent a captain with horse and foot to look for him. He [the captain] found many people, but because of the roughness of the land they captured only some women and young persons. It was a small and scattered settlement and had very little maize. On that account, the governor left it immediately. He came upon another settlement called Tatalicoya,<sup>210</sup> taking with him the cacique who guided him to Cayas.<sup>211</sup> From Tatalicoya it is a distance of four days' journey to Cayas. When he reached Cayas and saw the scattered settlement, because of the information he had received, namely, that it was well populated land, he believed that the cacique was lying to him and that that was not the province of Cayas. He threatened the cacique, bidding him to tell him where he was; and both the latter and the other Indians who had been captured near that place asserted that that settlement was that of Cayas, and the best settlement of that prov-

ince; and that although the houses were separated from one another, the populated land was considerable, and it had many people and many maize fields. The name of the settlement was Tanico.<sup>212</sup> The camp was made in the best part of it near a river. The day on which the governor reached there with some men of horse, he went a league farther on and, although he found no Indians, found on a road many skins which the cacique had left there for him to find as a sign of peace; for this is the custom of that land.

## XXVI.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT TO SEE THE PROVINCE OF TULLA AND WHAT BEFELL HIM THERE.

The governor abode in the province of Cayas for a month. During that interval, the horses grew fat and throve more than after a longer time in any other region because of the abundance of maize and the leaf thereof, which is, I think, the best that has been seen. They drank from a very warm and brackish marsh of water,\* and they drank so much that it was noticed in their bellies when they were brought back from the water. Thitherto the Christians had lacked salt, but there they made a good quantity of it in order to carry it along with them. The Indians carry it thence to other regions to exchange it for skins and blankets. They gather it along the river, which leaves it on top of the sand when the water falls. And since they cannot gather it without more sand being mixed with it, they put it into certain baskets which they have for this purpose, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom. They hang the baskets to a pole in the air and put water in them, and they place a basin underneath into which the water falls.† After being

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\*The words *muito quente*, which Robertson rendered as “very warm,” might be rendered more properly as “very hot,” as *quente* by itself means “hot” or “very warm,” and here it is reinforced by *muito*. The word *alagoa*, which Robertson rendered as “marsh,” could be rendered also as “pond.”

†The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as “They hang the baskets to a pole in the air” is *poeno no ar sobre hua barra*. That passage might be rendered more accurately as “They place it in the air above (*sobre*) a frame (*barra*).” *Sobre* can only mean “on” or “above.” *Barra* suggests something horizontal rather than a vertical “pole.” This suggests that the baskets are not hung to the *barra*, but sitting on or over it. *Barra*, strictly speaking, means “bar” or “rod” rather than “pole.” Among *barra*’s other meanings is that of “crude bed frame.” I think that it is something of that sort which is intended here, which provides support for the basket. The verb *poer* means simply “put” or “place” without any necessary connotation of “hang.”

strained and set on the fire to boil, as the water becomes less, the salt is left on the bottom of the pot.<sup>213</sup> On both sides of the river, the land had cultivated fields and there was an abundance of maize. The Indians did not dare to cross [the river] to the place where we were. When some [Indians] appeared, some soldiers who saw them called to them. The Indians crossed the river and came with them [the soldiers] to the place where the governor was. He asked them for their cacique. They declared that he was friendly, but that he did not dare to appear. Thereupon, the governor ordered that he be told to come to see him and to bring a guide and interpreter for the region ahead, if he wished to be his friend; and that if he did not do this, he would go to fetch him and his hurt would be greater. He waited three days, and seeing that he [the cacique] did not come, went to look for him, and brought him back a prisoner with one hundred and fifty of his Indians. He [the governor] asked him whether he had knowledge of any great cacique and where the most populated land was. He [the cacique] said that the best populated land thereabout was a province situated to the south, a day and a half away, called Tulla, that he could give him a guide, but that he did not have an interpreter, for the speech of Tulla was different from his; and because he and his forebears had always been at war with the lords of that province, they had no converse, nor did they understand each other. Thereupon, the governor set out for Tulla with men of horse and fifty foot in order to see whether it was a land through which he might pass with all his men. As soon as he arrived and was perceived by the Indians, the land was summoned. When fifteen or twenty Indians had gathered together, they came to attack the Christians. On [the Indians'] seeing that they [the Christians] handled them roughly, and that when they took to flight the horses overtook them, they climbed on top of the houses, where they tried to defend themselves with their arrows; and when driven from some [of the housetops] would climb on top of others; and while they [the Christians] were pursuing some [of the Indians], others [of the Indians] would attack them [the Christians] from another direction. In this way, the running lasted so long that the horses became tired and could no longer run. The Indians killed one horse there and wounded<sup>214</sup> several. Fifteen Indians were killed there, and captives were made of forty women and young persons; for they [the Christians] did not leave any Indian alive who was shooting arrows if they could overtake him. The governor determined to return to Cayas before the Indians should have time to gather themselves together. Thereupon, that evening, after having marched part of the night, in order to get some distance from Tulla, he went to sleep on the road, and reached Cayas next day. Three days after that he set out with all

his men for Tulla, taking the cacique with him. Among all the Indians of the latter, he did not find a single one who understood the speech of Tulla. He was three days on the way, and the day he reached the town, he found it abandoned, for the Indians did not dare await him. But as soon as they knew he was in Tulla, at the hour of dawn of the first night, they came in two bands from two different directions with their bows and arrows and long poles resembling pikes. As soon as they [the Indians] were perceived, both those of horse and those of foot sallied out against them and there many Indians were killed, and some Christians and horses wounded. Some Indians were captured, six of whom the governor sent to the cacique with their right hands and their noses cut off. He ordered them to tell him that if he did not come to make his excuses and obey him, he would go to get him; and that he would do to him and to as many of his men as he found what he had done to those whom he sent to him. He gave him the space of three days in which to come. This he gave them to understand the best he could by signs as he had no interpreter. After three days came an Indian whom the cacique sent laden with cowhides. He came weeping bitterly, and coming to the governor cast himself at his feet. He [the governor] raised him up, and he made him talk, but no one could understand him. The governor told him by signs that he should return and tell the cacique to send him an interpreter whom the people of Cayas could understand. Next day, three Indians came laden with cowhides and three days after that twenty Indians came. Among them was one who understood those of Cayas. After a long discourse of excuses from the cacique and praises of the governor, he concluded by saying that he and the others were come thither on behalf of the cacique to see what his lordship ordered; and that he was ready to serve him. The governor and all the men were very glad, for they could in no wise travel without an interpreter. The governor ordered him under guard and told him to tell the Indians who had come with him to return to the cacique and tell him that he pardoned him for the past and that he thanked him greatly for his gifts and for the interpreter whom he had sent him and that he would be glad to see him and for him to come next day to see him. The cacique came after three days and eighty Indians with him. Both he and his men entered the camp weeping in token of obedience and repentance for the past mistake, after the manner of that land. He brought many cowhides as a gift, which were useful because it was a cold land, and were serviceable for coverlets as they were very soft and the wool like that of sheep.<sup>215</sup> Nearby to the north were many cattle. The Christians did not see them nor enter their land, for the land was poorly settled where they [the cattle] were, and had little maize. The cacique

of Tulla made his address to the governor in which he excused himself and offered him his land and vassals and person. No orator could more elegantly express the message or address both of that cacique and of all those who came to the governor in their behalf.

## XXVII.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM TULLA TO AUTIAMQUE, WHERE HE WINTERED.

The governor informed himself of the land in all directions and learned that there was a scattering of population toward the west and large towns toward the southeast, especially in a province called Autiamque, ten days' journey from Tulla—a distance of about eighty leagues—and that it was a land abounding in maize. Since winter had already come and on account of the cold, rains, and snows, they could not travel during two or three months of the year; fearing lest they could not feed themselves for so long a time because of its scattered population; also because the Indians said there was a large body of water near Autiamque—and according to what they said, the governor believed it to be an arm of the sea—and because he now wished to give information of himself in Cuba,\* for it was three years and over since Doña Isabel, who was in the Havana, or any other person in a Christian land, had heard of him, and now two hundred and fifty men and one hundred and fifty horses were wanting; he determined to go to winter at Autiamque, and in the following summer to reach the sea and build two brigantines and send one of them to Cuba and the other to New Spain, so that the one which should go safely might give news of him; hoping from his property in Cuba to refit, take up his expedition again, and explore and conquer [the land] farther west than he had yet reached, whither Cabeza de Vaca had gone. He dismissed the two caciques of Tulla and Cayas, and set out toward Autiamque. For five days he proceeded through very rough ridges<sup>216</sup> and reached a village called Quipana,<sup>217</sup> where he was unable to capture any Indian because of the roughness of the land and because the town was located among ridges. At night he set an ambush in which two Indians were

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\*In his translation Robertson omitted the following Portuguese phrase, *pera que lhe fosse socorro de gente i caualos*. The phrase should be inserted after "Cuba" and rendered as "so that relief in the form of people and horses might come to him."

captured. They said that Autiamque was six days' journey away and that another province called Guahate lay a week's journey southward—a land plentifully abounding in maize and of much population.\* But since Autiamque was nearer and more of the Indians mentioned it to him, the governor proceeded on his journey in search of it. He reached a town called Anoixi in three days and sent a captain with thirty horse and fifty foot on ahead. The latter surprised the Indians unawares and captured many Indian men and women. Two days later, the governor arrived at another town called Cata-maya<sup>218</sup> and made camp in the open field of the town. Two Indians came with a false message from the cacique in order to ascertain what he was going to do. The governor told them to tell their lord that he should come to talk with him. The Indians went away but did not return, nor was there any other message from the cacique. Next day the Christians went to the town, which was without people, and took what maize they needed. They went to sleep on that day in a forest and next day reached Autiamque.<sup>219</sup> They found considerable maize hidden away, as well as beans, nuts, and dried plums, all in great quantity.† They seized some Indians who were collecting their clothing, and who had already placed their women in safety.<sup>220</sup> That land was cultivated and well peopled. The governor lodged in the best part of the village and immediately ordered a wooden stockade to be built about the place where the camp was established at some distance from the houses, so that the Indians without might not harm it with fire. Having measured off the land by paces, he allotted to each one the amount that was proper for him to build, in proportion to the number of Indians he had. Thereupon, the wood was brought in by them, and within three days the stockade was built of very high timbers set close together in the ground and with many boards placed crosswise.‡ Near this village flowed a river of Cayas and above and below it was densely populated.§ Indians came there on behalf of the

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\*The Portuguese *pera ho sul oito jornadas dalli*, which Robertson rendered as “week’s journey southward,” is literally “toward the south eight days’ travel from there.”

†The Portuguese *encerrado*, which Robertson rendered as “hidden away,” rendered literally is simply “stored” without the nuance of being “hidden.”

‡The Portuguese *latas*, which Robertson translated as “boards,” may well have been boards, but *latas* does not have the specific meaning of “boards.” The literal meaning of *latas* is merely “wide pieces.”

§The Portuguese *por junto deste pouoaçã*, which Robertson rendered as “near this village,” rendered literally is “next to this village.” *Junto* usually has the sense of “next to” or “on,” although it can be translated as “near.” That its rendition as “near” is not proper in this instance is made clear later in this chapter: “He reached a town near the river which flowed through

cacique with gifts of blankets and skins, and a lame cacique subject to the cacique of Autiamque,<sup>221</sup> lord of a town called Tietiquaquo,<sup>222</sup> came frequently to visit the governor and brought him gifts of what he had. The cacique of Autiamque sent to ask the governor how long he intended to remain in his land. Upon seeing that he was a guest for more than three days, he sent no more Indians to him, nor any further message; but, on the contrary, he conspired with the lame cacique to revolt. Forays were made in which many Indians, both men and women, were seized, and the lame cacique was captured. The governor, in consideration of the gifts he had received from him, rebuked and warned him, and gave him back his liberty, giving him two Indians to carry him on their shoulders. The cacique of Autiamque, desirous of driving the governor from his land, set spies on him. An Indian coming during the night to the gate of the stockade, a soldier who was on guard saw him and, taking position behind the gate, thrust at him as he entered it and knocked him down; and in that condition brought him to the governor. On asking him why he had come, he fell down dead without being able to answer. Next night, the governor ordered a soldier to sound to arms and to say that he had seen Indians, in order to ascertain how soon they would hasten to the alarm. And both there and in other places, he did the same at various times when he thought his men were growing careless. Those who were slow in standing by, he reproved. And both on this account and because of what was his duty toward him, each one strove to be the first to respond when the alarm was given. They stayed three months in Autiamque, and had great abundance of maize, beans, walnuts, dried plums, and rabbits, which until then they had no skill in killing. In Autiamque, the Indians showed them how they snared them, namely, by means of stout springs which lift the feet off the ground and a noose of strong cord fastened to which is a joint of cane which runs to the neck of the rabbit, so that it can not gnaw the cord. Many were taken in the maize fields, especially when it froze or snowed. The Christians were there a month amid snow during which they never left the town. When firewood was needed, the governor with those of horse going frequently to and from the woods, a distance of two crossbow flights from the town, made a road by which those of foot went in a line. During that time, some Indians, whom they were now taking

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Cayas and Autiamque." There Elvas mentioned that the same River of Cayas flowed "through" Cayas and Autiamque, which would place the village literally on the river. By contrast, in chapter XXVIII (p. 130), in speaking of another village as being "near the river," Elvas used the word *perto*, meaning "near" rather than *junto*.



along unshackled, killed many rabbits with their snares and arrows. The rabbits were of two kinds—some like those of Spain and others of the same color, form and size as large hares, but larger and with larger loins.

## XXVIII.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM AUTIAMQUE TO NILCO AND THENCE TO GUACHOYA.

On Monday, March six of the year 1542, the governor set out from Autiamque to go in search of Nilco, which the Indians said was near the great river, with the intention of reaching the sea and obtaining aid of men and horses; for he now had only three hundred fighting men and forty horses, and some of them lame and useful only for making a body of horse. For a year, because of lack of iron they brought them along all unshod; but because they [the horses] were now accustomed to going in a flat country, this did not make their need felt much. In Autiamque died Juan Ortiz,<sup>223</sup> which the governor felt deeply, for without an interpreter, not knowing where he was going, he feared lest he enter a region where he might get lost. After that, a youth who had been seized in Cutifachiqui, and who now knew something of the language of the Christians, served as interpreter. So great a misfortune was the death of Juan Ortiz, with regard to the exploring or trying to leave the land, that to learn from the Indians what he stated in four words, with the youth the whole day was needed; and most of the time he understood just the opposite of what was asked, so that many times it came about that the road they took one day, and at times, two or three days, they would return on, and they would wander about lost from one side of those woods to the other. From Autiamque, it took the governor ten days to reach a province called Ayays.<sup>224</sup> He reached a town near the river which flowed through Cayas and Autiamque. There he ordered a piragua to be constructed, by which he crossed the river.<sup>225</sup> After crossing, such weather occurred that he could not march for four days because of the snow. As soon as it stopped snowing, he marched for three days through an unpopulated region and a land so low and with so many swamps<sup>226</sup> and such hard going that one day he marched all day through water that in some places reached to the knees and in others to the stirrups, and some passages were swum over. He came to a deserted village, without maize called Tutelpinco.<sup>227</sup> Near it was a

lake which emptied into the river and had a strong current and force of water. As five Christians, accompanied by a captain whom the governor had sent, were crossing it in a canoe, the canoe overturned. Some caught hold of it [the canoe] and others of trees which were in the lake. One Francisco Bastian,<sup>228</sup> an honorable person, a native of Villanueva de Barcarota, was drowned there. The governor went for a day along the lake looking for a crossing place, but he did not find it all that day nor any road leading from any other direction. Returning at night to the town, he found two peaceful Indians who showed him the crossing and the road he must take. Reed frames and rafts were made there from reeds and wood from the houses, on which they crossed the lake. They marched for three days and reached a town of the district of Nilco, called Tianto. Thirty Indians were captured there, among them being two of the principal men of that town. The governor sent a captain on ahead to Nilco with horse and foot, so that the Indians might not have any opportunity to carry off the food. They went through three or four large towns, and in the town where the cacique lived—located two leagues from where the governor remained—they found many Indians with their bows and arrows, and in appearance as if they wished to give battle, and who were surrounding the town. As soon as they saw that the Christians were coming toward them without any hesitation, they set fire to the cacique's house and escaped over a swamp<sup>229</sup> that lay near the town, where the horses could not cross. Next day, Wednesday, March 29, the governor reached Nilco.<sup>230</sup> He lodged with all his men in the cacique's town which was located on a level field, and which was all populated for a quarter of a league; while a league and a half-league distant were other very large towns where there was a quantity of maize, beans, walnuts, and dried plums. This was the most populous region which had been seen in Florida and more abounding in maize, with the exception of Coça and Apalache. An Indian came to the camp, accompanied by others, and in the cacique's name presented the governor with a blanket of marten skins and a string of pearl beads. The governor gave him some "margaridetas"<sup>231</sup>—a kind of bead much esteemed in Peru—and some other trifles with which he was much pleased. He promised to return two days later, but he never did return. On the other hand, Indians came in canoes at night and carried off all the maize they could and set up their huts on the other side of the river in the thickest part of the forest, so that if they [the Spaniards] should go in search of them, they might escape. The governor, on seeing that he [the Indian] did not come at the promised time, ordered an ambush to be made at some bar-bacoas near the swamp<sup>232</sup> where the Indians came for maize. Two Indians

were captured there, who told the governor that the one who came to visit them was not the cacique, but one sent at the latter's command under pretense that it was he, in order to ascertain whether the Christians were off their guard, and whether they planned to settle in that region or go on farther. Thereupon, the governor sent a captain across the river with men of horse and foot, but on crossing they were perceived by the Indians, and for that reason, he [the captain] could not capture more than ten or twelve Indians, men and women, with whom he returned to the camp. That river which flowed through Anilco was the same that flowed through Cayas and Autiamque and emptied into the large river which flowed through Pacaha and Aquixo hard by the province of Guachoya.<sup>233</sup> The lord of the upper part came in canoes to make war on the lord of Nilco. Sent by him, an Indian came to the governor and told him that he was his servant and as such he should consider him and that two days later he would come to kiss the hands of his Lordship. He came at that time with some of his principal Indians who accompanied him. With words of great promise and courtesy, he presented many blankets and deerskins to the governor. The governor gave him some trifles and showed him great honor. He questioned him about the settlement down the river. He said that he knew of none other except his own; and that on the other side was a province of a cacique called Quigaltam.<sup>234</sup> He took his leave of the governor and returned to his town. A few days later, the governor made up his mind to go to Guachoya,<sup>235</sup> in order to ascertain there whether the sea were nearby, or whether there were any settlement nearby where he might subsist himself while brigantines were being built which he intended to send to the land of Christians. As he was crossing the river of Nilco, Indians came up it in canoes from Guachoya, and when they saw him, thinking that he was going after them to do them some hurt, they turned back down the river and went to warn the cacique. The latter, abandoning the town with all his people, with all they could carry off, on that night crossed over to the other side of the great river. The governor sent a captain and fifty men in six canoes down the river, while he, with the rest of his men, went overland. He reached Guachoya on Sunday, April 17,<sup>236</sup> and lodged himself in the cacique's town, which was surrounded by a stockade, a crossbow flight from the river. There, the river was called Tamaliseu, at Nilco, Tapatu, at Coça, Mico, and at the port, Ri [i.e., River].<sup>237</sup>

## XXIX.

### OF THE MESSAGE SENT BY THE GOVERNOR TO QUIGALTAM AND OF THE ANSWER GIVEN BY THE LATTER; AND OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING THIS TIME.

As soon as the governor reached Guachoya, he sent Juan de Añasco up the river with as many men as could get into the canoes; for when they were coming from Anilco, they saw newly made huts on the other side. Juan de Añasco went and brought back the canoes laden with maize, beans, dried plums, and many loaves made from the pulp of the plums. On that day, an Indian came to the governor in the name of the cacique of Guachoya and said that his lord would come next day. On the following day, they saw many canoes coming from downstream. They assembled together for the space of an hour on the other side of the great river, debating as to whether they should come or not. At last, they made up their minds and crossed the river. The cacique of Guachoya came in them, bringing with him many Indians bearing a considerable quantity of fish, dogs, skins, and blankets. As soon as they landed at the town, they went immediately to the town to the governor's lodging and presented the gifts to him; and the cacique spoke as follows: "Powerful and excellent lord; May your Lordship pardon me for the mistake I made in going away and not waiting in this town to receive you and serve you; for the obtaining of this opportune occasion was, and is, a great victory for me. But I feared what I should not have feared and on that account did what it was not proper to do. However, since hasty actions cause unfavorable results, and I had acted without deliberation, as soon as I reflected on this, I made up my mind not to follow the advice of the foolish, which is to persist in their error, but to imitate the wise and prudent ones in changing one's opinion; and I am come to see what your Lordship might command me in order to serve you in so far as my possibility suffices." The governor welcomed him with much hospitality and gave him thanks for his gifts and promises. He asked him [the cacique] whether he had any knowledge of the sea. He said he did not, nor of any settlement down the river from that place, except that there was a town of one of his principal Indians subject to him two leagues away, and on the other side three days' journey downstream the province of Quigaltam, who was the greatest lord of that region. It seemed to the governor that the cacique was lying to him in order

to turn him aside from his towns, and he sent Juan de Añasco downstream with eight horse to see what population there was and to ascertain whether there were any knowledge of the sea. He was gone for a week and on his coming said that during that whole time he could not proceed more than fourteen or fifteen leagues because of the great arms leading out of the river, and the canebrakes and thick woods lying along it; and that he found no settlement. The governor's grief was intense on seeing the small prospect [*mao remedio*] he had for reaching the sea; and worse, according to the way in which his men and horses were<sup>238</sup> diminishing, they could not be maintained in the land without succor. With that thought, he fell sick, but before he took to his bed, he sent an Indian to tell the cacique of Quigaltam that he was the son of the sun and that wherever he went all obeyed him and did him service. He requested him to choose his friendship and come there where he was, for he would be very glad to see him; and in token of love and obedience that he should bring him something of what was most esteemed in that land. By the same Indian, he [the cacique] answered him saying that with respect to what he [the governor] said about being the son of the sun, let him dry up the great river and he would believe him. With respect to the rest [that the governor said], he was not accustomed to visit any one. On the contrary, all of whom he had knowledge visited and served him and obeyed him and paid him tribute, either by force or of their own volition. Consequently, if he [the governor] wished to see him, let him cross there. If he came in peace he would welcome him with special good will; if he came in war, he would await him in the town where he was, for not for him or any other would he move one foot backward.<sup>239</sup> When the Indian came with this reply, the governor was already in bed, badly racked by fever. He was very angry that he was not in condition to cross the river forthwith and go in quest of him [the cacique] to see whether he could not lessen that arrogant demeanor. However, the river was now very powerful there, being about half a league wide and sixteen brazas<sup>240</sup> deep, and very furious because of its strong current. On both sides of it were many Indians; and his strength was now no longer so great that he did not need to take advantage of cunning rather than force. The Indians of Guachoya came daily with fish, so many that the town was filled with them. The cacique said that the cacique of Quigaltam was going to come on a certain night to do battle with the governor. The governor, believing that he [the cacique of Guachoya] was planning thereby to drive him out of his land, ordered him placed under guard. That night and every other night a very strict watch was kept. Asking him why Quigaltam did not come, he [the cacique] said that he had come, but saw

that he [the governor] was on the watch and he did not dare to attack him. He [the cacique] importuned him [the governor] frequently, to order his captains to cross to the other side of the river and [said] that he would give him many men to attack Quigaltam. The governor told him that as soon as he got well, he would go to look for him [Quigaltam]. Noting how many Indians came to the town daily, and how many people were in that land, and fearing lest some of them conspire with others and plan some treason against him, and because the town, having no gates by which advantage could be taken, had some openings which had not been completely closed: he left them in that condition without repairing the stockade in order that the Indians might not think he feared them. He ordered that men of horse be stationed at them and at the gates. All night long the horses were left bridled and from each company mounted men rode by couples and went to visit the sentinels who were stationed on the roads at their posts outside the town, and the crossbowmen who were guarding the canoes on the river. In order that the Indians might fear him, the governor determined to send a captain to Nilco, which those of Guachoya had told him was inhabited, in order that by treating them cruelly, neither the one town nor the other should dare attack him. He sent Nuño de Tobar with fifteen horse and Juan de Guzmán, captain of men of foot, with his men upstream in the canoes. The cacique of Guachoya sent for canoes and for many Indian warriors who went with the Christians. A captain of the Christians, Nuño de Tobar, by name, with the men of horse went overland. At a distance of two leagues before reaching Nilco, he awaited Juan de Guzmán and at night they crossed the river at that place. Those of horse arrived first. At daybreak next morning, in sight of the town they came upon a spy, who, on seeing the Christians, ran away uttering loud cries in order to give the alarm to those of the town. Nuño de Tobar and those who accompanied him set such a pace that before the Indians of the town had all come out, they were on them. The land was open, that part which was peopled being about a quarter of a league [in extent]. There were about five or six thousand souls in that settlement. And since many of the people came out of the houses and went fleeing from one house to the other, and many Indians were gathering together in all directions, there was not a single one of the horse who did not find himself alone among many. The captain had ordered that no male Indian's life should be spared. So great was their confusion that not an Indian shot at a Christian. The cries of the women and little children were so loud that they deafened the ears of those who pursued them. A hundred or so Indians were killed there and many were badly wounded with the lances, who were let go in order that they

might strike terror into those who did not happen to be there. There were men there so cruel and such butchers that they killed old men and young men and all they came upon without any one offering them little or much resistance. Those who trusted in themselves, who went to prove themselves wherever there was any resistance, and who were considered as such men, broke through the Indians, overthrowing many with the stirrup and breasts of their horses; and some they lanced and let them go in that condition; but on seeing a child or a woman, they would capture and deliver such a person to those of foot. Those who were cruel, because they showed themselves inhuman, God permitted their sin to confront them, very great cowardice assailing them in the sight of all at a time when there was greater need of fighting, and when at last they came to die.<sup>241</sup> Of the Indians at Nilco, eighty women and children were seized, and much clothing. The Indians of Guachoya stopped before reaching the town and stayed outside, beholding how the Christians dealt [*se avinhã*] with the people of Nilco; and seeing them defeated and those of horse going about lancing them, they went to the houses to loot, and from the booty loaded their canoes with clothing and went to Guachoya before the Christians came. And full of wonder at what they had seen done to the Indians of Anilco, they told their cacique with great fear everything as it had happened.

### XXX.

#### HOW THE ADELANTADO, DON HERNANDO DE SOTO, DIED AND HOW LUIS MOSCOSO DE ALVARADO WAS CHOSEN GOVERNOR.

The governor realized within himself that the hour had come in which he must leave this present life. He had the royal officials summoned, and the captains and principal persons. To them he gave a talk, saying that he was about to go to give an accounting before the throne of God of all his past life; and that since He [God] was pleased to take him at such a time, and to arrive at a time when he could perceive his death, he a very unworthy servant gave Him many thanks; and to all those present and absent, to whom he confessed his great obligation for their singular virtues, love, and loyalty toward himself, which he had well proven in the hardships they had suffered. This he had always had in mind and had hoped to recompense and to reward

when God should be pleased to give leisure to his life with greater prosperity of his estate. He asked them to pray God for him and in His mercy to pardon him his sins, and place his soul in glory. He asked them to give him release and remission from the obligation in which he stood to them and of what he was owing to them all; and to pardon any feelings of offense they might have received from him. In order to avoid any disunion that might arise at his death with regard to the one who was to act as governor, he asked them to consider it fitting to elect one of the principal and capable persons to govern, in whom they all might be satisfied, and before whom having been elected they should take oath to obey him. For this, he would be very grateful, for it would soften somewhat his grief and the sorrow he felt at leaving them in so great confusion as he was doing in a land in which they did not know where they were. Baltasar de Gallegos answered him in the name of all, and first consoling him, spoke to him of how brief was the life of this world and of how many hardships and sufferings; that he who earliest left it, to him God showed signal mercy; saying to him [also] many other things proper at such a time; and lastly, that since God was pleased to take him to himself, although his death, with much reason they greatly grieved over, it was necessary and proper for him as it was for all to conform to the will of God. And as to the governor whom he ordered them to choose, let his Lordship appoint him whom he might delegate and they would obey him. Therefore, he [the governor] appointed Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado<sup>242</sup> as their captain general, and by all those who were present he was immediately sworn and elected as governor. Next day, May 21, died the magnanimous, virtuous, and courageous captain, Don Hernando de Soto, governor of Cuba and adelantado of Florida, whom fortune exalted as she is wont to do with others, so that he might fall from a greater height. He died in a land and at a time when his illness had very little solace. The danger of being lost in that land, which stared all of them in the face, was the reason why each one himself had need of consolation and why they did not visit him and wait upon him as was fitting.<sup>243</sup> Luis de Moscoso determined to conceal his death from the Indians, for Hernando de Soto had given them to understand that the Christians were immortal. Also because they knew him to be bold, wise, and courageous, if they should learn of his death, they would be emboldened to attack them [the Spaniards] even though they were at peace, because of their nature and their entire lack of constancy. They [the Indians] believe everything told them. The adelantado had made them believe that [he knew] certain things which had happened among them in secret, which he had succeeded in discovering without their knowing how or in what manner,



and that the face which appeared within the mirror (which he showed them) told him whatever they were planning and thinking about. Consequently, they did not dare by word or deed to attempt anything which might be to his hurt. As soon as he died, Luis de Moscoso ordered him [i.e., his corpse] to be placed secretly in a house where he was kept for three days; and from thence he ordered him to be buried at night inside at a gate of the town. And since the Indians had seen that he was sick and found him missing, they suspected what might have happened; and passing by where he was buried and seeing the earth had been disturbed, looked and talked among themselves. Luis de Moscoso, having learned this, ordered him disinterred at night, and a considerable quantity of sand was placed with the blankets in which he was shrouded, and he was taken in a canoe and cast into the middle of the river.<sup>244</sup> The cacique of Guachoya asked for him, inquiring what had been done with his brother and lord, the governor. Luis de Moscoso told him that he had gone to the sky as he had often done before; and since he was to stay there for some days, he had left him in his stead.\* The cacique believed that he [De Soto] was dead and ordered two young and well-built Indians to be taken there. He said it was the custom in that land when any lord died to kill Indians to accompany him and serve him on the way; and on this account, those [Indians] had come thither at his order; and he told Luis de Moscoso to have them beheaded so that they might accompany and serve his brother and lord. Luis de Moscoso told him that the governor was not dead but that he had gone to the sky and that he had taken from among his soldiers Christians who were sufficient for his service; and that he requested him to order those Indians freed and from thenceforth not to follow so evil a custom. Thereupon, he ordered them set free and commanded them to go to their homes. One of them refused to go saying that he did not wish to remain under the power of any one who had sentenced him to death undeservedly, and that he desired to serve, while life lasted, him who had freed him. Luis de Moscoso ordered the property of the governor to be sold at auction, namely, two men slaves, two women slaves, three horses, and seven hundred hogs.<sup>245</sup> For each horse or slave, two or three thousand cruzados were given, which were to be paid at the first melting of gold or silver, or from their repartimientos. They pledged themselves that, even though there might be nothing in the land, they would make payment within a year, and for that purpose, those who had no property in Spain gave bonds. For a hog,

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\*The Portuguese *ceo*, which Robertson translated as "sky," might be rendered also as "heaven."

two hundred cruzados, pledged in the same way [were given]. Those who had property in Spain bought more timidly and bought less. Thenceforward, most of the men had hogs and reared and ate them. They observed Fridays and Saturdays and the vespers of holidays, which they had not done before; for two or three months would pass without their eating meat, and they had eaten it on any day they could get it.

## XXXI.

### HOW GOVERNOR LUIS DE MOSCOSO DEPARTED FROM GUACHOYA AND WENT TO CHAGUATE AND THENCE TO AGUACAY.

There were some who rejoiced at the death of Don Hernando de Soto, considering it as certain that Luis de Moscoso (who was fond of leading a gay life) would rather prefer to be at ease in a land of Christians than to continue the hardships of the war of conquest and discovery, of which they had long ago become awearied because of the little profit obtained.<sup>246</sup> The governor ordered the captains and principal men to assemble in order to consult them and plan what should be done. Having obtained information of the population all thereabout, he learned that there was a more populous land toward the west and that the river below Quigaltam was uninhabited and had little food. He asked each to express his opinion in writing and to sign his opinion with his name, so that having the opinions of them all, he might make up his mind whether to descend the river or to penetrate inland. It seemed advisable to all to take the road overland toward the west, for New Spain lay in that direction; and they considered as more dangerous and of greater risk the voyage by sea; for no ship could be built strong enough to weather a storm, and they had no master or pilot, and no compass or sailing chart, and they did not know how far away the sea was, nor had they any information of it; nor whether the river made some great bend through the land or whether it fell over any rocks where they would perish. Some men who had seen the sailing chart found that the distance to New Spain along the coast in the region where they were was about five hundred leagues<sup>247</sup> or so. They declared that even although they might have to make some detours by land, because of looking for a settlement, they would not be prevented from going ahead that summer except by some great uninhabited district

which they could not cross. If they found food to pass the winter in some settlement, the following summer they would reach the land of Christians. It might be also that by going by land, they would find some rich land from which they might get profit. Although the governor's desire was to leave the land of Florida in the shortest time possible, on seeing the difficulties which lay before him in making the voyage by sea he resolved to follow what seemed best to all. On Monday, June 5,<sup>248</sup> he left Guachoya. The cacique gave him a guide to Chaguete and remained in his village. They passed through a province called Catalte<sup>249</sup> and after passing through an uninhabited region for six days, they reached Chaguete<sup>250</sup> on the twentieth of the month. The cacique of that province had gone to visit the governor, Don Hernando de Soto, at Autiamque where he brought him gifts of skins, blankets, and salt. A day before Luis de Moscoso arrived at his village, a sick Christian got lost, and he suspected that the Indians had killed him. He [Moscoso] sent word to the cacique to have him looked for and sent to him, and said that he would consider him a friend as formerly; but that if he did not do so, there was no place of escape for him or his people, and that his land would be burned. The cacique came forthwith and brought a rich gift of blankets and skins and the Christian, and made the following speech: "Excellent Lord: For all the treasure in the world, I would not desire the opinion you have of me. Who forced me to go to visit the excellent lord governor, your father, at Autiamque (which you should have remembered) where I offered myself with all loyalty, fidelity, and love to serve and obey him as long as I lived? Therefore, what could be the reason, after I had received favors from him and without you or he having done me any injury that I could be induced to do what I ought not do? Believe me, neither injury nor human interest were enough to make me act so, nor would it have blinded me. But since it is a natural thing in this life for many griefs to happen after one pleasure, fortune has pleased by your indignation to moderate the gladness which my heart felt at your coming, and that I should err wherein I thought to succeed, in sheltering that Christian who had become lost and in treating him in such manner as he can tell; for it seemed to me that by so doing I was rendering a service and I planned to go to deliver him to you at Chaguete, and to serve you in everything for which my strength sufficed. If I merit punishment from your hand on this account, I shall receive it as from a lord, as if it were a reward;<sup>251</sup> for the love I bore to the excellent governor and that which I have for you has no limit. Therefore, whatever punishment you give me, you will do me a favor. And what I now ask of you is that you declare your will to me and those things in which I can best serve you." The

governor answered him saying that because he did not find him in that town he was angry at him, as it appeared to him that he had gone away as others had done; but since he now understood his loyalty and love, he would always consider him as a brother, and would favor him in all his affairs. The cacique accompanied him to the town where he was living, which was a day's journey thence. They passed through a small town where there was a lake<sup>252</sup> where the Indians made salt. The Christians made some on a day they rested there from some briny water which rose near the town in pools like springs. The governor stayed six days in Chaguete. There he got information of the people to the west. They told him that three days' journey from there was a province called Aguacay. The day he left Chaguete, a Christian named Francisco de Guzmán,<sup>253</sup> bastard son of a gentleman of Seville, remained behind. He went away to the Indians in fear lest they [the Christians] seize from him as a gaming obligation an Indian woman whom he had as a mistress and whom he took away with him. The governor marched for two days before he found he was not with them. He sent word to the cacique to look for him and send him to Aguacay, whither he was going, which he [the cacique] never did. On behalf of the cacique of Aguacay, before reaching that province, fifteen Indians came to meet him on the way with a present of skins and fish and roasted venison. The governor reached his town on Wednesday, July 4.<sup>254</sup> He found the town abandoned and lodged therein. He stayed there for some time, during which he made several inroads, in which many Indians, both men and women, were captured.\* There they heard of the south sea. There a considerable quantity of salt was made from the sand which they gathered in a vein of earth like slate and which was made as it was made in Cayas.†

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\*The Portuguese *entrada*, which Robertson rendered as "inroads," would be better rendered in this context as "raid" or "sortie." Elvas's *alguma entrada* also is singular rather than plural.

†The Portuguese *como piçarra*, which Robertson rendered as "slate," might be rendered more accurately in this context as "shale."

## XXXII.

### HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM AGUACAY TO NAGUATEX AND WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM.

On the day the governor left Aguacay, he went to sleep near a small town subject to the lord of that province. The camp was pitched quite near to a salt marsh, and on that evening some salt was made there.<sup>255</sup> Next day he went to sleep between two ridges in a forest of open trees. Next day he reached a small town called Pato. The fourth day after he left Aguacay, he reached the first settlement of a province called Amaye. An Indian was captured there who said that it was a day and a half journey thence to Naguatex, all of which lay through an inhabited region. Having left the village of Amaye, on Saturday, July 20,<sup>256</sup> camp was made at midday beside a brook in a luxuriant grove between Amaye and Naguatex.<sup>257</sup> Indians were seen there who came to spy on them. Those of horse rushed at them, killing six and capturing two. On being asked by the governor why they had come, they said it was to ascertain what people he had and of what manner they were,<sup>258</sup> and that they had been sent by their lord, the cacique of Naguatex; that the latter, with other caciques, who were in his company and under his protection, had made up their minds to give him battle that day. While this questioning and answering was going on, many Indians came in two bands from two directions. As soon as they saw they had been perceived, uttering loud cries they rushed upon the Christians with great fury, each band in its own part. But on seeing the resistance they met with from the Christians, they turned and fled, and in their flight many of them lost their lives. While most of the horse were going in pursuit of them, quite forgetful of the camp, two other bands of Indians who had been concealed, attacked them. They were also resisted and had their pay as the first had. After the Indians had fled and the Christians had gathered together, they heard a loud cry at the distance of a cross-bow flight from where they were. The governor sent twelve horse to see what it was. They found six Christians, two of horse and four of foot, among many Indians, those on horse with great difficulty defending those on foot. These had got lost from those who pursued the first two bands of Indians, and while returning to camp, met those with whom they were fighting. Both they and those who went to their aid killed many of the Indians. They brought one Indian to camp alive, whom the governor asked who those were who had come to do battle with him. He said that they were the

cacique of Naguatex and he of Maye and another of a province called Hacanac, lord of vast lands and many vassals; and that he of Naguatex came as captain and head of all. The governor ordered his right arm and his nostrils cut off and sent him to the cacique of Naguatex, ordering him to say that on the morrow he would be in his land to destroy him and that if he wished to forbid him entrance, he should await him. That night he slept there and next day reached the village of Naguatex which was very extensive. He asked where the town of the cacique was and they told him it was on the other side of a river<sup>259</sup> which ran through that district. He marched toward it and on reaching it saw many Indians on the other side waiting for him, so posted as to forbid his passage. Since he did not know whether it [the river] was fordable, nor where it could be crossed, and since several Christians and horses were wounded, in order that they might have time to recover in the town where he was, he made up his mind to rest for a few days. Because of the great heat, he made camp near the village, a quarter of a league from the river, in an open forest of luxuriant and lofty trees near a brook. Several Indians were captured there. He asked them whether the river was fordable. They said it was at times in certain places. Ten days later he sent two captains, each with fifteen horse up and down the river with Indians to show them where they could cross, to see what population lay on the other side of the river. The Indians opposed the crossing of them both as strongly as possible, but they crossed in spite of them. On the other side they saw a large village and many provisions; and returned to camp with this news.

### XXXIII.

#### HOW THE CACIQUE OF NAGUATEX CAME TO VISIT THE GOVERNOR; AND HOW THE GOVERNOR LEFT NAGUATEX AND WENT TO NONDACAQ.

From the town of Naguatex, where the governor was, he sent word by an Indian to the cacique to come to serve and obey him and said that he would pardon him for the past; and that if he did not come he would go to look for him and give him the punishment he merited for what he had done against him. Two days later the Indian came and said that the cacique would come next day. The very day before he came he [the cacique] sent many Indians

ahead, among whom were some of the principal men. He sent them to see in what mood they found the governor, in order to make up his mind with himself whether to go or not. The Indians reported he was coming and immediately returned. The cacique came two hours later well attended by his men. They all came after this manner, one ahead of the other in double file, leaving a lane in the middle through which the cacique came. They reached the place where the governor was, all weeping after the manner of Tula which lay to the east not very far from that place. The cacique paid his respects fittingly and spoke as follows: "Very exalted, very mighty Lord, to whom the whole world owes service and obedience: I venture to appear before your Lordship after having committed so enormous and vile an act, for which even because it passed through my mind I merit punishment, trusting in your greatness, that although I have not even deserved pardon, but because it is your custom, you will observe clemency toward me, considering how insignificant I am in comparison with your Lordship, so that you will not be mindful of my weaknesses, which, because of my evil, I have come to know for my greater good. I believe that you and your men must be immortal and that your Lordship is lord of the realm of nature, since everything submits to and obeys you, even the hearts of men. For, seeing the death and destruction of my men in the battle, which I fought with your Lordship through my ignorance and the counsel of a brother of mine, who was killed in the action, I immediately repented me in my heart of the mistake I had committed and desired to serve and obey you. I come, therefore so that your Lordship may punish me and order me as your own." The governor answered him saying that he pardoned him for the past, that thenceforth and in the future he should act as he ought and that he would consider him his friend and protect him in all his affairs. Four days later he departed thence, but on reaching the river<sup>260</sup> could not cross, as it had swollen greatly. This appeared a wonderful phenomenon to him because of the season then and because it had not rained for more than a month. The Indians declared that it swelled often in that way without it having rained anywhere in the land. It was conjectured that it might be the sea which came up through the river. It was learned that the increase always came from above, and that the Indians of all that land had no knowledge of the sea. The governor returned to the place where he had been during the preceding days. A week later, hearing that the river could be crossed, he passed to the other side and found a village without any people.<sup>261</sup> He lodged in the open field and sent word to the cacique to come where he was and give him a guide for the forward journey. A few days later, seeing that the cacique did not come

or send, he sent two captains, each in a different direction, to burn the towns and capture any Indians they might find. They burned many provisions and captured many Indians. The cacique, on beholding the damage that his land was receiving, sent six<sup>262</sup> of his principal men and three Indians with them as guides who knew the language of the region ahead where the governor was about to go. He immediately left Naguatex and after marching three days reached a town of four or five houses, belonging to the cacique of that miserable province, called Nisohone.<sup>263</sup> It was a poorly populated region and had little maize. Two days later, the guides who were guiding the governor, if they had to go toward the west, guided them toward the east, and sometimes they went through dense forests, wandering off the road. The governor ordered them hanged from a tree, and an Indian woman, who had been captured at Nisohone, guided him, and he went back to look for the road. Two days later, he reached another wretched land called Lacane.<sup>264</sup> There he captured an Indian who said that the land of Nondacao<sup>265</sup> was a very populous region and the houses scattered about one from another as is customary in mountains, and that there was abundance of maize. The cacique and his Indians came weeping like those of Naguatex, that being their custom in token of obedience. He made him [the governor] a gift of a great quantity of fish and offered to do as he should order. He took his leave of him and gave him a guide to the province of Soacatino.<sup>266</sup>

### XXXIII.

HOW THE GOVERNOR WENT FROM NONDACAO TO  
SOACATINO AND GUASCO, AND CROSSED  
THROUGH AN UNPEOPLED REGION,  
WHENCE FOR LACK OF A GUIDE  
AND INTERPRETER, HE  
RETURNED TO NILCO.

The governor departed from Nondacao for Soacatino and after he had marched for five days arrived at the province called Aays.<sup>267</sup> The Indians who lived there had not heard of Christians, and as soon as they perceived that they had entered their lands, the country was aroused. As soon as fifty or a hundred had gathered together, they would go out on the road to



fight.<sup>268</sup> While some were fighting, others came and attacked them [the Christians] on another side, and when some [of the Christians] pursued [them], the Indians pursued them. The affair lasted the greater part of the day before they [the Christians] reached the village. Some horses and Christians were wounded, but not so badly that it presented any obstacle to their march, for no one had a dangerous wound. Great damage was done the Indians. The day the governor departed thence, the Indian who was guiding him said that he had heard Nondacao<sup>269</sup> say that the Indians of Soacatino had seen other Christians.<sup>270</sup> At this all were very glad, as they thought it might be true and that they might have entered by way of New Spain, and that, if it were so, they would have it in their power to get out of Florida, since they had found nothing of profit, for they feared lest they get lost in some unpeopled region. That Indian led him [the governor] off the road for two days. The governor ordered him to be tortured. He said that the cacique of Nondacao, his lord, had ordered him to lead him in that way, because they were his enemies; and that he had to do so, since his lord so ordered. The governor ordered him thrown to the dogs, and another one guided him to Soacatino,<sup>271</sup> whither he arrived the next day. It was a very poor land and there was great lack of maize there. He asked the Indians whether they knew of other Christians. They said they had heard it said that they were traveling about near there to the southward.<sup>272</sup> He marched for twenty days through a very poorly populated region where they endured great need and suffering; for the little maize the Indians had they hid in the forests and buried it where, after being well tired out with marching, the Christians went about trailing it, at the end of the day's journey looking for what they must eat.\* On reaching a province called Guasco,<sup>273</sup> they found maize with which they loaded the horses and the Indians whom they were taking. Thence they went to another village called Naquiscoça. The Indians said they had never heard of other Christians. The governor ordered them put to the torture, and they said that they [the Christians] had reached another domain ahead called Naçacahoz<sup>274</sup> and had returned thence toward the west whence they had come. The governor reached Naçacahoz<sup>275</sup> in two days and some Indian women were captured there. Among them was one who said that she had seen Christians and that she had been in their hands but had escaped. The governor sent a captain and fifteen horse to the place where the Indian woman said she had seen them, in order to ascertain whether there were any

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\*The Portuguese *rastrejãdo*, which Robertson rendered as "trailing it," might be better rendered in this context as "looking for signs of it."

trace of horses or any token of their having reached there. After having gone three or four leagues, the Indian woman who was guiding them said that all she had said was a lie; and so they considered what the other Indians had said about having seen Christians in the land of Florida. And inasmuch as the land thereabout was very poor in maize, and there was no tidings of any village westward, they returned to Guasco. There the Indians told them that ten days' journey thence toward the west was a river called Daycao<sup>276</sup> where they sometimes went to hunt in the mountains and to kill deer; and that on the other side of it they had seen people, but did not know what village it was. There the Christians took what maize they found and could carry and after marching for ten days through an unpeopled region reached the river of which the Indians had spoken. Ten of horse, whom the governor had sent on ahead, crossed over to the other side, and went along the road leading to the river. They came upon an encampment of Indians who were living in very small huts. As soon as they saw them [the Christians], they took to flight, abandoning their possessions, all of which were wretchedness and poverty. The land was so poor that, among them all, they [the Christians] did not find half an "alqueire"<sup>277</sup> of maize. Those of horse captured two Indians and returned with them to the river where the governor was awaiting them. They continued to question them in order to learn from them the population to the westward, but there was no Indian in the camp who understood their language. The governor ordered the captains and principal persons summoned, in order to plan what he should do after hearing their opinions. Most of them said that in their opinion they should return to the great river of Guachoya, for there was plenty of maize at Anilco and thereabout. They said that during the winter they would make brigantines and the following summer they would descend the river in them to look for the sea, and once having reached the sea, they would coast along it to New Spain which, although it seemed a difficult thing, because of what they had already said, yet it was their last resort because they could not travel by land for lack of an interpreter. They maintained that that land beyond the river of Daycao, where they were, was the land which Cabeza de Vaca said in his relation he had traversed, and was of Indians who wandered about like Arabs<sup>278</sup> without having a settled abode anywhere, subsisting on prickly pears, the roots of plants, and the game they killed. And if that were so, if they entered it and found no food in order to pass the winter, they could not help but perish, for it was already the beginning of October; and if they stayed longer, they could not turn back because of the waters and snows, nor could they feed themselves in such a poor land. The governor, who was desirous now of

being in a place where he could sleep out his full sleep, rather than to govern and conquer a land where so many hardships presented themselves to him, at once turned back to the place whence they had come.<sup>279</sup>

## XXXV.

### HOW THEY RETURNED TO NILCO AND WENT TO MINOYA, WHERE THEY SET ABOUT MAKING SHIPS IN ORDER TO GET OUT OF THE LAND OF FLORIDA.

When the plan determined on was published in the camp, there were many who regretted it keenly, for they considered the journey by sea as doubtful on account of their lack of equipment, and as risky as the journey overland; and they hoped to find a rich land before reaching the land of Christians, because of what Cabeza de Vaca had told the emperor. This was that, while he had found cotton cloth, he had seen gold and silver and precious gems of much value. They had not yet reached the place where he had gone, for he had gone continually along the coast up to that point and they had gone inland. If they traveled toward the west, they would of necessity have to come out whither he had gone. For he said that he had traveled many days in a certain direction and had penetrated inland toward the north. Already at Guasco, they had found some turquoises and cotton blankets which the Indians gave them to understand by signs were brought from the west; and if they took that way, they would reach the land of Christians. But in addition to this they were greatly discontented, and it grieved many of them to turn back, for they would rather have risked death in the land of Florida than to leave it poor. They were unable to prevent what had been determined upon, because the principal men were of the governor's mind. But afterward there was one who said he would willingly put out one of his own eyes if he could put out one of Luis de Moscoso, for it grieved him greatly to see him prosperous; for which he [Moscoso] would have maltreated both him and others, his friends, but he did not dare do it, seeing that two days later he [Moscoso] was to leave the command. From Daycao, where they were, it was one hundred and fifty leagues to the great river—a distance they had

marched continually to the westward. On the backward journey, they found maize to eat with great difficulty, for where they had already passed the land was left devastated, and any maize which the Indians had, they had hidden. The towns which they had burned in Naguatex, which was now regretted by them, had now been rebuilt and the houses were full of maize. This region is very well populated and well supplied with food. Pottery is made there of refined clay, which differs but little from that of Estremoz or Montemor.<sup>280</sup> At Chaguete, the Indians, by order of the cacique, came in peace and said that the Christian<sup>281</sup> who had remained there had refused to come. The governor wrote to him and sent him ink and paper so that he could reply. The substance of the words of the letter was to declare to him his determination, namely, to leave the land of Florida, and to remind him that he was a Christian and should not desire to stay in the power of infidels; that he pardoned him the error he had committed in going to the Indians, and that he should come; and if they [the Indians] tried to detain him, he should so inform him [Moscoso] in writing. The Indian went with the letter and came without other reply than on its back his name and rubric so that they might know he was alive. The governor sent twelve men of horse to look for him, but having his spies, he hid himself so that they could not find him. For lack of maize the governor could not stop longer to look for him. He left Chaguete and crossed the river before Aays,<sup>282</sup> and going down it came to a town called Chilano,<sup>283</sup> which they had not seen until then. Reaching Nilco, they found so little maize that it did not suffice for the building of ships. The cause of this was that when the Christians were at Guachoya at seed time, the Indians had not dared sow the lands of Anilco for fear of them; and they knew no other land thereabout where there was any maize. That was the most fertile land thereabout and where they had most hope of finding maize. They were all thrown into confusion; and most of them thought it had been a bad plan to have turned back from Daycao and not to have followed their fortune by going ahead by land in the way they had taken, for it seemed impossible that they could escape by sea unless a miracle were performed for them; for there was neither pilot nor chart, they did not know where the river entered the sea, they had no information concerning the latter; they had nothing with which to make sails nor enough "henequen" (a plant like tow which grew there)<sup>284</sup> and what they found they were keeping to calk the brigantines; nor was there anything with which to pitch them; nor could they build ships strong enough so that they would not be placed in great danger of any untoward happening. They feared greatly the fate that had befallen Narvaez who had perished on that coast; and especially the disad-

vantage in not finding maize, for without it they could not sustain themselves; nor could they do anything of the things they had to accomplish. All were thrown into great confusion. For their relief they commended themselves to God and besought Him to show them how to save themselves. By His goodness it was pleasing to Him that the Indians of Anilco should come in peace and say that at a distance of two days' journey thence, near the great river were two towns of which the Christians had never heard, called Aminoya,<sup>285</sup> and that the region was fertile. They did not know whether there was any maize there now or not, because there was war between them. But they would be very glad to go to destroy them with the help of the Christians. The governor sent a captain thither with men of horse and foot and the Indians of Anilco with him. He reached Aminoya and found two large towns which were in an open and level region, at a half league's distance apart; and in them he captured many Indians and found a great quantity of maize. He immediately took up his lodging in one of them and sent word to the governor of what he had found, whereat all were very joyful. They left Anilco at the beginning of December. On that journey, as on that before from Chilano, they suffered great hardship, for they had to cross many waters, and often it rained with a north wind and it became very cold; added to which they found themselves in the open fields with water below and above. While on the way, if they found any dry land to rest on at night, they gave many thanks to God. Almost all the Indians of service died from these sufferings, and after they had reached Aminoya, many Christians, and most of them were ill with severe and dangerous diseases which were akin to lethargy.<sup>286</sup> There died André de Vasconcelos and two Portuguese of Elvas, who were of kin to him, who were brothers and called by the nickname of the Sotis.<sup>287</sup> The Christians lodged in one of the towns, the one which appeared to them to be the better. It was surrounded with a stockade and was a quarter of a league from the great river. The maize of the other town was withdrawn thither—in all estimated at six thousand "fanegas."<sup>288</sup> For building ships there was there the best wood they had seen in all the land of Florida. Thereupon, all gave hearty thanks to God for so notable a mercy and took hope of their desire being realized, namely, that they would come into a Christian land.

## XXXVI.

### HOW SEVEN BRIGANTINES WERE CONSTRUCTED AND HOW THEY DEPARTED FROM AMINOYA.

As soon as they were come to Aminoya, the governor ordered the chains which each one had brought for his Indians to be taken and all the iron shot and all the iron in the camp to be collected together. He ordered a forge set up, nails made, and timber cut for the brigantines. A Portuguese of Ceuta who had been taught to saw with saws while a captive at Fez—and they brought him for that reason—taught others who were aiding him to saw timber; and a man from Genoa whom it was God's will to preserve (for without him they [the Christians] could not have left that land, as there was no other who knew how to build ships), together with four or five other Basque carpenters who hewed the planks and knees [*ceruatões*] for him, built the brigantines. Two calkers, one a Genoese, and the other from Sardinia, calked them with tow from a plant like daffodils<sup>289</sup> (of which I have previously spoken and which is there called "henequen"). But because there was not enough of it, they calked them with flax of the country and blankets which were unraveled for that purpose. A cooper among them fell sick and was at the point of death and there was no other man who could do that work. It pleased God to give him health; and though he was very weak and could not work, two weeks ere they departed, he made for each brigantine two hogsheads called quarter casks by sailors because four of them make a water cask. The Indians of a province located two days' journey up the river, by name Tagoanate,<sup>290</sup> as well as those of Anilco and Guachoya and others roundabout seeing that the brigantines were being built and thinking that since their harvests lay along the water,<sup>291</sup> it was for the purpose of going to look for them;<sup>292</sup> and because the governor asked them for blankets which were needed for use as sails, they came frequently and brought many and an abundance of fish. It surely seems that it was God's will to protect them in so great need, disposing the Indians to bring them; for there would have been no remedy except to go to take them; for, in the town where they were, as soon as winter set in, they became isolated and surrounded by water, so that it was impossible to go more than a league or a league and a half by land; and they could not take their horses to get away from there, and without them there was no place where they could attack them [the Indians] because there were many of them; and opposed on foot, one to the other, on water

or land, they [the Indians] had the advantage, because they were more cunning and agile; and because of the lay of the land which suited their wishes in the manner of their warfare. They also brought some ropes and what was lacking for the cables were made from the bark of mulberry trees. They made stirrups out of wood and made anchors out of the [iron] stirrups. In the month of March, although it had not rained in that land for over a month, the river rose in such manner that it stretched clear to Nilco, nine leagues away; and the Indians said that it spread over another nine leagues of land on the other side. In the town where they [the Christians] were—which was higher land where one could go about better—the water rose to the stirrups. Wood was piled up in heaps, and many branches laid on top, and there they fastened the horses; and in the houses they did likewise. Finding that nothing was sufficient, they climbed up above.\* And if they left the house they used canoes or went horseback in places where the land was higher. Thus they lived for two months, during which the river did not fall and during which no work was done. The Indians did not cease to come to the brigantines, for they came and went in canoes. The governor feared lest they attack him during that time, and ordered one of those who came to the town to be seized secretly and kept until the others should be gone. One was seized and the governor ordered him tortured in order to get him to tell whether the Indians were preparing any act of treachery. He stated that the caciques of Anilco, Guachoya, Taguanate, and others—in all about twenty caciques—had planned to attack him [the governor] with a great number of men, and that three days before doing so they were to send a gift of fish in order to conceal their great treason and ill will; and on the very day [of the attack] they were to send some Indians on ahead with another gift. These latter, with those who served [the Christians] and who had conspired with them, were to set fire to the houses, but were first to possess themselves of the lances which were leaning against the doors of the houses. The caciques, with all their men, were to be placed in ambush in the woods near the town, and when they saw the fire lit, they were to hasten and rout the horsemen. The governor ordered the Indians to be chained; and on the day of which he [the tortured Indian] spoke, thirty Indians came with fish. He [the governor] ordered their right hands cut off, and in that condition sent them to the cacique of Guachoya to whom they belonged. He ordered them to tell him

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\*The Portuguese *aos sorberados*, which Robertson rendered as “above,” might be rendered more clearly as “to the upper story.” A *soberado* or *sobrado* in modern Portuguese is a house of more than one story.

that he and the others could come whenever they wished, for he desired nothing better; but that he should know that they could think of nothing which he did not know before they thought of it. Thereupon, they were all greatly terrified. The caciques of Anilco and Taguanate came to excuse themselves; and a few days later the cacique of Guachoya came, accompanied by one of his principal Indians and vassals. He said that by trustworthy information which he had, the caciques of Anilco and Taguanete had made an agreement to come to make war on the Christians. As soon as Indians came from Anilco, the governor questioned them and they confessed that this was true. He immediately handed them over to the principal man of Guachoya who led them outside the town and killed them. On the morrow others came from Taguanete and they also confessed. The governor ordered their right hands and nostrils cut off and sent them to the cacique. Thereupon, those of Guachoya were very happy and came frequently bearing gifts of blankets, fish, and hogs which had been bred from some sows which had got lost there the year before. As soon as the waters fell, they agreed with the governor that he should send men to Taguanate. They came with canoes in which men of foot went down the river and a captain with men of horse and the Indians of Guachoya who guided him went overland until reaching Taguanete.<sup>293</sup> They assaulted the town, capturing Indian men and women and blankets, which with those they had, were sufficient for their needs. The building of the brigantines<sup>294</sup> having been completed in the month of June, although the Indians had declared that the river rose only once during the year, namely, when the snows melted—at the time I have already mentioned it as having risen—it now being summer and a long time having passed since it had rained, it was God's will that the water rising came up to the town until it reached the brigantines, whence they were taken by water to the river; for had they been taken over by land, there would have been danger of their breaking and their bottoms opening up and being altogether disjointed, because for lack of iron the spikes were short and the planks and timbers thin. During their stay there, the Indians of Aminoya, forced by necessity, came to serve them, so that they might give them some of the ears of maize they had taken from them. And since the land was fertile and they were accustomed to eat maize, and they [the Christians] had taken from them [the Indians] all they had, and the people were many in number, they could not sustain themselves. Those who came to the town were so weak and enfeebled that they had no flesh on their bones; and many near the town died of pure hunger and weakness. The governor ordered, under grievous penalties, that no maize should be given them. However, seeing that they had no



lack of hogs and that they were submitting themselves to serve them; and seeing their wretchedness and pitiful condition; having shared with them their maize out of pity for them; when they came to the time of embarking, there was not as much as was necessary. What there was they loaded into the brigantines and into large canoes<sup>295</sup> fastened together in pairs. They put twenty-two<sup>296</sup> horses aboard—the best ones in camp—and the rest were made into salt meat; and they did the same with the hogs they had. They left Aminoya on the second day of July, 1543.

## XXXVII.

### HOW THE INDIANS OF QUIGALTAM ATTACKED THE CHRISTIANS ON THE RIVER WHILE GOING ON THEIR VOYAGE AND OF WHAT HAPPENED.

One day before they left Aminoya, they made up their minds to dismiss the Indians of service whom they had—both men and women—with the exception of some hundred or so whom the governor embarked or let those whom he wished embark. And because there were many persons of quality to whom he could not refuse what he granted to others, he made use of a trick, saying that while they were on the river they [the Indians] might serve them, but that as soon as they reached the sea, they would have to abandon them because of the need of water, there being but few casks. To his friends he said in secret that they should take them [their Indians], that they could take them to New Spain; and all those for whom he did not have good countenance—who were in the majority—ignorant of what was concealed from them (which time later made known), thought it inhuman for so short a time of service, in payment of the great service they had performed, to take them away in order to abandon them outside their lands to become captives of others. They abandoned five hundred head of Indians, male and female, among whom were many boys and girls who spoke and understood Spanish. Most of them were overcome with weeping, which was a great pity seeing that they had all readily become Christians and were now lost. Three hundred and twenty-two Spaniards left Aminoya in seven brigantines, of good construction except that the planks were thin because of the shortness of the spikes and they were not pitched. They had no decks by which to keep the water from coming in. In place of decks, they laid planks so that the sailors

could go above to fasten the sails and the men might be sheltered below and above. The governor appointed captains of them and gave each one his brigantine, taking from each one his oath and word that he would be obedient to him until reaching the land of the Christians. The governor took one of the briganines for himself—the one he considered best. The day they left Ami-noya, they passed Guachoya where the Indians were awaiting them in canoes on the river. They [the Indians] had built a large arbor on land and besought them to disembark. But he [the governor] excused himself and passed by at a distance. The Indians accompanied him in their canoes. Coming to where an arm of the river led off to the right,<sup>297</sup> they said the province of Quigualtam lay nearby. They importuned the governor to go to make war on them, and said that they would aid him. But since they had said that it [Quigaltam]<sup>298</sup> lay three days' journey below, it seemed to the governor that they had planned some treachery against him. There he took his leave of them and proceeded on his voyage where the force of the water was greater. The current was very powerful and, aided by their oars, they journeyed at a good rate. The first day they landed in a wood on the left side of the river and at night they collected in the brigantines. Next day they came to a town where they landed, but the people there did not dare await them. An Indian woman whom they captured there, on being questioned, said that that town belonged to a cacique called Huhasene, a vassal of Quigaltam, and that Quigaltam was awaiting them with many men. Men of horse went down the river and found some houses in which was considerable maize. They immediately went there and stopped for a day, during which they threshed out and gathered what maize they needed. While they were there many Indians came down the river in canoes and placed themselves somewhat carelessly in form of battle in front on the other side. The governor sent in two canoes what crossbowmen he had and what men could get into them. They [the Indians] took to flight, but seeing that the Spaniards could not overtake them, gaining courage they turned back and coming nearer and shouting menaced them. As soon as they left there, they [the Indians] followed after them, some in canoes and others on land along the river. Going ahead of them, when they reached a town near the bluff,<sup>299</sup> they all united, as if to show that they were a mind to wait there. Each brigantine had a canoe fastened astern for its use. Men immediately entered them all and put the Indians to flight. He [the governor] burned the town. Then on that day they landed at a large open field where the Indians did not dare await them. Next day, they [the Indians] got together one hundred canoes, some of which held sixty or seventy Indians, and those of the principal men with their awnings, and they [the princi-

pal Indians] with white and colored plumes of feathers as a device. They came within two crossbow flights of the brigantines, and sent three Indians in one small canoe with a false message so that they might see the nature of the brigantines and the weapons they had. On coming up to the governor's brigantine, one of the Indians went in and told the governor that the cacique of Quigaltam, his lord, sent him to implore his protection, and to inform him that whatever the Indians of Guachoya had told him was false, namely, that they had revolted because they were his enemies; that he was his servitor and considered himself as such. The governor answered him saying that he believed all he said to be true and that he appreciated his friendship highly. Thereupon, they went to the place where the others were awaiting them in their canoes; and from that place, they [the Indians] all came down and came upon the Spaniards yelling and threatening them. The governor sent Juan de Guzmán, who had been captain of foot in Florida, in the canoes with twenty-five<sup>300</sup> armed men to get them [the Indians] out of the way. As soon as the Indians saw them coming, they divided into two bands and remained still until the Spaniards reached them, when putting out from each side, they came together, taking between them Juan de Guzmán and those who came ahead with him, and closed with them with great fury. Since their canoes were larger and since many of them jumped into the water in order to keep them upright, and others to seize the canoes of the Spaniards and cause them to overturn, they immediately overturned them. The Christians fell into the water and because of the weight of their armor sank to the bottom. And if any, by swimming or laying hold of a canoe, were able to keep afloat, they [the Indians] struck them over the head with their paddles and the clubs they were carrying and made them sink. When the men in the brigantines beheld their defeat, although they desired to aid them, they were unable to turn back because of the current of the river. Four Spaniards escaped to that brigantine which was nearest the canoes; and these only of all who had gone to the Indians escaped. Eleven men were killed there, among them being Juan de Guzmán and a son of Don Carlos called Juan de Vargas. Most, also, were persons of honor and men of much bearing. Those who escaped by swimming said they saw the Indians enter one of their canoes by the stern with Juan de Guzmán, but whether they bore him away dead or alive, they could not determine.<sup>301</sup>

## XXXVIII.

### WHICH RELATES HOW THEY WERE PURSUED BY THE INDIANS.

The Indians, on seeing that they had gained the victory, were so greatly encouraged that they went out to engage the brigantines which they had not dared to do before. First they went to that in which Calderón was captain. It was going in the rear guard. At the first flight of arrows twenty-five men were wounded. In the brigantine were only four men with armor. These were stationed at the side in order to defend it. Those who had no armor, seeing that they were being wounded, abandoned the oars and hid away below the covering. The brigantine began to run crosswise and to go whither the current of the water might bear it. On seeing this one of the men in armor, without awaiting the captain's approval for his action, forced a foot soldier to take the oar and steer the brigantine, placing himself before him and covering him with his shield. The Indians did not come up nearer than an arrow's flight, where they took the offensive without being attacked and without receiving any injury, for there was not above one crossbow in each brigantine, and those that there were, were now in very bad condition; so that the Christians did nothing else except to stand as a mark waiting for their arrows. Having left that brigantine they [the Indians] went to another and fought against it for half an hour. And in this way they circulated from one to another of them all. The Christians had brought mats to put under themselves which were doubled and very close and strong so that the arrows did not pierce them. As soon as the Indians gave them time, the brigantines were hung with them. The Indians seeing that they could not shoot direct, shot their arrows haphazardly into the air which fell down into the brigantines and wounded some of the men. Not satisfied with this, they tried to get at those who were coming in the canoes with the horses. Those of the brigantines came about in order to protect them and convoyed them in their midst. And now, finding themselves so closely pursued by them and so tired out that they could not endure it, they resolved to travel all that night following, thinking that they would pass by the land of Quigualtam and that they [the Indians] would leave them. But when they were going along more freely,\* thinking that they [the Indians] had already left them, they heard

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\*The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "more freely" is *mais descuydados*. Rendered more literally it should be "more unpreoccupied" or "more unworried."

very loud cries hard by, which stunned them. In this manner, they followed us that night and the next day, until noon, when we had now reached the land of others whom they advised to treat us in the same way; and so they did. Those of Quigualtam returned to their own lands, and the others in fifty canoes continued to fight us for a whole day and night. They boarded one of the brigantines which was coming as a rear guard by means of the canoe which it bore astern, and they took away an Indian woman whom they found in it. And from there they wounded some of those in the brigantine. Those who came in the canoes with horses, wearied out with paddling night and day, sometimes allowed themselves to rest.<sup>302</sup> Then the Indians were on them at once, and the men in the brigantines would wait for them. The governor made up his mind to land and kill the horses, because of the slowness with which they sailed on account of them. As soon as they saw a place suitable for this, they went thither and killed the horses there, and loaded the meat into the brigantines after salting it. They left four or five of the horses alive on the shore and the Indians went up to them after the Spaniards had embarked. The horses were unused to them and began to neigh and to run about in various directions, whereat the Indians jumped into the water for fear of them. Entering their canoes behind the brigantines, they continued to shoot at them without any pity and followed us that afternoon and the night following until ten o'clock next morning, and then went back up stream. Soon seven canoes came out from a small town located near the river and followed them for a short distance down the river shooting at them. But seeing that because of their small number they were doing them [the Christians] little injury, they went back to their town. After that they had no trouble, until they came almost to the sea.<sup>303</sup> They went for seventeen<sup>304</sup> days along the river, a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues or so.<sup>305</sup> Near the sea, it [the river] divided into two branches each of which was about a league and a half wide.

## XXXIX.

### HOW THEY REACHED THE SEA; AND WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM BEFORE AND AFTER THEY STARTED THEIR VOYAGE.

A half league before they came to the sea, they anchored there for a day to rest, for they were very tired from rowing and greatly disheartened because

of the many days during which they had eaten nothing but parched and boiled maize, which was doled out in a ration of a leveled-off helmet to each mess of three. While they were there, seven canoes of Indians came to attack those in the canoes they [the Christians] brought. The governor ordered armed men to enter [the canoes] and go out against them [the Indians] and put them to flight. They [the Indians] also came to attack them by land through a thicket and a swamp. They had clubs set with very sharp fish bones, and with these they fought courageously with those of us who sallied out to oppose them. The others who came in their canoes were awaiting with their arrows those who went out to them; and as soon as we came up, both those on land and those in canoes wounded some of us. When they saw that they [the Christians] were approaching, they would turn about face, and like swift horses before foot soldiers, would make off, and after turning hither and thither, and again gathering together without ever getting farther away than an arrow's flight, for thus gathering they would come on shooting without receiving any injury from the Christians. For, although they [the Christians] had some bows, they did not know how to shoot with them and came on rowing, breaking their arms to come up [to the Indians]. The Indians kept circling tirelessly around them in their canoes, waiting and turning about as if in a skirmish. Those [Christians] who went after them [the Indians] seeing that they could do them no harm; and that the closer they [the Christians] obstinately tried to approach them [the Indians], the more injury they received; as soon as they managed to drive them off, they returned to the brigantines. They stayed there two days. From thence they went to the place where that branch of the river flowed into the sea.<sup>306</sup> They took soundings in the river near the sea and found a depth of forty fathoms. They stopped there and the governor ordered all and every one of them to state his opinion regarding their voyage—whether, committing themselves to the sea, they should cross direct to New Spain, or whether they should go coasting along. There were various opinions about this. In this matter, Juan de Añasco, who had great self-conceit and set high value on his understanding of navigation and sea matters, but who really had small experience in its practice, influenced the governor. His opinion accorded with that of some others who said that it was much better to take to the open sea and cross the gulf—a voyage one-fourth as long—for if they coasted along, they would make many windings, because of the bends in the land: Juan de Añasco saying that he had seen the sailing chart and that where they were, the coast ran east and west to the river Las Palmas,<sup>307</sup> and from the river Las Palmas to New Spain, it ran north and south, and for that reason, if they went continuously within

sight of land, they would make a great circuit and their course would be very slow. They would also run great danger of winter overtaking them ere they could reach a Christian land. They could arrive within ten or twelve days by crossing if they had good weather. The majority opposed this opinion and said it would be safer to coast along even if it did take longer, for their ships had little strength, had no decks, and a slight storm would be enough to wreck them, and if calm or contrary weather should come upon them because of the small space they had for water, they would also run great risk. Even were the ships such that they could venture in them, since they had no pilot or sailing chart by which to steer, to cross over was not a good counsel. This opinion of the majority was confirmed, and they agreed to coast along. When they were about to depart, the cable by which the anchor of the governor's brigantine was cast, broke, and the anchor was lost in the river; and although they were near land, so great was the depth of water that however much swimmers looked for it, it could not be found. This was the cause of great distress to the governor and to all in his brigantine. With a stone for grinding maize which they had brought along, and the bridles still remaining to some of those hidalgos and gentlemen who had horses, they made a weight which passed by way of remedy for an anchor. On July 18, they put out to sea and undertook their voyage amid calm and fair weather. The governor, accompanied by Juan de Añasco, put out to sea in their brigantines, and all followed them.<sup>308</sup> On seeing that they had got two or three leagues offshore, the captains of the other brigantines overtook them and asked the governor why he was holding offshore, [and said] that if he intended to leave the coast, he ought to say so, but that he should not do so without getting the opinion of all, and that if he tried to act in any other manner, they would not follow him, but each one would do what seemed best to him. The governor answered saying that he would do nothing without their advice, but that he desired to leave the land in order to be able to sail better and safer by night, and that next day when it was time he would return within sight of land. They sailed that day with a fine wind, the night following and the next day until vespers always in fresh water, at which they were greatly surprised, for they were very far offshore. But so great is the force of the current of the river, and the coast there so shallow and gentle that fresh water runs out very far into the sea.<sup>309</sup> That night, they saw some keys<sup>310</sup> on the right, whither they went. They rested there that night. There Juan de Añasco, by means of his arguments, finished by getting all to consent and consider it proper to take to the open sea, saying, as he had said already, that it would be a great advantage and would shorten their voyage greatly. They sailed for two days

and when they tried to return within sight of land, they could not, because the wind was blowing offshore. On the fourth day, seeing that the water was giving out, and fearing want and danger, they all cursed Juan de Añasco and the governor who had taken his advice. Each one of the captains declared that he would never again get away from the land, although the governor could go wherever he wished. It was God's will that the wind should shift, although only a bit, and four days after having taken to the open sea, and now in need of water, they came within sight of land by dint of rowing and, after great labor, reached it along an unsheltered beach. That afternoon, the wind veered to the south, which is a cross wind along that coast and drove the brigantines ashore, for it was a very stiff wind; and the anchors straightened out because they had little iron and went dragging. The governor ordered them all into the water, and by placing themselves on the land side and by forcing the brigantines seaward when the wave passed by, they kept them up until the wind softened.

## XL.

### HOW SOME [OF THE BRIGANTINES] GOT LOST FROM OTHERS BECAUSE OF THE STORM AND AFTERWARD CAME TOGETHER ON A KEY.<sup>311</sup>

After the storm had ceased, they landed on the beach where they were and by means of some hoes they had brought along they dug some holes which filled with fresh water with which they filled their water casks. Next day they left that place and sailed for two days; and entered a small creek like an estuary sheltered from a south wind which was then blowing and which was contrary to them. Four days passed before they could leave there; and as soon as the sea became quiet, they went out by rowing. They went along that day and about eventide the wind strengthened so that it drove them ashore and they regretted having left there, for as soon as night fell the storm began to rage on sea and the wind to strengthen more and more because of the storm. The brigantines got lost one from the other. The two farthest out to sea went two leagues beyond the place where the others were that night and entered an arm of the sea which ran up into the land. The five which were behind separated one from the other by a distance of a league or a half league found themselves without knowing anything of one another on a very



unsheltered beach where the wind and wave drove them ashore, for the anchors straightened out and went dragging and the oars could not keep them [the brigantines] upright, although seven or eight men laid hold of one oar and rowed seaward. All the other men leaped into the water and as the wave which was driving the brigantine ashore passed by, they pushed it seaward with as much force as possible. Before another wave came, other men bailed out with bowls the water they had shipped. While suffering this hazard of fortune,<sup>312</sup> in great fear of being lost there, from midnight on they had to endure an insufferable torment from myriads of mosquitoes which came upon them and which caused an irritation whenever they stung as if they were poisonous. In the morning the sea calmed and the wind softened, but not the mosquitoes; and although the sails were white, in the morning, they appeared black with them. The men who were at the oars, could not row unless other men drove them [the mosquitoes] away. The terror and danger of the storm having subsided, upon beholding the disfigurement of their faces and slaps which they had given one another to drive them [the mosquitoes] away, they laughed. They [the brigantines] came together in the estuary where were the two brigantines which had gone on ahead. There a scum was found called "copee"<sup>313</sup> which the sea cast up and which resembles pitch (with which they pitch their ships in certain regions where pitch is lacking). There they pitched their brigantines. They stayed [there] two days and then resumed their voyage. They sailed another two days and anchored at a bay or arm of the sea where they stayed two days. The day they left, six men went up the bay in a canoe but did not come to its head. They left there with a south wind which was against them, but since it was light and their desire to shorten their voyage great, they went out by rowing into the sea, and journeyed for two days in that way and with great toil, a very little distance, and entered behind an islet<sup>314</sup> by means of a branch of the sea which surrounded it [the islet]. While they were there, such weather ensued that they gave fervent thanks to God that they had reached such a shelter. There was an abundance of fish there which they caught with nets and a hook. A man threw out a hook with a line, tying the end of it about his arm. A fish seized it and drew him into the water until he was up to his neck. It was God's will that he remembered his knife which he drew out and cut the line therewith. They stayed there fourteen days, at the end of which God was pleased to send them good weather. Because of that, they very devoutly arranged a procession and walked along the beach praying God to take them to a land where they might serve Him better.<sup>315</sup>

## XL [I.E., XLI].

### HOW THEY CAME TO THE RIVER OF PANICO.

All along the seacoast wherever they dug, they found water. There they filled their casks and after the procession was ended, they embarked, and always keeping within sight of land, sailed for six days. Juan de Añasco said that they would do well to put out to sea, for he had seen the sailing chart and remembered that the coast ran north and south from the river of Palmas<sup>316</sup> on, and that so far it had run east and west. According to his opinion, judging by his reckonings, the river of Palmas ought not to be far from where they were. That night they put out to sea and in the morning, over the rim of the water, beheld palm trees and the coast running north and south; and from noon on great mountains which they had not seen thitherto; for from that point to the port of Espiritu Santo where they had entered Florida, it was a very level and low land, and for that reason it could not be seen except when they were very close to it. From what they saw, they believed that that night they had passed the river of Palmas, which is sixty leagues from that of Panico,<sup>317</sup> which is in New Spain. All gathered together. Some said that they would do well not to sail by night in order not to pass the river of Panico; and others, that it was not advisable to lose time during favoring weather, and that it could not be so near that they would pass it that night. They agreed to set the sails half reefed and sail in that way. Two brigantines which sailed that night with all sails set passed the river of Panico at dawn without seeing it. The first to arrive of the five which were behind was that of which Calderón was captain. For a quarter of a league before they reached it, and before they saw it, they saw the water was muddy and perceived that it was fresh. Coming opposite the river, they saw that water was breaking over a shoal where it flowed into the sea. Because there was no one there who knew it, they were in doubt as to whether they should enter or pass by at a distance. They made up their minds to enter, and they put in to land before reaching the current, and entered the port. As soon as they were inside, they saw Indians, both men and women, on the shore, clad according to the Spanish custom, whom they asked in what land they were. They replied in the Spanish language that that was the river of Panico and that the town of the Christians was fifteen leagues inland. The joy received by all at this news could not be wholly told. For it seemed to them that then they had received birth. Many leaped ashore and kissed the ground and kneeling down with hands and eyes raised to heaven, one and all ceased not to give

thanks to God. As soon as those who were coming behind saw Calderón with his brigantine anchored in the river, they immediately set out thither and entered the port. The two other brigantines which had passed beyond, put out to sea in order to turn back to look for the others, but they could not because the wind was against them and the sea was choppy. Fearing lest they be lost, they ran toward the land and anchored. While there, a storm came up, and seeing that they could not hold themselves there, nor less in the sea, they determined to run up on the land. And as the brigantines were small, they drew but little water, and as there was a sandy beach there, the force of their sails drove them to dry land without harm coming to the men in them. At that time, if those in the port were very joyful, these [on the beach] felt a double sadness in their hearts, for they knew nothing of the others, nor in what land they were, and feared lest it be one of hostile Indians. They came out two leagues below the port, and as soon as they found themselves free of the sea, each one took as much of his clothing as he could carry on his back. They went inland and found Indians who told them where they were, whereat their sorrow was turned into joy.\* They gave many thanks to God for having delivered them from so many dangers.

## XLII.

### HOW THEY REACHED PANICO AND HOW THEY WERE RECEIVED BY THE INHABITANTS.

From the time they went out from the great river of Florida into the sea until they reached the river of Panico, they took fifty-two days. They entered Panico on the tenth of September of the year 1543. They went upstream with their brigantines for four days; and as the wind was light and frequently useless to them because of the many windings of the river; and in towing them up because of the powerful current in many places they could for this reason make but little headway, and with heavy toil;† and seeing that the

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\*In the Portuguese, the clause that Robertson translated as “where they were” is followed by the words *i os agasalharã*, which means “and welcomed them.” Robertson has deleted this phrase in his translation.

†The Portuguese that Robertson translated as “and in towing them up” is *leuãdo os a strga*. There is no such word in Portuguese as “strga.” It obviously has been misspelled or lost one or more of its vowels. It could be a misspelling for *atrasar* (to hold back or delay) or for *atrair* (to pull back or attract). There is no word meaning “towing” that remotely resembles “strga.”

accomplishment of their desire—namely, to see themselves among Christians and to see the divine offices celebrated which they had not seen for so long—was delayed: they left the brigantines to the sailors and went overland to Panico. All were clad in deerskins, tanned and dyed black—namely cassocks, breeches, and shoes.<sup>‡</sup> Upon entering Panico, they went immediately to the church to pray and give thanks to God for having so miraculously saved them. The inhabitants, whom the Indians had already advised and who knew of their coming, took them to their homes and entertained them—some among them whom they knew and with whom they had had contact, or because they had come from their districts. The *alcalde mayor* took the governor to his home, and all the others, as soon as they arrived, he sent to lodgings in groups of six and ten, according to the capacity of each of the inhabitants; and all were supplied by their hosts with many hens, maize bread, and fruits of the land, which are identical with those of Cuba, of which I have spoken above. The town of Panico<sup>318</sup> has about seventy householders. Most of them have houses of cut stone; some are of wood [*rama*], and all are thatched with hay.\* The land is poor and there is no gold or silver in it. People there are very well supplied with food and service. The richest do not have an income of five hundred cruzados at the outside, which they get in cotton clothing, fowls, and maize, paid to them as tribute by the Indians, their vassals. Of those who left Florida, three hundred and eleven Christians entered that port. The *alcalde mayor* immediately sent one of the citizens by post to inform the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza<sup>319</sup> (who was living in Mexico) that of the men who had gone with Hernando de Soto to conquer and explore Florida, there had ported there three hundred men,<sup>320</sup> for whom he had determined to provide since they came in the service of his Majesty. At this, the viceroy and all those of Mexico were surprised, for they considered them lost because they had plunged into the land of Florida, and they had had no news of them for a long time. It seemed to them a marvel that they could sustain themselves for so long a time among heathen being without a fortress where they might build strongholds and without any other relief. The viceroy immediately issued an order in which

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<sup>‡</sup>The Portuguese *sayos*, which Robertson rendered as “cassocks,” would be better rendered as “military greatcoat.” *Saio*, the modern form of *sayo*, is not used for “cassock” except in the feminine form of *saia*, meaning “skirt.” When it is so used, it is used in a derogatory sense intended as an insult to the cleric or clerics to whom it is addressed.

\*Robertson’s translation of the Portuguese *algumas de rama*, as “some are of wood” could be misleading. *Rama* is branches or foliage. The structures made of *rama* are something more primitive than a wooden house, more of an arbor-type structure or one with wattle walls.

he decreed that, wherever they should be ordered, the necessary food and Indian porters should be given them; and wherever any refused to make provision, they could take by force what they needed without incurring any penalty. That order was so well obeyed that on the way before they reached the towns the people went out to meet them with fowls and food.

### XLIII.

#### OF THE FAVOR THEY FOUND WITH THE VICEROY AND INHABITANTS OF MEXICO.

From Panico to the great city of Mestitam<sup>321</sup> Mexico is a distance of sixty leagues. There are another sixty leagues, both from Panico and from Mexico to the port of Vera Cruz<sup>322</sup> where one embarks for Spain and where those on their way to New Spain land. Those three towns, which were settled by Spaniards, form a triangle, to wit, with Vera Cruz at the south, Panico at the east,<sup>323</sup> and Mexico at the west, with a distance of sixty leagues one from the other. The land is so thickly populated with Indians that from town to town those which are farthest apart are separated only by a league or half a league. Some of those who came from Florida remained in Panico for a month resting and others for a fortnight—each as long as he wished, for no one showed a long face toward his guests, but gave them everything they had, and showed they were sorry when they bade them goodbye. This can be believed, for the food which the Indians gave as tribute was more than enough for them, and there was nothing to buy or sell in that town. Few Spaniards were there and rejoiced to talk with them. The *alcalde mayor* divided among all who wished to go to get it all the clothing there belonging to the emperor (which is paid there [by the Indians] as taxes). Those who still had coats of mail rejoiced, for each one found a horse there [in exchange] for it. Some got mounts, and those who could not (the majority of them) set out on their journey afoot. On their way they were well received by the Indians who abode in their towns, and better served than they could have been in their own homes, even though they lived decently as to food.<sup>324</sup> For, if they asked an Indian for a hen, he would bring four; and if they asked for some fruit, they would go off running for it, even if it were a league away. And if any Christian were ill, they would carry him from one town to the next in a chair. To whatever town they came, the *cacique*, through the agency of an

Indian who carried a rod of justice in his hand (whom they call “tapile,”<sup>325</sup> signifying magistrate [*Merinho*]),\* ordered them to be supplied with provisions and Indians as bearers of any clothing they had and for carrying those who were ill, as many as were needed. The viceroy sent a Portuguese to a distance of twenty leagues from Mexico with a quantity of sugar, raisins, pomegranates, and other things given to sick people, for those who might have need of them. He had determined to clothe them all at the emperor’s cost. And the inhabitants of Mexico, having heard that they were coming, went out to meet them; and with great courtesy requesting it as a favor, each one took to his home those whom he could and gave them clothing—each the best he could—so that he who was least well clad had clothing worth thirty cruzados and upward. To all who cared to go to the lodging of the viceroy, the latter ordered clothing to be given, and those who were persons of quality ate at his table. For men of lesser sort, he had a table in his house for all who cared to eat at it. He was immediately informed who each one was, in order to show him the honor he merited. Some of the conquistadors placed them all, both gentlemen and peasants, at the same table with themselves and frequently made the servant sit shoulder to shoulder beside his master. This was mainly done by artisans and men of low sort. However, those of better breeding, asked who each one was and differentiated among persons. But all did what they could with great goodwill, each telling those he had in his house not to be vexed or hesitate to take what was given them, for they had formerly beheld themselves in like circumstances and others had helped them and that such was the custom in that land. May God reward them; and those whom He was pleased to let escape from Florida and come to the land of Christians, may it please Him that this be for His service; and to those who died there and all those who believe in Him and confess His holy faith, may He grant them through His mercy the glory of paradise. Amen.

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\*Robertson’s “(whom they call ‘tapile,’ signifying magistrate)” is not enclosed in parentheses in the Portuguese text.

## XLIII.

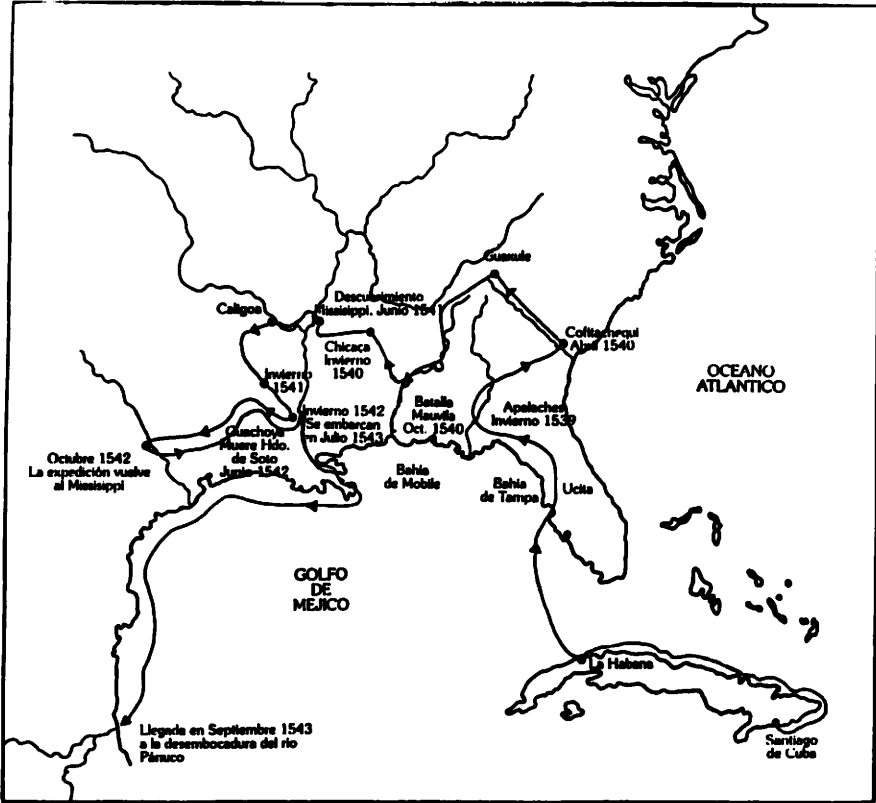
### WHICH DECLARES CERTAIN DIVERSITIES AND PECULIARITIES OF THE LAND OF FLORIDA; AND THE PRODUCTS AND BIRDS AND ANIMALS OF THAT LAND.

From the port of Espiritu Santo, where they landed when they entered Florida, to the province of Ocute, a distance of about four hundred leagues or so, the land is very level and has many lakes and thick woods. In places there are wild pine groves and the soil is lean, and without a mountain or hill in it.\* The land of Ocute is the most fertile and vigorous and has the most open forest and very excellent fields along the rivers.† From Ocute to Cutifachiqui is a distance of about one hundred and thirty leagues, eighty of which are without inhabitants and covered with many wild pine groves. Large rivers flow through the uninhabited part. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala is a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues, all the land being mountainous. Cutifachiqui and Xuala are located on level ground, high, and with excellent river meadows.<sup>326</sup> Thence, as far as Chiaha, Coça, and Talise, the land is level, dry and fertile, and greatly abounding in maize. From Xuala to Tascaluça is a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues. From Tascaluça to the great river it is about three hundred leagues, the land being low and having many swamps.<sup>327</sup> From the great river onward, the land is higher and open and the most densely populated of all the land of Florida. And along this river, from Aquixo to Pacaha and Coligoa, a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, the land is level and covered with open forest, and in places has very fertile and pleasant fields. From Coligoa to Autiamque is a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues of mountainous country. From Autiamque to Guacay is a distance of about two hundred and thirty leagues of level land. From Aguacay to Daycao, a distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, is all a mountainous country. From the port of Espiritu Santo to Apalache, they marched from east to west and northeast;<sup>328</sup> from Cutifachiqui to Xuala, from south to north; from

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\*In talking about soil, the Portuguese *delgado*, which Robertson rendered as "lean," would be better rendered as "thin."

†The Portuguese *ten o arvoredo mais ralo*, which Robertson translated as "has the most open forest," would catch the nuance of the Portuguese better if rendered as "has the forest more open."



*De Soto's Route in North America. This modern map, first published in Spain by Rocío Sánchez Rubio, follows the expedition from the landing of the fleet in Santiago Harbor in Cuba, to the arrival of the survivors four years later at the Panuco River in Mexico. The southeastern United States portion of this version of the route closely follows the findings of the 1935 United States De Soto Expedition Commission. (Courtesy of Rocío Sánchez Rubio)*

Xuala to Coça, from east to west, from Coça to Tascaluça, and to the great river as far as the provinces of Quizquiz and Aquixo, from east to west; from Aquixo to Pacaha, northward; from Pacaha to Tula, from east to west; and from Tula to Autiamque, from north to south, as far as the province of Guachoya and Daycao.<sup>329</sup> The bread which is eaten in all the land of Florida is of maize which resembles coarse millet. This maize is found in all the islands and Indies of Castile from the Antilles on. In Florida, there are also



many walnuts, plums, mulberries, and grapes. They sow and harvest the maize, each one cultivating his own. The fruits are common to all, for they grow very abundantly in the open fields, without it being necessary to plant or cultivate them. Wherever there are mountains, there are chestnuts. They are somewhat smaller than those of Spain. From the great river westward, the walnuts differ from the others,<sup>330</sup> for they are easier to crush and shaped like acorns.<sup>331</sup> From the great river to the port, they are, for the most part, hard and the trees and walnuts seem similar to those of Spain. In all parts of the country is a fruit which comes from a plant like "ligoacam,"<sup>332</sup> which the Indians sow. The fruit resembles the royal pear, and has an excellent smell and a delicious taste. Another plant grows in the open field, which produces a fruit near the ground like the strawberry, which is very tasty. The plums are of two kinds, red and gray, of the form and size of walnuts.<sup>333</sup> They have three or four stones. They are better than all those of Spain and they make much better dried ones of them. Only in the grapes can one perceive the lack of cultivation, which although they are large have large seeds.\* All the other fruits are very perfect and less harmful than those of Spain. In Florida, are many bears and lions, wolves, deer, jackals, cats, and rabbits. There are many wild fowl there, as large as peafowls, small partridges like those of Africa, cranes, ducks, turtledoves, thrushes, and sparrows. There are certain black birds<sup>334</sup> which are larger than sparrows and smaller than starlings. There are goshawks, falcons, sparrowhawks, and all the birds of prey found in Spain. The Indians are well proportioned. Those of the flat lands are of taller stature and better built than those of the mountains. Those of the interior are better supplied with maize and clothing native to the country than those of the coast. The land along the coast<sup>335</sup> is lean and poor; and the more warlike people are along the coast. From the port of Espiritu Santo to Apalache, and from Apalache to the river of Palmas [the land runs] from east to west; from the river of Palmas to New Spain from north to south, with a gentle coast, but with many shoals and high sand hills.

DEO GRATIAS.

\*Although lack of cultivation may well be what Elvas had in mind in his use of the expression *falta de adobio*, rendered literally the Portuguese means "lack of fertilizer (or manure)."

THIS RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY OF  
FLORIDA WAS PRINTED IN THE  
HOUSE OF ANDRÉ DE BURGOS,  
PRINTER AND GENTLEMAN  
OF THE HOUSE OF THE  
LORD CARDINAL  
INFANTE.<sup>336</sup>

IT WAS FINISHED ON THE TENTH DAY OF  
FEBRUARY OF THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND  
FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN IN  
THE NOBLE AND EVER LOYAL  
CITY OF EVORA.



## NOTES TO THE ELVAS NARRATIVE

by James A. Robertson

1. *Silveira*. Undoubtedly the Fernão da Silveira who died at Evora in 1569, the son of Francisco da Silveira. He fought in Africa and India; and on his return to Portugal was held in high esteem by Joao III and Queen Catharina. He was called the "heroic poet." His family, which was localized about Evora, produced a number of poets. See Maximiliano Lemos, *Encyclopedia Portuguesa Illustrada*, X, 162.

2. *Soto*. The best biography in English of Hernando de Soto is that by Theodore Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930). Soto's full name (see Antonio del Solar y Taboada and José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto* [Badajoz, Spain: Ediciones Arqueros, 1929], pp. 29-34, 41-46, 53-60) was Hernán (Hernando, Fernando) Méndez de Soto y Gutiérrez Cardenosa; and on both sides he was descended from illustrious forebears. His parents were Francisco Méndez de Soto and Leonor Arias Tinoco, the latter of whom came from the city of Badajoz and was of Portuguese ancestry. Considerable confusion exists with regard to various details of his life. He is said, for instance, to have been born in Villanueva de la Serena, Villanueva de Barcarrota (today simply Barcarrota), the city of Badajoz, and Jerez de los Caballeros. The last place is probably the correct one for that was the home of his parents (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 38-39). Again, his birth has been placed as early as 1496 and as late as 1501. If he was forty-two at the time of his death, he must have been born in 1500 or 1501. His first journey to the new world probably occurred in 1519 instead of in 1514 as some say. In the Indies, he served under the notorious Pedrarias Dávila, by whom he was sent on several raiding and punitive expeditions, and, in 1524, he took part in the expedition against Gil Gonzáles Dávila under the command of Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, during which he was captured and then released by the former. Later, he was made regidor of León, in Guatemala, and shortly after was invited to take part in the conquest of Peru. For this he furnished a contingent of men and a number of horses, and was considered next in importance after Francisco and Hernando Pizarro. He succeeded in capturing the last Inca ruler, Atahualpa (the Atabalipa of the text), and shared heavily in the spoils of the conquest. In Peru, he contracted relations with Leonor Coya, daughter of the chief Guaynacapac, by whom he had a natural daughter, also called Leonor (see "Testamento de Doña Leonor Coya," *Archivo de Indias*, 109-1-15-20/4; published in Solar

and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 191–197). While still in Guatemala he had formed a partnership with Hernán Ponce de León and Francisco Campañón, each obligating himself to share equally in all his possessions with the other two. The latter died shortly after the triple compact was made. A later agreement made with Ponce de León, however, became the matter of a long lawsuit between Ponce de León and his heirs and Isabel de Bobadilla. A copy of this latter agreement, dated at Cuzco, June 27, 1535, as reaffirmed at Havana, May 13, 1539, five days before the expedition left for Florida, is in AI, 50-2-55/10, Papeles de Justica, no. 750 (a), pieza 1(2), fols. 56–62 (published in Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 79–89; copy of the original contract of 1535 also among the Harkness Papers in the Library of Congress, *q.v.*, below). Shortly after his return to Spain in 1536, Soto married Isabel de Bobadilla (the daughter of Pedrarias), whose mother (also Isabel de Bobadilla) was a relative of that Beatrice de Bobadilla, the friend and confidante of Isabel the Catholic. It might be of interest to recall here that the sister of his wife had married Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific, who was also from Jerez de los Caballeros. In Spain, prior to his departure on his Florida Expedition, he was admitted into the Order of Santiago (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 123–155). By nature, Soto, although a product of his age, seems to have been far more humane than most of his contemporaries, but on occasion (and generally only when he deemed it necessary) he could be ruthless enough. He inspired almost unquestioning obedience in his followers, but by his rashness and lack of judgment at times, joined with a streak of obstinacy, notwithstanding many admirable traits, he seems to have lacked some of the qualities of a great leader. For accounts and estimates of Soto, see the following: Oviedo, in Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, II, 59; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*; Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), pp. ix–xxvi (reprinted in Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 169–192); Maynard, *ut supra*; and Francis Borgia Steck, *Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition*, a reprint from *Mid-America*, July, 1932.

Among the papers of the Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress, three have reference to Soto: 1. A “Carta de compañía e hermandad,” signed by Captains Hernán Ponce de León and Hernando de Soto: “a renewal and ratification of a fraternal partnership which had existed between them for eighteen or nineteen years, in which they agree to share whatever they may have or obtain by profit, mining, in war, or from any other source; also any royal commissions for offices or commands” (Cuzco, June 27, 1535; see above for mention of a third renewal of this contract). 2. A “Carta de poder” given by Ponce de León to Captain Hernando de Soto: “Full authority to recover gold, jewels, merchandise, horses, ships, negroes, Indians, and give receipts therefor; to conduct all phases of suits; to petition the Crown for offices and cédulas and *provisiones of haciendas* in reward for his services; to enter into contracts; to purchase and rent property; to appoint procuradores in his place and revoke such appointment” (Cuzco, July 12, 1535). 3. A “bill for merchandise” bought by Soto. The “items include velvet, silk, linen, satin, gloves, a velvet cap, a

brush, some thread. Some of them were taken by Roman, some by Piçarro, the tailor, and one item by De Soto's Indian" (July 10-31, 1536). See *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress. Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts Concerning Peru, 1531-1651* (Washington, 1932), compiled by Stella R. Clemence, Nos. 83, 86, and 97. Other papers are listed in the calendar of documents in Vol. II of *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* (Madrid, 1930), published by the Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América. In the first (No. 222), dated February 27, 1538, "Don Fernando de Soto, adelantado of Florida and governor of the Island of Cuba, in the name of Nuño de Tovar, obligates himself to pay to Nicolas de Aramburu, acting for Pascual de Andagoya, regidor of Panama, two hundred ducats of gold, which the aforesaid Nuño de Tovar, in the name of the above-mentioned Andagoya collected from Pedro and Melchor de Espinosa" (the entire document is reproduced in Appendix VI, [ibid.] pp. 469-471). In the second (No. 469), dated January 8, 1540, "Captain Fernán Ponce de León, acting for Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, wife of Don Fernando de Soto, governor and captain general of the conquests of Florida and the island of Fernandina, gives his power of attorney to Francisco Hurtado and to Diego del Castillo, to solicit the certification of the 792,000 maravedis which were taken from him for his Majesty's service" (p. 112). In the third (No. 497), dated March 13, 1540, "Cristobal Francesquin and Diego Martínez, public bankers, acting for Don Hernando de Soto, adelantado of Florida, give power of attorney to Gonzalo de Herrera to collect for the aforesaid adelantado, the 300,000 maravedis *de juro* corresponding to the two preceding years" (reproduced in Appendix X, [ibid.] pp. 478-479). Much material, still unpublished in full, exists in the Archives of the Indies (AI) in Seville.

3. *Pedrarias Dávila*. His correct name was Pedro Arias de Avila. He was probably born at Segovia about the year 1440 and died at León, Nicaragua, in July, 1530. For information concerning his career, see Clement R. Markham's translation of Pascual de Andagoya, *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Dávila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, and of the Discovery of the South Sea and the Coasts of Peru and Nicaragua* (Hakluyt Society Publications, No. XXXIV, London, 1865)—taking note that Markham's translations are not always above reproach; Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viages* (Madrid, 1825-1837); Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America* (London, 1861), I, 373-520, 76-86; Maynard, *ut supra*.

4. *Pizarro*. Probably Francisco Pizarro is meant here. Hernando (Fernando) Pizarro was the half brother of the great commander and of all the sons of their common father the only legitimate child. Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, marqués de las Charcas y de los Atabillos, was born in Trujillo, Cáceres, in 1470, or somewhat later, and was assassinated in Lima, June 26, 1541. For information relative to his career, see Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*; Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America*; Rómulo Cúneo-Vidal, *Vida del Conquistador del Perú* (Barcelona, 1925); Maynard, *ut supra*. There are a number of Pizarro letters in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, at San Marino, California. See also the calendar of *The Harkness Collection*

in the Library of Congress, for various material connected with Pizarro and his expedition; also the early Peruvian manuscripts in the New York Public Library.

Hernando Pizarro was born in Trujillo some time before Francisco and is said to have died in the same city in 1578. Reared to the profession of arms, he fought with his father in the Italian and other campaigns. He only (after Francisco Pizarro) exceeded Soto in authority during the Peruvian conquest. Before his death he apparently became blind (see Clemence, *The Harkness Collection*, p. 252, "Carta de poder," of May 25, 1578, given by Pizarro and his wife to Martin de Anpuero). Three documents concerning him are recorded in the *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla*, II, namely, Nos. 196, 451, and 606. See also Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*; and *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLV, 183–184; and Cúneo Vidal, *ut supra*.

5. *Atabalipa*. That is, Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler.

6. *Cruzados*. The cruzado was a silver coin first minted in Castile during the reign of Enrique II. It took its name from the cross on the obverse. At first it was valued at one silver maravedí, but the value was later reduced to a third that amount. The cruzado of the text, however, was a later gold coin minted during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. At first this was equivalent to seven pesetas, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the value had risen to ten pesetas. A document of 1489 states that it was equal to a ducat. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XVI, 683; and Fray Liciniano Saez, *Demostación histórica del verdadero Valor de todas las Monedas que corrian en Castilla durante el Reynado del Señor Don Enrique IV* (Madrid, 1805), p. 283.

7. *Reales*. Hakluyt in his translation of the *Relaçam* (*Virginia richly valued*, London, 1609) says wrongly 60,000, as do the French translation of 1685 and the translation of the latter into English (1686). The real was a silver coin first minted in Castile. The earliest coin struck was probably equivalent to the sixty-sixth part of a marco (or 50 castellanos), but this was later changed by the Catholic Kings to the sixty-seventh part. The present real, which is no longer coined as such, is valued at twenty-five centimos. Values are still largely quoted in reals, especially by the common people. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLIX, 1008–1009.

8. *Casa de Contratación*. The Casa de Contratación or India House of Trade intervened largely in the early Spanish expeditions to America. It was created by royal cédula of February 14, 1503, and was to consist of three officials, namely, a factor, a treasurer, and a notary (see Joseph de Veitia Linage, *Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales*, Seville, 1672, pp. 2–3). See also Bernard Moses, "The Casa de Contratacion of Seville," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1894* (Washington, 1895), pp. 93–123.

9. *Juan de Añasco*. Juan de Añasco, who was evidently born in Seville, joined Soto there after the latter's return from Peru; and on the organization of the expedition was made its accountant, this being one of the royal official positions of the expedition. On November 14, 1536, he witnessed the "conveyance of dower by the widow

of Pedrarias Dávila to Hernando de Soto, in consideration of the espousal of her daughter" (see Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, p. 264, note). Smith also (p. 273) publishes a translation of a royal cédula of Valladolid, May 4, 1537, granting him authority to trade with the Indians of Florida "so long as there are no duties on imports in that province." On May 13, 1539, five days before the expedition left Havana for Florida, he witnessed two documents, namely the second renewal of the contract between Soto and Hernan Ponce de León, and the full authorization given by Soto to Ponce de León to redeem his right in the silks of Granada in which Soto had made an investment (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 89, 206). On the day of departure from Havana, together with Juan Gaytán, the treasurer, and Luis Hernández de Biedma, the factor, he wrote to the king to the effect that Soto had been detained in Cuba longer than he had wished (see B. Smith, *ut supra*, p. 273). Soto, as is shown by the text, seems at all times to have reposed considerable reliance upon him.

10. *Luis Moscoso de Alvarado*. Luis Moscoso de Alvarado was born in Badajoz in 1505 and died in Peru about 1561. He was the son of Comendador Alonso Hernández de Diosdado and Isabel de Alvarado, inhabitants of Zafra (see Solar and Rújula, p. 329). He was a relative of Pedro de Alvarado and participated with the latter in some of his enterprises, thereby gaining considerable profit; and took part in the early Peruvian campaign. He later went to Spain, where he entered upon a life of dissipation and soon lost most of his possessions. He joined Soto's expedition and after the death of the latter led the remnant of the band to Mexico, reaching Pánuco on September 10, 1543. Two of his brothers, namely Juan de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Mosquera, accompanied him (see Solar and Rújula, p. 329). He witnessed the agreement made between Soto and Ponce de León at Cuzco, on June 27, 1535 (see *ante*, note 2); and on July 10, 1535, at Cuzco, he gave a "Carte de poder" to Antón Ruiz de Guevara "to claim and collect all gold, silver, jewels, Negro slaves, horses, and Indians belonging to him as assignee of Adelantado Pedro de Alvarado and to give letters of payment and quittance therefor, with full powers to act in any conflict arising therefrom" (see Clemence, *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress*, No. 90).

The only Tovar mentioned in the "Relacion de las Personas que pasaron a la Florida para la Empresa de Hernando de Soto" (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 275-334) is one Diego de Tovar, son of Rodrigo de Tovar and Beatrice de Segovia, inhabitants of Marchena (see p. 327). He is not mentioned in the list reproduced by Buckingham Smith of those who returned from Florida (Smith, pp. 292-299). Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca* (Lisbon, 1605), says (fol. 10) that Nuño Tovar was one of the sixty conquistadors of Peru and that he was a native of Xerez de Badajoz.

Juan Rodriguez Lobillo is called Johan Ruiz Lobillo by Rangel (see *post*, note 53). He is given in the list of those who returned from Florida, and the place of his residence as Ronda (see Buckingham Smith, *Narratives*, p. 296). A Juan Ruiz Lobillo gave a "Carta de poder" to one Beranga in Xauxa, Peru, on February 22, 1534 (see



Clemence, *The Harkness Collection*, No. 58). Documents Nos. 161 and 163 of *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* also treat of Juan Ruiz Lobillo, former conquistador and settler of Peru. It is probable that this is the same man as the Juan Rodriguez Lobillo of our text.

11. *Isabel de Bobadilla*. See *ante*, note 2. She married Hernando de Soto in 1537. Upon his departure for Florida, Soto left her in virtual charge of the government of Cuba (but see *post*, note 46). She was an able and strong-willed woman. On the occasion of her marriage, her mother executed a document (“Escritura de dote y arras de Doña Isabel de Bobadilla”) by which the dower given with her daughter amounted in value to six thousand ducats, and consisted of the cattle, mares, and their increase, as well as all the buildings of a ranch in Panama owned by Pedrarias Dávila (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 157–166; original of this document in AI, 50-2-55/10, Papeles de Justicia, 750). Before he left Havana for Florida, Soto gave his wife (May 17, 1539) power of attorney, by which she was authorized to administer all his properties during his absence (see this in Solar and Rújula, pp. 167–177; original in AI, 50-2-55/10). On June 2, 1539, only about a fortnight after her husband’s departure for Florida, Isabel, by virtue of the power of attorney given her, summoned Hernán Ponce de León by due course of law to state whether he were in accordance with the documents of partnership contract he had signed with Soto (see *ante*, note 2), for it had been reported that he had stated before royal notary that he had signed the contracts under compulsion (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 179–184; original in AI, 50-2-55/10). This was the beginning of the long lawsuit between these two and the heirs of Ponce de León. It is perhaps doubtful that Isabel died shortly after hearing of her husband’s death.

12. *Conquer*. A long document of April 20, 1537 (conserved in AI, 32-4-29/35; another copy in 50-2-55/10), granted to Hernando de Soto the titles of governor, captain general, and adelantado of Florida. This specified fully the conditions under which the expedition was to be undertaken. Another royal decree of equal date conferred on him also the governorship of the island of Cuba (see *Colección de Documentos inéditos . . . de América y Oceanía*, XXII, 534–546; see English translation by Buckingham Smith in his *Narratives*, pp. 266–272). Another decree, dated Valladolid, May 4, 1537, also set forth that Soto was to be governor of Cuba during the period of the conquest, but that he was to appoint an alcalde mayor (who must also be a lawyer) to act as his agent during his absence (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, IV, 431–437; original in AI, 79-4-1). A separate decree of the same date (AI, 50-2-55/10) also granted him the titles of adelantado and captain general of Florida (see this in Solar and Rújula, pp. 289–290). By a decree of August 18, 1537, Soto was granted permission to take what food was necessary from Cuba (AI, 32-4-29/35) and on August 20, he was granted additional privileges (AI, *ibid.*). On August 14, 1543, a decree dispatched from Valladolid granted the title of governor of the island of Fernandina (an early name of the island of Cuba) to Licentiate Juanes de Avila in place of Soto, from whom no news had been received (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . .*

*de Ultramar*, VI, 190-195; original in AI, 46-4-1/33). Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz had been alcalde mayor for Soto in Cuba (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 204-209; original in AI, 47-2-23/18).

13. *Narváez*. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer of the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez to Florida in 1527, was one of four survivors of that expedition to reach Mexico. His narrative of 1542 will be reproduced in facsimile, with a new translation into English in a future volume to be published by the Florida State Historical Society. [The plans of the Florida State Historical Society to sponsor a new translation of the Cabeza de Vaca manuscript and to publish it were not realized. That failure is regrettable, as the translation into English by Fanny Bandelier is an extremely free one, although, for the Apalachee portion at least, her editing of Cabeza de Vaca's account is not as extensive as her prefatory warning to her readers might lead them to suspect. In those remarks, she noted that it was "impossible to follow the original more than remotely, and paraphrasing had to be resorted to."—JH] For information relative to the Narváez expedition, see Buckingham Smith, *Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca* (New York, 1871); Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements* (New York, 1901), pp. 172-212; and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 26-45.

14. *Dorantes*. Andrés Dorantes, one of the four survivors of the Narváez expedition.

15. *Reales*. Buckingham Smith in his translation, following Hakluyt (1609), the French translation of 1685, and the English of 1686, says wrongly 60,000 reales.

16. *Niece*. In his will, which is dated San Cristobal de la Habana, May 10, 1539, Soto makes provision for this relative as follows: "Also, I order that, inasmuch as I gave Isabel de Soto, my niece, in marriage to Don Carlos Enriquez, and it was arranged that I should give her at her marriage whatever dowry I might wish to give, I order that three thousand ducats be given him from my property, which are included in the dowry of marriage of the said Doña Isabel de Soto, my niece" (Solar and Rújula, p. 214). Buckingham Smith (*Narratives*, p. 276) also translates this passage of the will, but mistranslates "sobrina" as "cousin."

17. *Fernandez*. It has been generally assumed that one of these Portuguese who accompanied Soto was the author of the present relation.

18. [The Portuguese for the words Robertson rendered as "a rent of wheat," *pão de renda*, translated literally would be "bread of rent" or "bread revenue."—JH]

*Geiras*. A land measure denoting the area a team of oxen can plough in a day. By some it is given as a rectangle 120 x 240 feet. Roughly it might be considered as the equivalent of the French arpent or the English acre.

19. *Biedma*. The correct name is Luis Fernández de Biedma, not "Antonio" as here. He was appointed factor of the expedition by royal decree of Madrid, December 10, 1537; and his duties were outlined in a later decree of Valladolid, January 14, 1538 (original in AI, 32-4-29-35). He wrote a relation of the expedition which was published in a rather free French translation by Henri Ternaux-Compans (*Voyages Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1841,

XX, 51–106). An English adaptation made from the French of Ternaux-Compans was published by B. F. French, *Historical Collection of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1850), and a translation from the same source appeared in William B. Rye, *Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (London, 1851). It was published in Spanish for the first time by Buckingham Smith in *Collección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida* (Londres, 1857); and in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), Smith published a new English translation (pp. 229–261). It was also published in Spanish in *Collección de Doc. inéd. . . . de América*, III, (1865), pp. 414–441. Fernández de Biedma also signed the letter from the royal officials to the Spanish monarch, written from Havana on May 18, 1539, announcing that the expedition was about to leave Cuba for Florida (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 54–56; original manuscript in AI, 51-1-34, No.1, and translation into English by Buckingham Smith, *Narratives*, pp. 281–282). His account (probably official) of the expedition is short, but on the whole an excellent report.

20. *Añasco*. See *ante*, note 9.

21. *Juan Gaytán*. A document in AI, 32-4-29/35, contains a decree of May 4, 1537, outlining the duties of the treasurer of the expedition, Diego de Corral, but this man evidently did not go on the expedition after all. Another decree in the same legajo is addressed to one Jorge Gaytán. Gaytán signed the letter of May 18, 1539 (see *ante*, note 19). He was one of those who returned from Florida (see Buckingham Smith, *Narr.*, p. 295, where he is mentioned as a native of Talavera la Reina).

22. *Six hundred men*. Fernández de Biedma says there were 620 men and 223 horses (see B. Smith, *Narr.*, p. 221). Solar and Rújula (pp. 275–334) give a list of those who went on the expedition—almost 650 in number. However, the list (original in AI, 45-1-1/17) is not altogether accurate, for the names of some who actually went do not appear; and others whose names are in the list evidently did not go. In the list, it is interesting to note, is the name of Juan Coles, the witness cited by Garcilaso de la Vega in his *La Florida del Inca*, who he said furnished him valuable material for his book. The entry relative to Coles is as follows: “Juan Coles, son of Juan Coles and Luisa Rodriguez, inhabitants of Zafra” (p. 323). All but three of the Portuguese mentioned in the text can be identified in this list, but they are mentioned as being inhabitants of Badajoz (probably in order to avoid any charge of taking foreigners on the expedition). Those who have been identified are André de Vasconcelos, Men Rodriguez (probably the “Mem” of the text), Alvaro Hernandez (for Alvaro Fernandez), Benito Hernandez (for Bento Fernandez), Juan Cordero (for Ioam Cordeiro), and Esteban Pegado. See also *post*, note 24.

23. *Daughter*. The governor of the Canaries was a cousin of Isabel de Bobadilla, and his natural daughter was named Leonor. See Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores*, p. 132.

24. *Whitsuntide*. The cabildo of the city of Santiago, in a letter of July 26, 1538 (abstract in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 36–37; and apparently given in full in B. Smith, *Narr.*, pp. 288–291, where he wrongly dates it 1539), mentions the

arrival in Cuba of Soto and his men on June 7 with five ships and 600 men and says that preparations were being made for the voyage to Florida. As his *alcalde mayor* he had appointed Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz. The arrival in Cuba is noted also in a letter of July 20, 1538 (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 27–35), by Gonzalo de Guzmán, formerly lieutenant governor in Cuba, as follows: “On June 7, Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto reached this port with six vessels and a fine body of men, about five hundred in all, who say they comprise the whole body” (p. 33). The arrival is mentioned also in a letter of August 1, 1538, written by Bernardo de Quesada, procurator of Santiago (*ibid.*, pp. 39–42), who says: “On June 9 of this present year, there arrived in this island of Cuba and city of Santiago, Hernando de Soto, governor of this island and adelantado of Florida, with over five hundred men” (p. 39).

25. *Need.* In his letter of July 20, 1538 (see *ante*, note 24), Gonzalo de Guzmán says (pp. 33–34) in speaking of the arrival of Soto and his men in Cuba: “They disembarked at this port and were lodged in this city, and in the farms of the inhabitants thereof, from which all have received much inconvenience; for since many ships coming from the coast of Tierra Firme are always putting in at this port, the greatest and sole profit of the inhabitants of this city is that of selling them all the provisions which they obtain and possess. And on that account and because this year has been very unproductive, we have had so great a lack of food that there was not even enough for all the inhabitants. And it comes to pass that, although the people had need of it, he has so much need of it that it seems to me that, without abundance of food, neither war nor pacification can be made. And, together with this, [there is] less money with which to provide food, wherever it can be found. What I have regretted in him is that he is planning to stay in this island until this may be remedied in one way or another; and that, in fact, the inhabitants have suffered and are suffering much inconvenience because of the food which they are giving to all his men at their own expense. Outside of this, I see ability and so good a manner in his person that I believe he will achieve a better result than the previous ones. Please God that this may not be so prejudicial to the island, that we inhabitants thereof may have to abandon it; for, besides having supported and supporting him and his men, we learn that they are going to take some of our young men and inhabitants away with them; and without them we can give up everything and live with difficulty in the land. He has his eyes and his thought so fixed on Florida that he will give little heed to the loss of this land. We can not help complaining loudly for the present and because of what I have mentioned, for especially we are expecting the Indians in revolt to cause great harm daily, and since the aforementioned Soto came they have done us a great deal of hurt, so that, although the island has greater need of aid, a greater loss comes upon it. For we are sure that he can not leave here these eight months, and although there is not enough to feed the natives, the necessity of feeding five hundred men at the latter’s expense, whatever remedy is sought it can not but come late.”

Quesada (see *ante*, note 24) says also (pp. 39–40): “He was lodged in this city of Santiago and its environs and on the farms of the inhabitants of this city, and they

have been fed until now without the inhabitants having any gain therefrom. The inhabitants of this city are in revolt, because for two years, one after the other, the weather has been very poor for the raising of provisions. On this account, the inhabitants are experiencing considerable trouble in supporting so many people at their own expense. Since this island has been a mother for the settling of New Spain and the supplying of Tierra Firme, and since after the discovery of Peru, many provisions and horses and Spanish Christians have left this island, it is considerably depopulated and bereft of any one to act for it, and if your Majesty does not remedy it, it is headed clear for destruction.

"Its destruction is that Governor Hernando de Soto is going away on his conquest of Florida and will try to take all the Spaniards who are most useful in keeping this island peaceful, and prevent the inhabitants of this island from selling horses or provisions to Tierra Firme or Peru; for hitherto, the inhabitants have been aided by selling horses and provisions to the ships coming to look for them for Tierra Firme and Peru. Since Governor Hernando de Soto is now preventing that, as I have said, the inhabitants of this island and your Majesty's subjects are receiving very great injury and the country is being depopulated. And although your Majesty has little income in this island at present, it has been because of supporting other places where your Majesty has many subjects and much income." See also, *post*, note 37.

26. *Houses*. For the early history of Santiago de Cuba, see Irene A. Wright, *The Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586* (New York, 1916).

27. *Mamei*. The mamee apple, sometimes called the St. Domingo apricot (*Mameia Americana*). Both tree and fruit were described by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid ed., 1851-1852), I, book VIII, chapter XX, "Del Arbol mamey ó de su fructa, llamada assi mismo mamey," pp. 305-307; and by Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Mundo Nuevo* (Seville, 1890-1893), II, 20-21. The fruit, which is still much esteemed today, has also medicinal value.

28. *Potatoes*. The cassava root has played an important role in the history of the world. The land of its origin is still a moot question (see Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America*, Philadelphia, 1920-1922, I, 210-216). The name "cassava" properly designates the starchy content of the plant, but has been extended to the plant itself. The proper common name is "manioc" and the commercial product is called "tapioca." There are two varieties, the bitter and the sweet, so designated from the amount of prussic acid present. The sweet variety has been grown extensively in Florida for many years and to some extent in other southern states of the United States. See Harvey W. Wiley, *Sweet Cassava: Its Culture, Properties, and Uses*, Bull. No. 44, Division of Chemistry, United States Department of Agriculture (Washington, 1894); and Charles C. Moore, *Cassava: Its Content of Hydrocyanic Acid and Starch and other Properties*, Bull. No. 106, *ibid.* (Washington, 1907). Much has been written about this plant, both in old and modern works. Among early writers, consult Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*

(Madrid, 1851), I, book VII, chap. II, “Del pan de las Indias que so llama caçabi”; José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590), pp. 239–240 (Eng. transl.); *The naturall and morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (London, 1604), pp. 257–258; and Jean Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1667–1671), II, Traite III, section XIV, pp. 112–118. [Elvas’s allusion to potatoes here probably refers to the sweet potato or yam rather than to the so-called “Irish potato.” As the conquest of Peru occurred only a little over twenty years before the publication of Elvas’s account, it is doubtful whether knowledge of this new “potato” from the Peruvian and Bolivian highlands had yet spread very widely.—JH] [The work by the eccentric Weiner, here cited by Robertson, is now almost universally disregarded. Cassava is quite certainly a Native American domesticate.—VJK]

29. *Meat*. These wild cattle and hogs had escaped from the Spaniards who introduced them into the island of Española and others of the West Indies. The wild cattle, especially, were destined to play a large part in the conquering and peopling of America. To exploit them, men of various nationalities formed themselves into bands, especially in Española and later in Jamaica; and from the method employed in curing the carcasses of the cattle, were called buccaneers (from the Indian word *boucan*). See Exquemelin’s interesting narrative, *Bucaniers of America*, which first appeared in Dutch, but was later translated into many languages. Many dogs also escaped from civilization.

30. *Cuba*. The island of Cuba, exclusive of the Isle of Pines and many of the nearby keys, has an area of about 43,000 sq. mi. It is 730 miles long by 20 to 90 miles wide.

31. *Houses*. For the early history of Havana, see Irene A. Wright, *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en el Siglo XVI* (Havana, 1927); and *The early History of Cuba*.

32. *Island*. Santiago was the metropolitan see for Florida during the Spanish occupation of the latter. See James Alexander Robertson, “Notes on Early Church Government in Spanish Florida,” in *Catholic Historical Review*, XVII, July, 1931, pp. 151–174.

33. *Hands*. Buckingham Smith, evidently following Hakluyt, who makes the same error, mistranslates this passage, saying “with a cudgel in his hands.”

34. *Brother-in-law*. The French translation of 1685 and its English translation of 1686 call Carlos a cousin of Soto. In reality he had married Soto’s niece (see *ante*, note 16).

35. *Eastern*. So in our text, but certainly an error for “western.” This was probably an error of the printer, who must have mistaken the word “loeste” meaning “west” for “leste” meaning “east.” Hakluyt corrected the error without comment.

36. *Bayamo*. The Spanish town of Bayamo—called from its old Indian name—was founded by the conquistador Diego Velázquez (see Wright, *Early History of Cuba*). The town is located on the Bayamo River, a branch of the Cauto. In his letter of July 20, 1538, Gonzalo Guzmán notes (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 32–33)

that the inhabitants of Bayamo were considering changing its location, and asks that they be forbidden to do this.

37. *Indians*. The Bishop of Cuba, writing to Charles V on August 15, 1539 (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 58), said: "As soon as Soto arrived, he ordered that no person, under penalty of death, should sell horses or provisions outside the island. He has taken 250 horses, has supported 500 men for almost a year, and has taken provisions for another year—all this without paying scarcely any money. How much hurt he has caused the inhabitants who maintain themselves by their farms and their animals! Add to this that he has taken with him the men of the island who are of use in war. This will cause the Indians to revolt and it is to be feared that they will leave not a single Christian alive." See also, *ante*, note 25.

Gonzalo de Guzmán, in a letter to the monarch on August 28, 1539 (abstract by Muñoz in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 59–60), said: "Soto, in addition to having been a year with his men eating at the expense of the inhabitants, committed two very grievous wrongs: 1. By depriving the island of its greatest source of gain, for he ordered that neither provisions nor horses be exported, since which time no vessels have been coming here and the people are in a desperate condition. 2. By taking Porcallo, who was in the province of the city of Trinidad in the middle of the island, who by himself had more wealth than four ports together and was greatly feared. Soto is sending everything to Florida where he will have to stay and this island is done for." The account of Juan de Agramonte, written at Santiago, on September 3, 1539 (AI, 54-1-34, No. 2; also published in (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 61–68), says: "The other reason [for the desperate condition of the island] is that Governor Don Hernando de Soto ordered, under penalty of death, that no person withdraw from this island any horses or provisions. . . ."

The royal officials in their letter to the king on May 18, 1539 (see *ante*, note 19), stated that Soto was about to leave for Florida with nine ships, 237 horses, 330 foot, and altogether 513 men excluding the sailors. He also had 300 loaves of cassava bread, 2500 shoulders of bacon, and 2500 fanegas of maize; and in order to insure a continuous supply of provisions he had bought up many pasturages.

38. *Lizards*. Alligators.

39. *More*. The maja (*Epicrates angulifer*), which is still found. As the narrator says, it is harmless to people. It reaches a length of twelve feet and feeds on birds and small mammals. The name is also applied in Cuba to another snake (*Tropidophis malanurus*) which seldom reaches over a yard in length.

40. *Porcallo*. Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa was born in Cáceres, Spain, in the second half of the fifteenth century and died in Puerto Príncipe, Cuba (which he had founded), in 1550. His family was of noble extraction and related to the Dukes of Feria. Entering upon the profession of arms, he served with distinction in Spain and Italy; and when still a young man went to America and soon settled in Cuba, becoming the original settler in the province of Camaguey. There he founded the settlement of San Juan de los Remedios, which soon attained to considerable importance. He was Di-

ego Velázquez's first choice for the leader of the expedition on which Cortés entered. He became one of the wealthiest landowners in Cuba and one of the most ruthless. He was very active. He became procurator in Sancti Spiritus and aided Velázquez in the founding of Baracoa. The Bishop of Santiago in his letter of August 15, 1539 (see *ante*, note 37), reported that Soto had taken Porcallo, who was powerful, wealthy, and feared, to Florida, on which account the Indians had lost their fear of the Spaniards. However, the Florida campaign not being much to his liking because of the hardships and the small chance of getting Indian slaves, he returned to Cuba almost immediately, as related in the text. However, he left his natural son, Gómez de Figueroa, with Soto. See Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, book II, chap. XI, pp. 48–50, for an amusing account of Porcallo's discomfiture on the expedition to the district of Paracoxi; and Lowery, *Spanish Settlements . . . 1513–1561*, pp. 220–222. See also *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLVI, 459–460; and Wright, *Early History of Cuba, passim*. Buckingham Smith, *Collección de varios Documentos* (Londrés, 1857) reproduces a "Declaración" made by him on February 28, 1522 (pp. 45–87).

41. *Sancti Spiritus*. In 1544, Sancti Spiritus (founded in 1514 by Diego de Velázquez) had a population of eighteen citizens, fifty-eight free Indians on encomiendas, fourteen Negro, and fifty Indian slaves. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XIII, 1189; and Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba, passim*.

42. *River*. Probably the Yayabo.

43. *Trinidad*. Founded in 1514. Las Casas was one of its original settlers. See Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba, passim*.

44. *Porcallo de Figueroa*. See *ante*, note 40.

45. *Havana*. By a royal cédula, issued in Valladolid, March 20, 1538, Soto was ordered to construct a fort at Havana (see Wright, *Historia documentada de . . . Habana en el Siglo XVI*, I, 184). Soto delegated the building of the fort to Francisco Aceituno, an aged inhabitant of Santiago de Cuba, to whom an annual salary of 100,000 maravedís was assigned. The fort was built in seven months and Aceituno was appointed its governor with an annual salary of 75,000 maravedís (*ibid.*, pp. 16–17).

46. *Juan de Rojas*. Juan de Rojas was for many years one of the most prominent citizens of Havana. See Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba, passim*; and *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, *passim*.

47. *Florida*. Probably at a point on Tampa Bay and not on Charlotte Harbor as some have contended. Such is the opinion of Lowery, *Spanish Settlements . . . 1513–1561*, p. 219; as well as of Mr. John C. Cooper, Jr., of Jacksonville, Florida, who has made a careful study of this question from the evidence of narratives and maps; and of Mrs. Isabel Garrard Patterson, of Atlanta, Georgia, who is now endeavoring to establish Soto's route with more accuracy than has yet been done. Rangel (see Bourne, *Narratives*, II, 51–54) gives many details of the landing. [Robertson did this translation in 1933, before very much work on the De Soto trail was published. In 1939, John R. Swanton published the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, representing a major effort to establish De Soto's route.



More recently, many scholars have suggested various revisions of the route that Swanton suggested, affecting particularly the route followed by De Soto during his second year of exploration after breaking his winter camp in Apalachee.—[JH]

48. *Ucita*. Called Oçita by Rangel, Soto's private secretary, in his account of the expedition (see Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 52). The place is called the port of Baya Honda by Luis Fernández de Biedma, the factor, in his relation (see *ibid.*, II, 3). Soto probably took possession for Spain of Florida (June 3, 1539) on the shore of the bay opposite this place (see Rangel, in Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 56).

49. *Six*. Rangèi (Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 54–55) says: "they lighted upon ten Indians . . . and they [the Indians] shot two horses and the Spaniards slew two Indians and put the rest to flight."

50. *Luis de Moscoso*. See *ante*, note 10.

51. [*Junto à praya* are the Portuguese words that Robertson rendered as "near the beach." The Portuguese *junto* as used here has the same sense of "next to" or "on" rather than simply "near," which is *perto* or *cêrca*. The Portuguese word that Robertson translated as "artificially" (*à mão*) rendered literally would be "by hand."—[JH] *Fortress*. The remains of this artificial mound are still to be seen a few miles from Gadsdens Point (Lowery, pp. 219–220). Garcilaso de la Vega gives the name of the town as Hirriga.

52. *Vasconcelos*. One of the Portuguese from Elvas. Pedro de Calderón was the son of Rodrigo Calderón and Beatriz de Hoces, of Badajoz. He took with him his two sons, Rodrigo Calderón and Gregorio de Hoces. All three returned from Florida. See Solar and Rújula, *Hernando de Soto*, pp. 276–277; and B. Smith, *Narratives*, p. 292. Solar and Rújula (p. 281) say that there were three of the Cardenosa, namely, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco, sons of Gutierre Garcia Calderón and María Romo. All three returned from Florida (see B. Smith, *Narr.*, p. 293). The name Tinoco shows that they were related to Soto through his mother.

53. *Lobillo*. See *ante*, note 10. Captain Francisco Maldonado was the son of Rodrigo Maldonado and Beatriz Ordoñez, of Salamanca (Solar and Rújula, p. 333). He made repeated voyages in search of Soto, on one occasion going as far north as Newfoundland (see Lowery, pp. 250–251).

54. *Indians*. Hakluyt, who is followed by the French edition of 1685 and its English translation of 1686, says "two" Indians. Rangel (Bourne, *Narr.*, II, 55) says that Añasco had seized four Indians when he went in search of a harbor in Florida before the expedition actually left Cuba. One Indian, he says, was sent by Soto to persuade the cacique to make peace. Two of the others escaped.

55. *Huts*. Hakluyt (p. 20) mistranslates, saying that Baltasar de Gallegos had captured the four Indian women.

56. *Life*. Rangel (Bourne, *Narr.*, II, 56–57) says that Ortiz was in a band of twenty Indians, all painted red, adorned with feathers, and armed with bows and arrows. According to him, the salutation of Ortiz was "Sirs, for the love of God and of Holy Mary, say not me; I am a Christian like yourselves and was born in Seville, and my

name is Johan Ortiz." Fernández de Biedma says (Bourne, II, 4) that for more than four days, Ortiz could not speak without uttering four or five Indian words to one of Spanish.

57. *Returned.* Various writers have attempted to weave a romance about this early "Pocahontas," but with no real authority for so doing. Garcilaso de la Vega recites the episode of Ortiz with great detail (*La Florida del Inca*, fols. 39–46). Rangel (Bourne, II, 57–58) says that Mucoço was peaceful and for that reason was threatened by the other chiefs of his vicinity.

58. *Twelve.* Hakluyt (p. 25) says "ten or eleven." Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 3) says there were nine Indians, and Rangel (see note 56) twenty. Lewis, "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto," in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528–1543* (p. 150, note), conjectures that the town of Mucoço was located west of Miakka River (Macaco of the old maps), but this is doubtful, for Lewis locates the first landfall in Florida on Charlotte Harbor instead of Tampa Bay.

59. *Paracoxi.* Paracoxi (Hurripacuxi in Fernández de Biedma, Bourne, II, 5, and Orriparacogi in Rangel, *ibid.*, p. 60) was evidently not the name of the cacique, but the title of the superior chief of the region. The name apparently reappears in the relation of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues (Frankfort, 1591) and in Laudonnière's *Histoire Notable* (Paris, 1586), where it has the forms Paraousti and Paracousi and is said to be the equivalent of king. For variants of the name, see John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, Bulletin No. 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1922, p. 327. See also Lowery, *Span. Settlements*, p. 221.

60. *You.* This and all subsequent talks attributed to the Indian caciques are undoubtedly apocryphal and simply put into the mouths of the speakers. After leaving this cacique, Fernández de Biedma says (Bourne, II, 5) that they went for fifteen or twenty leagues to a town called Etocale (the Cale of our text) where they found food and stayed for about a week.

61. *Espiritu Santo.* "So called from the day when the governor and his fleet arrived" (Rangel, Bourne, II, 63).

62. *Time.* With the ships was dispatched the celebrated letter of Soto to the cabildo of Santiago de Cuba, dated July 9, 1539. An English translation will be found in B. Smith, *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (Washington, 1854), pp. 7–10, and *Narr.*, pp. 288–291; and in Bourne, II, 159–165. See also J. A. Robertson, *Documents in Span. Archives relating to the History of the U.S.*, p. 7, for location of copies of the original.

63. *Him.* See Rangel's account of Porcallo's departure in Bourne, II, 61–62. Among other things, Rangel says: "The departure of this cavalier was regretted by many since he was a friend of good men and did much for them." It was agreed that Porcallo should still look after the provisioning of the expedition from Cuba. He seems to have kept on good terms with Isabel de Bobadilla.

64. *Cale*. The word probably survives in the modern name “Ocala” (Rangel uses the form “Ocale”). Swanton (Bull. No. 73) says (p. 327) that it was a province north of the Withlacoochee, not far from the present Ocala. He gives the variants Ocale, Ocaly, Etocale, Ologale. See Rangel’s statement (Bourne, II, 62–63) relative to Soto’s instructions to Gallegos regarding the dual reports he was to make on his explorations. In his letter of July 9, 1539, Soto says of this town: “. . . Afterwards, farther on, at the distance of two days’ journey, there is another town, called Ocale. It is so large, and they so extol it, that I dare not repeat all that is said. . . . On our coming together we will march to join Baltazar de Gallegos, that we may go thence to pass the winter at Ocale, where, if what is said be true, we shall have nothing to desire.” See B. Smith, *Narratives*, pp. 285–286. [If Elvas’s recollection is reliable here, Paracoxi’s town must have been deep in the center of the peninsula for Cale to have been “toward the west” from it. The Portuguese, *para ponente* (“toward the setting sun”) leaves no doubt that “toward the west” was intended by Elvas.—JH]

65. *Years*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 63) says that the men ordered to remain behind with Calderón “were heavy in spirit.” He puts them at forty horse and sixty foot.

66. *Acela*. Called “Vicela” by Rangel (Bourne, II, 65). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 330) says it was a small town somewhat south of the Withlacoochee.

67. *Tocaste*. The same form is used by Rangel. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 329) says it was located on a large lake some distance south of the Withlacoochee. See Lewis’s conjecture in *Spanish Explorers*, p. 155, note 1.

68. *Lacking*. Rangel appears to have been sent on this errand (see Bourne, II, 65–66).

69. *Blites*. Probably greens of some sort. [As Henry F. Dobyns noted on pages 221–22 of *Their Number Become Thinned* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), the Portuguese term *bredos*, which Robertson translated as “blites” and speculated were “probably greens of some sort,” is more specific. James L. Taylor, in his *Portuguese-English Dictionary* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958), gives the following range of possibilities for *brede*: princess feather (*Amaranthus hypochondriacus*), the blite goosefoot (*Chenopodium capilatum*), spiny amaranth (*A. spinosus*), the tumbleweed amaranth (*A. graecizans*), amaranth or love-lies-bleeding (*A. caudatus sanguineus*), among others. An English equivalent more comprehensible than “blites” would be “pigweed” or “lamb’s quarters.”—JH]

70. *Apalache*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 69) says that Apalache “was reported to be populous.” Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 5) says that several forays were made in order to get Indians for guides. [The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as “one of two Indians who were captured told” is *e dos que se tomaram disse um*. Here *dos* is the Portuguese contraction of *de* and *os*, meaning “of those,” rather than the Spanish *dos*, meaning “two,” which is what Robertson has taken *dos* for. In order for this phrase to be rendered as Robertson has rendered it, it would have to be, *e de os dois indios que se tomaram disse um*. The usual Portuguese for

“two” is *dois*. The passage should be rendered as “one of those who were captured said.”—JH]

71. *1540*. *Sic* in our text, but an error for 1539. This is corrected by Hakluyt and by B. Smith. The date of the departure is the same in Rangel.

72. *Ytara*. Itaraholata in Rangel (Bourne, II, 69). The word *holata* means “chief” (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 323).

73. *Utinama*. The name Potano is given also by Rangel (Bourne, II, 70); but Utinama becomes Utinamocharra in the latter.

74. *Mala Paz*. This story is also related by Rangel (Bourne, II, 70). [The five villages mentioned by Elvas may have been the total for the province. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Potano was spoken of as having five settlements.—JH]

75. *Built*. The river over which the bridge was built is called the River of Discord by Rangel (Bourne, II, 71) because of certain quarrels which are not explained.

76. *Caliquen*. Aguacalecuen in the narrative by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 5), and Aguascaleyquen in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 71). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 323) says this town and province seem to have been located between the Suwanee and its branch, the Santa Fe.

77. *Saddled*. Hakluyt (p. 32) mistranslates this passage as follows: “and that we should be put out of doubt before it were long.”

78. *Ten*. Rangel gives the date of departure as September 9 (Bourne, II, 72).

79. *Uzachil*. Called Veachile by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 6), Uchachile and Uçachile by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 73), and Ossachile by Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, fols. 88–90; see also Barnard Shipp, *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 299–301. This region may have been the seat of the Indians called Osochi, perhaps an offshoot of the Timucua (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 165–167). [There seems to be no good reason for identifying Uzachil as other than a Yustagan settlement, as De Soto was clearly on the trail to Apalachee and from Uzachil passed on to Axille, which is the Asile of the mission era on the border of Apalachee.—JH]

80. *Napetuca*. Rangel mentions two towns on the way to Napetuca (Napituca, Napetaca), namely Uriutina (a village of pleasant aspect and abundant food) and one called Many Waters (so called because of the heavy rains). Napetuca is located by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 327) as lying apparently in the province of Aguascalecuen, between the Suwanee and Sante Fe rivers. Rangel (Bourne, II, 73) describes Napetuca as “a very pleasant village, in a pretty spot, with plenty of food.” Rangel and the text agree here as to date. [Inasmuch as Elvas referred to Uzachil as paramount for all the Timucua territory between Caliquen and Uzachil, it would seem more logical to refer to the region as the Province of Uzachil. In mission times, the territory from Caliquen to the river just beyond Napetuca (the Suwannee) was part of the Province of Utina, and the chief of the settlement that is believed to have been Caliquen was the paramount chief for all the Timucua-speaking territory west to Apalachee.—JH]

81. *Arrows*. See Rangel's account of these happenings, which differs considerably in detail from that of our text (Bourne, II, 73-77).

82. *River*. Called Deer River by the men because of the occurrence noted here (see also Rangel, in Bourne, II, 77).

83. *Hapaluya*. Apalu in Rangel (Bourne, II, 78). The form Apalou appears in Laudonnière (*Histoire Notable*, fol. 93), as applied to one of the caciques. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 324) locates this district in the northwestern part of Timucua country near Uzachil (see *ante*, note 79) in the province of Hostagua; and says that the word signifies "fort" in Timucua. [There apparently was more than one settlement bearing the name Apalo. The Le Moyne map shows an Appalou located a little to the northeast of Potano. In 1616, Fray Gerónimo de Oré described Apalo as a mission station two and one-half days' journey by foot from the Fresh Water Timucua mission of San Antonio on the route to San Francisco Potano. Maynard Geiger, the translator of Oré's work, placed Apalo south of Lake Orange.—JH]

84. *Axille*. Aguille in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 7) and Agile by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 78). This was Asile (Swanton gives many other variants) which was an important town in the westernmost part of the Timucua country, and which later gave its name to the mission of San Miguel de Assile and to the Ocilla River (Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 324). [There is nothing in the De Soto accounts or in the mission-era documentation that indicates that Asile was an important town. In 1675, Asile was listed as having only forty people, while the other three Yustagan missions each had about three hundred people (see Juan Fernández de Florencia to Pablo de Hita Salazar, San Luis de Apalachee, July 15, 1675, AGI, Santo Domingo 839, Stetson Collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History of the University of Florida at Gainesville).—JH]

85. *Forest*. The last clause of this sentence is omitted by Hakluyt.

86. *Vitachuco*. Ivatachuco in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 17) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 79). See also Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 112, for other information regarding this Apalache town. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 161, note 1) points out that the day of St. Francis falls on October 4, but that this day did not come on Wednesday in 1539. Rangel (Bourne, II, 79) says the crossing was made on Friday, October 3. [During the mission era, Vitachuco's chief was referred to repeatedly as the most prestigious or the most important of Apalachee's chiefs, rather than the chief of San Luis, who was heir to the chiefdom of Anhaica Apalachee (see John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1988), 98-100.—JH)]

87. *Uzela*. Rangel says (Bourne, II, 79) that on Sunday, October 5, the Spaniards reached the town of Calahuchi, an Apalache town. Lewis (*Span. Explorers*, p. 161, note 3) identifies this with Uzela, but it may have been one of the other small towns thereabout.

88. *Anhaica Apalache*. Iniahico in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 7) and Iviahica in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 79). Swanton seems to accept the form Iniahica as the

correct one (see Bull. No. 73, p. 111). The town was evidently in the neighborhood of the present Tallahassee. The Apalache Indians were a Muskogean group, whose name in Hitchiti apparently means "on the other side." Their habitat at the time of their first discovery by Europeans was that portion of the present western part of Florida lying between the Ocilla River on the east and the Ocklochnee and its branches on the west. The center of their territory seems to have been at about the location of the present Tallahassee, but they probably extended as far north as southern Georgia. In culture they were probably midway between the other Florida Indians and their own Muskogean relatives toward the north. Many Spanish missions were established among them in the seventeenth century.

They were first mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca in his narrative (see Adolphe Bandelier, *Journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, New York, 1922, pp. 12–13, 24, 25–26, 27, 28–34). In addition to the short notice in our text, they are mentioned by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 6–7); Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 78–80, 82); Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, in his memoir written about 1575 (B. Smith's translation, *Letter of Hernando de Soto and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda*, Washington, 1854); Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca* (from Alonso de Carmona; see Bourne, II, 151–152). These references as well as later ones, are given in Swanton, Bull. No. 73 (*q.v.*, pp. 109–129). See also Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian* (Washington, 1907), I, 67–68.

[Robertson's surmise about the location of Anhaica Apalachee has been borne out by discovery of the location of De Soto's winter camp at the Martin site in downtown Tallahassee. The site is on a hill adjacent to the one on which the state's Capitol complex stands. The alternate names of Anhaica and Iniahico used by the De Soto chroniclers reappeared in the 1657 visitation record for the San Luis mission, which was referred to variously as San Luis Xinayca and San Luis Nixaxipa (see Hann, "Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986): 93, 95). There appears to be little evidence for Robertson's statement that Apalachee territory "probably extended as far north as southern Georgia." B. Calvin Jones, in his surface-collecting expeditions, has found little evidence of an Apalachee presence much north of Lakes Jackson and Iamonia. Gary Shapiro speculated that southern Georgia's lack of such bodies of water was a reason the Apalachee did not move into that territory (personal communication).

Robertson's remark "In culture they were probably midway between the other Florida Indians and their own Muskogean relatives toward the north" is not very clear. If Robertson meant to say that the Apalachee were only half as Mississippian or half as advanced as their neighbors to the north, his remark is open to serious question.

Robertson's statement "Many Spanish missions . . ." might be changed to "Eleven Spanish missions."—JH]

89. *Plums*. The dried plums were probably persimmons. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 117, note) calls attention to a possible misprint in the original near this point. The

sentence beginning “In that town” translates as follows, if the punctuation of the original be kept, “In that town, the maestre de campo, . . . lodged them all within a league and a half league about that town.” The reading as suggested by Swanton is more logical and has been adopted in the present translation.

90. *Horses*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 7) says they found the place where “the forge had stood, and many bones of horses”; and adds: “The Indians told us, through the interpreters, what others like us there had done.” Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 79–80) says that Añasco recognized the place “by the headpieces of the horses and the place where the forge was set up and the mangers and the mortars that they used to grind corn and by the crosses cut in the trees.” Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 162, note 2) says that the Spaniards knew this place as Bahía de Caballos or Horse Bay, and identifies it as Bay Ocklockonee. [For the most recent scholarship on the location of Horse Bay, see Rochelle A. Marrinan, John F. Scarry, and Rhonda L. Majors, “Prelude to De Soto: The Expedition of Pánfilo De Narváez,” in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 76–77.—JH]

91. *November 17*. This sentence showing the date of Calderón’s [Añasco’s] departure was omitted by B. Smith. Hakluyt says that Añasco set out on Saturday. The seventeenth of November really fell on Monday.

92. *November 29*. November 29 fell on Saturday as here given.

93. *Brigantines*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 81), gives the date of Añasco’s arrival at the port as November 19, but this is an evident error. December 28 fell on Sunday as given in our text (see Bourne, II, 81, note 13).

94. *Ochus*. This name appears later in the accounts of the expedition of Tristán de Luna y Arellano as Ochuse. Luna gave it the name Bahía de Santa María Filipina because he entered it on August 14 (the assumption of the Virgin) and in honor of Philip II. This was the harbor of Pensacola (see H. I. Priestley, *The Luna Papers*, index).

95. *Maldonado*. Maldonado never again saw the men of the expedition. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 9) says: “as we were about to set off in quest of the country which that Indian stated to be on another sea, he must return with the brigantines to Cuba, where Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, his wife, remained, and if within six months’ time he should hear nothing of us, to come with the brigantines, and run the shore as far as the River Espiritu Santo, to which we should have to resort.” Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 81–82) says that Maldonado left Apalache on February 26, 1540.

96. *Yupaha*. Probably a reference to Cufitachiqui.

97. 1540. This date agrees with that given by Rangel (Bourne, II, 82).

98. *River*. Called Guacuca by Rangel (Bourne, II, 82).

99. *Capachiqui*. Acapachiqui in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 9) and Capachequi in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 83). Swanton conjectures that this region belonged to the Indians now known as Hitchiti (see Bull. No. 73, p. 118).

100. *Friday*. Bourne (II, 52, note 1) points out that the 11th of the month in 1540 fell on Thursday.

101. *Five*. Rangel says "one hundred," which Bourne (II, 84, note) conjectures to be an error in transcription, "cient" being set down instead of "cinco."

102. *Toalli*. Otoa in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 10) and Toa in Rangel (*ibid.*, 84). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 12) says these various forms are synonyms of "Tamali," the name of a tribe living in what is now southern Georgia, and probably speaking a Hitchiti dialect. Rangel says they reached this place on the 23rd of the month. Bourne (I, 52, note 2) notes that Wednesday fell on the 24th.

103. *Tile*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 9–10) notices the difference of the habitations, saying: "There was a change in the habitations which were now in the earth, like caves; heretofore they were covered with palm leaves and with grass."

104. *Flax*. The bark cloth was probably made from the inner lining of the bark of the mulberry tree. Le Page du Pratz (*Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, II, 191–193) describes the method of manufacture of cloth from the mulberry bark much as does our text. The fiber mentioned by our author might have been the *Urena lobata* (popularly called Caesar's weed in Florida) or the so-called false sisal (*Agave decipiens*), both of which abound in Florida. See J. H. McCulloh, Jr., *Researches Philosophical and Antiquarian Concerning the Aboriginal History of America* (Baltimore, 1829), p. 153; Charles Richard Dodge, *A Report on the Uncultivated Bast Fibers of the United States* (Washington, 1894), p. 14, and *A Report on the Leaf Fibers of the United States* (Washington, 1893), pp. 28–33 (these being respectively "Fiber Investigations," Nos. 6 and 5 of the Department of Agriculture). On the clothing of the Indians in Florida, see also, Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 112, 346, 387, 391.

105. *Drowned*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 85) says: "On Tuesday morning they arrived at Toa, a large village, and the Governor wanted to go on further, but they would not suffer him. On Wednesday, the Governor went at midnight in secret with about forty horse, knights and gentlemen and some others, who for various reasons had not wished to be under another captain." Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, p. 10) says that before reaching this village, they crossed two rivers, over which they passed on bridges made by tying the trees together.

106. *Achese*. Called Chisi by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 10) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 85). The latter says that this place was reached on the morning of Holy Thursday; and adds that "though it was Holy Thursday there was not so strict a Christian that he scrupled to eat flesh." Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 226) conjectures that the Chisi, Ichisi, or Achese (the people inhabiting this village) belonged to the Coweta, the principal body of the Lower Creeks. He calls attention to the fact that "Ochisi (Otcí si) is a name applied to the Muskogee by Hitchiti-speaking peoples." [It is more likely that Elvas's Achese are the Hitchiti-speaking Uchise of later Spanish documents rather than the Muskogee-speaking Coweta that John R. Swanton favored.—JH]

107. *Ocute*. Called Ocuti by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 11). See Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 174–175, who conjectures that the Ocute Indians were identical with the Hitchiti and that this town was the Aeykite of the French census of 1760 and



the Hitch-e-tee of a map of 1818. [In a 1717 census of native settlements just outside of St. Augustine, which contained post-Yamasee War immigrants from Georgia and South Carolina, a chief of Ocute was identified as speaking Yamasee, in circumstances that suggest that Yamasee and Hitchiti were the same language (see John H. Hann, "St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 [1989]: 188–89). Other evidence suggests that Guale also was identical with or very similar to Yamasee and Hitchiti. Diego Camuñas, a native whom Spaniards employed as an interpreter for Guale and Yamasee from the 1670s to the 1690s, was also used in the 1680s as an interpreter for Hitchiti-speaking inhabitants of Apalachicola on the Chattahoochee River. Also a Yamasee, working in Apalachicola as a spy for the Spaniards, mentioned that he was able to pass as a local when he dressed as a local and did so because his language was so similar to that of the locals at Apalachicola.—JH]

108. *Altamaca*. Altamaha in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 10) and Altamaha in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 89). The great river mentioned in the text was probably the Altamaha or Oconee. This seems to have been the eastward flowing stream mentioned by Fernández de Biedma (p. 10). See also Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 95.

109. *Hens*. Turkeys. Called *guanaxas* by Rangel (Bourne, II, 86). The word "turkeys" is to be understood in all cases where the word "hens" appears in the translation.

110. *Tamemes*. According to Buckingham Smith (*Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, p. 222), this is a word derived from the Mexican Indians which was in current use among the Spaniards. It is from "tlamama" or "tlameme," signifying porter or carrier of loads on the back.

111. *Patofa*. Tatofa in Rangel (Bourne, II, 91), who gives the name to the chief of the village.

112. *Youth*. Called Perico by Rangel (Bourne, II, 91).

113. *Coça*. Coosa. See Priestley, *The Luna Papers* (DeLand, 1928) for the connection of the Luna y Arellano expedition of 1559–61 with this region. See also Daniel Marshall Andrews, *De Soto's Route from Cofitachequi, in Georgia, to Cosa, in Alabama* (reprint from *Amer. Anthropologist*, XIX, No. 1, 1917), pp. 65–67.

114. *Rivers*. Identified as the Great Ohoopée and Cannouchee rivers by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 170, note).

115. *River*. Identified as the Ogeechee River by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 170, note 2). See Rangel's account of these crossings (Bourne, II, 93). Some of the swine were lost here.

116. *Inland*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 96) gives the date as Friday, April 23. His details differ somewhat from the text. On that day, Gallegos went upstream to the northwest and Añasco downstream to the southeast. Next day, Lobillo was sent inland toward the north.

117. *Aymay*. Hymahi in Rangel (Bourne, II, 96). The word is possibly identical with Yamasee.

118. *Cutifachiqui*. Called Cofitachequi by Rangel (Bourne; II, 98) and Cofitachiqui by Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, p. 13). Swanton identifies it with Kasihta. For information relative to this place and conjecture regarding its location, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 216–225; and Andrews, *ut supra*, p. 57, who locates it at Silver Bluff. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 172, note) says the word is a proper Creek word and means Dog-wood Town. Swanton (p. 216) says that the word was formerly considered to be a Yuchi word, but its appearance is Muskhogean, and the leading Yuchi authority has been unable to find any Yuchi word resembling it. The latest information relative to Cufitachiqui comes from Miss Mary Ross, of Berkeley, California, who has given much study to this region.

In a note written especially for this volume, Miss Ross says: "It has been an error to have located Cufitachiqui on the Savannah River near Augusta. More misleading has been a confusion of the location of that place with the site of Atlanta. A recent study of the Soto, Pardo, and Woodward documents supplemented by a consultation of maps relative to the old southeast, and confirmed by field work in the district named has settled the question. The 'pearl kingdom' made famous by Soto's encounter with the gracious princess of that realm was in the valley of the Congaree-Broad in South Carolina. The dramatic meeting between the don and the Indian maid took place somewhere in the general vicinity of the present town of Columbia.

"In the colorful accounts of the resolute march of Soto's men through the Florida wilderness, the provincial name for the land of the cacica was given as Cofitachyque, Cofachiqui, and Cutifachiqui. In reports on subsequent expeditions, the region is known variously as Cafatachiqui, Cano or Canosi, Caphatachaques, Chufytachique, Chufytachyqj, Chufytachyque, Chufytuchyque, Cofaciqui, Cofetazque, Cofitachiqui, Cosatachiqui, Cotachico, Tachequiha, Tatiquequia, and other such appellations.

"Populous and numerous, the Cufitachiqui villages became renowned for their affluence and industry. For a full century and more that province served as a granary and way-station for expeditions en route to the interior. And on more than one occasion both Spaniards at Santa Elena (Parris Island) and Englishmen at Charlestown sought provisions and protection from the chieftains there. In times of strife the stalwart tribesmen '1000 bowmen' strong were no mean support against trouble making Westoes from the Savannah valley or wild folk from mountain fastnesses.

"Soto was the first European to covet the fruits of that Carolina land; but he was only the precursor of scores of other adventurous spirits seeking new fields to exploit. In the year 1566, Juan Pardo, intent on trans-continental trail blazing, passed through 'Canos or Cofetazque' in his effort to reach overland the distant mines of Zacatecas and San Martín. Copious streams, generous maize fields, rich vineyards, refreshing springs, and rumored mines of crystal, gold, and precious stones called forth the opinion from Pardo's men that therein was a 'land in which to plant a chief town.'

"Eight years later, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés subscribed to the same view when questioned about moving his estate to Pánuco, and he declared that he would keep

his dwelling near the Atlantic seaboard. Should he change it would be to the fertile interior near 'Guatari Cano.' In fact, Menéndez planned to establish his Asturian colonists in the Carolina foothills beyond the reaches of the lowlands and marshes that so beset agricultural ambitions at Santa Elena.

"Virginians, too, soon after the days of John Smith, sought 'crystal hills' and pearl bearing streams toward the southwest. And a half century after Menéndez's day other Spanish officials renewed diplomatic relations with the Cufitachiqui leaders and entered into an alliance against the blue-eyed strangers rumored to be riding about the country and pushing in from the north and west.

"Time passed; but the importance of Cufitachiqui did not lessen. Sedentary and stable, the villages persisted and continued to attract other white men by their bounteous maize fields and lucrative trade in deerskin and furs. In 1670, Henry Woodward, surgeon and interpreter for the Charlestown or Cayagua outpost, visited the "Chufytachique" country and entered into a league of friendship. Woodward's enthusiasm exceeded that of his Spanish predecessors and fired the imagination of royal adventurers in England. Cufitachiqui, to the worthy doctor, 'would be a second Paradize' if cultivated. Its broad acres and tall warriors, 'biger and ruder' than the coastal Indians, were vital to Charlestown; while its 'red mould' hills gave promise of hidden treasure beneath outcroppings of 'black and white Marble.' Here were enviable prospects. Both Locke and Ashley were impressed, and step by step the white man pushed in and occupied the west.

"The memory of Soto's camp has lived on. But Cufitachiqui, like the other Indian realms that gave Carolina such a rich historical inheritance has disappeared. Only the red mould hills, pleasant valleys, copious streams, and strange outcroppings of 'anvil rocks,' or rich deposits of splendid blue granite, remain today to tell the tale of that wondrous past."—Mary Ross.

119. *Sister.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 13) says that the cacica sent her niece to welcome Soto to her country. She presented him a necklace of five or six strings of pearls. One-half the town was turned over to the Spaniards, but after three or four days, the cacica suddenly went off into the woods.

120. *Hens.* See *ante*, note 109.

121. *Arrobas.* The arroba is a measure of capacity of approximately four gallons; or of weight, of approximately twenty-five pounds. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 14) says that after the cacica had gone away (see *ante*, note 119), Soto, failing to find her, ordered the graves to be opened. Rangel (Bourne, II, 100) notes that he and Soto together opened the temple where "they found some bodies . . . fastened on a barbacoa. The breasts, belly, necks and arms and legs full of pearls"—in all about two hundred pounds.

122. *Ayllón.* Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, of a noble family of Toledo, and a man of considerable learning, went to Isla Española (Hispaniola) with Nicolas Ovando, where he amassed considerable wealth. He filled several important posts in the island, finally becoming a member of the audiencia. In 1520, when about to go to

Spain, he was appointed commander of the forces sent to Mexico at the same time that Diego Velázquez sent thither Pánfilo de Narváez in his memorable effort to wrest the command from Cortés. Favoring the latter, he soon returned to Española, as he found it impossible to reconcile the two elements. The same year, 1520, he outfitted an expedition for the purpose of coasting northward along the Atlantic, with Francisco Gordillo as captain and Alonso Fernández Sotil as pilot. His two ships fell in with Pedro de Quexos who had gone on a slave hunting expedition, and the three vessels, joining forces, landed on the mainland, and disregarding Ayllón's orders seized many Indians. Possession of the new coast was taken on June 30, 1521. On their return to Española, the Indians were set free. Ayllón himself, who had not gone personally on the expedition, went to Spain in order to obtain royal concession to explore and settle the new lands. He was granted license to explore the mainland between 35° and 37° by a royal cedula of June 12, 1523 (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . Amer.*, XIV, 503-515), being awarded the usual privileges in such cases. In 1525, he sent Pedro de Quexos on an exploring expedition along the mainland, who explored the coast for a distance of 250 leagues. In July, 1526, Ayllón himself sailed from Española with a company of five hundred people and eighty-nine horses and made a settlement at San Miguel de Gualdape, in about latitude 33°. The colony, however, did not prosper, disease broke out, the Indians were hostile, and, finally, the leader died. It was one of the exploring parties sent out from the expedition which left the articles found by Soto's men. See Fernández de Biedma's mention of this expedition in Bourne, II, 14; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements, 1531-1561*, pp. 157-159; Bolton, *Span. Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 12-19; and J. A. Robertson, *List of Documents* (Washington, 1910). Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 14) says that the Spaniards found in the temple at Cufitachiqui "two wood axes of Castilian make, a rosary of jet beads, and some false pearls, which were taken from this country to traffic with the Indians." Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 100) says they found many glass beads and rosaries with their crosses as well as Biscayan axes of iron. See also Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 32-34.

123. *Tierra Firme*. Havana later became the center at which the treasure and trading ships and fleets gathered for the return to Spain; and it was also the port whence the various vessels went to their respective ports in the Indies. For the early trade, see Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (Cambridge, 1918); and Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, *Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias* (Barcelona, 1917). Santa Marta was the second city to be erected in the new world (July 28, 1525).

124. *May 3*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 102) says that the expedition left Cufitachiqui on Wednesday, May 13; but as Bourne points out (p. 102, note 5) May 13 of that year fell on Thursday, and the date should be Thursday, May 13, or Wednesday, May 12.

125. *Chalaque*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 102) says they reached Chalaque in two days. The name appears in Garcilaso de la Vega's narrative both as Chalaque and Chalaques. As Charles C. Royce asserts ("The Cherokee Nation of Indians," in *Fifth*

*Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1887, p. 135), the word is apparently the same as “Cherokee.” Royce also mentions (pp. 135–136) that the Dutch cartographer, Cornely Wytfliet lays down a site named Chalaqua on his map “Florida et Apalache” (Atlas, 1597) a short distance east of the Savannah River and immediately south of the Appalachian Mountains. In his “Carte de Mexique et de la Floride” (1703), Delisle locates Chalaque at about 33° north latitude. See also the Delisle map of 1718 reproduced in this volume [in Robertson, and herein].

126. *Hens*. See *ante*, note 109.

127. *Xualla*. Xuala in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 103); and Chouala in Garcilaso de la Vega. The word resembles the modern Cherokee word “Qualla.” Rangel locates it on a plain between two rivers. It was in the territory of the Cherokees and has been variously located in northern Georgia and in North Carolina. James Mooney locates it in western North Carolina near the head of Broad River. Cyrus Thomas and others locate it in the Nacoochee Valley in Habersham County (see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 230, note 3). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 176, note 2) locates it above the junction of the Tuckaseegee and Oconna-Luftee rivers in Swain County, North Carolina. Wytfliet in his map (see *ante*, note 125) locates it to the west of and near the headwaters of the Secco or Savannah River.

128. *Country*. These distances appear to be greatly exaggerated. The Spanish league was somewhat less than three English miles.

129. *Guaxule*. Guasule in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15) and Guasili in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 106). The latter (p. 104) says: “Tuesday, May 25, they left Xuala, and on that day went over a very high range, and at nightfall they encamped at a little mountain.” Royce (*Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 135) says of the Indians of this region: “Assuming that these people, whose territory De Soto thus traversed, were the ancestors of the modern Cherokees, it is the first mention made of them by European discoverers and more than a century anterior to the period when they first became known to the pioneers of permanent European occupation and settlement.” Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, p. 230) gives the route after leaving Xualla as lying across the Blue Ridge and so down the upper courses of the French Broad to Guaxule, an Indian town which he locates in White County, Georgia. French (*Hist. Col. of Louisiana*, II, 101) and Belknap (*American Biography*, Boston, 1794, I, 189) place the crossing at or about north lat. 35° (see Lowery, p. 230, note 4).

130. *Petaca*. Described in Rangel’s narrative (Bourne, II, 104) as “baskets covered with leather and likewise ready to be so covered with their lids, for carrying clothes or whatever they want to.” This was probably an interpolation by Oviedo. The “petaca” was probably much like the “tampipi” used in the Philippine Islands.

131. *Cutifachiqui*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 105–6) says that the cacica escaped on May 26 after they had waded through a river and that on the same day and thereabout several desertions occurred. He says: “And that day there remained behind, it was

supposed intentionally, Mendoça de Montanjes and Alaminos of Cuba. And since Alonso Romo kept that day the rearguard and left them, the Governor made him return for them, and they waited for them one day. When they arrived, the Governor wished to hang them. In that region of Xalaque was left a comrade whose name was Rodriguez, a native of Peñafiel; and also an Indian slave boy from Cuba, who knew Spanish, and belonged to a gentleman named Villegas; and there was left a slave belonging to Don Carlos, a Berber, well versed in Spanish; and also Gomez, a Negro belonging to Vasco Gonçalez who spoke good Spanish. That Rodriguez was the first, and the rest deserted further on from Xalaque." This occurred, of course, before reaching Guaxule.

132. *Chiaha*. Chiha in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15) and in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 107); and Ychiaha in Garcilaso. A great deal of confusion seems to exist with regard to the location of this place. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 167–72) thinks there were at least three sites so named. Two of them are mentioned in the Soto narratives—one being that which had some relation to the settlement of Cufitachiqui and was known also as Lameco or Solameco (perhaps the Jalameco or Talimeco of Rangel—see Bourne, II, 98, 101—and the Talomico of Garcilaso, fol. 169). Of this name, Swanton says (p. 168), "I venture the suggestion that all these names are intended for the same word, Talimico or Talimiko, which again was probably from Creek Talwa immiko, 'town its chief' *wa* being uniformly dropped in composition." The "Chiaha" of the immediate text is that which lay down the river from Guaxule. Of it Garcilaso says (*La Florida del Inca*, fols. 181–182) that after a four days' stay in Guaxule where he informed himself of the country round about, Soto "went in a march of six days (at the rate of five leagues per day) to another village and province called Ychiaha, whose lord had the same name. The route taken on this march of six days was that following the water of the many creeks which flowed by Guaxule, all of which uniting within a short time made a large river, so that at Ychiaha (which was located thirty leagues from Gualuxe [*sic*]) it was larger than the Guadalquivir at Seville.

"This town of Ychiaha was located at the point of a large island more than five leagues wide which was formed by the river." For conjectures regarding the location of the town, see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 231, note 2. Belknap (*American Biographies*, p. 192) thinks it was located on a branch of the Mobile River. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 178, note 2) conjectures that Chiaha was located on the island at the junction of the Little Tennessee and Tennessee rivers, in Loudon County, Tennessee—that is, it is the hill village noted by Swanton.

133. *Canasagua*. Canasoga in Rangel (Bourne, II, 106). Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, p. 231) calls it a frontier town of the Cherokees.

134. *July 5*. Hakluyt (p. 59) corrects this date silently to June 5, the date given by Rangel (Bourne, II, 107), which is the right date (see Bourne, I, 73, note 4).

135. *Them*. See *ante*, note 132.

136. *Quiet*. Hakluyt says (p. 60) "the weather was very hot."

137. *Slaves*. Of the stay in Chiaha, Rangel says (Bourne, II, 108): "The Indians spent fifteen days with the Christians in peace, and they played with them, and likewise among themselves. They swam with the Christians and helped them in every way. They ran away afterwards on Saturday, the 19th of the month, for something that the Governor asked of them; and, in short, it was because he asked for women. The next day in the morning the Governor sent to call the chief and he came immediately; and the next day the Governor took him off with him to make his people come back, and the result was they came back. In the land of this Chiaha was where the Spaniards first found fenced villages. Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers, and they consented to leave off collars and chains."

138. *Town*. See *ante*, note 137.

139. *Acoste*. Costeche in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15), Coste in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 109), and Acoste in Garcilaso (*La Florida del Inca*, fols. 184–185). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 201) identifies the Indians of this region with the Koasati, who were closely related to the Alabama.

140. *Chisca*. Identified by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 288, 289) as a name for the Yuchi Indians (see also pp. 119, 120, 189, 202, 292–293). Swanton locates the province of Chisca "in the rough country in the eastern part of the present state of Tennessee."

141. *Chiaha*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 108) says the expedition left Chiaha on Monday, June 28, and after passing through five or six villages spent the night in a pine grove near a village.

142. *Come*. This incident as described by Rangel (Bourne, II, 109–110) is in fair accord with our text.

143. *Kid*. Evidently a buffalo robe.

144. *July 9*. On Friday, according to Rangel (Bourne, II, 111).

145. *Road*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 111) discloses the reason for the peaceful reception by the cacique of Tali, namely, that Soto had frustrated his attempt to send away the women and children, and the clothing. For the Tali Indians, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 211–212.

146. *July 16*. Hakluyt (p. 55) says July 26; and the English translation (1686) of the French edition of 1685, the 15th. The town Coça (Coosa) has usually been located in what is now Talladega County, Alabama (see Bourne, II, 112, note 12, and Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 232, and note 3). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 183, note) says, however, that this village may not have been in the same location as that of later times. The Luna expedition also reached this region about twenty years after Soto (see Priestley, *The Luna Papers*, index; also "Invasion of De Soto in Alabama" in De Bow's *Review of the Southern and Western States*, July, 1850). For the Indians called Coosa, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 215, 241, 255. They have generally been considered a genuine Moskogee people. On the way to Coça, Rangel says (p. 111) they slept at a town called Tasqui, which Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 208) conjectures may have been occupied by the Tuskegee Indians. [Today the Little Egypt site in

northwestern Georgia is identified as the principal town of the Coosa chiefdom (see David J. Hally, Marvin T. Smith, and James B. Langford, Jr., "The Archaeological Reality of De Soto's Coosa" in Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, p. 122).—JH]

147. *Seeds*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) calls Coça "one of the finest countries we discovered in Florida." Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 112) says: "There were in Coça many plums like the early ones of Seville, very good; both they and the trees were like those of Spain. There were also some wild apples like those called canavales in Extremadura, small in size."

148. *Carrying*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) simply says: "The next morning we saw all the inhabitants, and having detained the cacique, that he might give us persons to carry our loads, we tarried some days until we could get them." Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 112–113) corroborates the statements of the text, though very briefly.

149. *Tascaluca*. Tazsaluza in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) and Tascaluca in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 115). It is laid down on the 1718 map of Delisle. The name was applied both to the cacique and the region.

150. *Tallimuchase*. Talimachusy in Rangel (Bourne, II, 113). The name means New Town (Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 247). Rangel (Bourne, II, 113) says that a Levantine named Feryada deserted at this place.

151. *Ytaua*. Itaba in Rangel (Bourne, II, 113). The same author says that some women were bought at that place in exchange for mirrors and knives. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, appendix H, p. 452, suggests (following Mooney) that this region is identical with Yta or Etiwaw.

152. *Ullibahali*. Ulibahali in Rangel (Bourne, II, 113), and Olibahali in Dávila Padilla (*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores*, Madrid, 1596, lib. I, Cap. LXII, pp. 245–246). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 192, 254) says it was a true Muskogee town and identifies it with Liwahali or Holiwahali, "a name which signifies 'to share out or divide war' (*holi*, war, *awahali*, to divide out)." See also Priestley, *The Luna Papers*, I, 225, where Fray Domingo de la Anunciación and others, writing to Luna y Arellano, at Coosa, August 1, 1560, says the town of Ulibaali, "the town mentioned so often by Soto's followers" was probably only five or six leagues away.

153. *Place*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 113–114) says there was a doubt as to whether Manzano had deserted or whether he lost his way. A Negro named Johan Biscayan, belonging to Rodriguez Lobillo, and who spoke Spanish, also deserted at this place. This Negro and one of the Spanish deserters lived for eleven or twelve years among the Indians, as was learned by one of the religious attached to the Luna y Arellano expedition (see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 365, who cites Dávila Padilla).

154. *Toasi*. Tuasi in Rangel (Bourne, II, 114); identified as Tawasa by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 137). Rangel notes that thirty-two Indian women were given to Soto at this place.



155. *Tallise*. Italisi in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) and Talisi in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 115). A Creek town identified as Talsi (Tulsa) by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 151).

156. *Indians*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) says that the cacique made Soto a present of twenty-six or twenty-seven women at Talisi. See Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 117–119), for an interpolated homily by Oviedo on the greed and lust of Soto's men.

157. *Casiste*. Also Casiste in Rangel (Bourne, II, 116). Identified by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 131, 218, 221) as a Lower Creek town inhabited by Kasihta Indians. Rangel says they reached this place on Tuesday, October 5.

158. *Time*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 116) says that after leaving Casiste they came to the towns of Caxa, Humati, and Uxapita. Caxa was the first town belonging to the district of Tastaluça (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 155).

159. *Built*. Both Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) and Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 120–121) mention the commanding presence of the cacique of Tascaluça. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 186, note 2) says this is a correct Creek word meaning Black Warrior. Rangel calls the village where the cacique was found "Athahachi." The district is laid down by Delisle in his map of 1718. [Despite the quotation here, the term Tascaluça is not Creek but Western Muskogean (Choctaw/Chickasaw). The meaning Black Warrior is correct.—VJK]

160. *Motive*. This passage is translated by Hakluyt (p. 71) as follows: "How much the greater the will is, so much more giueth it name to the workes and the workes giue testimonie of the truth. Now touching my will, by it you shall know, how certain & manifest it is, and how pure inclination I haue to serue you." B. Smith translates as follows: "The greater the will the more estimable the deed; and acts are the living witness of truth. You shall learn how strong and positive is my will, and how disinterested my inclination to serve you."

161. *Piache*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 122) says Soto reached Piachi [*sic*] on Wednesday, and describes this town as a "village high above the gorge of a mountain stream." It was located near Mobile Bay (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 146). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 188, note 1) thinks that Piache may have been located on the north side of the Black Warrior River. It was learned in this town (Rangel, p. 123) that a Spaniard and a Negro from the Narváez expedition had been killed.

162. *South*. See *ante*, note 128.

163. *Mavilla*. For various conjectures as to the location of Mavilla (Mauilla—a name surviving in the present "Mobile"), see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, pp. 233–234, and note 4, and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers*, p. 189, note 1. For the Indians of this district, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 150–160. See also Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (Boston, 1910), pp. 22–25, and *Mobile of the Five Flags* (Mobile, 1913), pp. 26–27.

164. *October*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 123) agrees with the text as to this date. The former adds that it was St. Luke's day.

165. *Foot*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 123) says that Soto was accompanied by only forty horse.

166. *Eighteen*. B. Smith, doubtless in a moment of distraction, translates (*Narratives*, p. 89): “of the Christians there were killed there two hundred.”

167. *Together*. See Fernández de Biedma’s description of the fight (Bourne, II, 18–21); and that by Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 123–128). The first says twenty Spaniards were slain and the second, twenty-two.

168. *November 18*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 128) says Sunday, November 14, which is the correct date.

169. *Cabusto*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 128–129) says they reached a village called Talipacana on Thursday, November 28 (correct date, November 18), which was the Taliepataua of the text. To reach Cabusto (Zabusta in Rangel), the Spaniards, according to the latter, crossed a river at a village called Moçulixa. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 194, note 2) conjectures that Cabusto was located above the Sipsey River and west of the Tombigbee, and Moçulixa was located below the Sipsey and east of the Tombigbee.

170. *Chicaça*. Chicaza in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 22). The name is applied to a province, village, and river. Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, pp. 235–236), following Gatschet, Irving, Shea, and Pickett, locates this region as lying “about the headwaters of the Yazoo and Mobile Rivers in what is now the State of Mississippi.” Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 195, note 2) locates the town “about one mile northwest of the present Redland, in Pontotoc County, Mississippi.” It was in the territory of the Chickasaws.

171. *Saquechuma*. Sacchuma in Rangel (Bourne, II, 132), who applies the name to the local chief of this district. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 196, note) locates the province of Saquechuma on the lower Tallahatchie River and says that the town burned by the Indians was probably located in the present Tallahatchie County.

172. *Fuentes*. Of these four men, Reynoso (Reinoso) and Ribera (Pedro de Rybera) seem to have returned from Florida (see B. Smith, *Narratives of the Career*, pp. 297, 298). Francisco Osorio was a kinsman of Antonio Osorio, son of the Marqués de Astorga (so in Solar and Rújula, p. 327, instead of the brother, as given in our text [herein, vol. 1]). Reynoso is perhaps the Francisco de Reinoso noted by Solar and Rújula, p. 327, who was the son of Gonzalo or Gregorio de Reinoso and Isabel de Escobar, of Boadilla. The Fuentes of the text may have been Fernand Sanchez de la Fuente, the son of Garcia Gonzalez de la Vera and Juana Martin, inhabitants of Valencia de la Torre (Solar and Rújula, p. 313).

173. *Man*. Hakluyt (p. 84) mistranslates this passage, saying “was held for a tall man.”

174. *Her*. Francisca Hinestrosa, the only Spanish woman in the expedition. Her husband, Luis de Inostrosa (Ynistrosa), son of Juan Fernández de Inostrosa and Guiomar de Torres, of Seville, returned from Florida (see Solar and Rújula, p. 318, and B. Smith, *Narr.*, p. 292).

175. *Jerkins*. See Fernández de Biedma's account of the disaster, in Bourne II, 22–23, and Rangel's, in *ibid.*, pp. 132–134.

176. *Field*. Called Chicacilla, which Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 199, note) conjectures was located about three and one-half miles north of Chicaça.

177. 1541. Wednesday. Rangel (Bourne, II, 135), says the Indians attacked on Tuesday, March 15, in the morning watch, which is the correct date.

178. April 25. Rangel (Bourne, II, 136) says Tuesday, April 26—the correct date.

179. *Alimamu*. Alibamo in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 24) and Limamu in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 136). The Indians of this region were the Alabama or Alibamo, an Upper Creek tribe (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 191–201).

180. *Waiting*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 200, note) says the fort and ford were on the Tallahatchie River, somewhere near New Albany, in the present Union County, Mississippi.

181. *Quizquiz*. Hakluyt's translation (p. 89) is at fault here. Quizquiz is called Quizqui by Rangel (Bourne, II, 137). See Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 293.

182. *River*. This was the Mississippi, which is called Espiritu Santo by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 25).

183. *Flaunting*. Hakluyt (p. 169) says "shielding themselves"; and B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 104), "covering themselves."

184. *Hereafter*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 204, note) places the crossing of the Mississippi either at the present Council Bend or Walnut Bend, in Tunica County, Mississippi, below Memphis. Bourne (II, 138, note 3) places it below Memphis and above the mouth of the Arkansas. See also Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 237, and note 2. The attempt to locate the point of the crossing has been the subject of considerable debate. See special bulletin, No. 1, of the Mississippi Historical Society, edited by Dunbar Rowland, namely, *A Symposium on the Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando de Soto* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1927). Those who participated in the symposium were Theodore H. Lewis, J. P. Young, Charles A. Barton, and Dunbar Rowland. See T. H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene," pp. 19–20 of *A Symposium* (also in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 456–457).

185. *Casqui*. Icasqui in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 26); both Quarqui and Carqui in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 138); and Casquin in Garcilaso de la Vega (fol. 231); Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 213–214) connects the name with the Indians variously called Kaskinampo, Caskinampo, Kaskinoba, Caskemampo, Cakinonpa, Kakinonba, Karkinonpols, Kasquinanipo, and says that the name was also applied to the Tennessee River. See also Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition," in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 457.

186. *Crossed*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 206, note) identifies the small river as Fifteen-Mile Bayou, and the locality as probably near the southeast corner of St. Francis County, Arkansas.

187. *Acorns*. Probably pecans.

188. *Gray*. Identified by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 223) as *Diospyros Virginiana* and *Diospyros Texana*. [The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as “gray” is *pardo*. Although *pardo* can mean “dark gray,” it is used more commonly for “brown,” the color of a mulatto, which is another of the meanings of *pardo*.—JH]

189. *Town*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 206, note) conjectures that this town was located near the mouth of the present Tyronza River. Of the town and the stay of the Spaniards there, Rangel says (Bourne, II, 138–139): “It was Saturday when we entered his village, and it had very good cabins, and, in the principal one, over the door, were many heads of very fierce bulls, just as in Spain noblemen who are sportsmen mount the heads of wild boars or bears.”

190. *Suffered*. Of the cross, Rangel (Bourne, II, 139) says: “There the Christians planted the cross on a mound, and they received and adored it with much devotion, and the blind and lame came to seek to be healed.”

191. *Flowing*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 208, note) identifies this as the present Tyronza River.

192. *Them*. The plight of the men is well described in an interpolation made by Oviedo in Rangel’s narrative (Bourne, II, 130–131), as follows: “And that you may know, reader, what sort of a life these Spaniards led, Rodrigo Ranjel, an eye-witness, says that among many other great hardships that men endured in this undertaking he saw a knight named Don Antonio Osorio, brother of the Lord Marquis of Astorga, wearing a short garment of the blankets of that country, torn on the sides, his flesh showing, no hat, bare-headed, bare-footed, without hose or shoes, a buckler on his back, a sword without a shield, amidst heavy frosts and cold. And the stuff of which he was made and his illustrious lineage made him endure his toil without laments such as many others made, for there was no one who could help him, although he was the man he was, and had in Spain two thousand ducats of income through the Church. And the day that this gentleman saw him he did not believe that he had eaten a mouthful, and he had to dig for it with his nails to get something to eat.

“I could hardly help laughing when I heard that this knight had left the Church and the income above mentioned to go in search of such a life as this, at the sound of the words of De Soto.”

193. *Cowhide*. Buffalo hide.

194. *June 19*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 139) gives the date of the arrival at Pacaha as Wednesday, June 29; but our text is here correct. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 209, note) gives the probable location of Pacaha as in the vicinity of the present Osceola, Mississippi County, Arkansas, but not any farther toward the north (see also Lewis, “Route of De Soto’s Expedition,” p. 457).

195. *Above*. Inquiry as to the identity of the several kinds of fish mentioned in the text brought the following information from Dr. Lewis Radcliffe, acting commissioner of the Bureau of Fisheries at Washington: “The *bagre* no doubt refers to a species of catfish. Judging by the large size of the fish and its large head, as described,

it was most likely the mud catfish, *Leptops olivaris*. However, there is also a possibility that the author had in mind the blue catfish *Ictalurus furcatus*. Indeed, both species might have been seen in the vicinity, since both are of a large size and quite common in the rivers draining into the Gulf of Mexico. The word *barbo* is used in Spanish and French for several species of freshwater fish. The British name for those species is 'barbel.' The species to which these names are applied are wide-spread throughout Europe, including Portugal. Judging from the distribution of the species and the similarity of the names in England, France, and Spain, it seems quite likely that the name *barbo* is also applied in Portugal to the same fishes. None of the species of the barbels occur in American waters, but our species of suckers resembles in general appearance the European barbels, and to a lesser extent the same may be said in regard to our buffalofishes. There are several species of suckers and buffalofishes in American waters; but from the author's statement it is impossible to assert which one of these he had in mind. In a list of the common names of fishes in Portuguese, the name *choupa* is applied to *Sargus rondeletti* and *besugo* to *Pagellus acarne*. Neither of these species, both of which are spiny-rayed fishes, occurs in the waters of the United States. The Portuguese *choupa* is shaped something like our bream and the *besugo* resembles our black bass. Since the author evidently described only the larger fishes, two possibilities suggest themselves: he had in mind either the black bass (and in some of them, especially in large specimens, the body is fairly deep) or the freshwater drum. Since he states that it was the 'most relished,' he probably had in mind the large-mouth black bass, *Micropterus salmoides*. The *peixe palla* was undoubtedly the spoonbill, *Polyodon spathula*. The description of the snout combined with the lack of scales, as stated by the author, applies to no other American species, and it fairly characterizes the spoonbill. [The official common name of the fish here called "spoonbill" is the paddlefish—VJK] The name *savel* (plural *saves*) is applied to two species of European shad, *Alosa alosa* and *Alosa finta*. A species of shad, *Alosa alabama*, occurs in the gulf drainage, although it is now quite rare. The author may have seen this or one of two other fishes, namely, the gizzard shad, *Dorosoma cepedianum*, and the menhaden, *Brevoortia patronus*. These two latter species resemble the shad in appearance, although they usually do not grow over a foot in length. There are several other clupeoid fishes in the waters of Florida, which have some resemblance to the shad, although they are of small size. It is impossible to identify the *peixe pereu* with any exactness. The names *peixe prego* and *peixe porco* are applied to species of sharks in Portugal. Judging from the author's comparison of the fish to a hog, a fish having a deep body is suggested. The following three species, which are found in these waters, are quite common and have rather deep bodies, namely, the fresh-water drum or gaspergou, *Aplodinotus grunniens*, the black drum, *Pogonias chromis*, and the jew-fish, *Promicrops itaiara*. The first named is a strictly fresh-water fish. The black drum is typically a salt-water fish, but is also common in brackish water; while the third is a salt-water species."

See also B. Smith, *Narratives*, pp. 223–226. It should be noted that the words “era de tamanho de Picoes,” which have been translated “were as long as a pike” refer to “pike” the weapon and not “pike” the fish.

196. *Find*. See the accounts of these two chiefs in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 26–29) and Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 136–146).

197. *Caluça*. Caluç in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 30). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 214) says of this district: “This would seem to be the Choctaw or Chickasaw Oka lusa, ‘black water,’ from which we may possibly infer the Muskhogean connection of Casquin, but, on the other hand, the name may have been obtained from interpreters secured east of the Mississippi, and may be nothing more than a translation of the original into Chickasaw.” The word apparently has no connection with the Calusa Indians of the Florida peninsula. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 212, note) tentatively locates the province of Caluça in the northeastern part of the present state of Mississippi, extending from Baldwyn, Prentiss County, to the Tennessee River in Tishomingo County.

For the route of the expedition west of the Mississippi, see Theodore H. Lewis, “Route of De Soto’s Expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene,” in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI (Oxford, Mississippi, 1902), pp. 449–467.

198. *Plums*. Probably persimmons.

199. *Cattle*. The bison.

200. *Quiguate*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 146) says that Quiguate was the largest village the Spaniards had seen in that region (in which he agrees with our text) and that it was located on the Casqui River.

201. *Mochila*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 144) says that Casqui gave one of his daughters to Soto and that Pacaha gave him one of his own wives, besides a sister and another Indian woman of rank. Oviedo (Bourne, II, 145) moralizes as follows: “But I could wish that along with the excellencies of the cross and of the faith that this Governor explained to these chiefs, he had told them he was married, and that the Christians ought not to have more than one wife, or to have intercourse with another, or to commit adultery; that he had not taken the daughter whom Casqui gave him, nor the wife and sister and the other woman of rank whom Pacaha gave him; and that they had not got the idea that the Christians, like the Indians, could have as many wives and concubines as they desired, and like the Indians, live as adulterers.”

202. *Aquiguate*. See *ante*, note 200. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 214, note 1) locates this town on the west side of the St. Francis River, in what is now the northern part of Lee County, or in the southern part of St. Francis County, Arkansas.

203. *Swamp*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 214, note 2) conjectures that this may have been Lake Mitchigamia of the French maps, which ceased to exist after the New Madrid earthquake. This lake is shown on the great Delisle map of 1718 on which the route of Soto is marked. The cartographer shows the route to have passed near a vague location which he calls Lac de Mitchigamia.

204. *Coligoa*. Coligua in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 31) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 146).

205. *Marshes*. "Lakes" in B. Smith's translation (p. 121) and in Hakluyt (p. 107).

206. *Leagues*. Hakluyt (p. 107) says "one hundred leagues."

207. *Streamlets*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 31) says that on the way to Coligoa, they went at "night to the swamps, where we drank from the hand and found abundance of fish." Rangel says (*ibid.*, p. 146) the Spaniards left Quiguat on Friday, August 26, reaching their destination at the village of Coligoa on the following Thursday, September 1, journeying on the way from swamp to swamp to the number of four swamps. In these swamps or pools they found "no end of fish, because all that country is flooded by the great river when it overflows its banks." Lewis, *Spanish Explorers* (p. 215, note 1), conjectures that the four swamps of Rangel were the L'Anguille River, Big Creek, Bayou de Vue, and Cache River.

208. *Town*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 146–47) says that they came twice to the river of Coligoa before they reached the town itself; and he adds: "They found it populated, and from it they took much people and clothes, and a vast amount of provisions and much salt. It was a pretty village, between some ridges along the gorge of a great river. And from there, at midday, they went to kill some cows, of which there are many wild ones." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 216, note 1) says the town lay in the valley of the Little Red River, and that before reaching it the Spaniards crossed the White River below the mouth of Little Red River, in what is now Woodruff County, Arkansas.

209. *Palisema*. According to Rangel (Bourne, II, 147), the Spaniards left Coligoa on Tuesday, September 6, and after recrossing the river and some mountains, reached a town called Calpista on Wednesday, "where there was an excellent salt spring which distilled very good salt in deposits." This spring, says Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 216, note 2), was located on the bank of Little Red River, in what is now Cleburne County. Palisema is called Palisma by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 147), who says it was reached on Thursday (September 8).

210. *Tatalicoya*. Called Tutilcoya by Rangel (Bourne, II, 147), who says that on Saturday, September 10, the expedition encamped beside some water. On Sunday, they reached a town called Quixila, "where they rested over Sunday." They reached Tutilcoya on Tuesday. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 32) says they went under direction of their guides to some scattered settlements called Tatil Coya, where they found a river of considerable size which emptied into the Mississippi.

211. *Cayas*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 32) says they went upstream to a great province called Cayas. This was evidently a district of scattered settlements, as noted in our text. There seems to have been some confusion in Rangel's account (see Bourne, II, 147) with regard to this district, which that author calls Cayase. Rangel says "they were never able to see that place or discover it; and subsequently they were told that they had left it near the river." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 217, note

2) says that Cayas was located in what is now the northern part of Arkansas and Oklahoma. He connects the word with the appellation "Kansas" (see "Route of De Soto's Expedition" in *Pubs. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, VI, 458, note 20).

212. *Tanico*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 147) says that on Thursday, after having passed the night near a swamp, the Spaniards went to the district and town of Tanico, which was confused with Cayas by some. Tanico, according to Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 217, note 3) was on the east side of the Grand or Neosho River. It was probably a part of the district of Cayas.

213. *Pot*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 148): "One ought not to omit and leave in forgetfulness that in Cayase our Spaniards gathered baskets of dry sand from the river and strained water through it, and there came out a brine, and they boiled it down, and let it harden, and in that way made excellent salt, very white and of good flavour."

214. *Wounded*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 148) says the expedition left Tanico on Wednesday, October 5, reaching the town of Tula on Friday, October 7. On Saturday, the fight with the Indians occurred, during which one Hernandarias de Saavedra, grandson of the marshal of Seville, was wounded. Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, pp. 32-33) says that in going to Tula, they "passed over some rough hills." He says that the Indians wounded some seven or eight men and nine or ten horses; while the Spaniards killed some thirty or forty of the Indians. His account is quite similar to that of our text.

215. *Sheep*. These cattle were the American bison.

216. *Ridges*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 221, note) identifies these ridges as the Boston Mountains.

217. *Quipana*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34) says that after leaving Quipana the route lay eastward across the mountains and down to the plains. This town is called Guipana by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 149). Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Exped.," p. 459, note 23, connects this word with "Pani" or "Pawnee." The province of Guahate mentioned below has not been identified.

218. *Catamaya*. Quitamaya in Rangel (Bourne, II, 149), which was reached on Monday, October 31.

219. *Autiamque*. Viranque in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34) and Utiangue in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 149). Rangel says that on Tuesday, November 1, they passed through a small village and reached Utiangue on Wednesday, November 2. The narrative by Rangel ends at this point. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 222, note 2) locates Autiamque within thirty miles of Fort Smith, on the south bank of the Arkansas River.

220. *Safety*. Hakluyt (p. 115) translates this passage as follows: "They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuff which their wives had hidden."

221. *Autiamque*. The words "of Autiamque" were omitted by B. Smith.

222. *Tietiquaquo*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 223, note) says this town was located in the province of Chaguata (see *post*, note 250).



223. *Ortiz*. The death of Juan Ortiz is merely noted without comment by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34).

224. *Ayays*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 225, note 1) points out that this province must not be confused with that of Aays, which was located south of Red River in Texas. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34) says that after leaving Autiamque (Viranque), the Spaniards followed the course of the river to a province called Anicoyanque, which probably corresponds to the Nilco or Anilco of our text.

225. *River*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 225, note 2) says that the place where they crossed the river lay north of the present Pine Bluff, and was probably in the present Jefferson County.

226. *Swamps*. Hakluyt says the region had many lakes.

227. *Tutelpinco*. Located by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 225, note 3) on Big Bayou Meto, in the present Jefferson County.

228. *Bastian*. Francis Sebastian in Hakluyt (p. 119). The name Francisco Sebastian occurs in the list given by Solar and Rújula, p. 309. He was the son of Alonso Sebastian and Juana Macias, both of the town of Villanueva de Barcarrota. The town of Tianto mentioned below has not been identified.

229. *Swamp*. Translated “lake” by Hakluyt (p. 120) and by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 136).

230. *Nilco*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 226, note) locates Nilco a few miles southeast of the present Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River, in Desha County. There is a large mound there. See *ante*, note 224.

231. *Margaridetas*. Translated “margaritas” in Hakluyt (p. 120). Literally a small pearl; perhaps here a small trade bead made from shell.

232. *Swamp*. “Lake” in Hakluyt (p. 121) and in B. Smith (*Narr. of the Career*, p. 137).

233. *Guachoya*. See *post*, note 235.

234. *Quigaltam*. See *post*, note 298.

235. *Guachoya*. Guachoya is located by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 227, note 1) in the neighborhood of the present Arkansas City, on the Mississippi River, in Desha County, and perhaps at or near the large mound north of that city. This place is called “Guachoyanque” by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34–35), who says the town was “good, well and strongly fenced.”

236. *April 17*. If the date of November 1 of the preceding year fell on Tuesday, as given by Rangel (see *ante*, note 219) is correct, then April 17 fell on Monday.

237. *Ri*. The Tamaliseu was probably the Arkansas; the Tapatu, the Mississippi; the Mico, perhaps the Coosa; and the Ri (evidently for Rio), the stream near where the expedition first entered Florida. There seems to be some confusion about this passage in B. Smith’s translation.

238. *Were*. Hakluyt (p. 124) adds “every day,” but these words are not in the original.

239. *Backward*. B. Smith (*Narr. of the Career*, p. 141) wrongly makes the reply of the chief a direct discourse; it is only a reported speech.

240. *Brazas*. The braza is a measure about equivalent to the fathom.

241. *Die*. Hakluyt (p. 127) translates this passage as follows: "These mens sinnes by Gods permission lighted on their own heads: who, because they would seeme valiant, became cruel; showing themselves extreme cowards in the sight of all men, when as most neede of Valour was required, and afterward they came to a shameful death."

242. *Alvarado*. See *ante*, note 10.

243. *Fitting*. Fernández de Biedma's only comment on the death of Soto is the dry remark (Bourne, II, 35): "The governor, at seeing himself surrounded, and nothing coming about according to his expectation, sickened and died. He left us recommending Luis de Moscoso to be our Governor." Cf. with this and the text, the touching remarks of Antonio Pigafetta after Ferdinand Magellan's death, in James A. Robertson, *Magellan's Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta* (Cleveland, 1906), I, 177-179.

244. *River*. Garcilaso de la Vega (*La Florida del Inca*, fol. 272) says: Soto was buried in the river by Juan de Añasco, Juan de Guzmán, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, and Diego Arias. They were assisted by a Basque sailor and engineer, named Joannes de Abbadia. The corpse was buried with all secrecy (the men making signs as if they were going fishing) in the middle of the river in water having a depth of nineteen brazas and a width of a quarter of a league.

245. *Hogs*. This refers to Soto's property at the place of his death. See Soto's will (which was made in Cuba on May 13, 1539, shortly before the departure for Florida) in Solar and Rújula, pp. 207-221 (reproduced from the original manuscript in AI, 50-2-55/10, Papeles de Justicia, numero 750, pieza 1<sup>a</sup>, fols. 42-51); and a translation into English made from the original manuscript, in B. Smith, *Narr. of the Career*, pp. 273-280. See also Solar and Rújula, pp. 223-273 (original in AI, 502-55/10, *op. cit.*, fols. 306-333), for the list of possessions left by Soto in Spain and the prices they fetched at auction. Garcilaso de la Vega (*op. cit.*, fol. 271) says that Soto had spent over 100,000 ducats on his expedition.

246. *Obtained*. Garcilaso de la Vega (*op. cit.*, fol. 270) notes that Moscoso had been deprived of the post of maestre de campo after the disaster at Chicaça.

247. *Leagues*. Hakluyt (p. 133) says wrongly "four hundred leagues."

248. *June 5*. Monday apparently fell on June 5.

249. *Catalte*. This region has not been identified, but it lay west of Guachoya. It is called "Catayet" on the map (see p. 418 [of Robertson—Ed.]).

250. *Chaguete*. Called Chavite (meaning "salt"—see Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Exped.," p. 461) by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 35-36), who says that they traveled for seventeen days from Guachoyante (Guachoya) to Chavite. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 236, note) conjectures that this district may have been located on the

present Saline River in Saline County. The same author notes that the expedition turned south-southeast at this point. Fernández de Biedma says they turned “southwest-and-by-south.”

251. *Reward*. B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 152) omits everything in this discourse after this point.

252. *Lake*. Probably more of a marsh than a lake.

253. *Guzmán*. Apparently this was Francisco de Guzmán, son of Benito Rodriguez and Francisca Hernández, inhabitants of Seville. See Solar and Rújula, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

254. *July 4*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36) says it took the men three days to reach Aguacay, and that it lay due west from Chaguete. The same author adds: “After leaving this place, the Indians told us we should see no more settlements unless we went down in a southwest-and-by-south direction, where we should find large towns and food; that in the course we asked about, there were some large sandy wastes, without any people or subsistence whatsoever.” July 4 fell on Tuesday.

255. *There*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 238, note 2) locates this place a short distance from the present town of Arkadelphia on the west bank of the Ouachita River.

256. *July 20*. July 20 fell on Thursday.

257. *Naguatex*. Hakluyt (pp. 136–137) says, “They pitched their Campe at noone betweene *Amaye* and *Naguatex* along the corner of a grove of very faire trees.” Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 239, note) conjectures that this was on Prairie de Roane near the present town of Hope.

258. *Were*. Hakluyt (p. 137) says wrongly “and what order they kept.”

259. *River*. Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 210, note) as the present Little River in Hampstead County.

260. *River*. Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 241, note) as the present Red River.

261. *People*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 242, note) identifies this ford as the present White Oak Shoals in Arkansas, three miles east of the Texas-Arkansas boundary.

262. *Six*. B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 159) says wrongly “five.”

263. [The Portuguese that Robertson translated as “miserable” is *proue*, which presumably was a misspelling of *pobre*.—JH] *Nisobone*. “Nisione” in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36).

264. *Lacane*. Probably the “Came” of Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36).

265. *Nondacao*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36) uses the same form. This author says that the cacique of Nondacao furnished them a guide who purposely tried to lead them over rough country and off the road. The guide confessed that he did not know where he was guiding the Spaniards, but that he had been ordered to lead them into a region where they would die of hunger.

266. *Soacatino*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36) says: “We were obliged to

go where the Indian directed us, and went to a Province called Nisione, and to another called Nondacao, and another Came; and at each remove we went through lands that became more sterile and afforded less subsistence. We continually asked for a province which they told us was larger, called Xuacatino."

267. *Aays*. Properly Ayays. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36-37) says: "We took another guide, who led us to a Province called Hais, where, in seasons, some cattle are wont to herd; and as the Indians saw us entering their country, they began to cry out: 'Kill the cows—they are coming'; when they sallied and shot their arrows at us, doing us some injury." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 243, note) conjectures that this district is south of the present Gainesville, Texas, and that the town adjoined the "Lower Cross Timbers," on the prairie.

268. *Fight*. See preceding note.

269. *Nondacao*. Here, as elsewhere, the chief and his town are called by the same name. Hakluyt (p. 142) says "in Nondacao." It appears as "nōdacan" on the map (p. 418 [of Robertson—Ed.]).

270. *Christians*. Perhaps an echo of the Coronado expedition.

271. *Soacatino*. See *ante*, note 266. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 37) describes this district (which he also calls "Xacatin") as lying amid close forests and having little food. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 244, note 1) conjectures that this region was located in the present "Upper Cross Timbers." It appears on the map (p. 418 [of Robertson—Ed.]) as Cehocatin.

272. *Southward*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 37) says: "Hence the Indians guided us eastward to other small towns, poorly off for food, having said that they would take us where there were other Christians like us, which afterwards proved false." After this, he says they turned south and "travelled about six days in a direction south and southwest, when we stopped."

273. *Guasco*. Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 244, note 2) as Waco, Texas. If one gives the "w" sound to the Spanish "Gu," which is so often heard, and drops the "s" of "Guasco," the name "Waco" results. Lewis conjectures that this town was evidently located on the Brazos River, near old Fort Belknap.

274. *Naçacahoz*. This and the town of Naquiscoça mentioned above are conjectured by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 144, note 3) to lie in the Brazos valley, southeast of Guasco.

275. *Naçacahoz*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 245, note 1) conjectures that this was the Double Mountain fork of the Brazos; and adds that the crossing was probably made at the south angle of the river, in the northwestern part of the present Fisher County.

276. *Daycao*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 245, note 2) conjectures that the "unpeopled region" or "wilderness," as it is translated by B. Smith, was a forest. He points out that the continuous forest from old Fort Belknap to the eastern slope of the "Staked Plains" was the only one through which the men could have gone for ten days to the westward.

277. *Alqueire*. A dry or solid measure of 138 deciliters. The liquid alqueire is equivalent to 84 deciliters.

278. *Arabs*. The word “Alarve” (Arab) has the derived meaning of “boor” or “glutton.”

279. *Come*. Of the determination to return to the Mississippi River, Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 38) says: “Reflecting that we had lost our interpreter, that we found nothing to eat, that the maize we brought upon our backs was failing, and it seemed impossible that so many people should be able to cross a country so poor, we determined to return to the town where the Governor Soto died, as it appeared to us there was convenience for building vessels with which we might leave the country.”

280. *Montemor*. Estremóz is a town of Alemtejo, Portugal, twenty-three miles northeast of Evora. It is famous for its earthenware jugs and has a large trade in wool, and has many marble quarries rivaling those of Italy. Montemor is perhaps the Montemor Novo in Alemtejo, twenty-two miles north-northwest of Evora. See Lemos, *Encyclopedia Portugueza ilustrada*.

281. *Christian*. See *ante*, p. 237, and note 253.

282. *Aays*. See *ante*, note 267.

283. *Chilano*. This town has not been identified.

284. *There*. Probably ropes were made of this fiber.

285. *Aminoya*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 249, note 1) locates Aminoya above the mouth of the Arkansas River in the present Desha County. Hakluyt, in translating, uniformly uses the form “Minoya.”

286. *Lethargy*. Perhaps malaria or dysentery.

287. *Sotis*. Hakluyt (p. 150) translates this passage “by their surname called Sotis.”

288. *Fanegas*. The fanega is a dry measure of quantity equivalent to four alqueires (see *ante*, note 277), used for measuring grains and seeds. [*Fanegas* is often used as a measure of weight rather than volume, its weight is equivalent to 100 kilos. The *fanga*, the term for four alqueires of grain, was 1.57 bushels in Portugal and 4.12 bushels in Brazil.—JH]

289. *Daffodils*. *Abrotea*, literally “daffodil.” Both Hakluyt (p. 151) and B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 169) translate “hemp,” which is more expressive.

290. *Tagoanate*. See *post*, note 293.

291. *Water*. Hakluyt (p. 151) translates this passage “because their places of refuge are in the water”; and B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 170), “as their places of concealment were by the water’s edge.” The primary meaning of *colheita* is “harvest” or “fruits.” It seems here to refer directly to the harvests which had perhaps been placed in *barbacoas* on islets. [There is no question but that *colheita* refers to harvest. The allusion to the “harvests” being “on the water” is probably simply a reference to the planted fields of as yet unharvested maize being close to the river in the floodplain, which most southeastern natives used for their agriculture.—JH]

292. *Them*. Hakluyt (p. 152) translates “for to goe to take them, they were neuer able.” [The Portuguese that Robertson translated as “for there would have been no

remedy except to go to take them” is *porque pa lhas yr tomar nam auia remedeo*. From what precedes and follows this clause, the meaning of the Portuguese seems to be, “for there was no way for us to go to take them,” which is close to the rendition that Hakluyt gave to this phrase. In the sentence that follows this passage, Elvas states that as soon as winter set in they were unable to move out with the horses needed for launching an attack to take the blankets.—[JH]

293. *Taguanate*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 253, note) says this province lay on the White River, and that the town so named was probably located in the southern part of the present Monroe County in Arkansas, possibly at Indian Bay.

294. *Brigantines*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 38) says: “We returned by the same road we had taken, until we came to the town; but we did not discover so good outfits as we had thought to find. There were no provisions in the town, the Indians having taken them away, so we had to seek another town, where we might pass the winter and build the vessels. I thank God that we found two towns very much to our purpose, standing upon the Rio Grande, and which were fenced around, having also a large quantity of maize. Here we stopped, and with great labour built seven brigantines, which were finished at about the end of six months. We threw them into the water, and it was a mystery that, calked as they were with the bark of mulberry trees, and without any pitch, we should find them stanch and very safe.”

295. *Canoes*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 38–39) intimates that the canoes with the horses were taken along in case a large town were found on the seacoast where the expedition might be supported, while two of the brigantines were sent to New Spain “with a message to provide us with vessels in which we could get away from the country.”

296. *Twenty-two*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 39) says twenty-six horses were taken.

297. *Right*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 255, note 1) says this arm of the river was a channel by which the Bayou Macon is connected with the Mississippi and that it is located in the northern part of the present Chicot County, Arkansas.

298. *Quigualtam*. Also spelt Quigaltam (see *ante*, note 234); “Quigualtanqui” in Garcilaso de la Vega, fol. 192. It lay on the opposite side of the Mississippi from Guachoya.

299. *Bluff*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 255, note) conjectures that this bluff was the present Vicksburg Bluffs.

300. *Twenty-five*. Hakluyt (p. 159) says wrongly “fifteen.”

301. *Determine*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 39) says of the assaults by the Indians: “The second day, descending the stream, there came out against us forty or fifty very large and swift canoes, in some of which were as many as eighty warriors, who assailed us with their arrows, following and shooting at us. Some who were in the vessels thought it trifling not to attack them; so, taking four or five of the small canoes we brought along, they went after them. The Indians, seeing this, surrounded them, so that they could not get away, and upset the canoes, whereby twelve very

worthy men were drowned, beyond the reach of our succor, because of the great power of the stream, and the oars in the vessel being few.”

302. *Rest*. Hakluyt (p. 161) says “lingered behind.”

303. *Sea*. Hakluyt (p. 162) says “until they came to the sea.”

304. *Seventeen*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 39) says they reached the sea in nineteen days. He says (p. 39–40) that encouraged by their first success, the Indians kept up their attacks “doing us much damage and wounding many people; for, as they found we had no arms that could reach them from a distance, not an arquebuse nor a crossbow having remained, but only some swords and targets [shields—Ed.], they lost their fears, and would draw very nigh to let drive at us with their arrows.”

305. *So*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 259, note) points out that Garcilaso de la Vega increases this distance to 750 leagues, but that the real distance was about 720 miles.

306. *Sea*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 40) says, “We came out by the mouth of the river, and entering into a very large bay made by it, which was so extensive that we passed along it three days and three nights, with fair weather, in all the time not seeing land, so that it appeared to us that we were at sea, although we found the water still so fresh that it could well be drunk like that of the river.”

307. *Las Palmas*. Later called the Santander River and the River Soto la Marina, its present name. It enters the gulf 110 miles above Tampico. A large bar is formed at the mouth from the silt carried down by the current.

308. *Them*. This sentence is omitted by Hakluyt (p. 165).

309. *Sea*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 261, note) says that “at that time the Atchafalaya probably formed the lower course of Red River, the latter not having cut through to the Mississippi, and it was its current that they encountered.”

310. *Keys*. Hakluyt (p. 166) mistranslates “creeks.”

311. *Key*. *Ibid.* (p. 167).

312. *Fortune*. Hakluyt (p. 168) says “while they were in this tempest.”

313. *Copee*. Cope, in Spanish. A name applied to various species of the genus *Clusia*. Two species, especially are known in Hispanic America, namely, *Clusia Rosea* or Cope grande; and *Clusia minor* or Cope chico. They are both found in Venezuela where they are called “cupay.” Both kinds are used for their resinous qualities and are used, among other ways, in the calking of water craft. The text may refer, however, to some bituminous substance. This name apparently appears on the map [in Robertson] (p. 418).

314. *Islet*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 40) says they went westward to some small islets.

315. *Better*. *Cf.* the procession made by the survivors of Magellan’s ship, the *Victoria*, after landing in Spain in Robertson, *Magellan’s Journey around the World by Antonio Pigafetta*, II, 189.

316. *Palmas*. See *ante*, note 307.

317. *Panico*. The River of Pánuco. This river, about 400 miles long, rises in the Valley of Mexico and enters the Gulf of Mexico six miles below the city of Tampico, now the great oil port of Mexico. The drainage of the Valley of Mexico, a stupendous accomplishment, takes place through a canal and tunnel emptying into one of the branches of the Pánuco River. This stream, notwithstanding the formidable bar at its mouth, is navigable for deep draft vessels to Tampico and to vessels of light draft to the city of Pánuco.

318. *Panico*. The town of Pánuco. This town was founded in 1520 at the orders of Cortés by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who called it San Sebastián del Puerto. Its Aztec name "Pánuco" means "place settled by persons who came by sea." It is located on the Pánuco River, about eighty miles from the Gulf of Mexico by water, but only about forty by land. Pánuco was the capital city of a former administrative unit of New Spain, also called Pánuco, which was bounded on the north by the Nuevo Reino de León and part of the audiencia of Guadalajara, on the east by the gulf, on the south by the provinces of Tlaxcala and Mexico, and on the west by the Reino de Michoacán. During the eighteenth century, it formed part of Nuevo Santander. In that century it had about 500 families and near the close of the nineteenth, about 9,000 inhabitants. The district was first visited by men of the expeditions of Garay. See Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario Geográfico Histórico de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1788), IV, 55; and Espasa, *Enciclopedia universal*, XLI, 900.

319. *Mendoza*. Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of New Spain, was born in 1490, in the fortress of Alcala la Real along the Granada border. His father, Íñigo López de Mendoza, second conde de Tendilla, was captain general of the forces that were investing Granada. The family is said to trace back to the celebrated Spanish hero, the Cid, and thence to some of the best Roman and Gothic families. He was appointed viceroy of New Spain in April, 1535, and reached Mexico in October of the same year. In 1547, he was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru, with his seat at Lima. He died in that city on June 21, 1552, and was buried beside Francisco Pizarro, the great conqueror of Peru. In an age of narrow bigotry, he was characterized by an unusual breadth of mind (for that period), and was above all an excellent organizer and administrator. See Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza* (Durham, 1927); and Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante, *Don Antonio de Méndez* (Santiago, 1928).

320. [Robertson's expression "they had ported there three hundred men" seems awkward. "Three hundred men had arrived in port there" would be better.—JH]

*Men*. Hakluyt (p. 173) says "three hundred and eleven men," thus giving the correct number as noted above. See also B. Smith (*Narratives*, pp. 292–299), "A Memoir of the names of persons who came from Florida, who they are, and of what countries natives." This shows a list of slightly over two hundred names. In the same volume, Smith publishes also two documents relative to the followers of Soto, as follows: 1. Letter to the king from the viceroy of New Spain, with testimony in behalf of Garcia Osorio, soliciting the royal favor, 1560, pp. 299–300. 2. Memorial of Alonso Vaz-



quez to the king of Spain, petitioning for certain privileges, and permission to reside in Florida, together with the testimony of persons as to his services in the army of Hernando de Soto, during the invasion of that province, pp. 301–312.

321. *Mestitam Mexico*. Mestitam is undoubtedly a corruption of the word “Tenochtitlan,” the Aztec name for the City of Mexico. The form of “Mestitan” occurs in Genaro Garcia’s edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *Conquista de la Nueva Espana* (Mexico, 1904), I, 460 and II, 362. There are many corrupted forms of the name. For the history of pre-Spanish and early Spanish Mexico, see Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, Charles Cullen’s translation into English of Francisco Saverio Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, editions of which were issued in London, 1787, Richmond, 1806, and Philadelphia, 1817.

322. *Vera Cruz*. Hakluyt (p. 174) says “and other 60 from Panuco to the Port of Vera Cruz,” omitting the three words “and from Mexico.” The city of Vera Cruz, the chief seaport of Mexico, is located on the southwest shore of the Gulf of Mexico, one hundred and ninety miles from Mexico. Being on low, sandy, and marshy ground, it was a menace to health until recently, but is now sanitary and a modern city. Many of its buildings and its wall are of coral rock. It has a population of over 50,000; and is chiefly a commercial city, although it has some manufacturing industries. It was first visited by Europeans by Juan de Grijalva and next by Cortés (April 21, 1519), who landed at the point called by the natives Chalchiuhuecan on April 22. Because this was Good Friday and because of the wealth of the district, Cortés named it “La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz.” It was the point of departure for the conquest of Mexico. In modern times it has also been a place of entry for hostile troops on more than one occasion.

323. *East*. Hakluyt (p. 174) says “Panuco to the North.”

324. *Food*. “Inda q̄ onestamente tiueram de comer.” Translated by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 198): “particularly in respect of everything to eat.”

325. *Tapile*. The proper form of the word is “topil” or “topile.” It has the meaning of the Spanish word “alguazil,” meaning “constable.” It was early taken over into Spanish use. Ricardo del Castillo, *Los llamados Mexicanismos de la Academia Española* (Mexico, 1917), says (pp. 162–163) that the word is seldom used now in any state of Mexico. Eufemio Mendoza, *Apuntes para un Catálogo Razonado de las Palabras Mexicanas* (Mexico, 1872), p. 51, says it is used now only in a burlesque style. The word occurs in most of the Aztec dictionaries; e.g., Rémi Siméon, *Dictionnaire de langue Nahuatl ou Mexique* (Paris, 1885), p. 651.

326. *Meadows*. Hakluyt (p. 177) says: “it hath thinne woods, and very goodly meadows upon the Riuers.”

327. *Swamps*. Translated “lakes” by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 201).

328. *Northeast*. Hakluyt (p. 178) says wrongly “northwest.”

329. *Daycao*. See *ante*, pp. 252–253, and note 276.

330. *Others*. Hakluyt (p. 178) says “from those that grow more eastward.”

331. *Acorns*. Pecans. See *ante*, note 187.

332. *Ligoacam*. William B. Rye, in his edition of Hakluyt's translation of the *Relaçam: The Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (London, 1851), conjectures that this may refer to the *Lignum Guaiacum* (see p. 169, note 1). From the description of the fruit, it is probable that this was the alligator pear or avocado (Spanish, "aguacate").

333. *Walnuts*. See *ante*, note 198.

334. *Black birds*. Rye (*ut supra*, p. 169, note 5) conjectures that this black bird may be the winter cow-bird, *Molothrus pecoris*.

335. *Coast*. Not necessarily true, but it happens that the Calusa Indians who dwelt about the southern part of the Florida Peninsula and among the keys were the fiercest Indians of that region. See Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian* (Washington, 1907); and Samuel Cole Williams (ed.), *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930).

336. *Infante*. A reference undoubtedly to Enrique (1512–1580), son of King Manoel, the Fortunate, a cardinal and archbishop of Braga, Lisbon, and Evora, and inquisitor general. He was proclaimed king of Portugal in 1578; in 1580 Portugal passed to Spain after the defeat of Don Antonio, the pretender, and did not regain its independence until 1640.



RELATION OF THE ISLAND OF FLORIDA

by

*Luis Hernández de Biedma*

Newly Translated and Edited by

*John E. Worth*

With Footnotes by

*John E. Worth*

and

*Charles Hudson*



# *Introduction*

## *Biedma's Account of the Expedition*

*by John E. Worth*

Luis Hernández de Biedma accompanied the De Soto expedition as factor of the Crown, and while his role in the expedition appears to have been small, as judged by all of the documents, his brief relation is the only complete account for which the original document survives. It is located in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville, in Patronato 19, Ramo 3. The account comprises twenty pages written in an even hand and is personally signed by Biedma. While this manuscript was penned only a short time after the expedition, from Biedma's testimony before the Consejo de Indias in 1544, its contents were not published until the mid-nineteenth century. The first and only complete English translation from the original Spanish was published in 1866 by Buckingham Smith<sup>1</sup> and has been reprinted several times by various editors.

The following translation was drawn from microfilm of the original manuscript (at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville) and a nearly flawless printed transcription, both of which have been checked by this author during an examination of the original in Seville. Throughout, the goal has been to present as closely as possible in English the account as Biedma related it in Spanish. The following translation is therefore largely literal, with only occasional and minor restructuring of the original syntax in order to render specific passages into English more effectively. It is important to note that the original manuscript possesses no punctuation and no paragraphs, and thus these have been created based on grammatical structure and content. All names are preserved precisely as originally written. Interpolations by this editor are set off by brackets, and selected original Spanish terms are bracketed following their translation where they first appear in the relation. Where appropriate, certain common

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<sup>1</sup>Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida* (New York: Bradford Club Series, No. 5, 1866).

Spanish terms remain untranslated. Footnotes have been added to provide additional information where precise meaning seems important or where meaning is ambiguous, and to provide supplementary commentary and information.

## RELATION OF THE ISLAND OF FLORIDA . . . 1539<sup>2</sup>

*by Luys Hernández de Biedma*

We arrived at the port of Baya Honda and disembarked six hundred and twenty men and two hundred and twenty-three horses. As soon as we disembarked, we found out from some Indians that were captured that there was a Christian there in the land who was one of those who had gone with Pánfilo de Narváez, and we went in search of him; a *cacique* who was about eight leagues from the port had him. We came upon him on the road; he was already coming toward us, for when the *cacique* found out that we had disembarked there, he asked the Christian if he wished to come where we were. He told him yes, and [the *cacique*] sent nine Indians with him. He was naked like them, with a bow and some arrows in his hand, his body decorated like an Indian. As the Christians came upon them, they thought that they were Indians who came to spy on them; they went toward them, and they fled to a small forest [*montecillo*] that was nearby. The horses reached them, and they gave a lance-blow to an Indian and easily might have killed the Christian, because he knew little of our language, since he had forgotten it. He remembered how to call to Our Lady, and by this he was recognized to be a Christian.

We brought him with much joy to where the Governor was. He had been among those Indians for twelve years, and he also knew their language; he had been speaking it for so long that he was among us more than four days before he could join one word with another, since upon saying one word in Spanish, he would say another four or five in the language of the Indians, until finally he was again able to speak our language well. He knew little of the land and had neither seen nor heard of things only twenty leagues away. He told us upon seeing us that there was not a bit of gold in the land.

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<sup>2</sup>The date here is a later filing note and refers to the beginning date of the events recounted in the relation. The exterior page of Biedma's relation includes the following brief descriptions: "Relation of the outcome of the armada which Captain Soto led" and "Relation of the outcome of the journey of Captain Soto, and of the quality of the land through which he walked."



All of us who had disembarked departed from the port of Baya Honda in order to penetrate the interior, except twenty-six on horseback and sixty foot soldiers that remained to guard the port until the Governor responded or sent for them. We went west<sup>3</sup> and then turned northwest. We had news of a cacique that the Indians told us everyone paid tribute to; he was named Hurripacuxi, and he was up to twenty leagues from the coast. We went from here, crossing some swamps [*ciénagas*] and rivers [*ríos*], another fifteen or twenty leagues from there to a town [*pueblo*] that the Indians made out to us to be very large, so much so that they told us that its people, shouting, made flying birds fall. We arrived at this town, which was called Etocale. It was a small town; we found some corn and beans and little dogs to eat, which was no small relief for the people, who were dying of hunger.

We stayed here seven or eight days, during which some excursions were made to capture some Indians who might guide us to the province of Apalache, which was widely known in all the land. They captured three or four Indians, but the one who knew the most did not know two leagues farther on from that town. We left from here traveling ever toward New Spain [Mexico], at a distance of ten or twelve leagues from the coast. We passed some towns in the five or six days that we traveled, until we arrived at a fair-sized village [*poblazón razonable*] called Aguacalecuen. We found all the Indians gone, having fled for the woods; here we halted another six or seven days in order to look for some Indians who might guide us. Going to look for some Indians, ten or twelve women were captured, among whom, they told us, one was a daughter of the cacique; for this reason the cacique came to us in peace and said that he would give us interpreters and guides for farther on, but he never gave them to us. We had to take him with us, and at the end of six or seven days that we traveled, about three hundred and fifty Indians came forth to attack us with bows and arrows, intending to take the cacique away from us. We killed some of them and apprehended all the rest. Among them there were some Indians who knew of the interior, and there they told us many great lies.

We crossed another river, which was in a province called Veachile, and we found some towns on the other bank, all abandoned, although we did not fail to find in them what we had need of, which was some food. We departed

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<sup>3</sup>Biedma indicated direction using the terms *via* and *vuelta* interchangeably to signify way, or perhaps direction, in phrases such as *la via del Poniente*, or “the way of the west.” This first reference to direction seems to be incorrect (since they landed on the west coast), although Biedma’s directions elsewhere seem quite accurate.

from here for another town, which is called Aguile. This [town] borders on [*confina con*] that province of Apalache; a river divides the one province from the other. On this river we made a bridge of many pines tied to one another, and we crossed with great danger, because on the other side there were Indians who defended the crossing against us. When the Indians saw that we had crossed the river, they went away to the nearest town, which is called Yvitachuco, and waited there until we arrived in view of the town. Upon seeing us appear, they set fire to all the town and fled.

In this province of Apalache there are many towns, and it is a land of plentiful food; they call all this other land that we traveled through the province of Yustaga. We went to another town which is called Yniahyco, and here it seemed to us that it was time to find out about those who remained at the port, and that they should know about us, because we intended to plunge so far into the interior that we might not be able to have more news of them. We had already walked one hundred and ten leagues from where we left them up to there, and the Governor sent them a message to come where we were.

Here we went to look for the sea, which was about nine leagues from this town, and we found on the shore the place where Pánfilo de Narváez<sup>4</sup> made the boats, because we found the site of the forge and many bones of the horses, and the Indians told us through the interpreter how the other Christians had made those boats there. Juan de Añasco made certain signs in some trees that were on the shore of the sea, because the Governor ordered him to call the people who had remained at the port, and to send them by land the way we had come, and to come back by sea in two brigantines and a small vessel [*batel*] that was there, and to bring them to that province of Apalache; meanwhile we remained waiting there.

Juan de Añasco sent the people by land, and he came back by sea as the Governor commanded him, where he endured much hardship and danger, because he did not find that coast; he did not find a trace of what he had seen by land before he went there by sea, because the inlets [*ancones*] were shallow, and at high tide they had water but at low tide they were dry. We made a *piragua*<sup>5</sup> that each day went out two leagues into the sea to see if the brigantines were coming, in order to show them where they were to stop. Thanks to God they came to them by sea and the other people by land.

The brigantines having come, the Governor commanded that they go

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<sup>4</sup>The Narváez expedition skirted the Gulf Coast in 1528.

<sup>5</sup>A *piragua* was a larger vessel than a canoe, but similarly long and narrow.

west, to see if they could find some port that might be near there, in order to know the coast, if they [the army] should find something in the interior. Francisco Maldonado, a nobleman from Salamanca, went in the brigantines, cruising the coast and entering all the coves [*caletas*] and inlets and rivers that he saw, until he arrived at a river where he found a good entrance, and a good port and a town of Indians on the seacoast. Some came to barter with him, and he captured one of those Indians and came back for where we were.

He spent two months on this journey, yet to all of us it became a thousand years through detaining us there so long, since we had news of the interior. When Maldonado came, the Governor told him that since we were going in search of the land that Indian told us was on another sea, he should return in those brigantines to the island of Cuba, where Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, the wife of the Governor, was, and that if within six months he had no news of us, he should come back in those brigantines and cruise the coast as far as the river of Espiritu Santo [the Mississippi], because we would have to return there.

The brigantines went to Cuba, and we headed north, in order to see what the Indians told us. We traveled five days through an uninhabited region [*despoblado*] until we arrived at a large and very swift [*muy corriente*] river. We could not make a bridge because of the strength with which it flowed, but we made a piragua in which we crossed. On the other bank we found a province, which is called Acapachiqui, very abundant in food of that which the Indians ate. We saw some towns of the province, and others we could not see because it was a land of very great swamps. Here we found a difference in the houses of the Indians; we found them as caves below the ground,<sup>6</sup> while up to there they were covered with palms and straw.

We went onward and came upon<sup>7</sup> two other rivers. We had to make bridges of tied pines on them, as we were accustomed to make them. We arrived at another province, which is called Otoa. We found a fair-sized town, larger than any we had found up to there. From there we went to other towns of another province, which was about two days from there,

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<sup>6</sup>*Como cuevas debajo de tierra.* This probably refers to semi-subterranean structures with depressed floors, a type of architecture that archaeologists recognize to have been common in some regions at this time. Elvas also notes a difference in architecture but places it at Toa to the immediate north.

<sup>7</sup>The original manuscript has a word crossed out in front of *topamos*, or “we came upon.” It appears to be *pasamo*, suggesting the first intention was to write *pasamos*, or “we crossed,” which was corrected.

where we captured some people unawares, who had not heard about us. They agreed to come to serve us in peace so that we would return the people that we had taken from them. The Governor returned them, and the only ones they did not take from him were some interpreter guides for farther on. We spent five or six days in passing through this province, which is called Chisi, where we were well served by the Indians, from the little that they had.

From here we traveled another three days without seeing a village, until we came to another province, which is called Altapaha. Here we found a river that did not flow to the south like the others that we had crossed. It flowed east, to the sea, where the *licenciado* [lawyer] Lucas de Ayllón had come;<sup>8</sup> because of this we gave much more credit to what the Indian told us and believed all the lies that he had told us to be true. This province was well populated with Indians, and they all served us. The Governor questioned them about that province that we were searching for, which was called Cofitachique, and they told us that it was not possible to go there; there was neither a road nor anything to eat on the road, and we would all die of hunger.

We went onward to other caciques, who were named Ocute and Cofaqui, and they gave us some of the foods they had and told us that if we wished to go to make war on the lady of Cofitachique, they would give us all that we might want for the journey. They told us that there was no road by which to go, since they had no dealings with one another because they were at war; sometimes when they came to make war on one another, they passed through hidden and secret places where they would not be detected, and they spent twenty or twenty-two days on the road and ate only herbs and some toasted corn that they brought.

Having seen our determination, they gave us eight hundred Indians to carry our food and clothes, and other Indians to guide us; they headed straight to the east and traveled for three days. The Indian who had deceived us told us that in three days he would get us there. At the end of the three days we were already beginning to see the lie of the Indian. The Governor did not stop following the road that he had started on because of that, and he commanded that all should save as much food as they could, because he suspected what afterward happened, that we would be in great hardship and necessity. We traveled through this uninhabited region thirteen days, and at the end of them we arrived at some cabins [*cabañas*]. The Indians had al-

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<sup>8</sup>Ayllón established a short-lived colony on the Atlantic Coast in 1526.

ready lost their bearings, and they did not know where to go or what road to give us.

The Governor went out to look for it and returned despairing of being able to find it; he made the people return about half a league from there to a large river, and there he began to give a pound of pork to each Christian as rations from some pigs that we were taking with us, and we ate it boiled in water without salt or anything else. And from here the Governor sent people in two directions to look for a road; one he sent upriver, north and northeast, and the other he sent downriver, south and southeast, and he gave to each one a limit of ten days to go and come back, to see if they found some road or saw a trace of a town.

He who went south and southeast came back in four days with news that he had come upon a little village [*poblezuelo pequeño*] with some food, and he brought from it three or four Indians who spoke with that Indian who deceived us, and they also understood the interpreter. This was no little thing for us because of the great necessity for interpreters that there is in the land. And he again affirmed the lies that he had told us, and we believed him through seeing the interpreter speak with those Indians. We all then departed to go to that little village and await there those who had gone in other directions to look for a road, and we were here four or five days, until all the people gathered. We found about fifty fanegas<sup>9</sup> of corn and some flour of toasted corn, and many mulberry trees loaded with mulberries, and some other small fruit.

We departed from here for the town of Cofitachique, which was two days' journey from this little village. It was on the bank of a river that we believe was the river of Santa Elena, where the licenciado Ayllón was. Having arrived at this river, the lady of the town sent us a niece of hers, and some Indians brought her on a litter with much prestige. And she sent a message to us that she was delighted that we had come to her land, and that she would give us whatever she could and had, and she sent a string of pearls of five or six strands to the Governor. She gave us canoes in which we crossed that river and divided with us half of the town. She was with us three or four days and then went away to the woods.

The Governor sent people to look for her, and when she could not be found, he opened a temple<sup>10</sup> that was there, where the important people of

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<sup>9</sup>A *fanega* of corn equals approximately 100 pounds, making Biedma's amount roughly 5,000 pounds.

<sup>10</sup>*Mezquita*, probably referring to a temple or other public structure.

that land were buried, and we gathered from there a quantity of pearls; there must have been up to six and a half or seven arrobas<sup>11</sup> of them, although they were not good because they were damaged through being below the ground and placed amidst the adipose tissue of the Indians. Here we found buried two Castilian axes for cutting wood, and a rosary of beads of jet and some *margaritas* of the kind that they carry from here [Spain] to barter with the Indians.<sup>12</sup> All this we believed they had obtained from barter with those who went with the licenciado Ayllón.

According to the information that we had from the Indians, the sea was up to thirty leagues from there. We found out that the people that went with Ayllón scarcely went inland at all but rather stayed always on the seacoast, until Ayllón became sick and died. Afterward the people killed one another, each one intent on taking command, and many others [died] of hunger; one who had found himself there<sup>13</sup> told us that of six hundred men that Ayllón had settled in that land, not more than fifty-seven had escaped, largely because of losing a large ship loaded with provisions.

We were in the town of this lady for about ten or eleven days, and then it was advisable for us to leave from there in search of land where there was food, because here there was none, except a very limited amount for the Indians to eat, and we, with the horses and the people, used it up very quickly. We turned again north and traveled eight days through land poor and lacking in food until we arrived at a land that they call Xuala, and here we found little population, because of the land being rugged, but still we found some Indian houses. In these mountains we found the source of the great river by which we left,<sup>14</sup> and we believed it to be the river of Espiritu Santo. We went onward to a town that is called Guasuli, where they gave us a quantity of dogs and some corn, of which they had little.

From here we traveled four days and arrived at a town that is called

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<sup>11</sup>One *arroba* equals approximately 25 pounds, placing the estimated weight of the pearls roughly between 160 and 175 pounds.

<sup>12</sup>Beads of jet, commonly used for rosaries, have not been recognized archaeologically prior to the mid-seventeenth century. The *margaritas* noted in the text were common trade beads but have not been positively identified. For further information, see Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500–1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987).

<sup>13</sup>This individual might have been a survivor of the 1526 Ayllón colony who was also a member of the De Soto expedition.

<sup>14</sup>The members of the expedition believed that these were the headwaters of the Mississippi River, through which they would ultimately depart from Florida.

Chyha, which is very abundant in food. It is situated on an island in this river of Espiritu Santo, which from its source makes very large [islands]. In this province we began to find the towns palisaded [*cercados*], and here the Indians extract a great quantity of oil from nuts. We stayed here twenty-six or twenty-seven days, in order to give some relief to the horses, because they were very fatigued from little to eat and much labor. We departed from here, along the bank of the river, and arrived at another province that is called Costehe, where the towns are likewise on islands in the river.

From here we went to the province of Coça, which is one of the best lands that we came upon in Florida. Its cacique came forth to receive us on a litter with great festivity and many people, because he has many subject towns. The next day in the morning all the Indians fled. We captured the cacique, so that he would give us Indians to carry our burdens, but he detained us several days before he gave them to us. We found in this province plums like those from here in Castille, and a great quantity of wild vines, on which there were very good grapes. We departed from here toward the west and southwest, and went through towns of this cacique for five or six days, until we arrived at another province that is called Italisi. We found the people gone and went to look for them. Some Indians came to us, whom the Governor sent to call the cacique; he came to us and brought us as present twenty-six or twenty-seven women and hides of deer and whatever they had.

From here we headed south, drawing near the coast of New Spain, and we passed several towns until we arrived at another province that was called Tascaluza, of which the cacique was an Indian so large that, to the opinion of all, he was a giant. He awaited us in peace in his town. We made much festivity for him when we arrived and jousted and had many horse races, although he appeared to think little of all this. Afterward we asked him to give us Indians to carry the burdens, and he responded that he was not accustomed to serving anyone, rather that all served him before. The Governor commanded that he not be allowed to go to his house, but rather that he should be detained there; as a result he felt that he was detained among us, and because of this he committed the ruin that afterward he inflicted on us.

Because he said that he could not give us anything there, that we should go to another town of his, which was called Mavila, and that there he would give us what we requested of him, we headed for there, arriving at a large river [*río caudal*], which we believe is the river that flows into the bay of Chuse. Here we had news of how the boats of Narváez had arrived in need of water, and that here among these Indians remained a Christian who was

called Don Teodoro, and a black man with him. They showed us a dagger<sup>15</sup> that the Christian had. We were here two days making rafts to cross this river, during which the Indians killed a Christian who was one of the Governor's guard. In a fit of anger, he [the Governor] treated the cacique badly and told him that he was going to burn him unless he gave him the Indians that had killed the Christian. He said that in his town of Mavila he would give them to us.

This cacique was an Indian who brought along many other Indians who served him, and he always walked with a very large fly-flap [*moscador*] made of feathers, which an Indian carried behind him in order to block the sun. We arrived at Mavila one day at nine in the morning. It was a small and very strongly palisaded town and was situated on a plain. There were some Indian houses on the outside of the palisade, but we found that the Indians had demolished all of them to the ground in order to have the field more clear. Some important Indians came forth to us upon seeing us and asked the Governor, through the interpreter, whether he wished to spend the night there on that plain or if he wished to enter within the town and said that in the afternoon they would give us the Indians for the burdens. It seemed to the Governor that it was better to enter in the town with them, and he commanded us all to enter in there, and so we did it.

Having entered within, we were walking with the Indians, chatting, as if we had them in peace, because only three hundred or four hundred appeared there, but there were a good five thousand Indians in the town, hidden in the houses. We did not see them, nor did the Indians appear. As they made festivity for us, they began to do their dances and songs. In order to dissemble, they had fifteen or twenty women dance in front of us. After they had danced a little while, the cacique arose and entered one of those houses. The Governor sent a message for him to come outside, and he said that he did not wish to. The Captain of the Governor's guard entered to bring him out, and he saw so many people within, and so ready for war, that he thought it a good idea to go out and leave him, and he said to the Governor that those houses were full of Indians, all with bows and arrows, ready to do some treachery.

The Governor called to another Indian who was passing by there, who likewise refused to come. A nobleman who found himself alongside him seized him by the arm in order to bring him, and then he [the Indian] gave a

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<sup>15</sup>*Puñal*, or a poniard.





*Spanish Swordsman, Arquebusier, and Pikeman about 1540. Fighting against soldiers equipped in this manner was demoralizing for native peoples who, however, showed great courage and ingenuity when facing them. The pikeman wears quilted cotton armor, which was much lighter than chain mail or plate armor and yet was effective protection from native archery. (Courtesy of Osprey Publishing, London)*

pull that set himself free. Then he [the nobleman] put hand to his sword and gave him a slash that cut off an arm. Upon wounding this Indian, all began to shoot arrows at us, some from within the houses, through many loop-holes that they had made, and others from outside. As we were so unprepared because we thought that we had met them in peace, we suffered so much damage that we were forced to leave, fleeing from the town, and all that the Indians brought us in our loads remained within, as they had unloaded it there. When the Indians saw us outside, they closed the gates of the town and began to beat their drums and to raise banners with a great yell, and to open our trunks and bundles and display from the top of the wall all that we had brought, since they had it in their possession.

As soon as we left the town, we mounted our horses and encircled the entire town, so that the Indians might not get away from us on any side, and the Governor decided that sixty or eighty of us should dismount, those of us who were best armed, and that we should form ourselves in four squads and assault the town on four sides, and that the first to enter should set fire to the houses, so that they might not do us more damage from within, and that we should give the horses to other soldiers who were not armed, so that if some Indians should come forth from the town in order to flee, they might overtake them. We entered within the town and set fire, where a quantity of Indians were burned, and all our supplies were burned, so that not one thing remained.

We fought that day until it was night, without one Indian surrendering to us, rather they fought like fierce lions. Of those who came out, we killed them all, some with the fire, others with the swords, others with the lances. Later, near nightfall, only three Indians remained, and they took those twenty women that they had brought to dance and placed them in front of themselves. The women crossed their hands, making signs to the Christians that they should take them. The Christians came to take them, and they turned aside, and the three Indians who were behind them shot arrows at the Christians. We killed two of the Indians, and one who remained alone, in order not to surrender to us, climbed a tree that was in the wall itself, and removed the cord from the bow and attached it to his neck and to a branch of the tree and hanged himself.

This day the Indians killed more than twenty of our men, and two hundred and fifty of us escaped with wounds, for we had seven hundred and sixty arrow wounds. We treated ourselves that night with the adipose tissue of the dead Indians themselves, since we had no other medicine, because all had burned that day. We stayed here treating ourselves twenty-seven or

twenty-eight days, and thank God we all healed. We took the women and divided them among the most seriously wounded, in order that they might serve them.

We heard through news from the Indians that we were up to forty leagues from the sea. Many wished that the Governor would go to the sea, because they [the Indians] gave us news of the brigantines, but he did not dare, for the month of November was already half over and it was very cold, and he felt it advisable to look for a land where he might find provisions in order to be able to winter. In this [land] there were none, because it was a land of little food. We turned again north and walked ten or twelve days' journey, with great hardship from cold and from waters that we crossed on foot, until we arrived at a province, well-provisioned [*gruesa*]<sup>16</sup> and with plenty of food, where we could halt while the fury of the winter passed, because more snows fell there than in Castille.

Having arrived at this province of Chicaça, the Indian warriors came forth to defend a crossing of a river that we had to cross, and they detained us there three days. In the end we crossed in a piragua that we made, and all the Indians fled to the woods. After seven or eight days, messengers from the cacique came to the Governor, saying that he and all his people wanted to come to serve us. The Governor received him well and sent a message for him to come in any case, and that he would give them many of the things he had brought. The cacique came and brought many Indians, who carried him on their shoulders. He brought us some little dogs and hides of deer. The cacique remained with us, and the other Indians went away again. Each day Indians went and came and brought many rabbits and whatever they could have in the land, and also at night some Indians were captured, who, under the pretense of being at peace, came to see the manner in which we slept and how we guarded ourselves.

Unaware of the treachery that they had intended, we told the cacique that we wished to depart the next day in order to continue our journey. He went away, and that night he came upon us, and as they already knew where we had placed our sentries, more than three hundred Indians entered in the town without the sentries detecting them, two by two and four by four, with some little jars [*ollillas*] in which they brought fire, in order not to be noticed or seen. At the time that the other Indians were arriving, the sentries detected the throng of people, and they sounded the call to arms; already these

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<sup>16</sup>The term *gruesa* more precisely connotes corpulent, or stout, which seems to refer to the abundance of food and supplies.

others had set fire to one [house] in the town. They did us very great damage and killed that night fifty-seven horses and more than three hundred hogs and thirteen or fourteen men, and it was a great mystery of God why, without our resisting them or doing a thing, the Indians turned to flee and left us, because if they had pursued us, not a man of all of us would have escaped.

We then moved from there to a cabin, which was about one league from there. We found out that the Indians had decided to return that night upon us, except that thanks to God it rained a little, so that because of the water they abandoned their plan. We were so poorly supplied that although we still had some horses, we had neither saddle, nor lance, nor shield, because all had burned. Here we hurried to make shields and lances and saddles, as best we could and knew how. After five days the Indians, their squadrons formed with much order, turned again upon us and came to strike on three sides. As we were now more watchful, we detected them and came forth to them and routed them and did them some damage, so that thanks to God they did not return any more. We were here about two months, making what we had need of in the way of saddles and lances and shields, and then we departed toward the northwest for another province that is called Alibamo.

Here something happened to us that they say has never happened in the Indies, which was that in the middle of the road where we were to pass, without having food to defend nor women to guard there, but rather only to prove themselves against us, they made a very strong barricade<sup>17</sup> of poles in the middle of the road, and about three hundred Indians placed themselves there, with determination to die before they relinquished it. As they saw us appear, some Indians came forth from the barricade to shoot arrows at us and threaten us that no man would remain alive. From this we considered that barricade differently, and with the people that defended it, we believed they had some food there or something that they were guarding, of which we had much need, because we were expecting to cross an uninhabited region of twelve days' duration, in all of which there was not one thing to eat, except what we carried there. About forty of us dismounted and placed ourselves on two sides, so that at the sound of a trumpet we would charge the barricade all at once. We did it thus and entered, although we suffered some damage, for they killed seven or eight men and wounded twenty-five or twenty-six of us. We captured some Indians and others we killed, and we

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<sup>17</sup>The term *albarrado* may refer to an earthen wall or trench, implying more than a simple wall of timber.

found out from them that they had done that only with the intent of proving themselves against us, and for no other purpose.

We looked for food there, although with difficulty, in order to enter into our uninhabited region. We walked through it for twelve days with great labor, because of the wounded and sick that we were carrying. We arrived one day at midday at a town that is called Quizquiz, so unexpectedly that they had no news of us. The Indian men were gone to do their labors at their cornfields. We captured more than three hundred women who were in the town and the pittance of hides and blankets that they had in their houses. Here we found the first little walnuts of the land,<sup>18</sup> which are much better than those from here in Spain. This town was near the river of Espiritu Santo. They told us that this and other towns there pay tribute to a lord of Pacaha, who was well known in all the land.

When they found out that we had taken those women, they came to us in peace and asked the Governor to give them back. The Governor did so and asked them to give us some canoes in order to cross that large river, and they said that they would give them to us, but they never did it. Rather, they gathered together in order to make war on us and came within view of the town where we were, but in the end they did not dare to assault us and turned back. We left that town and went to make camp on the bank of the river in order to organize how to cross it. We saw that on the other side was a great number of people ready to defend the crossing against us, and they had many canoes. We decided to make four large piraguas, so that each one of them would be able to carry sixty or seventy men and five or six horses.

It took us twenty-seven or twenty-eight days to make these piraguas. During this time the Indians each day at the hour of three in the afternoon placed themselves in two hundred and fifty canoes that they had there, very large and well shielded [*muy empavesadas*], and drew near the other shore where we were with a great yell. They shot all the arrows that they could and returned to the other bank. When they saw that we already had our boats ready to cross, they all fled and left the crossing undefended. In good order, we crossed the river, which was almost a league wide and nineteen or twenty *brazas*<sup>19</sup> deep. On the other bank we found some good towns. We went up the river, because in order to go to that province of Pacaha we had to turn upriver.

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<sup>18</sup>Probably pecans.

<sup>19</sup>One *braza* (an armspan) equals approximately 5.5 feet, making Biedma's depth estimate roughly 104 to 110 feet.

Before we got to it, we arrived at another province of another lord, who was named Ycasqui, with whom he [Pacaha] was always at war. This cacique came forth in peace, telling us that he had been hearing of us for a long time, and that he knew that we were men from heaven and that their arrows could not do us harm, and that therefore they wanted no war with us, but rather wanted to serve us. The Governor received them very well and refused to let any soldiers enter in his town, so that they might not do it any damage, and we made camp on a plain in view of the town of the cacique. We were there two days.

The day that we arrived, the cacique spoke with the Governor, telling him that he knew that he was a man from heaven, and since he had to continue onward, he should leave a sign indicating whom he could ask for help for his wars, and whom his people could ask for water for their fields, because they were in great need of it, since their children were dying of hunger. The Governor commanded that they should make a cross of two very tall pines, and he told him that he should return the next day, that he would give him the sign of heaven that he asked him for, and that he should believe that he would lack nothing if he had true faith in it. The next day the cacique returned to us, saying many things because we delayed so much in giving him the sign that he had asked for, since he was so willing to serve us and follow us, and he made there such a great lament because they did not give it so quickly that he made us all weep from seeing the devotion and insistence with which he requested it. The Governor commanded that he and all his Indians should return in the afternoon and told him that we would go to his town and bring him the sign that he had requested.

He came in the afternoon with all his people. We went in procession up to the town, and they came after us. Having arrived at the town, we found that the caciques there were accustomed to have, next to the houses where they live, some very high mounds [*cerros*], made by hand, and that others have their houses on the mounds themselves. On the summit of that mound we drove in the cross, and we all went with much devotion, kneeling to kiss the foot of the cross. The Indians did as they saw us do, neither more nor less. They brought a great quantity of canes [*cañizos*] and made a wall around it. We returned to our camp that night.

The next day in the morning we traveled toward Pacaha, which was up-river. We walked two days, and then we saw the town on a plain, well palisaded and with a moat of water around it, dug by hand. We drew as near to the town as we could. When we were near, we halted, because we dared not enter in it, and walking around on one side and another, we saw that on one

side many people were fleeing. Then we assailed the town and entered without any defense. Very few people were taken, because all had already fled. They were unable to keep the pittance that they had in a safe place, and all of it remained in the town. While we were halted in view of the town, because we dared not enter, we saw coming at our back a large squadron of Indians. We thought that it was people who were coming to the aid of the town, and we went toward them and found that it was the cacique we had left behind, where we had placed the cross. They were coming after us to aid us if we should need it.

We led him to the town, and he began to give so many thanks to the Governor for the cross that he had left him, saying that it had rained a great deal in his land the day before, and that all his people were so content that they did not wish to leave us but rather to go away with us. The Governor placed him in the town and gave him all that we found in it, which is much wealth for them, including some beads that there are of snail shells from the sea<sup>20</sup> and some small hides of cats and buckskin, and some corn that there was in the town, with which he sent him away happy to his land.

We were in this town twenty-seven or twenty-eight days to see if we could have a road north in order to traverse to the South Sea [the Pacific Ocean]. From here some excursions were made to capture Indians who might inform us. One expedition in particular was made to the northwest, because they told us that there were large villages through which we could go. But we traveled eight days through an uninhabited land of very great swampy lakes, where we did not even find trees, but rather some great plains, where was grass so tall and so strong that even with the horses we could not force our way through it. At the end of this time, we arrived at some Indian settlements [*ranchos*] that were covered with sewn reeds [*enea cosida*]. When they wish to carry them away, they roll up the reeds of the covering and an Indian man carries it, and the woman carries the framework of poles over which it is placed, and it is set up and taken down so easily that even if they moved every hour they could carry their houses with them.

We found out from these Indians that there were some little settlements [*ranchuelos*] of that sort across the land, and all they did was set up their house where there were many deer, or on a swamp where there were many fish, and when they had frightened away the game and could not catch fish

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<sup>20</sup>*Caracoles de la mar*. The term *caracol marino* denotes the periwinkle shell, suggesting that these beads were made from periwinkles. Such beads are relatively common in the archaeological record.

as easily as at first, they moved from there with their houses and all that and went away to another place where they could find fresh game. This province was called Caluçi; they were people that paid little attention to sowing, because they maintained themselves on this fish and meat.

We returned to this town of Pacaha, where the Governor remained, and we found that the cacique had now come in peace. He was there in the town with him, and at this time the other cacique came from back where we had placed the cross. It was something to see, seeing both the caciques together, who were enemies. The Governor commanded each one of them to sit at his side. It was a marvelous thing what each one went through to win the right hand from the other.

Having seen that there was no road to traverse to the other sea, we turned south and returned with the cacique to where we had placed the cross, and from there we headed southwest to another province which is called Quiguatate. This was the largest town that we found in Florida; it was on a branch of the great river. Here we tarried eight or nine days to look for interpreters and guides, still with the intention, if we were able, to traverse to the other sea, because the Indians told us that eleven days from there was a province where they killed some cows,<sup>21</sup> and that from there we would learn of interpreters in order to cross to the other sea.

We departed with these guides for that province, which is called Coligua, without any road, but rather they led us each night straight to some swamps of water from which we might drink, where we found a quantity of fish. We traveled over much flat land and other land of rugged mountains, and we struck pointblank at the town of Coligua, as if they led us by royal road, seeing that in all their life no man had passed through there. We found much food in this land and a great quantity of tanned cow tails and others for tanning. We inquired about a road in the direction we were heading and whether there was any village in that district, far or near. They were never able to tell us anything except that if we wished to travel where there might be a village, we had to turn west-southwest.

We turned again to where the Indians guided us, and we went to some scattered villages that were called Tatilcoya. Here we found a large river, and afterward we saw that it flowed into the great river [the Mississippi]. We had information that on this river upstream was a great province called Cayas. We went to it and found that it was all scattered population, though heavy, and several excursions were made. The land is very rugged with mountains.

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<sup>21</sup>Refers to the bison.



An excursion was made in which the cacique and many people were apprehended. When we asked for news of the land, they told us that if we went upriver, we would come upon a well-provisioned province that was called Tula. The governor wished to go see if it was a place where the people could winter, and he went with twenty on horseback. He left all the rest in this province of Cayas.

Before arriving at the province of Tula, we crossed some rugged mountains and arrived at the town without their having heard anything of us. We began to apprehend some Indians, and they began to call to arms and make war on us. They wounded that day nine or ten horses and seven or eight Spaniards, and such was their ferocity that they joined together, eight by eight and ten by ten, and came at us like wounded dogs. We killed about thirty or forty Indians. It seemed to the Governor that it was not good to halt there that night, because he led very few people, and he returned by the road on which we had come to a clearing in a lowland that the river made,<sup>22</sup> having crossed a bad pass of the mountain range because there was fear that the Indians might take us at that pass.

The next day he arrived where his people were, and there were none of those Indians we had brought, nor did he find in that province Indians who could understand the interpreter. He commanded that all should prepare to travel to that province [of Tula]. We then went there. The day after we arrived, three very large squadrons of Indians came upon us at dawn, on three sides. We came forth to them and routed them and did them some damage, as a result of which they attacked us no more.

After two or three days, they sent the messengers as if in peace. Although we did not understand one thing for lack of the interpreter, through signs we told them that they should bring us interpreters for those [Indians] behind us, and they brought us five or six Indians who understood the interpreters that we brought. They asked us what people we were and what we were looking for. We asked them about some large provinces where there would be much food, because already the cold of the winter was greatly menacing us. They told us that the way that we were going, they knew of not one large village. They pointed out to us that if we wanted to turn east and southeast or northwest that we would find large villages.

Having seen that we did not have any other choice, we turned again southeast and went to a province called Quipana, which is at the foot of some very rugged mountains, and here we went east and traversed these

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<sup>22</sup>*Un raso de una vega quel rio hacia*, probably referring to the floodplain.

mountains and descended to some plains, where we found a village suited for our purpose, because there was a town nearby that had much food, and it was on a large river that ended at the great river by which we left. This province was called Viranque.

Here we spent the winter. There were such great snows and cold weather that we thought we were dead men. In this town died the Christian who had been one of Narváez's men, whom we had found in the land and taken along as interpreter. We left from here at the beginning of March, since it appeared to us that the fury of the cold weather had abated, and we traveled downstream along that river, where we found other well-populated provinces with a quantity of supplies, until we arrived at a province that seemed to us to be one of the best that we had come upon in all the land, which is called Anicoyanque. Here another cacique, who was named Guachoyanque, came to us in peace. He has his village on the large river and wages much war with this other [province] where we were. The Governor departed then for this other town of Guachoyanque and took the cacique with him. It was a good town, well palisaded and strong. It had little food, because the Indians had hidden it all.

Here the Governor was already determined, if he were to find the sea, to make brigantines in order to send word to Cuba that we were alive, so that they might provide us with some horses and the things that we had need of. He sent the captain south to see if he could discover some road to go to look for the sea, because from the account of the Indians nothing could be found out about what there might be, and he returned saying that he did not find a road nor a way to cross the large swamps along the great river. The Governor, from seeing himself cut off and seeing that not one thing could be done according to his purpose, was afflicted with sickness and died.

The Governor dead, he left Luis de Moscoso appointed as Governor. We decided that since we could not find a road to the sea, we should head west, and that it could be that we might be able to get out by land to Mexico, if we did not find anything else in the land or any place to halt. We walked seventeen days' journey until we arrived at a province of Chavete, where the Indians made much salt; we did not find out anything about the west. From here we went to another province that is called Aguacay. We spent another three days' journey getting there, still going straight west. From here the Indians told us that we could not find more villages, but rather that we should descend southwest and south, because there we would find villages and food, and that going the way that we asked about there were some great stretches of sand [*arenales grandes*], and neither villages nor any food.

We had to return where the Indians guided us, and we went to a province that is called Nisione, and another that is called Nandacao, and another that is called Lacame, and across land more and more sterile and with less food. We went along asking about a province that they told us was large, which was called Xuacatino. This cacique of Nondacao gave us an Indian to guide us, with the intent of placing us where we could never get out, and so he guided us across rugged land and off road, until finally he told us that he no longer knew where he was leading us, and that his lord had commanded him to lead us where we would die of hunger.

We took another guide who led us to a province that is called Hais, where cows are in the habit of gathering at times, and as the Indians saw us enter through their land, they began to cry out that they should kill the cows that were coming;<sup>23</sup> they came forth to shoot arrows at us and did us some damage. We departed from here and arrived at the province of Xacatin, which was among some dense forests and lacked food. From here the Indians guided us east to other towns, which were small and had little food, saying that they were leading us to where there were other Christians like us. It seemed afterward to be a lie and that they could not have news of any others but us; since we had made so many turns,<sup>24</sup> in some of these they must have heard of our passing.

We turned south again, with purpose of living or dying or traversing to New Spain, and we walked about six days' journey south and southwest. There we halted and sent ten men on swift horses to travel eight or nine days, or as many as they were able, to see if they could find some town in order to replenish the corn so we could continue on our way, and they traveled as far as they could and came upon some poor people who did not have houses, but rather some miserable little settlements where they situated themselves, and they neither sowed nor gathered anything but rather maintained themselves only on fish and meat.

They brought three or four of these Indians. We found no one who could understand the interpreter. Having seen that we had lost the interpreter and that we found nothing to eat, that we were now lacking the corn that we had carried on our backs, and that it was [impossible<sup>25</sup>] for so many people to traverse so miserable a land, we decided to return to the town where Gover-

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<sup>23</sup>Probably the Spaniards' horses.

<sup>24</sup>Here the term *vueltas* seems best translated as "turns," although it may also connote ways or even directions (as it is used in the rest of the relation), referring to multiple legs of the journey.

<sup>25</sup>While the text states *possible*, the context indicates this to be an error.

nor Soto had died, because there it seemed to us that it was possible to fashion vessels to leave the land. We returned along that same road that we had followed until we arrived at the town where the Governor had died.

Having arrived here, we did not find as good provisions as we thought, because we did not find food in the town, since the Indians had hidden it. We had to look for another town in order to be able to winter and fashion the ships. Thank God we discovered two towns much to our purpose that were on the great river and had a great quantity of corn and were palisaded, and there we halted and built our ships with much labor. We made seven brigantines and spent six months in finishing them. We cast off the brigantines in the river, and it was a thing of mystery that even though they were caulked only with the bark of those mulberry trees and without any pitch, we found them watertight and very good. We towed some canoes downriver with us in which we carried twenty-six horses, so that if at the seacoast we should find some village that could sustain us with food, from there we would send a pair of brigantines to give a message to the Viceroy of New Spain, so that he might provide us ships in which we could leave the land.

The second day that we were going downriver, there came forth to us about forty or fifty very large and swift canoes of Indians, among which there was a canoe that carried eighty Indian warriors, and they began to shoot arrows at us and pursue us, shooting more arrows at us. It seemed to some of those in our ships that it was cowardly not to attack them, and they took four or five small canoes of those that we were towing and went toward the canoes of the Indians, who, as soon as they saw them, encircled them as best they could and would not let them leave from among them. They upset the canoes in the water, and thus they killed this day twelve very honorable men, because we could not aid them, since the current of the river was so great and we had few oars in our ships. With this victory, the Indians came following us downriver, until we arrived at the sea, which took nineteen days' journey. They did us much damage and wounded many people, because since they saw that we did not have arms with which to do them damage from a distance, for we no longer had either arquebus or crossbow but only some swords and shields, they now had lost their fear and drew very near to shoot arrows at us.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>The final section of Biedma's relation is written in a different hand than the bulk of the manuscript, and using different ink than both the text and the signature immediately below, suggesting that this final section was written by a different scribe (and may have been added after the signature, which is overlapped by this final section). It is possible that Biedma origi-

We came forth to the sea through the mouth of the river and went across a bay that the river makes, so large that we navigated three days and three nights with reasonable weather, and in all that time we did not see land. It seemed to us that we were far out at sea, and at the end of these three days and three nights we gathered water as fresh as from the river, which was good to drink. We saw some little islets toward the southwest side, and we went to them, and from there we went along the coast, gathering shellfish and looking for things to eat, until we entered the river of Panuco, where we were very well received by the Christians.

LUYS HERNÁNDEZ  
DE BIEDMA<sup>27</sup>

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nally intended to terminate the relation here, for he mentioned their departure from the river into the sea in the previous sentence.

<sup>27</sup>Following Biedma's relation is an appended four-page document entitled "Memorial of the persons who came from Florida, which persons they are, and from where they are natives." This list of 221 survivors of the De Soto expedition seems to be in a different hand and appears on distinctive paper that has been folded in a manner different from the Biedma relation, suggesting that it was added separately to Biedma's text. The list is presented and examined by Ignacio Avellaneda, *Los sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition* (Gainesville: University of Florida, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 1990).

ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN CONQUEST AND  
DISCOVERY OF HERNANDO DE SOTO<sup>1</sup>

by  
*Rodrigo Rangel*

(drawn from *Historia general y natural de las Indias*  
by  
*Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés*)

Newly Translated and Edited by  
*John E. Worth*  
With Footnotes by  
*John E. Worth*  
and *Charles Hudson*

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<sup>1</sup>There is no separate title provided by Oviedo for the Rangel account, and thus this title was constructed from passages in chapter 26 of Oviedo's work (see chapter 6).



# *Introduction*

## *Rangel's Account of the Expedition*

*by John E. Worth*

Rodrigo Rangel,<sup>2</sup> a native of Almedralejo, accompanied the De Soto expedition as the private secretary of Hernando de Soto. The account of this expedition attributed to him is included in the massive work *Historia general y natural de las Indias* by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. As related below in chapter 6 of the account, Rangel gave a relation before the Audiencia Real in Santo Domingo soon after the expedition and was subsequently commanded to give a complete account of the De Soto expedition to Oviedo as the official royal historian of the Indies. The bulk of the Rangel account evidently derives from a detailed diary that he kept during the expedition, although some material appears to have been obtained by Oviedo through interviews with Rangel.

It is important to recognize that the text that follows is a product of Oviedo's hand, although it apparently follows the diary of Rangel closely. Certain passages were undoubtedly added by Oviedo, who often inserted personal commentary into the text of Rangel's account. These asides are easily extracted by the reader from Rangel's material.

The Rangel account is generally considered to be the most accurate of the four major extant accounts of the De Soto expedition. Notwithstanding this fact, the first and only published English translation of Rangel's complete text (first published in Spanish in its entirety in 1851<sup>3</sup>) was by Edward G. Bourne in 1904.<sup>4</sup>

The following translation is drawn from chapters 21 through 28 of Book XVII of Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. While minor

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<sup>2</sup>While this name is spelled Rangel in the list of survivors of the De Soto expedition appended to the Biedma account, the printed version of Oviedo's text is spelled Ranjel, and this spelling is often found in the literature on the De Soto expedition.

<sup>3</sup>Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1851).

<sup>4</sup>Edward Gaylord Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, 2 vols. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1904).



restructuring of the original syntax was necessary at times, the present translation is largely literal, following Oviedo's paragraph and sentence structure as closely as possible. All Indian names are preserved as originally printed in the Oviedo text, but the spelling of Spanish names and terms has been modernized. Where appropriate, certain Spanish terms remain untranslated. Interpolations by this editor are set off by brackets, and selected original Spanish terms are bracketed following their translation where they first appear in the account. Footnotes have been added to provide additional information where precise meaning seems important or where meaning is ambiguous, and to provide supplementary commentary and information.

# ONE

## HOW FERNANDO DE SOTO WENT TO GOVERN THE ISLAND OF CUBA OR FERNANDINA AS CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THEIR MAJESTIES, AND WITH TITLE OF *ADELANTADO* OF FLORIDA.

The Emperor our lord made as his Governor and Captain General of the island and province of Florida and its annexes on the mainland, to the northern part that the adelantado Juan Ponce de León<sup>5</sup> had discovered, Hernando de Soto, who was one of the soldiers of the Governor Pedrarias de Avila, and of whom, in the affairs of the mainland, mention is often made, because he was one of the earliest persons in those places, and in the end he found himself in the imprisonment of Atabaliba [Atahualpa], where he was one of those who gained a large part of those spoils.<sup>6</sup> And he put so great a portion of them in Spain, that it was rumored that he was seen with more than one hundred thousand pesos of gold in Castille, where for his services and merits he was very well treated by the Emperor our lord, and he made him a knight of the military Order of the apostle St. James and gave him other favors and made him his Governor and Captain General as stated. And being there in Castille, he married one of the daughters of Governor Pedrarias Dávila, whose name was Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, like her mother, a woman of great essence and goodness, and of very noble judgment and character, and with her he went to the island of Fernandina [Cuba], where he arrived in the month of [June<sup>7</sup>] of the year of fifteen thirty-nine. And after he had visited the island and its towns and provided what was suitable to the good state and sustenance of the land, he gave order to arm and cross to the mainland for the conquest, settlement, and pacification of those provinces that were entrusted to him by His Majesty; this history<sup>8</sup> will relate in the following chapters the things that occurred in this enterprise.

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<sup>5</sup>Ponce de León explored the Florida coastline in 1513.

<sup>6</sup>Hernando de Soto served in Central and South America between 1513 and 1535.

<sup>7</sup>The month is missing from the text, but other sources indicate that the date was June 7, 1539 [1538].

<sup>8</sup>Referring to Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, of which these chapters are only a part.

## TWO

THE DEPARTURE OF THE GOVERNOR HERNANDO  
DE SOTO FROM THE ISLAND OF CUBA, ALIAS  
FERNANDINA, FOR THE NORTHERN LAND  
OF THE MAINLAND, AND OF THE ARMADA  
AND PEOPLE THAT HE CARRIED FOR HIS  
DISCOVERY, AND OF THE HARDSHIP  
THAT THEY HAD IN DISEMBARKING,  
AND THE NUMBER OF HORSES AND  
OTHER THINGS HE CARRIED, AND  
HOW HE RECOVERED A CHRISTIAN,  
CALLED JUAN ORTIZ, WHO WAS  
LOST AND WALKED NUDE  
LIKE THE INDIANS.

Sunday, the eighteenth of May of fifteen thirty-nine, Governor Hernando de Soto left from the town<sup>9</sup> of Havana with a noble armada of nine ships, five with topsails, and two caravels and two brigantines. And on the twenty-fifth of the same month, which was the day of Whitsuntide,<sup>10</sup> land was sighted on the northern coast of the province of Florida,<sup>11</sup> and the armada dropped anchor two leagues from land, in four brazas<sup>12</sup> of depth or less. And the Governor boarded a brigantine in order to come see the land, and with him a gentleman called Juan de Añasco, and the principal pilot of the armada, called Alonso Martín, in order to reconnoiter what land that was, because they were doubtful of the port and which part they were in.<sup>13</sup> And not recognizing it, seeing that night was approaching, they wished to return to the ships, but the weather did not permit them, for it was contrary: so

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<sup>9</sup>The term *villa* is used for Havana, in contrast to *pueblo*, which is typically used to describe larger Indian settlements in Florida.

<sup>10</sup>*Pascua del Espiritu Sancto*. The port at which the expedition landed would be named after the day when they sighted it.

<sup>11</sup>This passage refers to the northerly location of the coast of Florida with respect to the point of departure in Cuba.

<sup>12</sup>One *brazas* equals roughly 5.5 feet, making the depth under 22 feet.

<sup>13</sup>This port had already been reconnoitered by Juan de Añasco.

they anchored near land and came ashore, and they found traces of many Indians and a hut like the large ones that have been seen in the Indies,<sup>14</sup> and other small ones. It was said later that it was the town [*pueblo*] of Oçita.

The Governor and those who were with him were in no little danger, because they were few and without weapons, and no less was the anxiety of those who remained on the ships to see their Captain General in such a state, because they could neither aid nor help him if he needed it. In short, to personally take so much care was carelessness and too much diligence or lack of prudence on the part of the Governor, because those things are the responsibility of other persons and not the person who has to govern and rule the army, and it would have been enough to command a subordinate Captain to go on that reconnaissance and to provide for the security of the pilot who had to reconnoiter that coast. And the ships there were in great danger, and all the armada, in which there were five hundred seventy men not counting the sailors, and with these, there were a good seven hundred men.

The next day, Monday, in the morning, the brigantine was well leeward of the ships and working to reach them but unable to. Baltasar de Gallegos seeing this, he shouted loudly to the *Capitana*<sup>15</sup> so that the Lieutenant General, who was a nobleman called Vasco Porcallo, would take proper precautions; but as they did not hear him, in order to aid the Governor, he commanded a large caravel, in which this gentleman came as Captain, to weigh anchor, and to go toward where the brigantine appeared. And although the Governor regretted that, it was well done, inasmuch as it was in his service and in order to aid his person. In the end, it arrived where the brigantine was, and the Governor was very pleased. By this time the port was already reconnoitered, and the other brigantine placed at the canal as signal for the ships, and the brigantine of the Governor went to the front and placed the caravel itself in the canal of the port. And he commanded that it should take a position at one side of the canal and the brigantine at the other, so that the ships might pass through the middle; [the ships], which were about four or five leagues from there, now began to set sail; and it was necessary that the Governor should go to show them the way, because the main pilot was in his brigantine, and because there were many shallows through there. Even with all of that, two ships struck [bottom], but as the bottom was sand, they did

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<sup>14</sup>*Un bubio de los grandes que en Indias se ha visto*. This was probably a large public structure, or council house. Another similar structure was noted by Rangel in the town of Uriutina (see his chapter 4).

<sup>15</sup>Standard designation for the ship in an armada that carried the general.

not receive damage. This day the Governor and Juan de Añasco, who went as accountant of Their Majesties, had hard words, which the Governor concealed and endured.

The ships entered in the port with the sounder in hand, and although sometimes they struck [bottom], as it was silt,<sup>16</sup> they passed onward. In all this, they were detained five days without disembarking, but some people went ashore and brought water and grass for the horses. In the end, the shallows did not permit the loaded ships to arrive at where the town was, and they anchored four leagues back. Friday, which they reckoned to be the thirtieth of May, they began to unload the horses on land. The land where they disembarked is due north of the island of [Dry] Tortuga, which is in the mouth of the Bahama channel; and the cacique and lord of that land was named Oçita, and it is ten leagues to the west of the bay of Juan Ponce.<sup>17</sup>

As soon as some horses went on land, General Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa and Juan de Añasco and Francisco Osorio went riding to see something of the land, and they found ten Indians with bows and arrows, who also came, as warriors, to reconnoiter these Christian guests and learn what people they were; and they wounded two horses, and the Spaniards killed two of those Indians, and the rest fled.

Two hundred and forty-three horses went in that armada, and of those, nineteen or twenty died on the sea, and all the rest came ashore; and having disembarked, the General and several foot soldiers went with the brigantines to see the town, and a gentleman, called Gómez Arias, returned in one and gave good news of the land and said also that the [native] people were hidden.

On Sunday the first of June of the aforesaid year of fifteen thirty-nine, the day of the Trinity, this army traveled inland toward the town, carrying as guides four Indians that Juan de Añasco had taken when he went to discover the port; and they lost their bearings somewhat, either because they did not understand the Christians or because they did not speak the truth, for which reason the Governor took the lead with some on horseback; and as they did not have experience in the land, they tired the horses after deer and with the waters and swamps [*ciénagas*] that they crossed, and with the twelve leagues that they traveled before they arrived opposite the town. The inlet [*ancón*] of the port was between them [and the town], so that they were unable to go

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<sup>16</sup>The text reads *lama*, which indicates that the bottom was covered with a fine-grained silt, or muck, contrasting with the *arena*, or sand, described earlier.

<sup>17</sup>On the east coast of Florida.

around the inlet, and thus scattered in many places, they slept that night very fatigued and in no military order.

During all that week the ships arrived near the town, unloading them little by little with small boats [*bateles*], and thus they unloaded all the clothing and supplies that they carried. There were some roads, but no one knew or guessed which they should take in order to find natives of the land. The four Indians that they had did not understand them except very little and by signs, and it was difficult to guard them, as they did not have shackles. Tuesday, the third of June, the Governor took possession of the land in the name of Their Majesties with all the formalities that are required, and he sent one of the Indians to persuade and invite in peace the neighboring caciques; and the same night two of the three Indians that remained fled, and it was much good fortune all three did not escape, which gave the Christians much concern.

The next day, Wednesday, the Governor sent Captain Baltasar de Gallegos, with the Indian that remained, to look for some people or a town or house. At the time that the sun was setting, going off road, because the Indian who was the guide led them wandering and confused, thanks to God they saw from afar as many as twenty Indians painted red (which is a certain red ointment that the Indians put on when they go to war or wish to make a fine appearance), and they wore many plumes<sup>18</sup> and carried their bows and arrows. And as the Christians ran forth against them, the Indians, fleeing, plunged into a forest [*monte*], and one of them came forth to the road shouting and saying: "Sirs, for the love of God and of St. Mary do not kill me: I am Christian, like you, and I am a native of Seville, and my name is Juan Ortiz." The pleasure that the Christians felt was very great, in that God gave them an interpreter and guide at such a time, of which they had great necessity. Delighted with this pleasure, Baltasar de Gallegos and all the Indians that came with him returned that night, very late, to the camp, and the Spaniards of the army became very agitated, believing it was something else and taking up arms; but having recognized who it was, the joy that all had was great, because they estimated that by means of that interpreter they would perform their tasks better.

Without losing time, the following Saturday the Governor determined to go with that interpreter Juan Ortiz to the cacique who had held him, who was called Mocoço, in order to make peace and bring him to the friendship

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<sup>18</sup>The term *penachos* may refer to panaches, or bunches of feathers serving as a crest, rather than isolated plumes.

of the Christians. He [Mocoço] waited in his town with his Indians and wives and children, lacking no one, and complained to the Governor about the caciques Orriyguá, Neguarete, Çapaloey and Eçita, all four of whom are caciques on that coast, saying that they menaced him because he took our friendship and was willing to give that Christian interpreter to the Christians. Using the same interpreter, the Governor told him that he should not be afraid of those caciques or of others, because he would help him, and all the Christians and many more who would come soon would be his friends and would help him against his enemies.

This same day Captain Juan Ruiz Lobillo set out with as many as forty soldiers, on foot, for the interior, and he attacked some settlements [*ranchos*] though could not take but two Indian women; and in order to rescue them, nine Indians followed him for three leagues shooting arrows at him, and they killed one Christian and wounded three or four without his being able to do them damage, although he had arquebusiers and crossbowmen, because those Indians are so agile and such fine warriors that in any nation of the world they would be seen as men.

## THREE

HOW WAR BEGAN TO KINDLE AND WAS CRUELLY  
FOUGHT, AND HOW THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL  
RETURNED TO THE ISLAND OF CUBA, AND HOW  
THE GOVERNOR DEPARTED FROM THAT  
PORT OF SPIRITU SANCTO FOR  
THE INTERIOR, AND OF WHAT  
HAPPENED TO HIM AND HIS  
PEOPLE UNTIL THE TENTH  
OF AUGUST OF THE SAME  
YEAR OF FIFTEEN  
THIRTY-NINE.

This Governor was very given to hunting and killing Indians, from the time that he served in the army of Governor Pedrarias Dávila in the provinces of Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua, and he also found himself in Peru

and took part in the imprisonment of Atabaliba, where he became rich, and he was one of those who returned to Spain richer, because he carried and put in a safe place in Seville about one hundred thousand pesos of gold; and he decided to return to the Indies only to lose them along with his life, and to continue the bloody tactics of times past, which had been his practice in the aforementioned places. Therefore, continuing his conquest, he commanded that General Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa should go to Oçita, because it was said that there was a gathering of people there. And this Captain having gone there, he found the people gone, and he burned the town, and he set the dogs on [*aperrear*] an Indian he brought as guide. The reader must understand that to set the dogs on [an Indian] is to make the dogs eat them or kill them, tearing the Indian to pieces. The conquistadors in the Indies have always used greyhounds or fierce and valiant dogs in war; and this is why hunting Indians was mentioned above. Therefore, that guide was killed in that way, because he lied and guided poorly.

While Vasco Porcallo did what has been said, the Governor sent another Indian as messenger to the cacique Orriparacogi. [The messenger] did not return because an Indian woman told him that he should not, and for that she was thrown to the dogs.

Among the soldiers there were diverse opinions about whether it would be good to settle there or not, because the land seemed sterile, as in truth that coast is reputed to be. On account of this, the Governor decided to send Captain Baltasar de Gallegos to Orriparagi [Orriparacogi] with eighty on horseback and one hundred foot soldiers, and he departed on Friday the twentieth of June.

Likewise the Governor sent Juan de Añasco, in the small vessels from the ships, along the seacoast with a certain number of foot soldiers, to break up a meeting that the Indians were holding, or to go and see what kind of affair it was. He found them on an island, where he had a fray with them. He killed nine or ten Indians with the light artillery<sup>19</sup> that he had, and they shot arrows and wounded as many or more Christians. Because he could not make them leave the island, he sent for aid, and the messenger was a nobleman called Juan de Vega. He asked for people on horseback, in order to take the mainland where they had to retreat, because with the people that he had and any others who might go, he intended to fight with the Indians. The

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<sup>19</sup>The phrase *versos de la artilleria* refers to a light piece of artillery (the *verso*), half the size and caliber of the *culebrina*, a long and narrow artillery piece. These weapons were probably hand cannons.



Governor sent Vasco Porcallo with forty on horseback and some foot soldiers; but when this aid arrived, the Indians had already gone; and the Spaniards, in order not to have gone in vain, scoured the land and captured some Indians, whom they brought to the camp. Vasco Porcallo having come from that excursion, he had some unpleasantness with the Governor (which is not mentioned in this relation). The historian could not get the one who informed him [Rangel] to finish the story, for various reasons. And it was seen as a good measure that Vasco Porcallo should return to Cuba to attend to the affairs of the government there and to provide to the Governor and his army, when necessary, with what they might have need of. Many regretted the departure of this nobleman, because he was a willing friend and he did much for them.

The Governor had commanded Baltasar de Gallegos, that even though he might not find good land, he should write good news, in order to inspire the people. And although it was not of his disposition to lie, because he was a man of truth, in order to carry out the command of his superior and, even more, not to dismay the people, he always wrote two letters of different tenors: one of truth and the other of lies; but those lies, stated with such cunning, and with equivocal words, could be understood one way and the other, because it was commanded. Concerning this he said that the letter of truth had more power to excuse him, than the false one malice to incriminate him. And thus the Governor did not reveal the truthful items, saying rather that these that he did not reveal were news of great secrets, which later on would demonstrate much utility for all; and he showed them the equivocal and false letters and gave them some statements as seemed [best].

And those letters, although they did not promise anything with certainty, gave hopes and indications that stirred their desires to go forward and leave such uncertainties behind; but as the sins of man are the reason that the lie sometimes finds favor and credit, all fell into conformity and unanimously asked for entrance into the interior, which was what the Governor was scheming. And those who had been ordered to remain there with Captain Calderón regretted this greatly. There were forty on horseback and sixty foot soldiers left to guard the town and supplies, the port, and the brigantines and small vessels that remained, because all the large ships had been dispatched to Havana.

Having this agreement willingly, the Governor departed from the town and port of Spiritu Sancto (called thus for the day that the Governor and his armada arrived there), and this departure was on a Tuesday, the fifteenth of July of the same year of fifteen thirty-nine. And that day they spent the night

at the river [*río*] of Mocoço, bringing behind them many pigs that had been brought over in the armada for food in an emergency. And they made two bridges on which this army crossed the river. The next day they went to the lake [*laguna*] of the Rabbit, and that name was given to it because a rabbit which appeared in the camp frightened all the horses, and they broke loose, fleeing back more than a league, leaving not one behind, and all the Christians scattered in order to go after the horses, unarmed. If Indians had attacked them, although they [the Indians] might be few, the Spaniards would have got what they deserved, and in return for their lack of caution, a shameful end to the war was prepared for them. Their horses having been recovered, they went the next day to the lake of St. John, and the next day, under a very strong sun, they went to a savannah [*sabana*], where they arrived very fatigued. A steward of the Governor, who was named Prado, died of thirst,<sup>20</sup> and many of the foot soldiers were in much hardship, and others would have accompanied the steward, if those on horseback had not aided them. The next day they came to the savannah of Guaçoco, and the soldiers went into cornfields and brought green corn, with which they were very happy, because it was the first that they saw in that land. Early the next day they arrived at Luca, a pretty town, and there Baltasar de Gallegos came to meet the Governor.

The following Monday, the twenty-first of July, they joined with the people that Baltasar Gallegos had. The Governor sent a messenger to Urriparacoxi, and a reply did not come; and on Wednesday, the twenty-third of the aforementioned month, the Governor and his army departed, and he went to Viçela, and passed it to sleep farther on; and on Thursday they spent the night at another town that is called Tocaste, which is on a large lake. And this same day the Governor went out with some on horseback headed for Ocale, because they had told him great news of the riches that he thought he would find there. And as he saw that the roads were broad, he thought that his hands were already on the prey. He commanded one of his soldiers, named Rodrigo Rangel (because, in addition to being a good soldier and a good man, he had a good horse), to return to the main army for more people to come and accompany him; and that squire went, although not without misgivings about what could happen, since only ten on horseback remaining with the Governor seemed few to him, and he was sending that nobleman alone and across a land of enemies and bad crossings; but even though some might take after him, he would either die or pass by force and would not

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<sup>20</sup>Probably a victim of heatstroke in the July heat of peninsular Florida.

return without a reply. Because he thought it cowardly to ask for company, he bowed his head and obeyed. But I do not praise such determination, since in truth, in necessary and manifest matters, permission is given so that with reason one may express one's opinions to the prince and suggest how he would be better served, and how his commands could be better carried out.

What happened to this equestrian messenger this day he refused to say, because whatever he said would be in his own interest; but it suffices to say that his intention as a valiant man was well tested, and he came upon many Indians who were following the trail of the Governor, but he continued onward. And having arrived at the main army, the *maestre de campo*<sup>21</sup> gave him fourteen on horseback, with which the number of horses that the Governor had was increased to twenty-six.

The next day, Friday, the army moved along the trail of the Governor, and on the road they found two on horseback that the Governor sent to the *maestre de campo*, who was a nobleman called Luis de Moscoso, to command that he should not move, and they went back to sleep where they had come from, because there was a surprise attack [*guazábara*] (which is the same as a skirmish) with the Indians, and they killed a horse of Don Carlos Enríquez, son-in-law of the Governor, married to his niece, a native of Jeres de Badajoz, and they wounded some Christians. And they suffered much from hunger, for they were eating the ears of corn with the cobs (or wood, which it nearly is) upon which the kernels grow.

The next day, Saturday, the Governor found the roads broader and the land better, and he sent another two on horseback for another thirty men, and he sent to say that the army should move following his trail. And the *maestre de campo* sent Nuño de Tovar with thirty on horseback, and he moved according to the command the Governor sent him. The Governor, with the twenty-six on horseback who went with him, arrived on the day of St. Anne at the river or swamp<sup>22</sup> of Cale, and it was of great current and broad, and they crossed it with great difficulty, and where there was no need of a bridge, they crossed with the water at their chests and at the chin, with their clothes and saddles on their heads, a distance of more than three cross-

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<sup>21</sup>The *maestre de campo*, or field master, was in charge of the daily affairs of the army and ranked under the commander (in this case, Hernando de Soto). The rank roughly corresponds to the modern brigadier general. Luis de Moscoso would later fill the vacancy created by the death of De Soto (see chapter 9).

<sup>22</sup>The description *río o ciénaga*, which is used in reference to both Cale here and Ivitachuco in chapter 4, probably refers to the floodplain swamp associated with the main channel of these rivers.

bow shots.<sup>23</sup> The thirty on horseback that Nuño de Tovar led crossed the following Sunday, and the current carried off a horse and it drowned. And seeing this, the rest crossed with ropes, as those who crossed first with the Governor had done. These people and their Governor arrived at the first town of Ocale, which was called Uqueten, where they captured two Indians: and then he provided that some on horseback and the mules that they had carried from Cuba should go with corn to aid those who were coming behind, since there they had found abundance; and it did not arrive at a bad time, because they found them in that swamp eating herbs and their roots, some roasted and others stewed, without having salt and, what was worse, without knowing what they were. They were glad for the arrival of provisions, and the great hunger and necessity that they had gave them a refreshment and very acceptable flavor, and of such savor that it revived their diligence and brought forth strength from weakness, and the last of the rear guard arrived the following Tuesday where Governor Hernando de Soto was. But they [the Indians] had already wounded some soldiers who strayed and had killed a crossbowman who was named Mendoza. Having joined the army, they went to Ocale, a town in a good region of corn; and there, going to Acuera for supplies, the Indians, on two occasions, killed three soldiers of the guard of the Governor and wounded others and killed a horse, and all that was due to poor order, since those Indians, although they are archers and have very strong bows and are very skillful and accurate marksmen, their arrows do not have poison [*hierba*] nor do they know what it is.

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<sup>23</sup>The extreme range of a crossbow was perhaps 380 yards, making the distance of water crossed on foot over 1,000 yards.

## FOUR

HOW GOVERNOR HERNANDO DE SOTO, PROCEEDING IN HIS CONQUEST, WENT ONWARD, AND HOW THE INDIANS WISHED TO KILL OR CAPTURE HIM THROUGH DECEIT, IN ORDER TO LIBERATE A CACIQUE HE HAD WITH HIM, AND HOW A CACIQUE GAVE A BLOW TO THE GOVERNOR WHICH BATHED HIS TEETH IN BLOOD. AND OTHER MATTERS SUITABLE TO THE DISCOURSE OF THE HISTORY ARE TREATED.

On the eleventh of August of the same year, the Governor departed from Ocale with fifty on horseback and one hundred foot soldiers in search of Apalache, because it was rumored that it had many people, and Luis de Moscoso remained behind with the rest of the army to see what happened farther on; and that day they went to sleep at Itaraholata, a good town with plenty of corn. There an Indian attacked Captain Maldonado and badly wounded his horse and would have pulled the lance from his hands if the Governor had not arrived by chance of fortune, although Maldonado was a good nobleman and one of the most valiant of that army; but the Indians of that land are very bellicose and indomitable and strong people.

The next day they went to Potano, and the next day, Wednesday, they arrived at Utinamocharra, and from there they went to the town of Mala-Paz, which name was given it because Juan de Añasco, having captured on the road thirty persons of that cacique, he [the cacique] sent the message that he wished peace, so that they might give them back to him, and he sent in his stead a vassal to negotiate with him. He [Añasco] believed that it was the cacique himself and gave his people to him. Following this, this Indian fleeing from the Christians the next day, a noble greyhound from Ireland plunged after him into the multitude of Indians that were on a densely wooded hill [*arcabuco*]. It rushed to the clamor and entered among all the Indians; and although it passed by many, not one did it seize but the one who had fled, who was among the multitude, and it held him by the fleshy

part of the arm in such a manner that the Indian was thrown down and apprehended.

The next day the Christians arrived at a pretty town, where they found much food and many very delicious small chestnuts piled up. These are native chestnuts; but the trees which bear them are no taller than two palms of earth, and thus they grow in burrs covered with bristles.<sup>24</sup> There are other chestnuts in the land, which the Spaniards saw and ate, which are the same as those from Spain, and they grow on chestnut trees just as large and mighty, and with the same leaf and bristles or burrs, just as plump and of very good flavor.

This army went from there to a river that they call [the river] of the Discords, and he who gave this relation wished not to mention the reason, because he is an honest man, not disposed to relate the guilts or frailties of his friends. That day they made a bridge of pines, since there were many there, and the next day, Sunday, they crossed that river with as much or more hardship than the one at Ocale. The following day, Monday, they arrived at Aguacaleyquen, and Rodrigo Rangel and Villalobos, two gentlemen, equestrians but gentlemen (I say equestrians because in this army they were men on horseback), captured in a cornfield an Indian man and woman, and she showed them where the corn was concealed, and the Indian man led Captain Baltasar de Gallegos to where he captured seventeen persons, and among them an Indian woman, daughter of the cacique, for it seemed reasonable that this would make her father come in peace; but he wished to liberate her without that, and his deceptions and tricks were no less than those of these conquistadors. On the twenty-second of August a great multitude of Indians appeared, and the Governor, seeing that the land already showed itself to be more populated and better supplied, sent eight on horseback with all dispatch to call the *maestre de campo*, Luis de Moscoso, in order that with all the army [at Ocale] he should come to join with him; and the *maestre de campo* had no small diligence in carrying out that command, and on the fourth of September he arrived where the Governor was, and all were delighted to meet together; because as they had imprisoned the cacique, it was feared that the Indians would ally themselves: and it was not a bad thought, judging by what appeared later.

On the ninth of September they all departed together from Aguacaleyquen, taking with them the cacique and his daughter and a principal Indian, who was named Guatutima, as guide, because he said that he knew much of

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<sup>24</sup>Probably referring to the chinquapin.

what was farther on and gave very great news about it. And they made a bridge of pines in order to cross the river of Aguacaleyquen, and they spent the night at a small town. The next day, Friday, they went to Uriutina, a town of pleasant view and with much food, and in it there was a very large hut, in the middle of which there was a large courtyard.<sup>25</sup> There was now good population through there. After they left from Aguacaleyquen, messengers from Uçachile, a great cacique, went and came, playing on a flute for ceremony. And on Friday, the twelfth of September, these Christians arrived at a town that they called [the town] of Many Waters, because it rained so much that they could not leave from there on Saturday or on Sunday. They left the following Monday, the fifteenth of that month, and found a very bad swamp and all the road very difficult, and they spent the night at Napituca, which was a very pleasant town, well situated and with much food. There the Indians made use of all their deceits and crafts to recover their cacique of Aguacaleyquen, and in the end the matter came to where the Governor saw himself in great danger; but their deceits and tricks were understood, and he did them a greater one, in this way.

Seven caciques from those districts, with their people, joined together and sent a message to the Governor saying that they were subjects of Uçachile, and that by his commission and their will, they wished to be friends of the Christians and to help them against Apalache, a strong province, an enemy of Uçachile and of them, and that to this end they had come, induced and requested by Aguacaleyquen (who is the cacique that the Christians held imprisoned), and that they were afraid to enter in the camp and be detained: therefore, the Governor should bring Aguacaleyquen with him and come forth to them to speak in a large savannah that there was there, to converse about this business. Their entreaties were understood and their message was accepted, and the Governor came forth to speak to them; but he commanded the Christians to arm and mount, and that at the signal of a trumpet they should attack the Indians. [The Governor] came forth to the savannah with only those of his guard and a chair to sit upon, and the cacique of Aguacaleyquen with him. Scarcely had the Governor seated himself, and the conversa-

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<sup>25</sup>This description of a *gran patio* in the middle of a *gran bubio* seems to refer to an open court within a large aboriginal structure and mirrors various descriptions of aboriginal council houses, with a large open space in the center of the roof. For further information, see Gary N. Shapiro and John H. Hann, "The Documentary Image of the Council Houses of Spanish Florida Tested by Excavations at the Mission of San Luis de Talimali," in *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, ed. D. H. Thomas, 511–26 (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

tion was beginning, when he saw himself immediately surrounded with Indians with their bows and arrows, and from many directions came innumerable others, in such a manner that the danger that the Governor was in was manifest. And before the trumpet could sound, the *maestre de campo*, Luis de Moscoso, struck his legs to his horse saying: "Come on, men, Santiago,<sup>26</sup> Santiago, and at them." And thus, all of a sudden, the people on horseback went lancing many Indians, and the stratagem only gained them the upper hand, allowing our men to strike first; notwithstanding, they [the Indians] defended themselves and fought like men of great spirit, and they killed the horse of the Governor and killed another belonging to a gentleman, called Sagredo, and wounded others. And after the fight lasted a good period of time, the Indians fled and took shelter in two lakes; and the Spaniards encircled one, and the other they could not, and they surrounded the first one, keeping vigil all night and until the morning when they [the Indians] surrendered, and they brought out from there as prisoners three hundred Indians and five or six *caciques* among them.

Uriutina in the end remained alone. He did not wish to leave until some Indians from Uçachile swam in for him, and they brought him out, and upon leaving, he asked for a messenger for his land, and [the messenger] having been brought, he spoke to him thus: "Look, go to my [people] and tell them that for me they should have no concern: that I have done, as a valiant man and lord, what there was to do and struggled and fought like a man until they left me alone; and if I withdrew to this lake, it was not to flee death or not to die as befits me, but rather in order to inspire those who were within and urge them not to give up: and after they gave themselves up, I never surrendered until these Indians from Uçachile, who are of our nation, begged me, saying that this was advisable to all. Therefore, what I charge and pray to them is that neither out of respect for me nor for another should they deal with these Christians, who are devils and who are more than a match for them, and that they should believe for certain that if I have to die, it will be as a valiant man." All of which was then referred and declared to the Governor by Juan Ortiz, the interpreter, who is that Christian whom the history has related they found in the land, by chance of fortune.

The Indians who were captured in the manner already stated were taken to be put in a hut, their hands tied behind. The Governor walked among them in order to meet the *caciques*, encouraging them in order to bring them to peace and concord, and having them untied so that they might be better

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<sup>26</sup>The call to Santiago, or St. James, was a familiar battle cry of the reconquest in Spain.



treated than the other common Indians. One of those caciques, as soon as they untied him, the Governor being next to him, raised his arm and gave the Governor such a great blow that it bathed his teeth in blood and made him spit out much of it, for which they tied him and the other-[caciques] each to poles and they were riddled with arrows. Other Indians did many other deeds, the full account of which could not be written, according to what he who found himself present told the historian; for which reason the Governor, seeing that with so few Indians and without weapons the Christians were so afflicted, and he no less so, spoke thus: "Oh help me God, and if only those lords of the Council were here so that they might see how His Majesty is served in these parts!" But it is because they know it, says the chronicler, that they have commanded the tyrannies and cruelties to cease, and to have better order in the pacification of the Indies, so that God, Our Lord, and the Imperial Majesty are better served, and the consciences of the conquistadors are at peace, and the natives of the land are not maltreated.

Tuesday, the twenty-third of September, the Governor and his army left from Napituca and arrived at the river of the Deer. This name was given to it because the Indian messengers from Uçachile brought there certain deer, since there are many and good ones in that land. And in order to cross this river they made a bridge of three large pines in length and four in breadth (these pines are perfect and like the very large ones from Spain), and when all the army had finished crossing the river, which was on the twenty-fifth of that month, they passed through two small towns the same day and one very large one that is called Apalu, and they arrived to spend the night at Uçachile. But in all these towns they found the people gone, and some captains went out to pillage [*ranchear*]<sup>27</sup> and captured many people.

They departed from Uçachile the following Monday, the twenty-ninth of the month, and having crossed a large forest, they spent the night in a pine forest [*pinar*]. A lad, called Cadena, turned back without permission for a sword, and the Governor wished to have him hung for both offenses, but through the entreaties of good persons, he escaped [this punishment]. The next day, Tuesday, the thirtieth of the month of September, they arrived at Agile, a subject of Apalache, and they captured some women; and they are such that one Indian woman took a *bachiller*<sup>28</sup> named Herrera, who was alone with her and behind his other companions, and she seized him by the

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<sup>27</sup>The term *ranchear* was a euphemism for pillaging, derived from the practice of quartering soldiers as an excuse to loot.

<sup>28</sup>Recipient of an academic degree.

genitals and held him very fatigued and submissive, and perhaps if other Christians had not passed and aided him, the Indian woman would have killed him. It was not that he wished to have intercourse with her as a lustful man, but rather that she wished to liberate herself and flee. Wednesday, the first of October, Governor Hernando de Soto left from Agile with his people and arrived at the river or swamp of Ivitachuco, and they made a bridge; and in a canebrake<sup>29</sup> on the other side was an ambush of Indians, and they shot three Christians with arrows; and they finished crossing that swamp the following Friday at midday, and there a horse drowned. And they went to sleep at Ivitachuco and found the town burning, for the Indians had set fire to it. Sunday, the fifth of October, they went to Calahuchi, and they took two Indian men and an Indian woman and jerked venison in great quantity, and there the guide who led them fled.

The next day they went forward carrying as guide an old Indian who got them lost, and an Indian woman led them to Iviahica, and they found all the people gone, and the next day two Captains left from there and found all the people gone. Juan de Añasco had left from this town, and eight leagues from it, he found the port where Pánfilo de Narváez<sup>30</sup> had embarked in the boats that he made. This he recognized by the skulls of the horses and site of the forge and cribs and mortars that they had made in order to grind the corn, and by crosses fashioned on the trees. And they wintered there and were there until the fourth of March of the year of fifteen forty, in which time came to pass many notable things with the Indians, who are most valiant men, and by what will now be told, the discerning reader will be able to surmise their great spirit and boldness. [For instance,] two Indians came forth against eight men on horseback; and they set fire to the town twice, and with ambushes they killed many Christians at other times, and although the Spaniards pursued them and burned them, never did they wish to come in peace. If they cut off the hands and noses of some Indians, they did not show more feeling than if each one of them was a Mucio Scévola, the Roman. Not one of them denied being from Apalache for fear of death. And upon taking one, when they asked him where he was from, he responded with pride: "Where am I from? . . . I am an Indian of Apalache," like one who gave to understand that he took offense from whoever might think that he was of another people but Apalache.

The Governor decided to go farther into the interior, because an Indian

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<sup>29</sup>*Un carrizal*, referring to land covered in reed grass.

<sup>30</sup>Narváez skirted the Gulf Coast in 1528.

boy gave great news of what there was in the interior; and he sent Juan de Añasco with thirty on horseback for Captain Calderón and the people who had remained in the port, and they burned the supplies that they left behind and the town, and Captain Calderón came by land with all the people, and Juan de Añasco came by the sea, with the brigantines and small vessels, up to the port of Apalache. Saturday, the nineteenth of November, Juan de Añasco arrived at the port, and then Maldonado was dispatched in the brigantines along the coast to find a port to the west [*Hueste-Occidente*].

And at this time Captain Calderón arrived with all the people, minus two men and seven horses that the Indians killed on the road. Maldonado discovered a very good port and brought an Indian from a province that is next to that coast, which is called Achuse, and he brought a good blanket of sables (although they had already seen others in Apalache, but not like this).

Captain Maldonado was dispatched for Havana, and he left from Apalache on the twenty-sixth of February of fifteen forty, with an order and command from the Governor that he should return to the port that he had discovered, and to that coast where the Governor planned to come.

The province of Apalache is very fertile and very abundant in supplies, with much corn and beans [*féssoles*] and squash [*calabazas*], and diverse fruits, and many deer and many varieties of birds, and near the sea there are many and good fish, and it is a pleasant land although there are swamps; but they are firm because they are over sand.

## FIVE

HOW GOVERNOR HERNANDO DE SOTO AND HIS PEOPLE  
DEPARTED FROM IVIAHICA IN SEARCH OF CAPA-  
CHEQUI, AND HOW THE GUIDE THEY HAD, WHEN  
HE DID NOT KNOW MORE OF WHAT THERE WAS  
FARTHER ON, MADE HIMSELF OUT TO BE  
POSSESSED; AND DIVERSE AND VERY  
NOTABLE THINGS ARE TREATED.

The departure from Iviahica, in search of Capachequi, began Wednesday, the third day of March of fifteen forty, and the Governor with his army spent the night at the river of Guacuca; and having departed from there, they

went to the river of Capachequi, at which they arrived early the following Friday, and they made a canoe or piragua<sup>31</sup> in order to cross it; and the river was so broad that Cristobal Mosquera, who was the best thrower, tried but did not manage to throw a stone across it. And they took the chains in which they brought the Indians, strongly joined with some S hooks of iron, and having made one chain from all, they attached one end of the chain from one bank and the other one from the other, in order to cross the piragua, and the current was such that it broke the chain two times; and seeing this, they attached many ropes and from these made two, and they attached one to the stern and the other to the prow, and pulling from one side and from the other, the people and the clothing crossed. In order to get the horses across, they made long ropes and attached them to the neck; and although the current pushed them down, pulling the ropes drew them out, but with difficulty, and some half drowned. And on Wednesday, the ninth of March, all the army finished crossing the river of Capachequi, and they left to sleep in a pine forest. And the next day, Thursday, they arrived at the first town of Capachequi, which was well supplied, but among densely wooded hills or land very closed in with groves of trees [*arboledas*], and thus they passed on to sleep at another town farther on. And they came upon a bad swamp, next to the town, with a strong current, and before arriving at [the swamp], they crossed a very large stretch of water that came to the cinches and saddle pads of the horses, in such a manner that all the army was not able to finish crossing that day on account of the bad crossing. There one hundred<sup>32</sup> soldiers with swords and shields strayed away, and an equal number of Indians wounded one of them in the head and killed him, and they would have killed all of them if they had not been aided.

On the sixteenth of March they left from Capachequi and spent the night at White Spring. This is a very beautiful spring [*fuentes*], with a great abundance [*gran golpe*] of good water, and it has fish. And the following day they spent the night at the river of Toa, where they made two bridges, and the horse of Lorenzo Suárez, son of Vasco Porcallo, drowned. And the following Sunday, the twenty-first of the month, they arrived at the crossing of the river of Toa, and two times they made a bridge of pines, and the great current broke them, and they made another bridge of timbers crossed in a cer-

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<sup>31</sup>A *piragua* was a long and narrow vessel (larger than a canoe) typically made from a single piece of wood, although the gunwales were often made of planks or canes.

<sup>32</sup>This number [*cient*] seems much too large and may be a mistranscription of five [*cinco*], fitting more closely with the Elvas account.

tain way, which a gentleman, called Nuño de Tovar, described, at which all laughed, but it was true what he said; and having made [the bridge] in that way, they crossed very well. And on Monday all the army finished crossing, and they spent the night in a pine forest, although they were separated and in bad order. And early on Tuesday they arrived at Toa, a large town, and the Governor wished to go farther, but they did not let him.

Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of the month, the Governor left from there at midnight, secretly, with up to forty noblemen and gentlemen on horseback, and those whom for diverse reasons he had not wished to put under another Captain. And they traveled all that day until the night, when they found a bad and deep crossing of water, and although it was at night, they crossed it, and they walked that day twelve leagues; and the next day, which was Maundy Thursday, in the morning, they arrived at the province [*población*] of Chisi and crossed a branch of a large river, very broad, some of it on foot, and even a good part of it swimming, and they attacked a town that was on an island in this river, where they captured some people and found food. And because the place was dangerous, before canoes came they went back the same way they had entered, but first they had for lunch some hens of the land, which are called guanajas [turkeys], and loins of venison that they found roasted on a *barbacoa*, which is like on a grill.<sup>33</sup> And although it was Maundy Thursday, there was not one so Christian that he had scruples about eating the meat. And the boy Perico that they had brought from Apalache as guide led them there.

And they passed on to other towns, and at a bad crossing of a swamp, some horses drowned, because they were put in to swim with the saddles, while their owners crossed over on a beam which traversed the current of the water. And crossing thus one Benito Fernández, a Portuguese, fell from the beam and drowned. This day they arrived at a town where principal Indians came as messengers from Ichisi, and one of them asked the Governor and said three words, one after the other, in this manner: “Who are you? What do you want? Where are you going?” And they brought presents of hides, blankets of the land, which were the first gifts as a signal of peace; all of which was on Maundy Thursday and on the Day of the Incarnation. To the questions of the Indian, the Governor responded that he was a Captain of

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<sup>33</sup>The term *barbacoa* refers to a framework of sticks that was used to cook meat, although other raised frameworks, such as a bench or corncrib, were often described using the same word. This term, which originated among the Arawak Indians of the Caribbean, survives today in the word *barbecue*.

the great King of Spain; that in his name he came to give them to understand the sacred faith of Christ, and that they should know him and be saved, and give obedience to the apostolic church of Rome and to the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of God who resides there, and that in the temporal world they should recognize as king and lord the Emperor, king of Castile, our Lord, as his vassals, and that they would treat them all well, and with peace and justice, like his other Christian vassals.

On Monday, the twenty-ninth of March, they left from there for Ichisi, and it rained so much, and a small river swelled in such a manner, that if they had not made much haste to cross, all of the army would have been endangered. This day Indian men and women came forth to receive them. The women came clothed in white, and they made a fine appearance, and they gave to the Christians tortillas of corn and some bundles of spring onions exactly like those of Castile, as fat as the tip of the thumb and more. And that was a food which helped them much from then on; and they ate them with tortillas, roasted and stewed and raw, and it was a great aid to them because they are very good. The white clothing in which those Indian women came clothed are some blankets of both coarse and fine linen. They make the thread of them from the bark of the mulberry trees; not from the outside but rather from the middle; and they know how to process and spin and prepare it so well and weave it, that they make very pretty blankets. And they put one on from the waist down, and another tied by one side and the top placed upon the shoulders, like those Bohemians or Egyptians who are in the habit of sometimes wandering through Spain. The thread is such that he who found himself there certified to me that he saw the women spin it from that bark of mulberry trees and make it as good as the most precious thread from Portugal that the women in Spain procure in order to sew, and some more thin and even, and stronger. The mulberry trees are exactly like those of Spain, and as large and larger; but the leaf is softer and better for silk, and the mulberries better for eating and even larger than those from Spain, and the Spaniards also made good use of them many times, in order to sustain themselves. They arrived that day at a town of a cacique subject to Ichisi, a pretty town and with plenty of food, and he [the cacique] gave them willingly of what he had, and they rested there on Tuesday, and then on Wednesday, the last day of March, the Governor and his army departed, and they arrived at the Great River,<sup>34</sup> where they had many canoes in which they

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<sup>34</sup>This is the only river that was denoted by the capitalized *Río Grande* in Oviedo's printed text, although the river beyond Quizqui (the Mississippi) was later termed *el río grande*.

crossed very well and arrived at the town of the lord, who was one-eyed, and he gave them very good food and fifteen Indians to carry the burdens. And as he was the first who came in peace, they did not wish to be tiresome. They were there Thursday, the first of April, and they placed a cross on the mound [*cerro*] of the town and informed them through the interpreter of the sanctity of the cross, and they received it and appeared to adore it with much devotion.

Friday, the second day of the month of April, this army departed from there and slept in the open, and the next day they arrived at a good river and found deserted huts, and messengers arrived from Altamaha and led them to a town where they found an abundance of food, and a messenger from Altamaha came with a present, and the following day they brought many canoes and the army crossed very well. And from there the Governor sent a message summoning the cacique Çamumo, and they said that he ate and slept and walked continually armed, that he never took off the weapons, because he was on the frontier [*frontera*] of another cacique called Cofitachequi, his enemy, and that he would not come without weapons, and the Governor replied and said that he should come as he might wish. And he came and the Governor gave him a large feather colored with silver, and the cacique took it very happily and said to the Governor: "You are from heaven, and this your feather that you give me, I can eat with it; I will go forth to war with it; I will sleep with my wife with it." And the Governor said to him that yes, all this he could do. This Çamumo and those others were subjects of a great cacique who is called Ocute. And this one with the feather asked the Governor to whom he had to give the tribute in the future, if he should give it to the Governor or to Ocute. And the Governor suspected that this question might have been asked with cunning, and he responded that he held Ocute as a brother, that he should give Ocute his tribute until the Governor should command something else.

From there he sent messengers to summon Ocute, and he came there, and the Governor gave him a hat of yellow satin, and a shirt, and a feather, and he placed a cross there in Altamaha, and it was well received.

The next day, Thursday, the eighth of April, the Governor departed from there with his army, and he took Ocute with him, and they went to sleep at some huts, and on Friday they arrived at the town of Ocute. And the Governor got angry with him, and he [Ocute] trembled with fear; and after that a great number of Indians came with supplies, and they gave the Christians as many Indian burden bearers as they wished, and a cross was placed, and

they appeared to receive it with much devotion and adored it on their knees, as they saw the Christians do.

Monday, the twelfth of April, they departed from Ocute and arrived at Cofaqui, and principal Indians came with gifts. This cacique Cofaqui was an old man, full-bearded, and a nephew of his governed for him. The cacique Tatofa and another principal Indian came there, and they gave their presents and food, and all the *tamemes* that they had need of (in that language tameme means Indian burden bearer). On Thursday, the fifteenth of that month, Perico, the Indian boy who had been their guide since Apalache, began to lose his bearings, because now he did not know any more of the land, and he made himself out to be possessed, and he knew how to do it so well that the Christians thought that it was the truth; and a missionary that they had with them, named fray Juan el Evangelico, said it was so. But in fact, they had to take guides, which Tatofa gave them, in order to go to Cofitachequi across an uninhabited region [*despoblado*] of nine or ten days' journey.

Many times I am amazed by the gambling spirit, or tenacity or perversity, or perhaps I should say constancy, because it gives a better impression of the way these deceived conquistadors went on from one difficulty to another, and from another to yet a worse one, and from one danger to others and others, here losing a comrade and there three and over there more, and going from bad to worse, without learning their lesson. Oh marvelous God, what blindness and rapture under such an uncertain greed and such vain preaching as that which Hernando de Soto was able to tell those deluded soldiers that he led to a land where he had never been and had never set foot on it, and where three other Governors, more expert than he, had been lost, which were Juan Ponce, Garay,<sup>35</sup> and Pánfilo de Narváez, any one of whom had more experience than he in matters of the Indies, and they were persons of more credit than he in that; because he knew nothing either of the islands or the land of the North, knowing only the method of government of Pedrarias, in Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua, and of Peru, which was another manner of dealing with the Indians; and he thought that [experience] from there sufficed to know how to govern here on the coast of the North, and he deluded himself, as this history will relate.

Let us return to the history and route of this Captain or Governor. I knew well and spoke and communicated with him and the three mentioned

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<sup>35</sup>Francisco de Garay made two unsuccessful expeditions from Jamaica to Florida in 1518 and 1519 and later became the Governor of Panuco in Mexico.



above, and the licenciado Ayllón,<sup>36</sup> who was also lost in that land of the North. Friday, the sixteenth of the month, this Governor and his people spent the night at a creek [*arroyo*] on the way to Cofitachequi, and the next day they crossed an extremely large river, divided in two branches, broader than a long shot of an arquebus,<sup>37</sup> and it had many bad fords of many flat stones [*lajas*], and it came up to the stirrups, and in places up to the saddle pads. The current was very strong, and there was not a man on horseback who dared to take a foot soldier on the rear. The foot soldiers passed across farther upstream on the river, through more deep [water], in this manner. They made a string of thirty or forty men tied one with another, and thus they crossed, the ones holding themselves to the others; and although some were in much danger, thanks to God not one drowned, because they aided them with the horses, and gave them the butt of their lance or the tail of their horse, and thus all came forth and slept in a forest.

This day they lost many pigs of those that they had brought tame from Cuba, which the current carried off. The next day, Sunday, they went to another forest or grove [*boscaje*] to rest; and the next day, Monday, they traveled without a road and crossed another very large river, and on Tuesday they spent the night alongside a stream, and on Wednesday they arrived at another extremely large river, and difficult to cross, which was divided in two branches, with bad entrances and worse exits. And now the Christians carried nothing to eat, and with great labour they crossed this river, and arrived at some settlements of fishermen or hunters, and the Indians that they brought lost their bearings, since neither they nor the Spaniards knew the road nor what way they should take, and among them there were diverse opinions. Some said that they should turn back; others said that they should go in another direction or by another way; and the Governor proposed, as he had always done, that it was better to go forward, without his or their knowing in what they guessed correctly or in what they erred. And being perplexed in this labyrinth, on Friday, the twenty-third of April, the Governor sent men to look for roads or towns in this manner: Baltasar de Gallegos went upriver to the northwest, and Juan de Añasco went downriver<sup>38</sup> to the southeast, each with ten on horseback and rations for ten days. And that day other Captains came from exploring, and they had not found anything. And

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<sup>36</sup>Ayllón's ill-fated colony on the Atlantic Coast dated to 1526.

<sup>37</sup>An arquebus was a heavy matchlock gun.

<sup>38</sup>The text actually reads *el río arriba*, or upriver, but since this direction is opposite that of Gallegos, and since rivers on the southeastern Atlantic slope tend to flow northwest to southeast, Añasco is assumed to have gone downstream.

on Saturday the Governor sent Juan Ruiz Lobillo to the north with four on horseback, with rations for ten days; and he commanded that they kill the large sows that they had in the army, and they gave as rations one pound of meat to each man, and with it, the herbs and amaranths [*bledos*] that they looked for, and thus they supplied the best that they could in their need, not without great conflict and hardship, and the horses without any food, and they and their owners dying of hunger, without a road, with continual rain, the rivers continually swelling and narrowing the land, and without hope of towns or knowledge of where they had to go to look, calling and asking God for mercy.

And Our Lord remedied them in this manner: on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of April, Juan de Añasco came with news that he had found a town and food. They were very happy, and he brought an interpreter and guide, and thus the rations of the meat ceased, and each one fed himself as he was able, with unknown herbs and amaranths, so that the meat might remain for future use. And the Governor determined to depart then, and having written some letters and placed them in some gourds [*calabazos*], they buried them in a hidden place, and on a large tree left some letters that said where the Spaniards would find them. And thus they departed with Juan de Añasco on a Monday, the twenty-sixth of April. This day the Governor arrived with some on horseback (although few) at the town that is called Himahi, and the army remained two leagues back, the horses being tired. He found in this town a barbacoa of corn and more than two and a half *cabices*<sup>39</sup> of prepared *pinol*, which is toasted corn. And the next day the army arrived, and they gave out rations of corn and *pinol*; and there were infinite mulberries, because there were many mulberry trees and they were in season: this was a great help. And also they found in the savannahs some *morotes* like those that grow in Italy on some plants and next to the ground, which are like delicious and very fragrant strawberries, and even in Galicia there are many of these. In the kingdom of Naples they call this fruit *fraoles*, and it is a delicate and exquisite thing, and they esteem it. And apart from this, they found there by the fields infinite roses, and native ones like those of Spain; and although not of so many petals through being wild, they are not of less fragrance, but rather more delicate and mellow. This town they named [the town] of Succor.

The next day Captain Alonso Romo, who had also gone to explore, ar-

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<sup>39</sup>One *cabiz* is equal to twelve *fanegas* (100 pounds of corn), making Rangel's amount approximately 3,000 pounds of corn.

rived and brought four or five Indians, and not one would make known the town of their lord nor disclose its location, although they burned one of them alive in front of the others, and all suffered that martyrdom, in order not to disclose it. The next day, Wednesday, Baltasar de Gallegos arrived with an Indian woman and news of a settlement [*poblado*]. The next day following, Lobillo came with news of roads, and he left behind two lost companions, and the Governor reprimanded him severely, and without letting him rest or eat, he made him return to look for them under penalty of his life if he should not bring them. And that was a better command, and better done and thought out than burning alive one of those Indians Alonso Romo brought, for not wanting to disclose his lord, because to such as he the Romans placed a memorial statue in the Forum, and to Christians such cruelty is permitted against no one, especially against an Indian who wished to die through being loyal to his fatherland and his lord; but later on all was repaid.

## SIX

HOW GOVERNOR HERNANDO DE SOTO WENT TO THE TOWN OF JALAMECO, AND HOW THE CACICA, THE RULER OF THAT LAND, ENTERTAINED THEM AND PLACED ON HIS NECK A STRING OF PEARLS THAT SHE WORE ON HER NECK, AND HOW THEY FOUND MANY OTHERS, AND THROUGH THE FAULT OF THE GOVERNOR HE DID NOT FIND ALL THAT HE WISHED, AND OF THE TREES THAT THEY FOUND LIKE THOSE OF SPAIN, AND OTHERS OF THAT LAND OF COFITACHEQUI; AND HOW THEY WENT ONWARD AND HOW A CHRISTIAN CALLED RODRÍGUEZ AND A BLACK MAN AND OTHER SLAVES REMAINED IN THESE JOURNEYS, AND HOW THEY ARRIVED AT CHIHÁ, WHERE THEY FOUND PALISADED TOWNS AND CARRIED FROM THERE FIVE HUNDRED SLAVES,<sup>40</sup> AND HOW FARTHER ON THEY FOUND PEARLS IN RIVERS OF FRESH WATER, AND MANY OTHER PARTICULARS SUITABLE TO THE DISCOURSE OF THESE HISTORIES.

Let the reader not marvel how this historian proceeds so precisely through the journeys and rivers and crossings that this adelantado and Governor Hernando de Soto and his army experienced in those northern provinces and places; it is because among those gentlemen who found themselves in all that, there was one, called Rodrigo Rangel, of whom mention has been made and in future will be made, who served in that army, who, wanting to understand what he saw and how his life passed, like a wise man, wrote at

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<sup>40</sup>The previous six lines were omitted by the editor of Oviedo and by Bourne for the sake of brevity.

the end of the day's journey, after his labours, all that which happened to them, and also for his recreation; and also because each Christian ought to do it in order to know how to confess and bring his sins to memory, in particular those who go to war; and also because those who have labored and passed through such excessive hardships, enjoy afterward, as eyewitnesses, communicating and sharing it with their friends, and in order to explain their own role, as they should. And so this Rodrigo Rangel came, after all those things already described and those that follow had happened, to this city of Sancto Domingo of the island Española and gave a relation of all these things in this Audiencia Real to the very reverend señor licenciado Alonso López de Cerrato, who presides in it,<sup>41</sup> and he commanded and charged that he should tell in writing and give an account of all to me, so that, as chronicler for Their Majesties of these histories of the Indies, this northern conquest and discovery might be compiled and made known, placed among their number, since so many novelties and unusual subjects come together for the delight of the prudent reader, and as a warning for many who in these Indies come to lose [their lives] following after a Governor who dispenses thus others' lives, as is apparent through these my studies and writings.

Let us come back to the events and the continuation of what we have in hand and is treated here. Friday, the last day of April, the Governor took some on horseback, the most rested, and the Indian woman Baltasar de Gallegos brought as guide and went toward Cofitachequi and spent the night hard by a large and deep river, and he sent Juan de Añasco with some on horseback to try to have some interpreters and canoes ready in order to cross the river, and he [Añasco] got some. The next day the Governor arrived at the crossing in front of the town, and principal Indians came with gifts, and the cacica, ruler of that land, came, whom the principal [Indians] brought with much prestige on a litter covered in white (with thin linen) and on their shoulders, and they crossed in the canoes, and she spoke to the Governor with much grace and self-assurance. She was young and of fine appearance, and she removed a string of pearls that she wore about the neck and put it on the Governor's neck, in order to ingratiate herself and win his good will. And all the army crossed in canoes, and they gave many presents of very well tanned hides and blankets, all very good, and a large amount of jerked venison and dry wafers, and much and very good salt. All the Indians walked covered down to the feet with very excellent hides, very well tanned,

<sup>41</sup>The reference to Cerrato was transcribed by the editor, J. Amador de los Rios, and did not appear in Oviedo's final manuscript.

and blankets of the land, and blankets of sable, and blankets of mountain lions,<sup>42</sup> which smelled; the people are very clean and very polite and naturally well developed. Monday, on the third of May, all the rest of the army arrived, and all could not cross until the next day, Tuesday, and not without cost and loss of seven horses, which drowned. These were among the most fat and strong, which fought against the current, but the thin ones, which let themselves go with the current, crossed better.

On the seventh of May, Friday, Baltasar de Gallegos went with most of the people of the army to Ilapi to eat seven barbacoas of corn that they said were there, which were a deposit of the cacica.<sup>43</sup> This same day the Governor and Rodrigo Rangel entered in the temple or oratory<sup>44</sup> of these idolatrous people, and having unwrapped some interments, they found some bodies of men tied on a barbacoa, the breasts and openings and necks and arms and legs covered in pearls; and as they were bringing them out, Rangel saw a thing like a green and very good emerald, and he showed it to the Governor, and he was very delighted. And he commanded that he should look out of the wall and call Juan de Añasco, accountant of Their Majesties, and Rangel told him: "My Lord, do not call anyone: it could be that there might be some precious stone or jewel here." And the Governor replied, somewhat angrily, and said: "Even if there were, do we have to steal it?" Juan de Añasco having come, they took out that emerald and it was made of glass,<sup>45</sup> and after that one, more and more beads of glass and rosaries with their crosses. They also found Biscayan axes of iron, by which they recognized that they were in the district or land where the licenciado Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón was lost. They brought out from there eight or nine *arrobas*<sup>46</sup> of pearls; and as the cacica saw that the Christians made much of them,

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<sup>42</sup>The term *gatos de clavo*, or mountain cats, probably refers to the cougar (*Felis concolor*).

<sup>43</sup>This passage refers to the practice of storing surplus corn under the control of the chief, forming a basis for chiefly authority in a redistributive system.

<sup>44</sup>*La mezquita u oratorio*, probably referring to a charnel house or public structure such as a temple.

<sup>45</sup>Inexpensive glass beads were standard items of trade with Indians, and translucent green wire-wound seed beads are recognized by archaeologists to be markers for the early sixteenth century (see Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500–1800* [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987], and also Marvin T. Smith, "Chronology from Glass Beads: The Spanish Period in the Southeast, ca. A.D. 1513–1670," in *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference*, ed. C. Hayes, 147–58 [Rochester: Rochester Museum and Science Center Research Records 16, 1983]).

<sup>46</sup>One *arroba* equals approximately 25 pounds, making Rangel's amount between 200 and 225 pounds of pearls.

she said: "Do you think this is a lot? . . . Go to Talimeco, my town, and you will find so many that you will be unable to carry them on your horses." The governor said: "Leave them here, and to whom God gives them by good fortune, may St. Peter bless them," and so they remained. It was believed that he intended to take that [place] for himself, because without doubt it is the best that they saw and the land of better disposition, although neither many people nor much corn appeared, nor did they tarry to look for them there.

Some things were made there as in Spain, which must have been taught by the Indians who went away to the licenciado Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, because they made breeches and buskins,<sup>47</sup> and black gaiters [*antiparras*] with laces of white hide, and with fringes or edging of colored hide, as if they had been made in Spain. In the temple or oratory of Talimeco, there were breastplates, as well as corselets and helmets, made from raw and hairless hides of cows, and from the same [hides] very good shields. This Talimeco was a town of great importance, with its very authoritative oratory on a high mound; the caney or house of the cacique very large and very tall and broad, all covered, high and low, with very excellent and beautiful mats, and placed with such fine skill, that it appeared that all the mats were only one mat. Only rarely was there a hut which might not be covered with matting. This town has very good savannahs and a fine river, and forests of walnuts and oak, pines, evergreen oaks and groves of sweetgum, and many cedars. In this river it was said that Alaminos, a native of Cuba (although Spanish), had found a bit of gold; and such a rumor became public in the army among the Spaniards, and for this it was believed that this is a land of gold, and that good mines would be found there.

Wednesday, the thirteenth of May, the Governor left from Cofitachequi, and in two days he arrived at the province [*población*] of Chalaque; but he could not find the town of the lord, nor was there an Indian who would disclose it. And they slept in a pine forest, where many Indian men and women began to come in peace with presents and gifts, and they were there on Whitsuntide. And from there the Governor wrote to Baltasar de Gallegos by some Indians, [sending them] to the barbacoas that they had gone to in order to eat the corn, as was stated above, that they should follow the Governor. And on Monday, the seventeenth of that month, they departed from there and spent the night in a forest; and on Tuesday they went to Guaquili, and the Indians came forth in peace and gave them corn, although little, and

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<sup>47</sup>*Borcequies*, a laced half-boot.

many hens roasted on barbacoa, and a few little dogs, which are good food. These are little dogs that do not bark, and they rear them in the houses in order to eat them. They also gave them tamemes, which are Indians who carry burdens. And on the following Wednesday they went to a canebrake, and on Thursday to a small savannah where a horse died; and some foot soldiers of Baltasar de Gallegos arrived, making known to the Governor that he was approaching.

The next day, Friday, they went to Xuala, which is a town on a plain [*llano*] between some rivers; its cacique was so well provisioned, that he gave to the Christians however much they asked for: tamemes, corn, little dogs, *petacas*, and however much he had. *Petacas* are baskets covered with leather (and also yet to be covered), with their lids, for carrying clothes and whatever they might wish. And on Saturday Baltasar de Gallegos arrived there with many sick and lame, and they needed them healthy, particularly since they now had the mountains [*sierras*] before them. In that Xuala it seemed to them that there was better disposition to look for gold mines than in all that they had passed through and seen in that northern part.

Tuesday, on the twenty-fifth of May, they left from Xuala and crossed that day a very high mountain range [*sierra*], and they spent the night in a small forest,<sup>48</sup> and the next day, Wednesday, in a savannah where they endured great cold, although it was already the twenty-sixth of May; and there they crossed, in water up to their shins, the river by which they afterward left in the brigantines that they made. When that river comes forth to the sea, the navigation chart states and indicates that it is the river of Spiritu Sancto; which, according to the charts of the cosmographer Alonso de Chaves, enters in a great bay, and the mouth of this river, in the salt water, is at thirty-one degrees on this side of the equator.

Returning to the history, from there where it is stated that they crossed the river in water up to their shins, the cacica of Cofitachequi, whom they took with them in payment of the good treatment that they had received from her, turned back, and that day Mendoza de Montanjes and Alaminos de Cuba stayed behind (it was said that it was done with deception); and because that day Alonso Romo led the rear guard and left them, the Governor made him return for them, and they awaited them one day; and when they arrived, the Governor wanted to hang them. In that [province] of Xalaque a comrade deserted who was named Rodríguez, a native of Peñafiel, and also a shrewd young Indian slave from Cuba, who belonged to a gentleman

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<sup>48</sup>*Montecillo* may also denote a small hill, or hillock.



called Villegas, and a very shrewd slave of Don Carlos, a native of Barbary, and Gómez, a very shrewd black man of Vasco González; Rodríguez was the first, and those others farther on from Xalaque.

The next day they spent the night in an oak grove [*robredal*], and the following day, alongside a large creek, which they crossed many times; and the next day messengers came in peace, and they arrived early at Guasili, and they gave them many tamemes, many little dogs, and corn; and because this was a good resting place, the soldiers afterward called it, while throwing the dice, the House of Guasili, or a good encounter. Monday, which was the last day of May, the Governor left from Guasili and went with his army to an oak grove alongside a river, and the next day they passed through Canasoga and spent the night in the open. And on Wednesday they spent the night alongside a swamp, and this day they ate a very great number of mulberries. The next day, Thursday, they went alongside a large creek next to the river that they had crossed in the savannah (where the cacica went away), and now it was large. The next day, Friday, they went to a pine forest and a creek, where Indians from Chiaha came in peace and brought corn. And the next day, Saturday, in the morning, the Spaniards crossed the very broad river, across a branch of it, and entered in Chiaha, which is on an island of the same river.

Saturday, the fifth of June, was the day that they entered in Chiaha; and since from Xuala all their travel had been through a mountain range and the horses were tired and thin, and the Christians likewise fatigued, it was advisable to halt and rest there; and they gave them an abundance of good corn, of which there is much, and they gave them many *mazamoras*,<sup>49</sup> and considerable oil of walnuts and acorns, which they know how to extract very well, and it is very good and helped them very much for their sustenance, although some are wont to say that the oil of walnuts causes some flatulence; notwithstanding it is very delicious. The Indians were with the Christians fifteen days in peace; they played with them, and also among themselves; they swam in the company of the Christians, and in all they served them very well. They went away afterward one Saturday, the nineteenth of the month, because of a certain thing which the Governor asked them for; and in short, it was that he asked them for women. The next day in the morning, the Governor sent for the cacique, and he came then, and the next day the Governor carried him with him [as a hostage] to make the people return, and

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<sup>49</sup>The term *mazamoras* refers to a porridge made with corn meal and sweetened with sugar or honey. This dish was probably similar to *sofkee*, a staple food for Creek Indians.

indeed they came. In the land of this Chiaha was where these Spaniards first found the towns palisaded [*cercados*]. Chiaha gave them five hundred tame-  
mes, and they consented to leave off collars and chains.

On Monday, the twenty-eighth of June, the Governor and his people left from Chiaha, and they passed through five or six towns, and they went to sleep at a pine forest, in front of a town; but they had much hardship there in crossing a river that flowed very strongly, and they made a bridge or support of horses so that the foot soldiers might not be endangered, in the manner that will now be related. And it was thus: they put the horses in the river in single file, tail with head, and they held them still as much as they were able, and upon each one his master, and they received the impact of the current, and below them, where the water made no impact, the foot soldiers crossed, holding on to the tail, stirrup, cuirass, and mane of one after another; and in this manner all the army crossed well.

The next day, Tuesday, they passed through a town, and there they took corn and went onward to sleep in the open. The following Wednesday they crossed a river, and then a town and the river another time, and they spent the night in the open. And on Thursday the cacique of Coste came forth to receive them in peace, and he led the Christians to sleep in a town of his. He got angry because some soldiers looted, or more accurately, sacked some barbacoas against his will. And thus, the next day, Thursday, going toward his principal town of Coste, he slipped away and evaded the Spaniards and called his people to arms. On Friday, the second day of the month of July, the adelantado Governor arrived at Coste, which is a town on an island of the river, which there flows great and strong and is difficult to enter: and the Christians crossed the first branch without danger to any one of the soldiers (which was no small good fortune); and the Governor entered in the town carelessly and unarmed with a few unarmed men, and when the soldiers did as was their custom and began to climb on the barbacoas, in the instant that they began to do that, the Indians began to beat them and take their bows and arrows and come forth to the plaza. The Governor commanded that all should suffer it and be tolerant, because of the evident danger in which they were, and that no one should put hand to his weapons; and he began to quarrel with the soldiers, and in order to dissimulate, he also thrashed some of them, and he flattered the cacique and told him that he did not wish that the Christians should anger them, and that he wished to leave to take lodging at the savannah of the island. And the cacique and his [people] went with him, and as they had withdrawn from the town, in the clear, he gave the command to lay hands on the cacique and ten or twelve principals, and they

put them in chains with their collars, and he threatened them and said that he would burn all of them, because they had laid hands on the Christians. From there at Coste, the Governor sent two soldiers north to see the province of Chisca, which was rumored to have great wealth, and they brought good news. There in Coste was found, in the trunk of a tree, honey from bees, as good as, or even better than can be had in Spain. In that river they found, in some clams that they gathered from it to eat, some pearls, and they were the first that those Christians saw from fresh water, although there are [pearls] in many parts of that land. Friday, the ninth of July, the adelantado and his army left Coste, and they crossed the other branch of the river and spent the night on its banks, and Tali was on the other side; and since the river flows together in one large channel, they could not cross it, and the Indians, believing that they had crossed, sent canoes, and in them their wives and children and clothes, on this side, well away from the Christians; but they [the Indians] were all taken suddenly, and as they went along with the current the Governor made them all turn back, which was the reason why the cacique came in peace, and he helped them cross to the other side in his canoes and gave to the Christians what they had need of. And thus he did in his land, through which they passed afterward; and they were there on Saturday, and they gave them tamemes, and they departed on Sunday and slept in the open.

On Monday they crossed a river, and slept in the open. On Tuesday they crossed another river, and on Wednesday another large river, and they slept in Tasqui. All these past days since they departed from alongside Tali, the cacique of Tali made [the Indians] bring out, from their towns along the road, corn and mazamoras and cooked beans, and everything he could. On Thursday they went to another small town and passed other towns, and on Friday the Governor entered in Coça. This is a great cacique with much land, and one of the best and most abundant [provinces] that they found in Florida; and the cacique came forth to receive the Governor on a litter, covered with white blankets of the land. Sixty or seventy of his principal Indians carried the litter on their shoulders, and none was an Indian of the plebeians or commoners, and those that carried him took turns from time to time, with great ceremony in their manner. In Coça there were many plums like the early ones of Seville, very good, and they and their trees like those of Spain. Also there were some small sour apples, like those that they call *canavales* in Extremadura. They were there in Coça some days, during which the Indians hid, and left the cacique in the power of the Christians along with some principal Indians; and they [the Spaniards] went to round them up and

took many, whom they imprisoned in collars of iron and in chains: and in truth, as eyewitnesses testified, it was a thing of much pity to see it; but God forgets no evil thing done nor does it remain without punishment, as this history will relate.

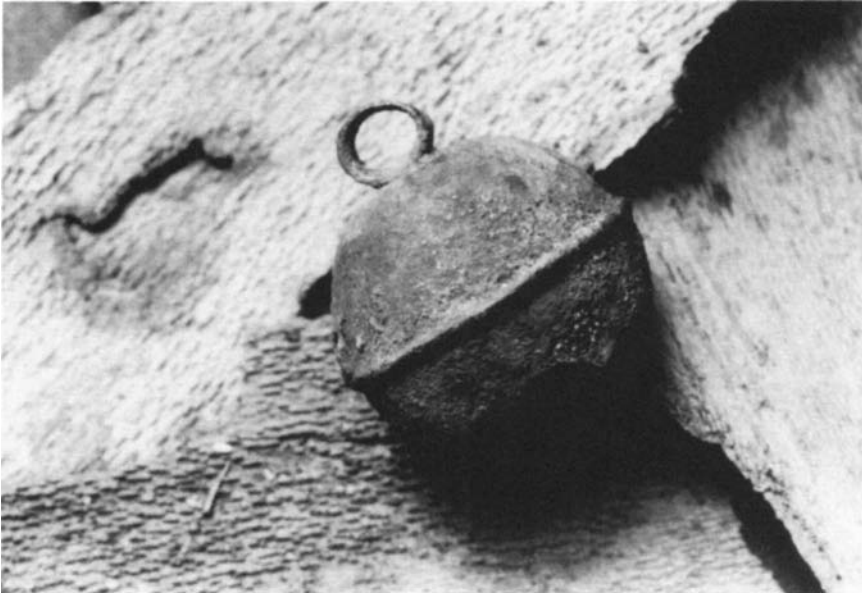
On Friday, the twentieth of August, the Governor and his people left Coça, and there remained behind a Christian who was named Feryada, a Levantine; and they spent that night beyond Talimuchusi. And the next day, in a heavy rain, they spent the night at Itaba, a large town alongside a good river, and there they bartered for some Indian women, whom they gave them in exchange for mirrors and knives. Monday, the thirtieth of August, the Governor left from Itaba with his army and spent the night in an oak grove, and the following day they went to Ulibahali, a very good town, next to a large river. And many Indians of evil intent were waiting, intending to take the cacique of Coça away from the Christians, because they were subjects of his; and so that the land would not rise in revolt or deny them supplies, they took him with them, and they entered in the town very much on guard. The cacique of Coça commanded the Indians to lay down their weapons; and so they did, and they gave them tamemes and twenty Indian women, and they went in peace, although a gentleman from Salamanca, called Manzano, remained there, and it was not known if it was from his own will or from losing his bearings, going alone to pillage, inasmuch as he went on foot. He was unhappy, and he had requested other soldiers to remain with him, before they missed him. This was not known for certain, but it was said in the army after he was missing. Also a very shrewd black man, who was called Joan Vizcaïno, deserted Captain Juan Ruiz Lobillo there.

The day that they left from this town, they ate many grapes, as good as those grown from vines in Spain. In Coça and farther back they had eaten very good ones, but these from Ulibahali were the best. From this town of Ulibahali the Spaniards and their Governor left one Thursday, the second of September, and they spent the night in a pretty town hard by the river; and the next day, Friday, they came to Piachi, which is alongside a river, and there they awaited Lobillo for one day, who, without permission, had gone to look for his black man, and on coming back the Governor reprimanded him severely. On Sunday they left there and spent the night in the open, and the next day, Monday, they went to Tuasi, where they gave them tamemes and thirty-two Indian women. On Monday, the thirteenth of September, the Governor left from there, and they spent the night in the open, and on Tuesday they made another day's journey and halted likewise in the open, and on Wednesday they went to an old town that had double walls [*cercas*]



*Spanish Glass Trade Beads. The Spanish conquistadors were well aware that Native American peoples generally placed a high value on gifts such as colored glass beads. Stores of cheap trade goods manufactured in Europe were routinely taken on expeditions to give away as presents, hoping to win the favor of local chiefs. The long tubular beads of blue glass shown here are of a type called Nueva Cadiz by archaeologists, who have found them at several sites in the region passed through by De Soto. Because this type of bead was no longer manufactured after about 1570, it is believed that some of the archaeological finds may mark the passage of De Soto's army nearby. (Courtesy of the University of Alabama Museum of Natural History)*

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*A “Clarksdale” Bell. Small spherical bells made of sheet brass were used by Spanish explorers as gifts to native chiefs during the sixteenth century. This specimen was excavated from a Native American village site in the southeastern United States. Archaeologists have given this distinctive type of bell the name “Clarksdale,” after a site near Clarksdale, Mississippi. Such finds may be used as evidence in the search for the route of De Soto’s army. (Courtesy of the University of Alabama Museum of Natural History)*

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and good towers. And those ramparts [*muros*] are built in this manner: they sink many thick poles, tall and straight, next to one another; they weave them with some long sticks, and daub them within and without, and they make their loopholes at intervals, and they make their towers and turrets [*cubos*] spread out along the curtain and parts of the rampart as suits them; and at a distance, they appear to be one very excellent wall [*muralla*], and such walls are very strong.

The next day, Thursday, they spent the night in a new town next to the river, where the Spaniards rested that day. And the next day, Saturday, they went to Talisi, and they found the cacique and people gone. This town is large and fertile with much corn, and next to a large river. A messenger came there from Tascaluça, a powerful lord and very feared in that land, and then came a son of his, and the Governor commanded the Spaniards to mount, and that those on horseback should gallop, and sound the trumpets (more to impose fear, than to make ceremony with such a reception). Upon the return of those Indians, the adelantado sent with them two Christians instructed to observe and spy, in order that they might take counsel and be prepared.

On the twenty-fifth of September the cacique of Talisi came and gave what they asked him for, such as tamemes, women, and supplies, and there they freed the cacique of Coça, so that he might return to his land; and he was very angry and tearful because the Governor refused to give up a sister of his that they took, and because they had brought him so far from his land.

Tuesday, the fifth of October, they left from Talisi and spent the night at Casiste, which is a pretty town alongside the river. And the next day, Wednesday, they went to Caxa,<sup>50</sup> a wretched town on the bank of the river and at the boundary [*raya*] between Talisi and Tascaluça. And the next day, Thursday, they spent the night alongside the river, and a town that is called Humati was on the other side of the water. And the next day, Friday, they went to another new town [*población*], which is called Uxapita; and the next day, Saturday, they established their camp one league before arriving at the town of Tascaluça, in the open, and from there the Governor sent a messenger, and he came with the reply that he would be welcome whenever he wished to come.

The historian asked a well-informed gentleman who found himself present with this Governor and who went with him all through that northern land, why, in each place that this Governor and his army arrived, they asked

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<sup>50</sup>While the printed text reads *la Caxa*, the article *la* is unique here before the name of this town and may have originally been a part of a longer Indian name *Lacaxa*.

for those tamemes or burden-bearing Indians, and why they took so many women, and these not old nor the most ugly; and after giving them what they had, why they detained the caciques and principal Indians, and why, where they went, they never halted or settled anywhere; saying that was neither to populate nor to conquer, but rather to disturb and devastate the land and take away the liberty of all the natives, and not to convert or make one Indian a Christian or a friend. He responded and said: that they took those burden-bearing Indians or tamemes in order to have more slaves and servants, and to carry their supplies, and whatever they stole or what they gave them; and that some died and others fled or weakened, and thus they had need to renew and take more; and that they wanted the women also in order to make use of them and for their lewdness and lust, and that they baptized them more for their carnal intercourse than to instruct them in the faith; and that if they detained the caciques and principal Indians, this was advisable so that the others, their subjects, would be quiet and not obstruct their thefts and prevent what they might wish to do in their land. As to where they were going, neither the Governor nor they knew, except that his intent was to find some land so rich that it might sate his greed, and to find out about the great secrets that the Governor said that he had heard about those places, according to many reports that had been given to him. And that as regards disturbing the land and not settling it, nothing else could be done until they came upon a site that would satisfy them. Oh, lost people; oh, diabolical greed; oh, bad conscience; oh, unfortunate soldiers; how you did not understand in how much danger you walked, and how wasted your lives and without tranquility your souls! Why did you not remember that truth that the glorious St. Augustine, deploring of the present misery of this life, says: "This life is a life of misery, decrepit and uncertain, a toilsome and unclean life, a life, my Lord, of evils, queen of the proud, filled with miseries and with dread; this is not life, nor can it be called that, but rather death, since in a moment it is finished by various mutations and diverse kinds of death"? Listen well, Catholic reader, and do not lament any less the conquered Indians than their Christian conquerors, or killers of themselves and of those others, and attend to the incidents of this ill-governed Governor, instructed in the school of Pedrarias de Avila, in the dissipation and devastation of the Indians of Castilla de Oro, graduate in the killing of the natives of Nicaragua and canonized in Peru, according to the Order of the Pizarros. And freed from all those hellish passages, and having gone to Spain loaded with gold, neither as a bachelor nor a married man could he rest, nor did he know how to, without returning to the Indies to spill human blood,



not content with that already spilled, and to depart this life in the manner that farther on will be related; and giving cause for so many sinners, deceived by his vain words, to be lost with him. See how much more he wanted than what that queen or cacica of Cofitachequi, lady of Talimeco, offered him, where she told him that in that place of hers he would find so many pearls that all the horses of his army would not be able to carry them; and receiving him with such humanity, see how he treated her. Let us go on, and do not forget this truth that you have read, how in proof of how many pearls she offered him, this Governor and his people now carried eight or nine arrobas of pearls, and you will see what enjoyment they got of them in what follows.

## SEVEN

IN WHICH IS RELATED WHAT HAPPENED TO THE  
ADELANTADO HERNANDO DE SOTO WITH THE  
CACIQUE OF TASCALUÇA, NAMED ACTAHACHI,  
WHO WAS SO TALL A MAN THAT HE SEEMED  
A GIANT; AND OF THE SURPRISE ATTACKS  
AND HARSH BATTLES AND ASSAULT THAT  
THEY GAVE TO THE CHRISTIANS IN THE  
TOWN CALLED MABILA AND FARTHER  
ON IN CHICAÇA. AND OTHER EVENTS  
SUITABLE AND NOTABLE FOR THE  
HISTORY ARE RELATED IN  
THIS CHAPTER.

On Sunday, the tenth of October, the Governor entered in the town of Tascaluça, which was called Athahachi, a new town; and the cacique was on a balcony that was made on a mound to one side of the plaza, about his head a certain headdress like an *almaizar*,<sup>51</sup> worn like a Moor, which gave him an appearance of authority, and a *pelote* or blanket of feathers down to his feet, very authoritative, seated upon some high cushions, and many principals of

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<sup>51</sup>A type of turban.

his Indians with him. He was of as tall a stature as that Antonico of the guard of the Emperor our lord, and of very good proportions, a very well built and noble man; he had a young son as tall as he, but he was more slender. Always in front of this cacique was a very graceful Indian on foot, with a sunshade, on a pole, which was like a round and very large fly-flap, with a white cross similar to that which the knights of the Order of St. John of Rhodes wear, in the middle of a black field. And although the Governor entered in the plaza and dismounted and went up to him, he did not rise but rather was quiet and composed, as if he were a king, and with much gravity. The Governor sat with him a bit, and after a little while he rose and said that they should go to eat and took him with him, and Indians came to dance; and they danced very well in the way of the peasants of Spain, in such a manner that it was a pleasure to see.

At night he wished to go, but the adelantado told him that he had to sleep there; and he understood it and showed that he scoffed at such a decision, being lord, to give him so suddenly a restraint or impediment to his liberty; and concealing his intentions in the matter, he then dispatched his principal Indians, each one by himself, and he slept there to his sorrow. The next day the Governor asked for tamemes and one hundred Indian women, and the cacique gave them four hundred tamemes and said that he would give them the rest of the tamemes and the women in Mabila, the province of a principal vassal of his, and the Governor was content that the rest of that his unjust demand would be satisfied in Mabila. And he commanded that he be given a horse and some buskins and a cloak of scarlet cloth to keep him content. But as the cacique had already given him four hundred tamemes, or more accurately slaves, and was to give him one hundred women in Mabila, and those which they most desired, see what contentment could be given him by those buskins and mantle and the chance to ride on horseback, since he thought that he was riding on a tiger or on a ferocious lion, because horses were held in great dread among those people.

Finally, Tuesday, the twelfth of October, they left from that town of Atahachi, taking the cacique, as has been said, and with him many principals and always the Indian with the sunshade in front of his lord, and another with a cushion; and that day they spent the night in the open. And the next day, Wednesday, they arrived at Piachi, which is a high town, upon the bluff of a rocky river,<sup>52</sup> and its cacique was malicious, and he took a posi-

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<sup>52</sup>*Un pueblo alto, sobre un barranco de un río, enriscado.* The term *enriscado*, or craggy, may refer more to the bluff than to the river itself.

tion to resist the crossing; but in fact they crossed the river with difficulty, and two Christians were killed, and the principals who accompanied the cacique went away.<sup>53</sup> In that town Piachi it was found out that they had killed Don Teodoro, and a black man, who came forth from the boats of Pánfilo de Narváez.

On Saturday, the sixteenth of October, they departed from there and went to a forest, where one of the two Christians that the Governor had sent to Mabila came; and he said that there was a great gathering of armed people in Mabila. The next day they went to a palisaded town, and messengers from Mabila came who brought to the cacique much chestnut bread, for there are many and good chestnuts in his land. On Monday, the eighteenth of October, the day of St. Luke, the Governor arrived at Mabila, having passed that day through some towns. But these towns detained the soldiers, pillaging and scattering themselves, for the land seemed populous; thus only forty on horseback arrived in advance guard with the Governor, and since they were a little detained, in order for the Governor not to show weakness, he entered in the town with the cacique, and all entered with him. The Indians then did an *areito*, which is their kind of ball with dancing and singing.

While watching this, some soldiers saw them placing bundles of bows and arrows secretly in some palm leaves, and other Christians saw that the huts were filled high and low with concealed people. The Governor was warned, and he placed his helmet on his head and commanded that all should mount their horses and warn all the soldiers who had arrived; and scarcely had they left, when the Indians took command of the gates of the wall of the town. And Luis de Moscoso and Baltasar de Gallegos and Espíndola, Captain of the guard, and seven or eight soldiers remained with the Governor. And the cacique plunged into a hut and refused to come out from it; and then they began to shoot arrows at the Governor. Baltasar de Gallegos entered for the cacique, and he not wanting to leave, he [Gallegos] cut off the arm of a principal Indian with a slash. Luis de Moscoso, awaiting him at the door in order not to leave him alone, was fighting like a knight, and he did everything possible, until he could suffer no more, and said: "Señor Baltasar de Gallegos, come forth, or I will have to leave you, for I cannot wait for you any longer."

During this time Solís, a resident of Triana of Seville, and Rodrigo

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<sup>53</sup>Bourne translated that these Indians were slain, but in actuality the text suggests that they escaped the Spaniards or may have been sent ahead by the cacique to warn the town of Mabila, as suggested by the Elvas account.

Rangel, had mounted. They were the first, and for his sins Solís was then shot down dead. Rodrigo Rangel arrived near the gate of the town<sup>54</sup> at the time that the Governor and two soldiers of his guard with him were leaving, and about him [the Governor] were more than seventy Indians, who halted out of fear of the horse of Rodrigo Rangel, and he [the Governor] wishing him to give it to him, a black man arrived with his own [horse]; and he commanded Rodrigo Rangel to aid the Captain of the guard who remained behind, who came out very fatigued, and with him a soldier of the guard, and he on horseback faced his enemies until he got out of danger. And Rodrigo Rangel returned to the Governor, and he drew out more than twenty arrows that he carried hanging from his armor, which was a quilted tunic of thick cotton; and he commanded Rangel to guard [the body of] Solís until he could bring him out from among their enemies, so that they might not carry him within, and so that the Governor might go to collect the soldiers. There was so much virtue and shame this day in all those who found themselves in this first attack and the beginning of this bad day. They fought admirably, and each Christian did his duty as a most valiant soldier. Luis de Moscoso and Baltasar de Gallegos left with the remaining soldiers through another gate.

In effect, the Indians ended up with the town and all the property of the Christians and with the horses that they left tied within, which they then killed. The Governor gathered all the forty on horseback who were there, and they arrived at a large plaza in front of the principal gate of Mabila, and there the Indians came forth, without daring to venture far from the palisade; and in order to draw them out, they pretended that those on horseback were fleeing at a gallop, withdrawing far from the ramparts, and the Indians, believing it, ventured from the town and from the palisade in their pursuit, desirous of employing their arrows, and when it was time, those on horseback turned around on their enemies, and before they could take shelter, they lanced many. Don Carlos wished to go with his horse up to the gate, and they gave his horse an arrow wound in the breast, and not being able to turn [his horse], he dismounted to draw out the arrow, and another came which struck him in the neck, above his shoulder, from which, asking for confession, he fell dead. The Indians did not dare to venture again from the palisade. Then, the adelantado encircled them on many sides until all the army arrived, and they entered it through three sides setting fire, first cut-

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<sup>54</sup>This is the only Indian town in Florida that is denoted by the term *villa*, which was used earlier for Havana.

ting through the palisade with axes; and the fire traveled so that the nine arrobas of pearls that they brought were burned, and all the clothes and ornaments and chalices and moulds for wafers, and the wine for saying mass, and they were left like Arabs, empty-handed and with great hardship.

The Christian women, who were slaves of the Governor, had remained in a hut, and some pages, a friar, a cleric, and a cook and some soldiers; they defended themselves very well from the Indians, who could not enter until the Christians arrived with the fire and brought them out. And all the Spaniards fought like men of great spirit, and twenty-two of them died, and they wounded another one hundred and forty-eight with six hundred and eighty-eight arrow wounds, and they killed seven horses and wounded twenty-nine others. The women and even boys of four years struggled against the Christians, and many Indians hanged themselves in order not to fall into their hands, and others plunged into the fire willingly. See what spirit those tamemes had. There were many great arrow shots sent with such fine will and force, that the lance of a gentleman, named Nuño de Tovar, which was of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow through the middle from side to side, like a drill, without splintering anything, and the arrow made a cross on the lance.

Don Carlos died this day, and also Francisco de Soto, nephew of the Governor, and Juan de Gamez de Jaen, and Men Rodríguez, a good Portuguese gentleman, and Espinosa, a good gentleman, and another called Velez, and one Blasco de Barcarrota and other very honored soldiers; and the wounded were most of the people of worth and of honor. They killed three thousand Indians, in addition to which there were many others wounded, which they found afterward dead in the huts and by the roads. Nothing was ever learned of the cacique [Tascaluça], either dead or alive; the son was found lanced.

The battle having taken place in the manner stated above, they rested there until Sunday, the fourteenth of November, treating the wounded and the horses, and they burned a great part of the land. From the time that this Governor and his armies entered in the land of Florida up to the time that they left from there, all the dead were one hundred and two Christians, and not all, to my way of thinking, in true penitence.

On Sunday, the fourteenth of November of the aforesaid year, the Governor left Mabila, and the following Wednesday he arrived at a very good river, and on Thursday, the twenty-eighth,<sup>55</sup> they went across bad crossings and

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<sup>55</sup>Should read November 18.



*A Spanish Man-at-Arms. This type of armor was widely used by infantry during the sixteenth century. A victorious soldier was not above taking the armor of a defeated enemy if he thought it superior to his own. The illustrated helmet is probably of Italian manufacture. (From Albert F. Calvert, Spanish Arms and Armour, London: John Lane, 1907)*

swamps and found a town with corn, which was called Talicpacana. The Christians had discovered on the other side of the river a town that seemed good to them from a distance, and well situated, and on Sunday, the twenty-first of November, Vasco González found a town, a half-league from this one, which is called Moçulixa, from which they had transferred all the corn to the other side of the river, and they had it in heaps, covered with mats, and the Indians were on the other side of the water, making threats. A piragua was made, which was finished on the twenty-ninth of the month, and they made a large cart to carry it up to Moçulixa, and having launched it in the water, sixty soldiers entered in it. The Indians shot innumerable darts, or more accurately arrows; but as this great canoe landed, they fled and did not wound but three or four Christians. They took the land easily and found plenty of corn.

The next day, Wednesday, all the army went to a town that is called Zabusta, and there they crossed the river in the piragua and with some canoes that they took there; and they went to take lodging in another town on the other end, because upriver they found another good town and took its lord, who was named Apafalaya, and brought him as guide and interpreter, and that bank was called the river of Apafalaya. From this river and province [*población*] the Governor and his people left in search of Chicaça on Thursday, the ninth of December, and they arrived the following Tuesday at the river of Chicaça, having passed many bad crossings and swamps and rivers and cold weather.

And so that you know, reader, what life those Spaniards led, Rodrigo Rangel, as an eyewitness, says that among many other needs of men that were experienced in this enterprise, he saw a nobleman named Don Antonio Osorio, brother of the Lord Marquis of Astorga, with a doublet of blankets of that land, torn on the sides, his flesh exposed, without a hat, bare-headed, bare-footed, without hose or shoes, a shield at his back, a sword without a scabbard, the snows and cold very great; and being such a man, and of such illustrious lineage, made him suffer his hardship and not lament, like many others, since there was no one who might aid him, being who he was, and having had in Spain two thousand ducats of income through the Church; and the day that this gentleman saw him thus, he believed that he had not eaten a mouthful and had to look for his supper with his fingernails. I could not help laughing when I heard him say that nobleman had left the Church and the aforementioned income in order to go to look for this life at the sound of the words of De Soto. Because I knew Soto very well, and although he was a man of worth, I did not hold that he would be able with such sweet

talk or cunning to delude such persons. What did such a man wish, from an unfamiliar and unknown land? Nor did the Captain who led him know more of it than that Juan Ponce de León and the licenciado Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón and Pánfilo de Narváez and others more skillful than Hernando de Soto had been lost in it. And those who follow such guides, go from some necessity, since they find places where they could settle or rest, and little by little penetrate and understand and find out all about the land. But let us go on; small is the hardship of this nobleman compared to those who die, if they do not win salvation.

They found that the river of Chicaça was flowing out of its bed, and the Indians on the other side were up in arms, with many white banners. Orders were given to make a piragua, and the Governor sent Baltasar de Gallegos with thirty swimmers on horseback to go to look upriver for a place where they could cross and attack suddenly upon the Indians; but he was detected, and so they [the Indians] abandoned the crossing, and they crossed very well in the piragua on Thursday, the sixteenth of the month. And the Governor advanced with some on horseback, and they arrived very late at night at the town of the lord, and all the people were gone. The next day Baltasar de Gallegos arrived with the thirty who went with him. They were there in Chicaça that Christmas, and it snowed with as much wind as if they were in Burgos, and with as much or more cold.

Monday, the third of January of fifteen forty-one, the cacique of Chicaça came in peace and gave guides and interpreters to the Christians in order to go to Caluça, which had much renown among the Indians. Caluça is a province of more than ninety towns (not subject to anyone) of ferocious people, very bellicose and very feared, and the land is prosperous in those parts. In Chicaça the Governor commanded that half of the people of his army should go to make war on Sacchuma, and on their return the cacique Miculasa made peace, and messengers came from Talapatica.

And in the course of this war the time to travel arrived, and they asked the cacique for tamemes; and the Indians created such an uproar among themselves, that the Christians understood it, and the agreement was made that they would give them over on the fourth of March when they were to depart, and that day they would come with them. The previous evening, the Governor mounted his horse and found the Indians engaged in evil intrigue, and he recognized the treacherous intention that they had and returned to the camp and said publicly, "This night is a night of Indians; I will sleep armed and my horse saddled." And all said that they would do the same; and he called to the *maestre de campo*, who was Luis de Moscoso, and told him



that he should take extra precautions with the sentinels that night, since it was the last. The Governor, upon leaving his soldiers, with whom he had made those arrangements, lay down undressed in his bed, and neither his horse nor any other was saddled, and all in the camp lay down to sleep without care and unarmed. The *maestre de campo* placed for the morning watch three on horseback, the worst of the worst, and on the worst horses in the whole army. And on the aforementioned day, the fourth of March, when the Indians had promised to give the *tamemes*, at break of day, fulfilling their word, they entered through the camp in many squadrons, beating drums as if it were in Italy, and setting fire to the camp, burning it and taking fifty-nine horses, among which, three of them they shot through both shoulders with their arrows. And the Christians behaved like careless people on this occasion, and few weapons, coats of mail, lances, and saddles survived the fire, and all the horses were driven away, fleeing from the fire and the clamor. Only the *adelantado* was able to mount, and he failed to cinch his horse, nor did he buckle his coat of armor, and *Tapia de Valladolid* along with him. The first Indian that he overtook, when he gave him a lance-blow, he [De Soto] fell upon him saddle and all. And if the Indians had known how to pursue their victory, this would have been the last day in the lives of all the Christians of that army and would have put an end to the demand for the *tamemes*.

Next the Spaniards passed to a savannah one league from that town in which they were, and they had huts and supplies, and they established camp on a slope [*ladera*] and hill [*cerro*] and made haste to set up the forge, and they made a bellows from hides of bears; and they tempered their weapons and made new saddle frames and provided themselves with lances, since there were very good ash trees there; and within eight days they had it all repaired.

They killed and burned alive up to twelve Christians in the aforementioned *Chicaça*. On Tuesday, the fifteenth of March, during the morning watch, the Indians attacked the Christians, determined to finish them, and they struck them on three sides; and as necessity had made them diligent, they were on guard and on watch. They fought with them valiantly and put the Indians to flight, and thanks to God the Christians did not suffer much damage, although a few Indians died. Some Spaniards showed themselves very valiant this day, and not one failed to do his duty, for a bad fate would have awaited anyone who in such a time did not defend his life well and who failed to show to his enemies the virtue and weapons of the Christians.

## EIGHT

IN WHICH THE HISTORY RELATES ANOTHER ENCOUNTER WITH A BARRICADE, IN WHICH THE ADELANTADO FOUGHT WITH THE INDIANS, AND HOW HE ARRIVED AT A VERY LARGE RIVER, WHICH THE CHRISTIANS CROSSED, AND OF AN ORATION AND SPEECH WHICH THE CACIQUE OF CASQUI MADE IN FRONT OF THE ADELANTADO AND THE CHRISTIANS IN FAVOR OF THE CROSS AND THE FAITH, AND OF AN ARGUMENT BETWEEN THIS CACIQUE AND HIS ENEMY, NAMED PACAHA, OVER WHICH ONE OUGHT TO PRECEDE THE OTHER. THEY DEPARTED FROM UTIANGUE, AND MANY NOTABLE PARTICULARS ARE TOLD.

On Tuesday, the twenty-sixth of April of the year already stated of fifteen forty-one, Governor Hernando de Soto departed from the savannah of Chicaça and spent the night at Limamu, and they were there looking for corn, because the Indians had concealed it, and they had to cross an uninhabited region.

And on Thursday they went to another savannah, where the Indians had made a very strong barricade, and within it many Indian warriors all smeared and painted with colors that appeared very fine (and yet were bad, or at least they were harmful to the Christians); and they entered the barricade by force, with some casualties of dead and wounded on the side of the adelantado and his army, and many more, without comparison, on the side of the vanquished, and there would have been more, if the Indians had not fled. On Saturday, the last day of April, the army departed from the site of the barricade, and traveled nine days through an uninhabited region and a bad road through forests and swamps, until Sunday the eighth of May, when they arrived at the first town of Quizqui; and they took them unexpectedly

and captured many people and clothes; but the Governor then set them free and made restitution to them all, for fear of war, although this did not suffice to make friends of those Indians. One league from this town was found another with much corn, and then, after another league, another, likewise with much corn. There they saw the great river.<sup>56</sup> On Saturday, the twenty-first of May, the army moved on to a savannah between the river and a small town, and they made camp, and began to make four piraguas in order to cross to the other side. Many of those conquistadors said that this river was a larger river than the Danube. On the other bank of the river, up to seven thousand Indians gathered to defend the crossing, and with up to two hundred canoes, all with shields [*escudos*], which were made of canes joined together, so strong and so tightly sewn that a crossbow would scarcely pierce them. Arrows came raining and the air was filled with them, and with such a yell, so that it seemed a matter of great dread; but when they saw that the work on the piraguas did not let up for them, they said that Pacaha, whose men they were, commanded them to remove themselves from there, and thus they left the crossing undefended. And on Saturday, the eighth of June,<sup>57</sup> all the army crossed that great river<sup>58</sup> in the four piraguas, and they gave many thanks to God, because in their opinion, nothing so difficult could ever be offered them again.

On Sunday, they went to a town of Aquijo; on Tuesday, the twenty-first of June, they left from there and passed through the province [*población*] of Aquijo, which is very beautiful and nicely situated. The next day, Wednesday, they passed through the worst road of swamps and water that they had seen in all Florida, and in this day's journey the people suffered much hardship.

The next day following, Thursday, they entered in the land of Quarqui and passed through many towns, and the next day, Friday, the day of St. John, they went to the town of the lord of Casqui, and he gave food and clothes to this army, and on Saturday they entered in his town; and he had very good huts, and in the principal [hut], over the door, were many heads of very fierce bulls, as in Spain they put heads of wild boars [*puercos javalies*] or bears at the doors of the houses of the hunters. There the Christians placed the cross on a mound. They received it and adored it with much devotion, and I say with much devotion, because the blind and lame Indians

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<sup>56</sup>*El río grande*, or the Mississippi.

<sup>57</sup>The date should be June 18.

<sup>58</sup>*Aquella gran ribera*. The term *ribera* refers to the bank or shore, but in this context river seems more appropriate.

came to ask for healing. The faith of these, said Rodrigo Rangel, would have been greater than that of the conquistadores, if they had been instructed, and in them more fruit would have been produced than what those Christians produced.

On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of June, they left from there for Pacaha, enemy of Casqui, and they spent the night at one town and passed others. And the following day they crossed a swamp, in which the Indians had a well-made bridge, broad and of ingenious construction; and on Wednesday they arrived at the town of Pacaha, a town and lord of great renown and very esteemed in those parts. That town [*población*] was very good and very well palisaded, with towers on the walls, and with a ditch [*cava*] roundabout, and most of it filled with water, which enters through an irrigation ditch [*aceiguia*] that flows from the river. That pond [*estano*] had many very good fish of different kinds. The cacique of Casqui caught up with the Christians at the time that they entered the town, and they looted it ferociously. In AQUIJO and Casqui and this Pacaha they saw the best towns that they had seen up to then, and better palisaded and fortified, and the people of more beauty, except for those of Cofitachequi.

The adelantado and his people being some days in Pacaha, they made some excursions into the interior, and the cacique of Casqui stole away one day when he saw the opportunity for it, without asking for permission, for which the Governor tried to make peace with Pacaha, and he came in [*peace*] in order to retrieve a brother of his whom the Christians had captured at the time they entered the town. And he struck an agreement with Pacaha that they should go to make war on Casqui, which was very gratifying to Pacaha. But Casqui had warning of that intent, and he came with fifty of his Indians in very fine array; and he brought a jester in front of himself for grandeur, who, saying and doing witty things, gave occasion for much laughter to those who saw him. The Governor displayed anger and harshness in order to please Pacaha, and he sent to command that he should not enter in the town. Casqui sent as a reply, that even though they should cut off his head, he would not stop from coming. Pacaha asked the Governor for permission to give a slash on the face to Casqui with a knife that he had in his hand, which the Christians had given him, and the Governor said to Pacaha that he should not do such a thing nor do him injury, because he would get angry with him; and he commanded that Casqui should come inside to see what he wanted, and because he [*the Governor*] wanted to ask him why he had gone without his permission.

Casqui arrived and spoke to the Governor in this manner, as related by

the interpreter Juan Ortiz and other Indian interpreters that the Governor and the Christians now had: "How, my lord, is it possible that having given me the promise of amity, without my having done you any damage or given any occasion, you wish to destroy me, your friend and brother? You gave me the cross to defend myself from my enemies, and with that same [cross] you wish to destroy me." (He said this because the Indians of Pacaha, his enemy, who were against him with the Christians, wore crosses high on their heads so that they might be recognized.) "My Lord," said Casqui, "now that God heard us, by means of the cross; that the women and boys and all those of my land knelt down to it to ask for rain from the God who you said suffered on it, and he heard us and gave it to us in great abundance and saved our cornfields and seed beds; now that we have more faith in it and in your friendship, you wish to destroy those children and women who love you and your God so much? Why do you wish to use such cruelty without our meriting it? Why do you wish to lose the faith and confidence that we had in you, why do you wish to offend your own God and us, when on his behalf, you assured us in his name and received us as friends and we gave you complete faith, and we confided in the same God and in his cross and we held it in our guard and protection, and in the reverence and esteem that is suitable? To what end, to what purpose were you moved to do or think a thing so wrongful against people without guilt and friends of the cross and of yours?" And having said this, he fell silent. The Governor, his eyes softened and not without giving sign of tears, considering the faith and words of that cacique, responded to him through the interpreters in front of many Christian soldiers, who, with attention and not without tears, overcome with charity and faith, had heard all this, and he spoke thus: "Look, Casqui: we do not come to destroy you, but rather to make you know and understand the cross and our God, as you say; and these favors that he has done you are a small thing in respect to many other great ones that he will do for you, if you love him and believe in him; and thus hold it for certain, and you will find it and see it better each day. But since you went away without my permission, I thought that you held little regard for the doctrine that we had given you; and for the contempt that you had for it, I wished to destroy you, believing that you went away in pride, because this is the thing that our God most abhors and for which he punishes us most. Now that you come humbly, you may be certain that I wish you more good than what you think; and if you have need of something from me, tell me and you will see it, because we do what our God commands us, which is not to lie; and thus believe that I tell you the truth, because a lie is a very great sin among us. And do not be

grateful to me or to my men for this good will, because if you believe what you say, God Our Lord commands that we love you like a brother, and that we do things for you, because you and your people are our brothers, and thus our God tells us.”

The Indians were as amazed at this as the Christians were at what Casqui had said. At that point it was time to eat, and the adelantado seated himself and commanded both caciques to sit, and between them there was great contention about which of them would seat himself at the right hand of the Governor. Pacaha told Casqui: “You know well that I am a greater lord than you and of more honored parents and grandparents, and that to me belongs a better place than to you.” Casqui responded thus: “It is true that you are a greater lord than I, and your ancestors were greater than mine. And since this great lord who is here says that we must not lie, I will not deny the truth; notwithstanding, you know well that I am older and more than a match for you, and I confine you in your palisade whenever I want, and you have never seen my land.” In effect, this remained to be decided by the Governor, and he commanded that Pacaha should seat himself at his right hand, because he was a greater lord and more ancient in Estate, and there were in him and in his people good customs and, in their own way, the manner of courtly people.

Casqui had brought a daughter, a pretty girl, to the Governor. Pacaha gave him a wife of his, fresh and very virginal, and he gave him a sister and another principal Indian woman. The Governor made them friends and made them embrace and commanded that they should deal from one land to the other with their commodities and business, and so they agreed to do it. And with this the Governor departed from there on the twenty-ninth of June.

But I wish that, together with the greatness of the cross and of the faith that this Governor told to those caciques, he had told them that he was married and that the Christians are not to have more than one wife or access to another, or to commit adultery, and that he had not taken the young daughter that Casqui gave him, or his own wife and sister and another principal [woman] Pacaha gave him, and that he had not left them with the idea that the Christians, like the Indians, could have as many wives and concubines as they wished; and as those adulterers live, so do they end up.

Let us pass on: in my opinion, in a cacique of so much discretion as Casqui, it would have seemed well to baptize him and make him and his people Christians; and it would have been better to stay there, than to go forward to what this history will relate. Nor do I praise them for having

gone on beyond Cofitachequi, for the same reason and for what has been said of that land.

Therefore, this army and its Governor having left from Pacaha, they spent the night at a town of Casqui, and the next day at the principal town of the same lord of Casqui, through which they had already passed, and they left from there on Sunday, the last day of that month, and went to a town of that province. And on Monday, the first of August, they arrived at another town that is alongside the river of Casqui, which is a branch that comes forth from the great river of Pacaha, and this branch is as large as the Guadalquivir. There Casqui came and helped them cross the river by canoe on Tuesday the second of August. They spent the night on Wednesday at a burned town, and the following Thursday, at another town next to the river, where there were many squash and much corn and beans. And the next day, Friday, they went to Quiguate, which is the largest town they saw in that land, next to the river of Casqui; and they found out afterwards that river was well populated below (although they did not manage to find it out then), and for that reason they took the road from Coligua, passing through an uninhabited region.

On Friday, the twenty-sixth of August, they departed from Quiguate in search of Coligua, and they spent the night at a swamp; and from swamp to swamp they made their journey of four swamps and four days, in which swamps or ponds there were large numbers of fish, because the great river floods all that area when it overflows its banks. And on Tuesday they went to the river that they call [the river] of Coligua, and on Wednesday likewise along the same river, and the following Thursday, which was the first of September, to Coligua, and they found the town populated, and in it they took many people and clothes and a great deal of food and much salt. It is a pleasant town among some mountains, on a gorge of a large river, and from there they went at midday to kill cows [buffalo], since there are many wild ones.

On Tuesday, the sixth of September, they departed from Coligua and crossed the river another time, and on Wednesday they crossed some mountains and went to Calpista, in which there was a spring of water from which very good salt is made, cooking it until it cakes. On the following Thursday they went to Palisma, and on Saturday, the tenth of September, they came forth to sleep at a [body of] water, and on Sunday they arrived at Quixila and rested there on Monday, and they went on Tuesday to Tutilcoya, and on Wednesday to a town alongside a large river, and on Thursday they spent the night alongside a swamp. And the Governor went in advance with some on horseback, and he arrived at Tanico; and the next day they [the army] went

to the same province [*población*] of Tanico, which was very scattered but very abundant in supplies. Some wanted to say that it was Cayase, a large and palisaded town that was widely known, but they never were able to see or discover it, and afterward they told them that they had left it behind at one side of the river. From there the Governor went with thirteen on horseback and fifty foot soldiers to see Tula, and he returned from there rapidly, and they killed one of his horses and wounded another four or five, and he determined to go there with the army.

It should not be passed over or forgotten that there in Cayase our Spaniards gathered baskets of dry sand from the river and strained water through it, and brine came forth, and they cooked it and it caked, and thus they made very excellent and very white salt, and of high quality and delicious.

On Wednesday, the fifth of October, they left from the site of Tanico or Cayase and arrived on Friday at Tula, and they found the people gone; but they found many supplies. And on Saturday in the morning the Indians came to give them a surprise attack or battle. They brought long poles like lances, the points fire-hardened, and these were the best warriors that the Christians came upon; and they fought like desperate men, with the greatest courage in the world, and that day they wounded Hernandarias, grandson of the marshal of Seville, and thanks to God that the Christians behaved so valiantly, so that they did not receive much damage, although the Indians came to pillage the camp.

On Wednesday, the nineteenth of October, this army and the Governor departed from Tula, and they spent the night at two huts, and the next day, Thursday, at another hut, and on Friday at another, in which Hernandarias de Saavedra, who had been wounded at Tula, had a convulsion and died; and he died like a Catholic nobleman, commending his soul to God. The next day, Saturday, they went to Guipana, which is among some mountains, next to a river, and from there they went as far as they could to sleep, and all that [land] is mountainous from Tula on. The next day they came out of the mountains and entered the plains, and on Monday, the last day of the month, they arrived at a town that is called Quitamaya, and on Tuesday, the first of November, they passed through a small village [*poblezuelo*], and on Wednesday, the second of November, they arrived at Utiangué, which is a very well populated savannah of attractive appearance.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Here ends Book XVII of Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. The present chapter (Oviedo's chapter 28) is incomplete, and the two final chapters are known only from Oviedo's summary of their contents.



## NINE

OF THE DEATH OF GOVERNOR HERNANDO DE SOTO,  
AND HOW LUIS MOSCOSO WAS SWORN IN AND  
OBEYED IN HIS PLACE; AND THE HARDSHIPS  
OF THOSE CONQUISTADORS AND OTHER  
THINGS ARE RELATED.

- The challenge of the cacique Quigudta to the Christians.
- Springs of water, from which salt is made.
- Hot rivers and salt which is made from the sand.
- Rugged and bellicose people.
- How the Christians made seven brigantines in order to go away and leave the land, how they left it, and of the flood of a river which lasted forty-three days.

## TEN, AND LAST

OF THE OUTCOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO REMAINED  
FROM GOVERNOR HERNANDO DE SOTO,  
AND OTHER PARTICULARS.

- Of the animals of that land, and of the marvelous animal, called the sawyer,<sup>60</sup> and of the fish, in particular one called pala.<sup>61</sup>
- Of the fruits of that land and trees of sweetgum and sables and many other particulars.

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<sup>60</sup>*El aserrador*, probably the beaver.

<sup>61</sup>Probably the paddlefish. See Robertson, *ante*, p. 206.

*The Cañete Fragment:  
Another Narrative of  
Hernando de Soto*

by Eugene Lyon

On Tuesday, August 14, 1565, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, one Rodrigo Ramirez, notary public, copied the Royal contract of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Menéndez, just named adelantado of Florida and on his journey to its conquest, had come to San Juan on his voyage from Spain and had some need for another copy of his contract. The *legajo*, or document bundle, of Seville's Archive of the Indies in which this document appears, and the particular piece in which it is found, seems to have been a depository for miscellany about Pedro Menéndez and the Florida conquest, ranging in date from 1565 to 1580.

Ramirez wrote across the bottom of the last sheet of the contract copy the following words: "There is in most parts of Florida much worked copper as in thin sheets (*hoja de Milán*); there are in the inland mountains great veins of silver, of very rich metal. Those who entered from Mexico by Copala toward Florida discovered great things, and found a place of more than twenty thousand citizens, and strong and high houses of seven floors and very strong walls. They found dies where they worked silver and many jewels of it and of gold; they had notice of kings crowned with golden crowns, far inland. . . ."

He added that this information had been gathered for the Spaniards in Menéndez's entourage, but "without hope of it."<sup>1</sup> There then follows the one-page Cañete fragment of a larger narrative about the journeys of Hernando de Soto, and several pages about the discoveries of Miguel de Legazpi in the Philippines. It can only be assumed that Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and his followers sought, as they prepared for their landing in Florida, to utilize past knowledge of the continent; it can further be assumed that

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<sup>1</sup>From Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato Real 19, No. 1, No. 15.

Ramirez, or Menéndez, had access to the full Cañete narrative at the time when he was copying the materials at San Juan.

## Relation of Fray Sebastián de Cañete

Some of the things contained in the relation that Fray Sebastián de Cañete and the Captain gave are of the things they saw in Florida, going with De Soto. In the province of Mocozo they found a Spaniard who was 14 years among [the] Indians, and he had forgotten his [own] language. He had gone in search of Narváez. The lord of the province of Tascaluco was as large as a Spaniard mounted on a horse. The Adelantado De Soto died in the River of the Holy Spirit in the province of Guachoya.

The clothing that the Indians ordinarily wear are blankets of mulberry roots and of marten, very fine, and this in most parts; and hides of bears, wolves, lions, tigers, and of cows [probably buffalo—E.L.] near the plains. In all parts they found an abundance of food of the land, [such] as corn, beans and squash—infinite fruits of the land of those of Spain: there were four kinds of nuts—hazelnuts and chestnuts; in all the land a great quantity of grapes, and in some parts muscatel grapes, as sweet and flavorful as those of Spain. There are many acorns, and of this they make butter, and of nuts. [There is a] great quantity of woods and greater of plums, very good, and from them they make loaves like quince-sweet [*carne de membrillo*], and in most parts of all Florida they found much gold, which the Indian men and women have, and they offered it to the Spaniards.

There are not a number of pearls, because [he found? word partly destroyed at page margin] in the house of an idol they called El Cu in Cofitachiqui, they found more than 12 horse-loads of pearls, and the caciques of that town who were embalmed in El Cu, they had great sacks of pearls at the necks. They found much worked copper like fine sheets [*hoja de millón* [*sic*] *hoja de Milán*]. The people are very bright and well featured and of acute judgment in the places that they are accustomed [word off page edge].

They not only gave what was necessary to wear and eat for the men but to the horses they gave feather blankets, and in the houses there is a variety, according to the regions; in some parts toward the mountains there are houses with stoves [*estufas*; sweat-houses?], and in other parts they are of flat roofs as in Andalusia. There are elevated [*alzados*? the word is on a page edge and partly torn] places, and very great, and in Tanlo rado [? partly torn]

one hundred; [in?] the province of Coza they traveled along the banks of a river four leagues through populated areas. [The] arms they ordinarily carry are [bows and] arrows, wooden clubs [*macanas*, here spelled *machanas*], and they are so skilled and spirited that in a skirmish that De Soto had in Macula [Mabila], where they killed 25 soldiers of his, was an Indian who went looking for the most valiant and best-armed Spaniard in order to kill himself with him. In Chicaza they came by night upon the Spaniards and took from them whatever they had, with the pearls.

In Cofitachiqui and in other places there were raisins from grapes and mulberries, of which there is a great quantity in all Florida. There are some plains in a certain part that extend more than 300 leagues, all filled with small cows [*vacas pequeñas*: probably buffalo] of very good meat, and there is trade in the hides inland. In all parts there are many turkeys [*gallinas de papada*: literally chickens with dewlap], deer, hares, rabbits, an infinite number of partridge, turtledoves [passenger pigeons?], and many other kinds of very good birds. There are many squirrels, bears, lions, tigers [panther?]; in all the rivers many fish and shellfish, mainly flounder [catfish?]. There are wild olive trees with fruit, liquidambar trees, *chinilla* [china? a species of sarsaparilla]; sumac to tan the hides [*cortir* [*sic*] *curtir*], even though they do not tan the deer hides with it, of which there are a great number in all the land. They greatly abominate those who lie and steal and married women who are bad. When they marry, they go to the house of the maiden's parents—he who wishes to marry with her—and says that they shall gather together her relatives; that he wishes to talk to them. Being gathered together and the marriage being carried out, they all give her to him. If, afterward, she is an adulteress, they return her, the same relatives of the husband, and having gathered her relatives together, the husband says to them, “You gave me this woman as good, and she is bad, and all of you as well; therefore [word off page] beware, patience; you all have to pay,” and beginning with the adulteress, they kill them all. There is in everything much justice and reason, as is in Spain. . . .

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Examination of the text of the Cañete fragment and comparison of its contents with the texts of the four major “De Soto narratives” (Hernando Luis de Biedma, Rodrigo Rangel, the “Gentleman of Elvas,” and Garcilaso de la Vega, “The Inca”) raises many points of interest. In general the other narratives subordinate description to the running tale of exploration, rapine, battle, and disaster. By contrast, the Cañete fragment, even though quite short, devotes much of its space to description of the land, fruits, fauna, and

even the mores of its native peoples. The thirtieth chapter of the Rangel diary, not extant in the Oviedo y Valdés version, appears to have contained some of this type of material, but the Cañete fragment is rich in it. As examples, one may cite the deity El Cu of the temple at Cofitachiqui, and the description of marriage customs and the treatment of adultery in the Cañete relation.

The research question of most import here is: Can the full narrative of Sebastián de Cañete be found? Judging by the promise of the fragment, the search for it seems most worth doing.

April 2, 1982

# PARALLEL ITINERARY OF THE EXPEDITION

## Originally published as Appendix E in the *Final Report of The United States De Soto Expedition Commission*

by John R. Swanton, Chairman

Washington, D. C., 1939\*

(Material not in original is put in parentheses; proper names retain the peculiar forms used by each writer)

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
	<p>(from Elvas unless otherwise stated; B = Biedma)</p> <p>1538</p> <p>Jan. 15, 1538, the Portuguese leave Elvas Vespers of St. Sebastian (Jan. 20), they reach Seville</p> <p>(Jan. 26—Mar. 15, enrollments made) Sunday, Morning of St. Lazarus (St. Lazarus, now April 18 but before change in the calendar evidently) April 7, fleet sails from San Lúcar</p>	<p>The fleet sets sail from San Lúcar, Spain, April 6, 1538, accompanied by the Mexican fleet</p>

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RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>June, 1538, De Soto arrives at Santiago, Cuba</p>	<p>1538</p> <p>Easter Sunday (April 21), they reach Gomera in the Canary Islands  Sunday, April 28, leave Gomera  On Pentecost (June 9), they reach Santiago, Cuba (1 letter confirms this date; 2 others say June 7)  Early in Oct. the fleet with Isabel de Bobadilla, De Soto's wife, reaches Havana; followed by De Soto in Oct. or Nov.</p>	<p>They reach Gomera in the Canaries in 15 days, i.e. April 21  They stay 3 days and leave April 24  Sight Cuba at end of May; Mexican fleet parts from them 12 days before they land</p>
<p>(Sunday), May 18, 1539, fleet sails from Havana  (May 19-24, at sea)</p>	<p>1539</p> <p>End of March, 1539, most of cavalry reach Havana  (May 13, De Soto draws up his will and renews his compact with Hernan Ponce de Leon)  Sunday, May 18, fleet sails from Havana</p>	<p>De Soto leaves Santiago for Havana toward the end of August</p> <p>Last of cavalry reach Havana by the middle of April</p> <p>May 12, 1539, the fleet sails for Florida  They are 19 days at sea</p>

<p>Whitsuntide, May 25, they sight land of Florida; De Soto goes in pinnace to reconnoiter</p> <p>Monday, May 26, vessels begin to enter the harbor</p> <p>May 27–29, continue entering</p>	<p>On Festival of Espiritu Santo, May 25, they see the land of Florida</p>	<p>May 31, they sight land</p>
<p>Friday, May 30, begin to land the horses</p>	<p>Friday, May 30, the army is landed; Porcallo leads scouting party; Porcallo goes in pinnaces to town</p>	<p>June 1, they send men ashore to get grass for the horses</p> <p>June 2, they land 300 infantry and the disembarkation of men and supplies continues on the next day; De Soto takes formal possession of the country.</p>
<p>Trinity Sunday, June 1, army goes toward village and spends night on other side of roadstead</p> <p>(June 2, at Ucita)</p>	<p>Saturday, May 31, army starts for Ucita</p> <p>Trinity Sunday, June 1, they reach Ucita</p>	<p>They rest 8–9 days and then march to the town of Hirrihigua</p>
<p>Tuesday, June 3, De Soto takes possession of the country for the Crown of Spain</p> <p>Wednesday (June 4), Gallegos is sent to get natives and finds Juan Ortiz</p> <p>(June 5–6, at same town)</p>	<p>(Succeeding events until August described by Elvas but not dated)</p>	<p>They are joined by Juan Ortiz</p>
<p>Saturday (June 7), De Soto visits Mocoço; Lobillo captures two Indian women</p> <p>(Sunday, June 8?), Mocoço is brought back to the port by De Soto; on this date or soon after it Porcallo is sent to disperse a gathering of Indians at Oçita</p>		<p>Mucoço visits the camp, probably on June 8, and G says he remained there 13 days (2 + 3 + 8), till June 21(?) or perhaps it should be 8 days, especially since he says these events</p>



RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>(Between June 8 and June 19 an Indian is sent with message to Urribaracoxi)</p> <p>Friday, June 20, Gallegos is sent to the province of Urribaracoxi with 80 horse and 100 foot; Añasco is sent to disperse Indians on an island</p> <p>(Tuesday) July 8, Porcallo gets back from an expedition to relieve Añasco (Letter of De Soto)</p> <p>(Wednesday) July 9, Porcallo leaves for Cuba (Letter of De Soto)</p> <p>Tuesday, July 15, army leaves port of Espiritu Santo and camps on banks of River of Mocoço that night</p>	<p>1539</p>	<p>occured before Gallegos left to visit Urribaracoxi which was June 20 and Gallegos found Mucoço in his own town when he passed through</p> <p>In a little more than three weeks after landing Gallegos leaves to visit Urribaracoxi, reaches the town of Mucoço that night, and the town of Urribaracoxi in 4 days more. If this is correct it would have fallen on June 24. Gallegos sends four horsemen back who reach the port in 2 days; if Garcilaso's later figures are correct, this would be July 9 (see De Soto's Letter), the day Porcallo sailed; the day after he sailed the four horsemen arrived (July 10); Silvestre is sent to Gallegos with cavalry and to inform him that De Soto would follow on the 4th day, i.e. July 14</p> <p>July 14, De Soto sets out with the army and sights Mucoço's town on the morning of the 3d day</p>

(Wednesday, July 16), at the Lake of the Rabbit

(Thursday, July 17), at St. John's Lake

(Friday, July 18), comes to plain

(Saturday, July 19), comes to plain of Guacoço

(Sunday, July 20), comes to Luca, a little village, early

Monday, July 21, joined by soldiers of Gallegos

(Tuesday, July 22), at Luca

Wednesday, July 23, they set out and come to Vicela and camp beyond

Thursday (July 24), sleep at Tocaste by a large lake; De Soto goes on with advance force on trail toward Ocale; Ranjel sent back for more horsemen and they are sent forward

Friday, (July 25), army starts along trail but is turned back by two horsemen sent by De Soto

Saturday, St. Anne's Day, (July 26), De Soto finds trails broad and sends two horsemen back for 30 cavalry for himself, ordering entire camp to move on; Tobar comes with cavalry; De Soto reaches the river or swamp of Cale, and crosses to Uqueten

De Soto reaches the province of Urribarracuxi

Scouts are sent out to reconnoitre the Big Swamp and return in 8 days

The army reaches and crosses the Big Swamp in 2 days, 1 day being spent in the crossing; the scouts report impassable swamps ahead, so De Soto recrosses and leads an advance party along the edge of the swamp for 3 days, finally finding a crossing

Before crossing the Big Swamp De Soto sends 2 horsemen back for reinforcements and orders the army to follow; he then goes on across to Acuera (Ocale)

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Sunday (July 27), Nuño de Tobar gets across to De Soto with his 30 horse</p> <p>(July 28, De Soto is at Cale, the rest of the army moving forward)</p> <p>Tuesday (July 29), last of stragglers reaches De Soto's camp</p> <p>(Wednesday, July 30-Sunday, Aug. 10, all remain at Ocale)</p> <p>(Monday) Aug. 11, De Soto goes on with 50 horse and 100 foot, the rest remaining under Moscoso; De Soto camps at Itaraholata</p> <p>(Tuesday, Aug. 12), at Potano</p> <p>Wednesday (Aug. 13), reaches Utinamo-charra</p> <p>(Thursday, Aug. 14), goes to the village of Bad Peace</p> <p>(Friday, Aug. 15), reaches a fair sized village</p> <p>(Saturday, Aug. 16), reaches "River of Discords"</p>	<p>1539</p> <p>B says they stayed 7-8 days in Cale</p> <p>Aug. 11, 1539, De Soto goes forward from Cale and sleeps at Ytara</p> <p>(Aug. 12), at Potano</p> <p>(Aug. 13), at Utinama</p> <p>(Aug. 14), at a village called Malapaz (Bad Peace)</p> <p>(Aug. 15), goes to sleep at Cholupaha, from abundance of corn there called Villafar-ta (in Portuguese)</p> <p>Cross a river "before it" (the above village)</p>	<p>Reinforcements under Tovar reach Acuera (Ocale) the day after De Soto arrives</p> <p>The army takes 3 days to come up with them</p> <p>They remain 20 days in Acuera, during which time scouts are sent about</p> <p>The entire army moves on (he ignores the separation of the army here)</p> <p>They reach Ocali (Cholupaha) and remain there 6 days before the chief of the town comes in</p>

Sunday (Aug. 17), crosses this river

Monday (Aug. 18), arrives at Aguacaleyquen  
(Tuesday, Aug. 19–Thursday, Aug. 21, at Aguacaleyquen)

(Friday) Aug. 22, many Indians appear and De Soto sends 8 horsemen back for the rest of the army

(Saturday, Aug. 23–Wednesday, Sept. 3 at same town)

(Thursday), Sept. 4, the army comes up  
(Friday, Sept. 5–Monday, Sept. 8, at same town)

(Tuesday), Sept. 9, set out, cross on a bridge they had made and reach a small village where they spend the night

(Wednesday), Sept. 10 (erroneously given as Friday), at Uriutina

(Thursday, Sept. 11, at same town)

Friday, Sept. 12, the army comes to a village called Many Waters because it rained so hard

Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 13–14, they are kept there by rain

(Aug. 18, erroneously given as 17), arrive at Caliquen; B says 4–5 days from Cale

They march for 2½ days and until noon of the third day when De Soto goes ahead with a picked force, travels steadily all night and next morning they reach Ochile (Aguacaleyquen) but do not make a formal entrance until the next day

The time spent in Ochile is left uncertain but it was 3 days before the chief's brother arrives

They spend 8 days traveling through the lands of the first two brothers

B says they stayed in that town 6–7 days

Sept. 10, cross a river

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Monday, Sept. 15, come to a bad swamp, have a toilsome journey, and sleep at Napitucaca; fight about the lakes occurs</p> <p>(Tuesday, Sept. 16—Monday, Sept. 22, at same town)</p> <p>Tuesday, Sept. 23, go on to the River of the Deer</p> <p>(Wednesday, Sept. 24), building a bridge</p> <p>(Thursday, Sept. 25), finish bridge, cross, and the same day they pass through two small villages and one large one called Apalu and come at night to Uçachile</p> <p>(Friday, Sept. 26—Sunday, Sept. 28, at Uçachile)</p> <p>Monday, Sept. 29, pass a big forest (translator has a "high mountain," mistranslating "monte") and come at night to pine wood</p>	<p>1539</p> <p>Sept. 15, arrive at Napetaca; fight about the lakes occurs</p> <p>Sept. 23, pass on to a river where a deer was brought as a present</p> <p>"Sept. 24," pass through Hapaluya and sleep at Uzachil</p>	<p>They enter Vitachuco's main town (Napituca) the 9th day of travel. The two brothers stay there 2 days and then go home on the 3d; for 4 days more Vitachuco dispenses hospitality; on the 5th day he tells the interpreters of his intention to destroy the Spaniards 2-3 days later; he heads an outbreak 7 days after his first defeat</p> <p>De Soto remains 4 days more in Vitachuco</p> <p>He leaves Vitachuco and camps on the bank of the River of Osachile (River of the Deer); the river is 4 leagues from Vitachuco's town</p> <p>They finish building a bridge in 1½ days and reach Osachile on the 2d afternoon</p> <p>They remain 2 days at Osachile</p> <p>They travel 3 days and at noon of the 4th come to the boundary swamp of Apalache</p>

Tuesday, Sept. 30, come to Agile, "subject to Apalache"  
Wednesday, Oct. 1, come to the river or swamp of Ivitachuco and begin building a bridge  
(Thursday, Oct. 2, engaged in completing bridge and probably they began crossing)  
Friday, (Oct. 3), finish crossing at noon and come to Ivitachuco at nightfall finding it in flames  
(Saturday, Oct. 4, spent at Ivitachuco)  
Sunday, Oct. 5, come to Calahuchi  
(Monday, Oct. 6), come to Iviatica  
(Tuesday, Oct. 7), two captains go on and find all the people gone  
(Wednesday, Oct. 8–Friday, Nov. 28, at same town)

Axille, two days travel from Uzachil

Oct. 1, leave Axille and have a bridge built

On Wednesday, the Day of St. Francis (an evident error as it was Friday, Oct. 3, when they crossed and the Day of St. Francis was Saturday, Oct. 4), they cross the river and reach Uitachuco

Sunday, Oct. 25 (an evident error for Oct. 5, the 25th was on Saturday), reach Uzela

Monday (Oct. 6), come to Anhaica Apalache

Next day they camp in the woods on the borders of the province of Apalache

Next day they camp in a clearing in the forest on the Apalache side of the swamp  
Next day they camp on the edge of the cultivated ground

Next day they cross a second stream with steep banks and camp 2 leagues short of the Apalache town

Next day (the 5th) they reach the Apalache capital (11–12 leagues from the swamp)

Two captains, Tinoco and Lobillo, are sent on scouting trips toward the north, one returning in 8 days and the other in 9

Añasco travels south 2 days to Aute

He is misled by a guide twice, once for 8 days and again for 5, returning each time to Aute

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
	<p data-bbox="249 822 277 885">1539</p> <p data-bbox="416 620 503 1083">Friday, Oct. 17 (original has Friday Nov. 17), Juan de Añasco sets out with 30 lancers for Port of Espiritu Santo</p>	<p data-bbox="319 137 406 596">After obtaining a new guide it takes only 1 day to reach the former point of embarkation of Narvaez from Aute</p> <p data-bbox="416 137 503 596">The 30 horsemen leave Apalache for the port Oct. 20, 1539, and come to the port in 11 days</p> <p data-bbox="512 137 599 596">Mucoço visits the camp at Ucita for 4 days being given many articles abandoned, and the dismantling goes on some time longer</p> <p data-bbox="609 137 696 596">Añasco leaves in the pinnaces 7 days after his arrival at the port; Arias leaves, apparently at the same time, for Cuba</p> <p data-bbox="705 137 792 596">On his march north Calderon reaches Mucoço's town in 2 days; next day Mucoço goes with them to the borders of his territory</p> <p data-bbox="802 137 853 596">Calderon starts after Añasco has left and makes each day's travel as long as possible</p> <p data-bbox="863 137 950 596">After coming to the Apalache country 1 day is spent in reaching the camp in the woods on the Apalache side</p> <p data-bbox="959 137 1011 596">The second day takes them to the open plain</p> <p data-bbox="1020 137 1072 596">The 3d day takes them to the Apalache town, at sunset</p>

Saturday, Nov. 29 (the original has 19, an error for the 19th was Wednesday), Añasco arrives at the port of Apalache with the pinnaces; Maldonado is shortly sent along coast to west

Saturday, Nov. 29 (the original has Sunday, Dec. 28, but the two dates have been transposed), Añasco arrives at the port of Apalache

B says Maldonado was gone 2 mos.

(Sunday, Dec. 28)

Sunday, Dec. 28 (in the original this date and the above have been transposed), an Indian sets fire to the town

Añasco arrives with the pinnaces 6 days before Calderon comes in  
A few days after Calderon's return Maldonado is ordered to explore the coast to the west and he returns in 2 months

*Itinerary of the Army on the Way North through Florida*

From the Port of Espiritu Santo (Ucita)

To the town of Mucoço . . . . .	8-9	Leagues	25
To Urribarracuxi . . . . .	16-17		
To the Big Swamp . . . . .	14-15		20
To Acuera . . . . .	5-6		
To the River of Ocali (River of Discords) . . . . .			17-20
To Ochile (Aguacaleyquen) . . . . .			16
To Vitahuco (Napituca) . . . . .			15
To the River Osachile (River of the Deer) . . . . .			4
To the Osachile town (Uçachile) . . . . .			6
To the Apalachee Swamp (Agile River) . . . . .			12-14
To Anhaica Apalache . . . . .			11
			<hr/> 126-131



RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
	1539	<p><i>Itinerary of the Thirty Lancers on the Way South through Florida</i></p> <p>(As corrected—see p. 151 [of the <i>Final Report</i>])</p> <p>From Anhaica Apalache</p> <p>To 2 leagues east of Apalachee Swamp . . . . . 13</p> <p>To 1 league south of Osachile town . . . . . 13</p> <p>To 8 leagues south of Vichachucho town . . . . . 17</p> <p>To within 5 leagues of the River of Ocali . . . . . 18</p> <p>To the River of Ocali and across it . . . . . 5</p> <p>To a point in the province of Acuera (Ocale) . . . . . 20</p> <p>To the Big Swamp . . . . . 5-6</p> <p>Crossing the Big Swamp . . . . . —</p>

(Monday, Dec. 29, 1539–Tuesday, March 2, 1540, at same town)

Wednesday, March 3, De Soto leaves Iviatica and reaches the River Guacuca that night

(Thursday, March 4), they depart from the River Guacuca

Friday, (March 5), they reach the River Capachequi early and make a barge or piragua in which to cross

(Saturday, March 6–Tuesday, March 9, spent in working on the barge and in crossing)

Wednesday, March 10 (original has March 9, an evident error), finish crossing and go to sleep in a pine wood

To a plain north of Urribar-racuxi . . . . .	13
To a point 3 leagues north of Mucoço . . . . .	15
To the Port of Espiritu Santo	11
	<u>130–131</u>

A few days after Maldonado's return he is ordered to go to Havana and he leaves at the end of February, his directions being to meet De Soto at the Bay of Achusi in October

The army leaves Apalache about the end of March and journeys north

Wednesday, March 3, De Soto leaves for the interior

The 4th day of their journey they arrive at a deep river; B says after a march of 5 days

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Thursday, (March 11), come to 1st village of Capachequi, pass it and come by nightfall to another village near a bad passage of water and a swamp  (Friday, March 12–Tuesday, Mar. 16, at last village)  (Wednesday), March 17, leave Capachequi and come to White Spring  (Thursday, March 18), reach the River Toa, make 2 bridges and two bridges are broken, Tobar suggests another type which holds; horse of Suarez drowned  (Friday, March 19 and Saturday, March 20, work building bridges)  Sunday, March 21, start to cross  Monday, (March 22), all get over and come by night to a pine wood  Tuesday, (March 23), early in morning arrive at Toa, a large village  Wednesday (March 24), at midnight of 23–24 De Soto goes off with 40 horse (and infantry), and they cross a bad passage after dark, making 12 leagues</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>Thursday, March 11 (the original has Friday, March 11), come to a town named Capachiqui after 1½ days journey</p> <p>Tuesday, March 23 (original has Wed., March 21), they come to Toalli  (Wednesday), March 24, De Soto leaves Toalli</p>	<p>They go on for 3 days and come to a small town “made into a peninsula” (Capachequi), “a dependency of Apalache”</p> <p>De Soto goes on ahead with 150 men to reconnoitre the frontiers of the province of Altapaha (Ichisi)</p>

(Thursday, March 25), Holy Thursday and this year the Day of the Incarnation, they come to a settlement of Chisi, cross a branch of a broad river, wading and a good part swimming, and reach a village on an id., breakfast on turkeys, leave and go to other villages and a bad passage where Benito Fernandez is drowned. Come to a village where messengers appear from Ichisi (Friday, March 26–Sunday, March 28, at this village)

Monday, March 29, they go from there to Ichisi, having trouble crossing a small stream which rises rapidly in the rains, but reach a small village of Ichisi

Tuesday, (March 30), rest at this village

Wednesday, March 31, move on, come to Great River and cross in native canoes to the village of the Ichisi chief

Thursday, April 1, they set up a cross on the mound of the village

Friday, April 2, they leave and sleep in the open country

(Saturday, April 3), come to a considerable stream and Altamaha sends messengers who guide them to a village where is food

Thursday, (March 25), in the evening come to a little stream where Benito Fernandez is drowned; just beyond a town called Achese where men and women plunge into river to escape; one captured understands Perico; B says Chisi province about 2 days march from Otoa (Toa)

B says they were 5–6 days going through this province

De Soto enters this province after a 2 days' march, passes through its territory for 2 days and on the morning of the 3d enters the first town; he is guided to another town and the rest of the army comes up some days later

The army lodges 3 days in the town of Altapaha

Leaving Altapaha they march for 10 days up along a river toward the north

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>(Sunday, April 4), canoes are sent which take them across, and the chief Çamumo, comes; Ocute chief, being summoned, comes also</p> <p>(Monday, April 5, and Tuesday, Apr. 6, in this town)</p> <p>(Wednesday, Apr. 7, a cross is set up as before)</p> <p>Thursday, (April 8?), go on with Ocute and spend the night in some cabins</p> <p>Friday, (April 9), come to village of Ocute where a cross is set up, though perhaps on a later day</p> <p>(Saturday, Apr. 10, and Sunday, Apr. 11, at Ocute town)</p> <p>Monday, April 12, leave Ocute and come to Cofaqui; another chief named Tatofa (Patofa) comes there</p> <p>(Tuesday, Apr. 13, and Wednesday, Apr. 14, at Cofaqui (or Patofa)</p> <p>Thursday, Apr. 15, Perico, the guide, losing his bearings, pretends madness and Tatofa gives other guides for Cofitachequi</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>April 4, De Soto goes through the town of Altamaca; B says it was 3 days from Chisi to Altapaha</p> <p>April 10 (probably a day in error), De Soto arrives at Ocute</p> <p>Monday, Apr. 12, leave Ocute</p>	<p>They then enter Achalaque, a poor province (Altamaha), which is confounded with a province entered later</p> <p>They march through the province of Achalaque 5 long days' journey</p> <p>The 4th day after leaving the province of Achalaque they reach the first town of the province of Cofa (Ocute)</p> <p>They remain 5 days in Cofa</p> <p>They travel for 6 days through the province of Cofa, the first day in company with the chief, and come to Cofaqui</p> <p>They remain 4 days in Cofaqui while a native army of allies is gathered</p>

Friday, Apr. 16, they go on and spend the night by a small stream

Saturday, Apr. 17, they cross a very large river and pass the night in a forest (monte) (Smith has "hill" erroneously)

Sunday, (April 18), they come to another forest (monte) or grove to camp

Monday, (April 19), they march without any trail and cross another very large river  
Tuesday, (April 20), they pass the night side of a small stream

Wednesday, (April 21), they reach a very large river, hard to cross, divided into two streams, hard to enter and worse to get out of; reach fishermen's huts on the other side; lose their way

(Thursday, April 22, seemingly spent in this camp)

Friday, April 23, De Soto sends out Gallegos and Añasco on scouting expeditions; others go out without result

Saturday, (April 24), Lobillo is also sent out, toward the north

Sunday, (April 25), Añasco brings news of a village and provisions

At the end of 2 days more they reach the edge of the wilderness between this province and Cofachiqui

They march 6 days through a wilderness crossing two wide swift rivers

This is one of the two first rivers mentioned by Elvas

The second of two large rivers mentioned by Elvas

They had traveled 9 days instead of the 4 the guide said it would take; B says it took 13 days

About noon of the 7th day the trail gives out and they march until sunset when they come to a large unfordable river

Scouts are sent out but Añasco alone finds a village after traveling up stream for 3 days

Añasco sends 4 horsemen back who get to camp in 1 day, a distance of "more than 12 leagues"

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Monday, April 26, army sets out and De Soto with some horse reaches a village called Hymahi; army stays 2 leagues behind; most of the horses are exhausted</p> <p>(Tuesday, April 27), Romo returns with 4 or 5 Indians</p> <p>Wednesday, (April 28), Gallegos comes with an Indian woman and news of a populated region</p> <p>(Thursday, April 29), Lobillo comes with news of trails; is sent back after abandoned companions</p> <p>Friday, April 30, guided by the Indian woman, De Soto goes with some cavalry and spends the night near a large, deep river; Añasco goes on and secures guides and canoes in which to cross the river</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>Monday, April 26, they set out for Aymay; De Soto reaches the town with the best mounts; the others sleep 2-4 leagues off</p> <p>Wednesday, (April 28), the three captains come in</p>	<p>De Soto and the army overtake him in 1 1/2 days; 5 days after they leave the other captains return to De Soto's old camp</p> <p>In 2 days more they reach his new camp De Soto remains there 7 days, dismissing Patofa at the end of 5 days along with the Indian auxiliaries and staying 2 days longer</p> <p>He marches up the river and encamps "in a beautiful spot" among mulberries</p> <p>Añasco goes forward very early in the morning and after traveling 2 leagues, at 2 A. M. comes opposite the town of Cofachiqui; he gets back to camp a little before dawn</p> <p>De Soto crossed the river that day.</p>
<p>(Saturday, May 1), De Soto comes to the crossing and the niece of the Chieftainess, the "Lady of Cofatchequi," comes across to meet him; all cross in canoes</p>	<p>B says this place was 2 days from Hymahi</p>	

(Sunday, May 2), De Soto at town; the rest of the army on the way

Monday, May 3, the rest of the army comes up and begins to cross

Tuesday, (May 4), the army finishes crossing; 7 horses drowned  
(Wednesday, May 5), at Cofitachequi

(Thursday, May 6), do.

Friday, May 7, Gallegos and most of the soldiers go to Ilapi for 7 cribs full of corn; De Soto and Ranjel enter temple this day or soon afterward and discover mementos of Ayllon  
(Saturday, May 8–Wednesday, May 12, at the same town)

Thursday, May 13 (the original has “Wednesday, May 13,” but Elvas has “May 3” and, though this is also wrong, the mistake is more likely to have been 3 for 13 than 3 for 12), De Soto sets out with part of the army

It was 2 days journey to the sea; B says about 30 leagues

In the course of the next day the army crosses

Añasco is sent down the river after the chieftainess, is gone 1½ days and returns at the end of the 3d

He goes again 3 days later, this time by canoe, and returns in 6 days, again without success

Next day they enter the temple of Cofachi-qui

Two days later they go to the temple of Talomeco

De Soto spends 10 days more collecting information regarding the country beyond

Gallegos and part of the army go to a storehouse 12 leagues away for corn

De Soto leaves Cofachiqui and comes to the province of Chalaque in 8 days

May 3 (evidently 13), De Soto goes on



RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Friday, May 14 (see above), they reach territory of Chalaque (or Xalaque) and sleep in a pine wood</p> <p>(Saturday, May 15), they remain at the same place</p> <p>Whitsuntide, (May 16), De Soto sends a message to Gallegos to follow with the rest of the army</p> <p>Monday, May 17, they leave and spend the night in a forest (monte)</p> <p>Tuesday, (May 18), they come to Guaquili where they are given as food "dogs that do not bark"</p> <p>Wednesday, (May 19), they come to a region full of reeds</p> <p>Thursday, (May 20), they come to a small plain where some of the foot soldiers overtake them from Gallegos reporting that he would arrive soon</p> <p>Friday, (May 21), they reach Xualla</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>In 7 days De Soto reaches the territory of Chelaque</p> <p>It took them 5 days to reach Xualla from Chelaque; B says it was 8 days from Cofitachique</p>	<p>Gallegos gets back to the highway in 5 days and continues on along it at the rate of 5-6 leagues per day though stopped 1 1/2 days by a hail-storm</p> <p>Three days later he reaches the towns of Chalaque</p> <p>Three days later Gallegos overtakes De Soto in Xualla; De Soto had arrived 2 days before</p>

Saturday, (May 22), Gallegos comes up and there are many sick and lame (Sunday, May 23, and Monday, May 24 they remain at Xuala)

Tuesday, May 25, they leave Xuala, cross a high ridge and camp at a little forest (montecillo)

Wednesday, (May 26), they camp in a plain where they suffer cold and cross the river by which they afterwards left the country; woman chief of Cofitachequi escapes (Thursday, May 27), De Soto waits for Romo to bring up deserters (Friday, May 28), they pass the night in an oak wood

(Saturday, May 29), they pass the night by a large stream which they had crossed often (Sunday, May 30), they reach Guasili early Monday, May 31, they leave and encamp in an oak wood by a river

Tuesday, June 1, they camp in the open country beyond Canasoga

Wednesday, (June 2), they sleep near a swamp; have many mulberries

Thursday, (June 3), go along by a stream near the river (now very large) at which the woman chief went off

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They stayed in Xualla 2 days

They remain in Xuala 15 days

On leaving they march 1 day through cultivated fields and 5 more over uninhabited mountains, the province of Xuala being 50 leagues across, and 20 leagues of mountains from Xuala to Guaxule

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Arrive at Guaxule at end of 5 days

The army is at Guaxule 4 days; chief's house on a mound

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Canasagua reached 2 days from Guaxule

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Friday, (June 4), come to a pine wood on the stream and Chiaha Indians bring corn</p> <p>Saturday, June 5, in the morning they cross one arm of the river, which was very broad, and enter Chiaha, on an island; horses and men both worn out</p> <p>(Sunday, June 6–Friday, June 18 at Chiaha)</p> <p>Saturday, June 19, Indians run off to avoid conscription</p> <p>(Sunday, June 20), De Soto compels the chief to bring his people back</p> <p>(Monday, June 21–Sunday, June 27, at Chiaha)</p> <p>Monday, June 28, leave Chiaha, pass through 5 or 6 villages and sleep in a pine grove, having much trouble in crossing a rapid stream</p> <p>Tuesday, (June 29), pass through a village and sleep in the open country beyond</p> <p>Wednesday, (June 30), pass over a river, through a village, over the river again and sleep in open country</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>March 5 days through unpopulated country and on 5th day of July (it should be June) enter Chiaha; B says it was 4 days from Guasuli</p> <p>During this time De Soto sends 2 men to Chisca;</p> <p>B says they were in Chiaha altogether 26–27 days</p>	<p>Traveling 6 days of 5 leagues each they reach the capital of the province of Ychiaha</p> <p>Two men are sent north to Chisca, 30 leagues off, and return in 10 days</p>

Thursday, (July 1), chief of Coste comes to meet them and takes them to one of his villages; same day (or next morning) the chief escapes to his village

Friday, July 2, De Soto reaches Coste, on an island in the river, crosses first arm and enters with some hazard; trouble over corn-cribs; two men sent to view Chisca

(Saturday, July 3–Thursday, July 8, at Coste)

Friday, July 9, leave Coste, cross other branch of the river and pass the night on its banks; on the other side was Tali

Saturday, (July 10), at Tali; it was perhaps on that day that they drove back canoes trying to escape and enter town

Sunday, (July 11), spend night in the open country

Monday, (July 12), cross a river and sleep in the open

Tuesday, (July 13), cross another river

Wednesday, (July 14), cross another large river and sleep at Tasqui, the chief of Tali provisioning them all the way

Thursday, (July 15), pass another small village and then other villages

July 2 enter Coste; sick brought down from Chiaha in canoes; men sent to Chisca return in 3 days

July 9, leave Coste and sleep at Tali

The day after their return the army marches 5 leagues along the island of Ychiaha to the capital of Acoste at the other end

Next day they cross the river and enter the province of Coça

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Friday, (July 16), enter Coça</p> <p>(Saturday, July 17–Thursday, Aug. 19, at Coça)</p> <p>Friday, Aug. 20, leave Coça and sleep beyond Talimachusy</p> <p>Saturday, (Aug. 21), go to Itaba in a heavy rain</p> <p>(Sunday, Aug. 22–Sunday, Aug. 29, at Itaba)</p> <p>Monday, Aug. 30, leave and come by night to an oak wood</p> <p>(Tuesday, Aug. 31), at Ulibahali, a fine town by a large river</p> <p>(Wednesday, Sept. 1, at Ulibahali)</p> <p>Thursday, Sept. 2, camp at a small village near the river</p> <p>Friday, (Sept. 3), at Piachi near a river</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>Traveling 6 days, they enter Coça Friday, July 16</p> <p>At Coça 25 days</p> <p>Friday, Aug. 20, leave Coça and stop for night on a river bank, half a league beyond an uninhabited town called Tallimuchase.</p> <p>(Saturday, Aug. 21), come to Ytaua, and are detained 6 days by a swollen river</p> <p>Come to Ulibahali, a stockaded town</p> <p>Camp at a town subject to the lord of Ulibahali</p>	<p>They pass through the province of Coça, 100 leagues across, at the rate of 4–5 leagues a day, reaching Coça in 23–24 days</p> <p>They remain in Coça 11 or 12 days; later he says 10–12 days</p>

(Saturday, Sept. 4), wait a day at Piachi for Lobillo who went back for an escaped negro slave  
Sunday, (Sept. 5), go on and spend night in the open country  
Monday, (Sept. 6), come to Tuasi  
(Tuesday, Sept. 7–Sunday, Sept. 12, at Tuasi)  
Monday, Sept. 13, leave and sleep in the open  
Tuesday, (Sept. 14), again sleep in the open  
Wednesday, (Sept. 15), come to an old stockaded village  
Thursday, (Sept. 16), sleep at a new village close to a river  
(Friday, Sept. 17), remain at same village  
Saturday, Sept. 18, at Talisi, a big village; messengers come from Tascaluça including his son; two Spaniards sent back with him  
(Sunday, Sept. 19–Friday, Sept. 24, at Talisi)  
(Saturday, Sept. 25), chief of Talisi comes and gives carriers and women  
(Sunday, Sept. 26–Monday, Oct. 4, at Talisi)  
Tuesday, Oct. 5, leave and spend night at Casiste, a small village by the river

Said to be 2 days from Ullibahali

Sept. 18, they reach Tallise

In 5 days they reach Talise

They remain 10 days at Talise; Tascaluça's town was said to be 12–13 leagues away and approachable by two routes

Said to have stayed there 20 days in all

Sleep the first night at Casiste

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Wednesday, (Oct. 6), they come to Caxa, a poor village by the river bank and on a direct line from Talisi to the town of Tascaluça</p> <p>Thursday, (Oct. 7), camp by the river opposite Humati</p> <p>Friday, (Oct. 8), come to a new village named Uxapita</p> <p>Saturday, (Oct. 9), sleep in the open 1 league short of Tascaluça's town</p> <p>Sunday, Oct. 10, enter Athahachi, "a recent village"</p> <p>(Monday, Oct. 11), at Athahachi</p> <p>Tuesday, Oct. 12, leave with the chief and sleep in the open</p> <p>Wednesday, (Oct. 13), reach Piachi above the gorge of a mountain stream where Narvaez's men were killed</p> <p>(Thursday, Oct. 14 and Friday, Oct. 15, at Piachi)</p> <p>Saturday, Oct. 16, they leave and go into a forest (monte) where they meet one Spaniard of 2 sent from Piachi</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>Pass through another village next day and come to one in the province of Tastaluca</p> <p>They rest in a wood 2 leagues from the chief's town</p> <p>The second day from Tastaluca's town reach Piache near a great river</p>	<p>They cross the River of Talise and early on the 3d day come to Tascaluça's village</p> <p>They march 3 days, making 4 leagues per day, and reach the chief's capital town on a peninsula in the river which passes by Talise</p> <p>They spend all of the next day crossing</p>

(Sunday, Oct. 17), come to a fenced village and messengers from Mabila reach them with bread of chestnuts

Monday, Oct. 18 (St. Luke's Day), De Soto comes to Mabila, having passed through several villages, a populous region. Battle of Mabila.

(Tuesday, Oct. 19–Saturday, Nov. 13, at Mabila).

Sunday, Nov. 14, they leave Mabila.

(Monday, Nov. 15), marching north through uninhabited country.

(Tuesday, Nov. 16), the same.

Wednesday, (Nov. 17), reach "a fine river".

Thursday, (Nov. 18) the original has 28 by mistake, pass over bad places and swamps and reach Talicpacana; a village in sight on other side of river.

(Friday, Nov. 19, at Talicpacana)

(Saturday, Nov. 20, do.)

Sunday, Nov. 21, Gonçalez finds a village named Moçulixa half a league distant from which the Indians had moved the corn to the other side of the river

Oct. 18 they reach Mauilla after a 3 days' march, the last continuously through an inhabited region. Battle of Mauilla

They remain 28 days after the battle

Sunday, Nov. 18 (erroneous; it was the 14th), they leave Mauilla

Early next day two scouts are sent to Mavila; De Soto follows and reaches the town by 8 A. M., Oct. 18, 1540, and the battle of Mavila follows; the sea coast said to be a little more than 30 leagues off

They remain 23–24 days about Mavila, 8 days in rude huts and 15 days longer in abandoned Indian lodges

In 3 days they come to the province of Chicaça (meaning Pafallaya)



RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>(Monday, Nov. 22–Sunday, Nov. 28, at Talcapacana at work on barge  (Monday), Nov. 29, the barge is finished and carried on a truck to Moçulixa  (Tuesday, Nov. 30), apparently on this day part cross and capture the corn, and cavalry secure the crossing above  Wednesday, (Dec. 1), the army comes to a village called Zabusta where they cross, spend a night in a village on the other side; above was a fine village named Apafalaya like its chief  (Thursday, Dec. 2–Wednesday, Dec. 8, at Apafalaya)  Thursday, (Dec. 9), set out for Chicaça  (Friday, Dec. 10–Monday, Dec. 13, on the way to Chicaça), going through bad passages and swamps  Tuesday, (Dec. 14), reach the R. of Chicaça which was overflowing its bed  (Wednesday, Dec. 15), make a barge and</p>	<p>1540</p> <p>A piragua is made in 4 days</p> <p>Town called Cabusto said to have been reached right after Taliepataua</p> <p>March 5 days toward Chicaça</p> <p>They come to a river; B says it was 10–12 days from Mauila  They make a piragua in 2 days</p>	<p>Apparently it took them 5 or 6 days or more to cross the river (Pafalaya)</p>

Gallegos leaves with cavalry and drives Indians from crossing

Thursday, Dec. 16, they cross the river; De Soto going ahead with cavalry arrives late at night at a deserted village

(Friday, Dec. 17), Gallegos comes in, apparently the rest of the army also

(Saturday, Dec. 18–Friday, Dec. 24, at Chicaça)

(Saturday), Dec. 25, a heavy fall of snow as if it had been in Burgos, and the cold as bad or worse

(Sunday, Dec. 26–Sunday, Jan. 2, 1541, at Chicaça)

Monday, Jan. 3, the Chicaça chief comes and offers guides and interpreters to take them to Caluça, a province of “more than ninety villages”

Tuesday, Jan. 4–Wednesday, Mar. 2, at Chicaça, but an expedition is undertaken to Sacchuma and on their return its chief, Miculasa, makes peace, and messengers come from Talapatica

(Thursday, March 3), De Soto asks the Chicaça chief for carriers

(Friday), March 4, at dawn the Indians fall upon the town and burn it, kill 50–60 horses

Dec. 17, they cross the river and reach a small town the same day

After 4 more days travel they come to the province of Chicaça proper and enter the capital town at the beginning of December, 1540

They remain there almost 2 months

## 1541

“Tuesday, March 8” (it should be Thursday, March 3), De Soto asks for carriers

“Next morning” the Indians attack them

Toward the end of January, 1541, the Indians fall upon them

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>and destroy most of the equipment; the Spaniards move to a plain by a sloping hillside 1 league from the village and there refit</p> <p>(Saturday, March 5--Monday, March 14), engaged in refitting</p> <p>Tuesday, March 15, the Indians attack again during the morning watch</p> <p>(Wednesday, March 16--Monday, April 25), at the same place</p> <p>Tuesday, April 26, they leave and reach Limamu</p> <p>(Wednesday, April 27), send out scouting parties</p> <p>Thursday, (April 28), they discover and capture a strong barricade</p>	<p>1541</p> <p>"Wednesday, March 15" (it should be Tuesday, Mar. 15), the Indians attack again: B says 5 days after first attack</p> <p>B says they remained about 2 mos.</p> <p>April 25, they leave and sleep at a small town called Alimamu</p> <p>(April 26), three scouting parties sent out; Añasco discovers the Alibamo barricade; it is taken the same day</p>	<p>Three days later they move 1 league off and establish themselves in a small town called Chicacilla</p> <p>Three days after their flight the Indians attack again</p> <p>They remain until the end of March (he says 4 months but this may mean "in all")</p> <p>At the beginning of April they leave Chicacilla</p> <p>They make 4 leagues the first day through level country and pass a quarter of a league beyond the inhabited region, though they seem to have encamped in a field; the Alibamo fort is attacked</p>

Friday, (April 29), they remain near the barricade to recuperate

Saturday, April 30, leave barricade

(Sunday, May 1–Saturday, May 7, march through a deserted country and by a rough way, forested and swampy; 9 days in all (Sunday), May 8, they reach the 1st village of Quizqui and capture it; 1 league beyond was another village and 1 league beyond that a third, and there they saw the Rio Grande (Monday, May 9–Friday, May 20, they remain in that village)

Saturday, May 21, they move to a plain between the river and a small village and begin making barges

(Sunday, May 22–Friday, June 17), they work on the barges

Saturday, June 18 (the original has June 8, an evident error), all cross

Sunday, June 19, they come “soon” to a village of Aquixo

(Monday, June 20), they remain at that village

Tuesday, June 21, they pass by the main settlement of Aquixo, “beautifully situated”

Start for Quizquis 3 days after they set out to hunt for corn

March 7 days through wilderness; B says it was a deserted country of 12 days across (error in Bourne’s translation)

They remain there 4 days unable to march

They march north 3 days

At the end of the 3 days they see the capital of the province of Chisca near the Chucagua (Mississippi River)

They remain on the banks of the river for 20 days

They march up the river slowly for 4 days making 12 leagues in all to a place where they can come down to the river

They remain here 20 days or more making 4 barges (2 boats are finished in 15 days, and all 4 in 20) capable of holding 150 infantry and 30 cavalry

They build 4 piraguas in 30 days; B says they took 27 or 28 days

They reach a village a league and half from the point where they crossed

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Wednesday, (June 22), they go through the worst tract of swamp and water they had seen in all Florida</p> <p>Thursday, (June 23), they enter the land of Casqui (given in text as "Quarqui") and pass through small villages</p> <p>Friday, (June 24), St. John's Day, they come to the village of the lord of Casqui</p> <p>Saturday, (June 25), they enter his village and set up a cross on the village mound</p>	<p>1541</p> <p>They march 2 days through the province of Casqui before entering the chief's town</p>	<p>After crossing they march for 4 days and on the 5th see "from some high hills" a town on the banks of a river, namely Casquin</p> <p>They remain 6 days in the first town of Casquin</p> <p>They march 2 days to the capital town 7 leagues up the river and on the same side</p> <p>On the 4th day the chief comes to ask them to make it rain</p> <p>In 2 days a wooden cross is finished and it is set up the next day</p> <p>That night rain falls and continues 2 days longer</p> <p>After remaining 9 or 10 days they start on again on the day following</p>
<p>Sunday, June 26, they leave for Pacaha, pass several villages and spend the night in one</p> <p>(Monday, June 27), they cross a swamp over which the Indians had built a bridge</p> <p>(Tuesday, June 28), they either stay in camp or move slowly forward</p>	<p>They sleep in a town of Casqui; B says they camped 2 days in this town</p> <p>They pass 2 other towns and come to a lake or swamp</p>	<p>They march for 3 days accompanied by a body of Indians until they reach a swamp</p> <p>It takes 1 day to cross the swamp and they camp 1 1/2 leagues beyond</p>

Wednesday, (June 29), they come to Pacaha, a stockaded town by the Rio Grande

Wednesday, June 29 (the original has June 19, an evident error), they enter Pacaha; B says 2 days from Casqui

(Thursday, June 30–Thursday, July 28), at Pacaha

They remained there 40 days; B says they remained 27–28 days; time occupied in making incursions inland, including one to the N. W. of 7 days (Elvas) or 8 days (Biedma)

(Friday), July 29, they leave and come at night to a village of Casqui

(Saturday, July 30), they get back to the main village of Casqui

Sunday, (July 31), they leave and come to a village of Casqui

Monday, Aug. 1, they come to another village of Casqui on the River of Casqui, a branch of the great River of Pacaha, and as large as the Guadalquivir

(Tuesday), Aug. 2, the Casqui chief has them put across the River of Casqui in his canoes

They travel on for 2 days and early on the 3d day come in sight of Capaha, seeing it from some high hills; it was a frontier and defence against Casquin; the Rio Grande (Mississippi) flowed 3 leagues above

The Capaha Indians having fled to an island in the river, they wait 3–4 days for canoes; driven back by Indians but peace is made

Two Spaniards go to mountains 40 leagues from Capaha for salt and copper and return at the end of 11 days

The army returns to Casquin and remains there 5 days

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>Wednesday, (Aug. 3), they sleep in a burned village</p> <p>Thursday, (Aug. 4), they sleep in another village, near the river</p> <p>Friday, (Aug. 5), they come to Quiguate, the largest village seen in that country; it was on the River of Casqui</p> <p>(Saturday, Aug. 6–Thursday, Aug. 25), at Quiguate</p> <p>Friday, Aug. 26, they leave Quiguate for Coligua and spend the night by a swamp</p> <p>(Saturday, Aug. 27), they camp by another swamp</p> <p>(Sunday, Aug. 28), they camp near another swamp</p> <p>(Monday, Aug. 29), they spend the night near a fourth swamp</p> <p>Tuesday, (Aug. 30), they come to the River of Coligua</p> <p>Wednesday, (Aug. 31), they come to the same river again</p> <p>Thursday, Sept. 1, they come to the town</p>	<p>1541</p> <p>Aug. 4, they come to Aquiguate, the largest town they saw in Florida; B says the same thing</p> <p>B says they remained 8 or 9 days</p> <p>B implies it was 11 days from Quiguate</p>	<p>They march down along the river for 4 days to the border of the province of Quiguate, and in 5 days more reach the capital town</p> <p>The Indians abandon the town 2 days later and return to it in 2 more</p> <p>They remain in Quiguate 6 days and leave on the 7th</p> <p>They march down along the Rio de</p>

of Coligua, a populous place along the gorge of a river; at midday (probably of the same day) they go to kill some cows (bison) (Friday, Sept. 2–Monday, Sept. 5), at Coligua  
Tuesday, Sept 6, they leave Coligua and recross the river going S. W.  
Wednesday, (Sept. 7), they pass sierras and come to Calpista where was an excellent salt spring  
Thursday, (Sept. 8), they come to Palisema (Friday, Sept. 9), they seem to have stayed at Palisema  
Saturday, Sept. 10, they go on to encamp by “a water”  
Sunday, (Sept. 11), they come to Quixila  
Monday, (Sept. 12), spend at Quixila  
Tuesday, (Sept. 13), they go on to Tutilcoya  
Wednesday, (Sept. 14), they go to a village along a large river  
Thursday, (Sept. 15), they camp near a swamp; De Soto goes on with some horsemen to Tanico the same day  
(Friday, Sept. 16), all go on to Tanico where were many scattered houses and by some it was thought to be Cayase  
(Saturday, Sept. 17–Friday, Sept. 30), at Tanico

It was 5 days from Coligoa

Casquin for 5 days and arrive at the capital of Colima

Within 2 days the Colima Indians revolt and flee

The Spaniards remain 1 day longer and then leave

At the end of 4 days they come to a river with salty sand along the shores

They remain 8 days in this Province of Salt boiling down salt

Reach a province called Cayas 4 days journey from Tatalicoya; the town was called Tanico; they remain there a month



RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
<p>(Saturday, Oct. 1), De Soto goes on to Tula with 13 horse and 50 foot.            (Sunday, Oct. 2), De Soto returns from Tula            (Monday, Oct. 3 and Tuesday, Oct. 4), at Tanico            Wednesday, Oct. 5, the army leaves Tanico for Tula            (Thursday, Oct. 6), on the march            Friday, (Oct. 7), they come to Tula and find the town abandoned            Saturday, (Oct. 8), the Indians attack them</p>	<p>1541</p> <p>(Saturday, Oct. 1), De Soto goes to Tula with horse and foot            B says it took 2 days to go to Tula and return            (Wednesday, Oct. 5), the army leaves Tanico for Tula            The army takes 3 days from Cayas to Tula</p>	<p>They march 4 days more and at noon on the last day come within half a league of the capital of Tula</p> <p>The Tula Indians fight them (on the same day?)            They enter the capital the day after the battle            On the 4th night just before dawn the Tula Indians attack once more            They remain 20 days in Tula</p>
<p>(Sunday, Oct. 9–Tuesday, Oct. 18), at Tula            Wednesday, Oct. 19, they leave Tula and spend the night at two cabins            Thursday, (Oct. 20), at another cabin            Friday, (Oct. 21), they camp at still another cabin</p>		

(Saturday, Oct. 22), they come to Guipana, between sierras near a river and go beyond for the night to a place where they can cross; sierras all the way from Tula (Sunday, Oct. 23), they leave the sierras and come out on the plains (Monday, Oct. 24–Wednesday, Oct. 26 (or Thursday, Oct. 27)), on the march toward Utiangue (Thursday, Oct. 27, or Friday, Oct. 28), come to Anoixi, not named by Ranjel (Sunday, Oct. 30, or Monday, Oct. 31), come close to Quitamaya (Monday, Oct. 31, come to a village called Quitamaya (Tuesday, Nov. 1, they pass through a small village (Wednesday, Nov. 2, they reach Utiangue, on a plain and well peopled all about (End of Ranjel Narrative)

Quipana was 5 days march from Tula over sharp mountains

They go on and in 2 days come to the province of Utiangue, continuing through it 4 days more to the capital; this was in the middle of October, 1541

At the end of 3 days they come to a town called Anoixi

In 2 days more come to Catamaya

Next day they enter the above named town and find it abandoned

The day after entering Catamaya they arrive at Autiamque where they remain 3 months, and are "a month in snow"

(Thursday, Nov. 3–Sunday, March 5, 1542), at Autiamque

De Soto leads 100 cavalry and 150 infantry 20 leagues to the confines of the province of Naguatex on a foray lasting 14 days  
They remain more than 5 months in Utiangue

RANJEL	ELVAS AND BIEDMA	GARCILASO
	<p style="text-align: center;">1542</p> <p>Monday, March 6, they leave Autiamque for Anilco; B says they left in the beginning of March</p> <p>(Tuesday, March 7–Wednesday, March 15(?)), travel south along river</p> <p>(Thursday, March 16 (Elvas says in 10 days)), they come to Ayays and cross the river in a piragua</p> <p>(Friday, March 17–Monday, March 20), they remain at Ayays on account of the snow</p> <p>(Tuesday, March 21–Thursday, March 23), they travel 3 days through a deserted, low region full of lakes and bad passages</p> <p>(Friday, March 24), all one day trying to find a crossing over a lake; Indians show a passage near Tutelpinco</p> <p>(Saturday, March 25), probably spent in crossing</p> <p>(Sunday, March 26–Monday, March 28), they march 3 days to Tianto in the territory of Nilco; come into neighborhood of Nilco; chief's house set on fire by natives</p> <p>Wednesday, March 29, they enter Nilco and make headquarters there</p> <p>(Thursday, March 30–April 15 or 17), at Nilco</p>	<p>They leave Utiangué in the beginning of April, 1542</p> <p>In 7 days they travel 22–23 leagues and come to Naguateg, a different town from that against which De Soto had made a foray though it was in the same province</p> <p>There they remain 15 or 16 days</p> <p>After 6 days a messenger comes from the chief and next day he sends some of his prominent men</p> <p>After 2 leagues travel Diego de Guzman is missed</p> <p>They march 5 days to the province of Guancane</p> <p>They cross the province of Guancane in 8 days</p> <p>They traverse 7 other provinces, 3 well settled and 4 not, until they come to the borders of Anilco; the distance across these must have been at least 120 leagues</p> <p>They pass through the province of Anilco 20 days to the capital</p> <p>They remain at Anilco 4 days</p>

Sunday, April 17 (it should be Sunday, April 15 or Tuesday, April 17), they enter Guachoya

(April 16 or 18–Sunday, May 20), at Guachoya; expedition to Nilco

(Sunday), May 21, De Soto dies

(Monday, May 22 and Tuesday, May 23), at Guachoya

(Wednesday, May 24), body buried inside a gate of the town

Shortly afterward the body was committed to the river during the night

(Thursday, May 25–Sunday, June 4), at Guachoya

Monday, June 5, Moscoso leaves Guachoya, passes through the province of Catalte, and then through unoccupied country for 6 days (it should perhaps be 16); B says they took 17 days in going from Guachoyanque to Chavite

(Tuesday), June 20, at Chaguete (or Chaguete)

(Wednesday, June 21–Sunday, June 25) they seem to have occupied in visiting a small town and in making salt

(Monday, June 26–Saturday, July 1), in Chaguete proper (6 days)

(Sunday, July 2–Tuesday, July 4, or Monday, July 3–Wednesday, July 5 (Elvas errs in saying that they arrived “Wednesday, July 4”), on the road to Aguacay; B says it was 3 days from Chavite

(Date not given), they leave Aguacay and go to sleep at a small town, camping near a salt lake

Next day they camp in an open grove between two mountains

Next day they reach a small town called Pato

They march to Guachoya, a journey of 4 days, through an uninhabited country densely forested

After 3 days the Guachoya chief sends a messenger to De Soto and after 4 more days comes himself

June 20, 1542, De Soto is attacked by a fever, in 3 more days he appoints his successor and in 7 more dies, aged 42; his body is sunk in the Chucagua (Mississippi), enclosed in a hollowed oak; he was “an hidalgo through all four lines”

July 4 or 5 Moscoso leaves Guachoya and marches more than 100 leagues through many provinces of which they did not inquire the names

1542

On the 4th day from Aguacay they come to the first inhabited place of a province called Amaye

Saturday, July 22 or Thursday, July 20 (the text says erroneously "Saturday, July 20"), they leave Amaye and camp in luxuriant woods at midday where they fight with the inhabitants

Next day they camp near a town by a river; this town was called Naguatex

On the tenth day two bodies of cavalry are sent to take the fords and observe the villages on the other side

In two days the chief who had been sent for arrives

At the end of four days Moscoso sets out but finds the river running full much to his surprise and returns to his camp

At the end of 8 days, the river having fallen, the army sets out and lodges in the fields

After laying waste the towns of Naguatex, they leave and at the end of 3 days reach a hamlet of the poor province of Nissohone

After traveling 2 days more they find the guides are misleading them, they substitute a woman taken in Nissohone, and in 2 days more reach Lacane, a miserable country

They reach Nondacao, but in what way is not clear

They leave Nondacao for Soacatino and in 5 days reach Aays (Hais)

They are led 2 days out of the way by a guide who is then cast to the dogs and another substituted; next day they come to Soacatino

They enter the province of Auche more than 100 leagues away where they remain 2 days

After traveling 2 days more they reach uninhabited country and pass through that for 4 days

They travel 6 days more without a road to guide them

They are misled by their guide and wander 8 days (but perhaps this includes the last 6)

They march for 20 days through a thinly peopled region (though this 20 may include part of the preceding itinerary)

They reach a province called Guasco, apparently at the end of the 20 days; B says they were guided toward the east

They reach a settlement called Naquiscoça

In 2 days more they reach another called Naçacahoz (at least that was the name of the chief)

A captain and 15 horse set out in search of other white men reported by a female guide, but she confesses to have fabricated the story of her encounter with them

They return to Guasco

They journey 10 days toward the west to a river called Daycao; horsemen are sent across the river and find a wretched Indian camp, bringing back 2 Indians whose language no one could understand; B says they went 6 days to the south and southwest; and the horsemen went for 8–9 days as far as they could before reaching the Indian camp

They determine to retrace their steps at the beginning of October

They return the same way they came, 150 leagues to the Rio Grande

Leaving Chaguatè they recross the Rio Nilco at Aays, and follow it down to Nilco, discovering a new town called Chilano on the way

Then they march straight west to inhabited country

They march 3 (or 6) days to the province of Vaqueros

Marching more than 30 leagues through this they see lofty mountain ranges and forests

Three scouting parties go out more than 30 leagues into the country and return in 15 days

The Spaniards return to the Chucagua on a course south of their route out

They finally leave the province of the Vaqueros on their return and pass 20 days by long stages through different provinces

They recross their own out trail in the middle of September without recognizing it after having been three months going and coming from Guachoya

They have good weather on the march until they reach the borders of Guachoya at the end of October 1542, when very severe weather sets in with rain, cold, and wind

1542

They go from Nilco to Aminoya in the beginning of December, 2 days' journey, where were 2 towns half a league apart, near the Rio Grande and above Guachoya; they spend the winter there and build boats in which to leave the country

Then they have difficulty in crossing rivers and it takes 5-8 days to cross some of them; much snow falls

This lasts from September to the end of Nov. when they reach the Rio Grande, the entire distance going and coming and with detours 350 leagues

Arrived at the Rio Grande they take possession of 2 villages near each other surrounded by a fosse, 16 leagues above Guachoya and called Aminoya

They spend 20 days in fortifying one of them

1543

They plunder a town called Taguanate or Tagoanate, 2 days up river from Aminoya (by an error "fallen river" gives the opposite idea)

In March the river overflows so much as to reach Nilco, 9 leagues off, although more than a month had passed since rain fell. The Indians said that it extended an equal distance on the opposite side; for 2 months they are surrounded by water and can go on horseback only where the land is highest; they usually use canoes

The vessels are completed in June; it was then a long time since rain had fallen

The canoes are tied together in twos, and 22 horses the best left, are taken in them; B says 26 horses were taken

Near the end of Jan., 1543, orders are issued to cut timber for boats and they work on them until April

The flood in the Rio Grande begins March 10, on Mar. 18 (Palm Sunday) it pours through the gates and inundates more than 20 leagues on each side of the river, extending 5-6 leagues beyond Anilco; it lasts 40 days and diminishes by degrees near the end of April; reaches greatest height Apr. 20; May 20 they still had to walk about barefoot, but by end of May it had retired within its bed

Envoys of the hostile Indian league arrested at the beginning of June

The day of St. John the Baptist (June 24) the boats are launched

They spend 5 days loading them until the evening of the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 28)

(Monday), July 2, 1543, they leave Aminoya in 7 boats in which go 322 Spaniards and 100 Indian slaves

They pass Guachoya the day they leave; Quigualtam said to be near an arm of the river which made out to the right; they come to land in a clump of trees and at dark retire to the vessels

(Tuesday, July 3), they come to a town said to belong to Huhasene, a subject of Quigualtam

(Wednesday, July 4 or perhaps still on July 3), they obtain corn and wait over a day

(Thursday, July 5, or perhaps still on July 3), they have a skirmish with the Indians and burn a town under a bluff; B says 40 or 50 large swift canoes came out against them on the 2d day

(Friday, July 6, or Wednesday, July 4), Juan de Guzman and 10 other Spaniards are drowned in trying to repel Indian assailants in canoes; the rest pursue all night but

(Saturday, July 7, or Thursday, July 5), at noon they get into another province but are treated as before and have to fight all of one day and one night

Although using oars day and night the boats in which were the horses delay them so much that they kill all but 4 or 5 and cure their flesh (the 4 or 5 were probably killed by the Indians)

(Sunday, July 8), at 10 A. M. these Indians (in 50 canoes) leave them and pursuit is taken up by 7 canoes from a small town near the bank but the Indians soon give it up

(In 17 days they went down 250 leagues by the river, "a little more or less"; near the sea they find it divided into two arms, each a league and a half broad; B says it took 19 days to reach the sea)

They embark on the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29)

They are attacked by a great body of Indians in numerous canoes, but after 10 days of fighting the enemy withdraw, they reach a town where they get much corn and release the remaining horses which are killed

Esteban Añez and some companions attack the Indians but their canoes are upset and most of the company are drowned

At sunrise of the 17th day of their voyage the Indians abandon the chase, having followed them without remission for 400 leagues

After three days more (the 17th–19th of their navigation) they descried the sea on the morning of the 20th; the time taken to the sea is given as 19 days and an additional night; the estimates of distances covered for each day and night are 20–40 leagues or more, but they finally agree on 25 leagues; they regard the distance from the point of embarkation to the sea as a little less than 500 leagues though Juan Coles estimates 700



They cast anchor half a league before coming to the Gulf and are attacked by men with spears and atlatis

After remaining there 2 days they go to the mouth of that branch and find 40 fathoms of water

(Wednesday), July 18, they get under way for Mexico

They sail all that day and the following night and the next day until vespers in fresh water (July 18-19)

They stand out to sea and 4 days later return within sight of the coast

Next day, after taking on water, they set forward again

In 2 days they enter a basin like a cove

They remain there unable to leave till the 4th day when they are driven ashore by a storm

Next morning they come to a creek where 2 boats going in advance had already found shelter and they remain there 2 days

They run on for 2 days and enter an arm of the sea where they land and pitch their boats with a "scum" the sea cast up

They spend 2 days at this place

In 2 days more they enter an arm of the sea behind an islet

They remain there 14 days waiting for fair weather

They navigate for 6 days

In one or two (?) days more they reach the River of Panuco, entering it (Monday), Sept. 10, 52 days after leaving the Rio Grande; those who returned numbered 311

They stop 3 days at the mouth of the river and are attacked on the afternoon of the 4th by Indians, one of whom had an atlatl  
They leave about 3 P. M. on the day after the attack

They go on the rest of that day and until nearly sunset of the second day in fresh water

They go on 7 or 8 days more until a storm forces them into a cove

At the end of 15 days more they reach four or five small islands not far from the mainland

They remain there 8 days calking their boats

They spend 12 or 13 days from time to time fishing

"Fifty three days had passed since our Spaniards had left the Rio Grande and entered the sea. They spent 30 of them in navigation and 23 in repairing the boats and in resting while they fished"

Next day, after sailing 25 or 26 hours two of the pinnaces are run aground south of Panuco

The next day they learn they are in Mexico

Eight days after the "shipwreck" of the two pinnaces they meet in Panuco

Twenty-five days after entering Panuco they set out in separate bands for Mexico City

SELECTED ITEMS FROM NARRATIVES OF THE CAREER  
OF HERNANDO DE SOTO IN THE CONQUEST  
OF FLORIDA

Translated by  
Buckingham Smith  
for the Bradford Club  
New York, 1866



CONVEYANCE OF DOWER BY THE WIDOW OF PEDRÁRIAS  
DÁVILA TO HERNANDO DE SOTO, IN CONSIDERATION  
OF THE ESPOUSAL OF HER DAUGHTER.

Be it known to all who shall see this writing, that I, Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, wife that was of Pedrías de Avila, deceased,—be he in glory—Governor that was of Tierra Firme, my lord and husband, declare, that inasmuch as, by the assistance of Our Lord and His Blessed Mother, espousals of marriage are concerted and contracted, by words of assent, between Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my legitimate daughter and of said Pedrías, with you, Señor Captain Fernando de Soto, being at this Court of their Majesties, native and resident of the City of Badajóz, by these presents, henceforth I promise and obligate myself to give you, and do henceforth give in dower and marriage with the said Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my daughter, for her and for her goods of dower, that you may keep and marry her with the consent and in the peace of the Holy Mother Church of Rome, that is to say, all the cattle with their young which the said Governor, my lord and husband, established and left at Panamá, in Tierra Firme, with all the cottage, the slaves who tend the cattle, the stud of horses with them in the fields, and every thing else that to said round cottage and stock is in all or in any wise belonging, with the increase of slaves, and whatever else is thereto pertinent, which the said Pedrías de Avila, by a clause made of his will between living, in pure and perfect gift irrevocable in favour of said Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my daughter, that she thereby might the better and more honorably marry, as more fully may be found in the clause referred to of said will, which I deem here inserted and incorporated with the same force and vigour it would have were it written out word for word; of the which I, for what therein belongs to me and appertains, or that can appertain, by reason of any right of dower, paraphernalia, and goods, acquired during the matrimony existing between me and the said Pedrías Dávila, my lord and husband, as well in whatever other manner, I consent publicly, and approve consent to the aforementioned donative made by Pedro Arias, and do so by good, lasting, and genuine signature, for this and in all time of the world, for evermore . . . Done at Valladolid, the 14th day of November, of the year 1536.

One of the witnesses to this release was Juan de Añasco. The document exists in full in the *Archivo de Indias*.

LETTER OF HERNANDO DE SOTO RESPECTING  
CONCESSIONS HE DESIRES SHALL BE  
OBTAINED FOR HIM AT COURT.<sup>1</sup>



VERY MAGNIFICENT SIR:

That which Your Worship is to favour me in is as follows:

Inasmuch as His Majesty has not ceded to Francisco Pizarro more than two hundred and seventy-five leagues by Royal grant, of the six hundred that the said Governor Pizarro holds from Santiago, whence begins his government, to the mines of Callao, which divide his territory from that of Don Diego de Almagro, as will appear by an agreement made between them, must be taken off from the beginning of his government to the town of San Miguel, an extent may be of one hundred leagues, which region, from said town of Panamá, supposing now His Majesty should be pleased to grant it to me in government, is the most sterile and unprofitable of that country, although I am of opinion that by way of Quito there is good opening into the interior, whereby to serve His Majesty in the Provinces through which I came.

Your Worship, not being able to get what I have set forth, will try then for the government of Guatemala, with permission to make discovery in the South Sea, and for the title of Adelantado, with concession from His Majesty of the tenth part of whatever I may at my own cost discover in the sea, and conquer, with patent, and to my successors.

What Your Worship will send to the Señor Comendador, to be negotiated with His Majesty, is as follows:

The mantle of Santiago for Fernan Ponce de Leon, and also for me.

All the Indians of Apportionment which said Hernan Ponce de Leon and I hold by schedule from His Majesty, with other property in lands and houses,<sup>2</sup> in fee simple, and if possible with a title.

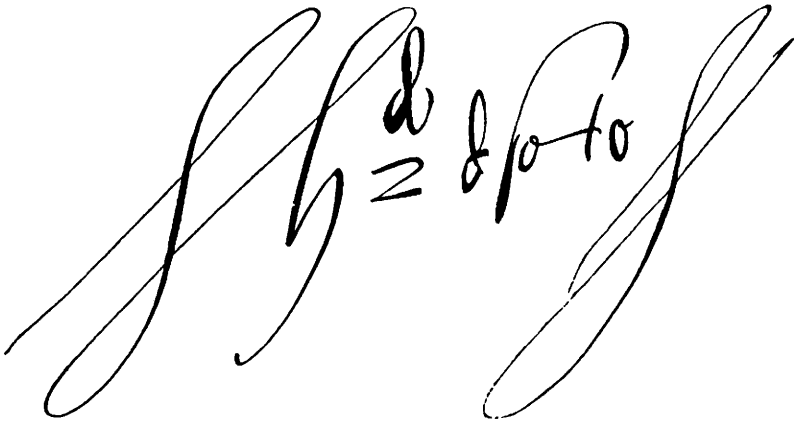
Let the government that may be got for me be in perpetuity if possible, and if not, then for the longest term Your Worship may be enabled to secure: And when you shall have acted on these instructions, and discovered where is the best chance of success, you will let me know how I am to treat with

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<sup>1</sup>The original of these instructions, only the signature to which is in the handwriting of Soto, exists in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, at Madrid. It was no doubt written while he was in Spain, in the year 1536 or 1537.

<sup>2</sup>The words *se an de dar*, to be given, are here driven through with a pen.

these Lords of the Council in the business, and what I am to write to the Señor Comendador, and when.



CONCESSION MADE BY THE KING OF SPAIN TO  
HERNANDO DE SOTO OF THE GOVERNMENT  
OF CUBA AND CONQUEST OF FLORIDA,  
WITH THE TITLE OF ADELANTADO.

[Translation made from a copy in the *Archivo de Indias* at Sevilla, rubricated by the Secretary Samano.]

THE KING.

Inasmuch as you, Captain Hernando de Soto, set forth that you have served us in the conquest, pacification, and settlement of the Provinces of Nicaragua and Perú, and of other parts of our Indias; and that now, to serve us further, and to continue to enlarge our patrimony and the royal crown,

you desire to return to those our Indias, to conquer and settle the Province of Rio de las Palmas to Florida, the government whereof was bestowed on Pánfilo de Narvaez, and the Provinces of Tierra-Nueva, the discovery and government of which was conferred on Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón; and that for the purpose you will take from these, our kingdoms and our said Indias, five hundred men, with the necessary arms, horses, munitions, and military stores; and that you will go hence, from these our kingdoms, to make the said conquest and settlement within a year first following, to be reckoned from the day of the date of these articles of authorization; and that when you shall leave the Island of Cuba to go upon that enterprise, you will take the necessary subsistence for all that people during eighteen months—rather over than under that time—entirely at your cost and charges, without our being obliged, or the kings who shall come after us, to pay you, nor satisfy the expenses incurred therefor, other than such as you in these articles may be authorized to make; and you pray that I bestow on you the conquest of those lands and provinces, and with it the government of the said Island of Cuba, that you may from there the better control and provide all the principal and important material for the conquest and settlement, whereupon I have ordered to be made with you the terms and contract following:

First, I give you, the said Captain Hernando de Soto, power and authority, for us and in our name, and in that of the royal crown of Castilla, to conquer, pacify, and populate the lands that there are from the Province of the Rio de las Palmas to Florida, the government of which was bestowed on Pánfilo de Narvaez; and, further, the Provinces of the said Tierra-Nueva, the government whereof was in like manner conferred on the said Licentiate Ayllón.

Also, purposing to comply in this with the service of God our Lord, and to do you honour, we engage to confer on you the dignity of Governor and Captain-General of two hundred leagues of coast, such as you shall designate, of what you discover, so that within four years, to be reckoned from the time you arrive in any part of the lands and provinces before mentioned, you shall choose and declare whence you would have the two hundred leagues begin; that from where you designate they shall be measured along the coast, for all the days of your life, with the annual salary of fifteen hundred ducats, and five hundred ducats gratuity, in all two thousand, which you shall receive from the day you set sail in the Port of San Lúcar, to go upon your voyage, to be paid to you from the duties and profits to us appertaining in those said lands and provinces which you so offer to conquer

and colonize; and in that time should there be neither duties nor profits, we shall not be obliged to order that you be paid any thing.

Also, we will confer on you the title of our Adelantado over the said two hundred leagues which you shall thus select and make known for your government in the said lands and provinces you so discover and colonize, and will likewise bestow on you the office of High-Constable (*Alguazil mayor*) over those territories in perpetuity.

Also, we give permission, the judgment of our officers of said province being in accord, that you build there as many as three stone fortresses in the harbours and places most proper for them, they appearing to you and to our said officers to be necessary for the protection and pacification of that country; and we confer on you the Lieutenancy of them, and on one heir for life, or successor whom you shall name, with the annual salary to each of the fortresses of one hundred thousand maravedis, which you shall enjoy from the time they be severally built and finished and enclosed, in the opinion of our said officers; to be done at your own cost, without our being obliged, or any of the kings who shall come after us, to pay you what you may expend on those fortresses.

Again, inasmuch as you have petitioned us to bestow on you some portion of the land and vassals in said province you would conquer and populate, considering what you have served us, and the expenditure you will meet from this time in making said conquest and pacification, we receive the petitions favourably: hence we promise to bestow on you, and by these presents we do, twelve leagues of land in square in the said two hundred leagues you shall designate to hold in government in the said territories and provinces before declared, which we command our officers of the said province to assign, after you shall have designated the said two hundred leagues, to include no sea-port, nor the principal town, and that with the jurisdiction and title we shall confer at the time we give you the deeds.

Again, as has been said, you have petitioned us, that for the better governing and providing of all the principal and important matters for the conquest and settlement of said territories and provinces, I should order that there be given to you with them the government of the said Island of Cuba, which, to that end, we deem well, and is our pleasure, for the time it shall be our will, that you hold the government of said island; and for thus much we will order to be given you our provision by which you will be obliged to have a Chief-Justice, who shall be a lawyer, to whom we shall require you to pay yearly on that Island the salary of two hundred *pesos* of gold; and we give to



you five hundred ducats annual gratuity for the government of said Island, while you hold the same, to be paid from the duties and profits we may have from the province you have thus to conquer, pacify, and hold in government; and if there be none there, we shall not be obliged to pay you that, nor any other thing more than the two hundred *pesos* of the said Chief-Justice.

Also, we give you liberty and right that you from these our kingdoms and lordships, or from the Kingdom of Portugal, or Islands of Cabo Verde, or Guinea, do and may pass, or whosoever may exercise your power, to the said Island of Cuba fifty negro slaves, not less than one-third of them to be females, free of the import duties that of right may belong to us at said island, upon paying the license of two ducats on each to Diego de la Haya, which sum by our order he is charged to collect.

Again, also, we promise that upon your arrival in that country of your government, which you have thus to conquer and settle, we give liberty and right to whomsoever shall have your power, that you may take thither from these our said kingdoms, or from Portugal, or the Islands of Cabo Verde, other fifty negro slaves, the third part of them females, free from all duties.

Also, we concede to those who shall go to settle in that country within the six years first following, to be reckoned forward from the day of the date of these presents, that of the gold which may be taken from the mines shall be paid us the tenth, and the said six years being ended, shall pay us the ninth, and thus annually declining to the fifth part; but from the gold and other things that may be got by barter, or in spoil got by incursions, or in any other manner, shall be paid us thereupon one-fifth of all.

Also we give, free of import duty, to the inhabitants of that country for the said six years, and as much longer as shall be our will, all they may take for the furnishing and provision of their houses, the same not being to sell; and whatsoever they or any other, merchants or traffickers, sell, shall go free of duty for two years, and not longer.

Likewise, we promise that for the term of ten years, and until we command otherwise, we will not impose on the inhabitants of those countries any excise duty, or other tribute whatsoever.

Likewise, we grant that to said inhabitants may be given through you the lots and grounds proper to their conditions, as has been done, and is doing, in the Island of Española; and we also give you license, in our name, during the time of your government, that you take the bestowal of the Indians of that land, observing therein the instructions and provisions that will be given to you.

Again, we bestow on the hospital that may be built in that country, to assist the relief of the poor who may go thither, the charity of one hundred thousand maravedis from the fines imposed by the tribunal of that country.

Again, also, according to your petition and consent, and of the settlers of that country, we promise to give to its hospital, and by these presents we do give, the duties of *escobilla* and *relabes*, existing in the foundries that may there be made; and, as respects that, we will order our provision to be issued to you in form.

Also, likewise we will order, and by the present command and defend, that from these our kingdoms do not pass into said country, nor go, any one of the persons prohibited from going into those parts, under the penalties contained in the laws and ordinances of our letters, upon which subject this by us and by the Catholic Kings are given, nor any counsellors nor attorneys to exercise their callings.

The which, all that is said, and each thing and part thereof, we concede to you, conditioned that you, the said Don Hernando de Soto, be held and obliged to go from these our realms in person to make the conquest within one year next following, to be reckoned from the day of the date of this charter.

Again, on condition that when you go out of these our said kingdoms, and arrive in said country, you will carry and have with you the officers of our exchequer, who may by us be named; and likewise also the persons, religious and ecclesiastical, who shall be appointed by us for the instruction of the natives of that Province in our Holy Catholic Faith, to whom you are to give and pay the passage, stores, and the other necessary subsistence for them, according to their condition, all at your cost, receiving nothing from them during the said entire voyage; with which matter we gravely charge you, that you do and comply with, as a thing for the service of God and our own, and any thing otherwise we shall deem contrary to our service.

Again, whensoever, according to right and the laws of our kingdoms, the people and captains of our armaments take prisoner any prince or lord of the countries where, by our command, they make war, the ransom of such lord or cacique belongs to us, with all the other things movable found or belonging to him; but, considering the great toils and perils that our subjects undergo in the conquest of the Indias, as some recompense, and to favour them, we make known and command, that if in your said conquest and government any cacique or principal lord be captured or seized, all the trea-

tures, gold, silver, stones, and pearls that may be got from him by way of redemption, or in any other manner whatsoever, we award you the seventh part thereof, and the remainder shall be divided among the conquerors, first taking out our fifth; and in case the said cacique or lord should be slain in battle, or afterward by course of justice, or in any other manner whatsoever, in such case, of the treasures and goods aforesaid obtained of him justly we have the half, which, before any thing else, our officers shall take, after having first reserved our fifth.

Again, since our said officers of said Province might have some doubt in making the collection of our duties, especially on gold and silver, stones and pearls, as well those that may be found in sepulchres, and other places where they may be hidden, as those got by ransom and incursion, or other way, our pleasure and will is, that, until some change, the following order be observed.

First, we order that of the gold and silver, stones and pearls that may be won in battle, or on entering towns, or by barter with the Indians, should and must be paid us one-fifth of all.

Likewise, that all the gold and silver, stones, pearls, and other things that may be found and taken, as well in the graves, sepulchres, *ocues*, or temples of the Indians, as in other places where they were accustomed to offer sacrifices to their idols, or in other concealed religious precincts, or buried in house, or patrimonial soil, or in the ground, or in some other public place, whether belonging to the community or an individual, be his state or dignity what it may, of the whole, and of all other, of the character that may be and is found, whether finding it by accident or discovering it by search, shall pay us the half, without diminution of any sort, the other half remaining to the person who has found or made the discovery; and should any person or persons have gold, silver, stones, or pearls, taken or found, as well in the said graves, sepulchres, *ocues*, or Indian temples, as in the other places where they were accustomed to offer sacrifices, or other concealed religious places, or interred as before said, and do not make it known, that they may receive, in conformity with this chapter, what may belong to them, they have forfeited all the gold and silver, stones and pearls, besides the half of their goods, to our tribunal and exchequer.

And we, having been informed of the evils and disorders which occur in making discoveries and new settlements, for the redress thereof, and that we may be enabled to give you license to make them, with the accord of the members of our Council and of our consultation, a general provision of chapters is ordained and dispatched, respecting what you will have to ob-

serve in the said settlement and conquest, and we command it here to be incorporated in tenor as follows:<sup>1</sup>—

\* \* \* \* \*

Hence, by these presents, you, the said Captain Hernando de Soto, doing as aforesaid at your cost, according to and in the manner before contained, observing and complying with the said provision here incorporated, and all the other instructions we shall henceforth command you to obey, and to give with regard to that country, and for the good treatment and conversion to our Holy Catholic Faith of the natives of it, we promise and declare that to you will be kept these terms, and whatever therein is contained, in and through all; and you doing otherwise, and not complying therewith, we shall not be obliged to keep with you and comply with the aforesaid, nor any matter of it; on the contrary, we will order that you be punished, and proceed against you as against one who keeps not nor complies with, but acts counter to, the commands of his natural king and lord. In confirmation whereof we order that the present be given, signed by my name, and witnessed by my undersigned Secretary. Done at the town Valladolid, the twentieth day of the month of April, of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven.

I THE KING.

ROYAL CEDULA PERMITTING JUAN DE AÑASCO TO  
TRAFFIC WITH THE INDIANS OF FLORIDA,  
SO LONG AS THERE ARE NO DUTIES  
ON IMPORTS IN THAT PROVINCE.

THE KING.

Inasmuch as thou on thy part, Juan de Añasco, our Comptroller of the Province of Florida, the government whereof I have conferred on the Captain Hernando de Soto, hast petitioned me to command that thou be permitted to traffic with the Indians of the Province, notwithstanding thou be our

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<sup>1</sup>This Ordinance, first placed in the charter granted to Francisco Montejo for the conquest of Yucatan, dated the seventh day of December, of the year 1526, signed by the King, his Secretary, Francisco de los Cobos, Mercurinus cancellorius, fr. G. Epus. Oxemes, Dotor Caravajal, Epus. Canariensis, el Dotor Beltram, fr. G. Epus. Civitatem, was afterwards inserted in all like concessions, and is deemed to follow here.

Comptroller there, or in such way allowed as might to us be deemed proper, we by this present do license and empower thee, so long as in that Province we shall not be paid the duties of *almojarifadgo*, to bargain, contract, and traffic with the Indians thereof, alone or in company, as thou wilt, and shalt deem proper, as well in the things of these our kingdoms, as in those which in that country may be produced or may exist there; observing in respect thereof the ordinances that are or may be enacted by our Governor and officers of that Province, to the extent that neither thou nor the said company treat or contract with our *exchequer*, directly or indirectly, under penalty of forfeiture of our favour, and of your goods to the fiscal advantage of our Treasury. Dated at Valladolid, the fourth day of the month of May, of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven.

I THE KING.

### WILL OF HERNANDO DE SOTO

*In Dei Nomine, Amen.*

Know ye who shall see this testamentary letter, that I, the Adelantado, Don Hernando de Soto, being of sound body and free mind, such as my Redeemer Jesus Christ has been pleased to bestow on me, believing firmly in what believes and holds the Holy Mother Church, in the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons and one only true God, promising as a faithful Christian to live and die in His Holy Catholic faith, mindful of the blood that Jesus Christ shed for me as the price of my redemption, and endeavouring to repay and satisfy so great benefit, knowing that death is a natural thing, and that the more I shall be prepared for it the better will He be pleased, I declare that I commend my soul to God, who created it of nothing, and redeemed it with His most holy passion, that He place it among the number of the elect in His glory, and I order the body to the earth, of which it was made.

First, I command, should God take me from this present life on the sea, that my corpse be so disposed of, that it may be taken to the land where-soever our Lord shall be pleased it shall come to port, and should a church be there, or should one there be built, that it be deposited therein until such time as there are arrangements for taking it to Spain, to the city of Xeréz, near Badajóz, where it be consigned to the sepulchre where lies my mother, in the Church of San Miguel; and in that church I order that of my goods a

site and place be brought where a chapel be built that shall have for its invocation Our Lady of the Conception, in which edifice and work I desire there be expended two thousand ducats, one thousand five hundred in the structures and enclosure, and the five hundred in an altar-piece, representing the same Invocation of Our Lady of the Conception; and I order that vestments be made, with a chasuble, two dalmatics, an antependium and a cope, with three albs, and a chalice with its cover, both of silver, and two other chasubles for daily use, for which I direct there be paid of my goods other three hundred ducats; and I order that the mentioned vestments be of silk, of the color which to the patron and my executors, and to those of the said chapel, shall appear well; and I order that of my goods be bought a perpetual rent of twelve thousand maravedis, in good possession, which shall be given to a chaplain who shall say five masses each week for my soul, the souls of my parents, and that of Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my wife, and he shall be appointed by the patron of the chapel, with the understanding that should there be a clergyman of my line, who desires to be chaplain, it be given to him in preference to any other, and that he be the nearest of kin, should there be two or more.

Also, I order that if the body of my father or of my mother be in Badajóz, or in any other part whatsoever, not in that chapel, they be taken out and brought thence, and be entombed there where my body shall be, or should be placed, which is in the midst of the chapel, in such manner that the foot of the sepulchre adjoin the foot-stone of the altar; and thereon I order to be placed a tomb covered over by a fine black broadcloth, in the middle of which be put a red cross of the Commandery of the Order of the Knights of Saint Jago, that shall be for use on week-days, and another pall of black velvet, with the same cross in the midst, with four escutcheons of brocade, bearing my arms; which escutcheons I wish and order to be likewise placed on the chapel, altar-piece, and railing, and vestments, in such manner as to the patron and executors shall appear most becoming.

Also, to the end that this chapel and chaplaincy be kept in repair and appointment, the chapel and the income alike, I order that Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my wife, be the patroness; and, after her, should God give me children, I desire the patron to be my eldest legitimate son, or my eldest legitimate daughter, should I have no male child, that they, or either of them, who shall be the patron, may buy the site for, and make the said chapel, and do all the foregoing appertaining to it, and buy the said twelve thousand maravedis, and appoint the chaplain. And should God not grant me legitimate sons or daughters, I order that after the lifetime of my wife,

the patron be Juan Mendez de Soto, my brother, and after his life, his eldest son; and if he be without a male child, I order that the successor to that patronage be the eldest son of Catalina de Soto, my sister; and should she have no male child, let the successor thereto be the eldest son of Maria de Soto, my sister; and if it happen of the designated patrons there should be no issue male, I order the patronage to succeed to the next nearest of kin, being always male.

Also, in order that the chapel, and vestments, and rent for the chaplaincy, may always be available, and that in each year, on All Saints' Day, a mass be sung, and another on All Souls' Day, with its vigil, and offerings of bread and wine, there shall be a perpetual rent of five thousand maravedis, on good possessions, to be bought with my goods, and I order that they be used in no other way than for what is expressed.

Also, I order that on the day my body is interred, it be followed by the *curas* and clergy of the parishes, with their crosses, and by the orders there may be in the city aforesaid, and that there be paid them what is customary; and I require that each *cura*, with the clergy of their church, sing a mass on that day, and they be paid what is usual; and I order that on the same day thirty masses be said for me, and that there be paid therefor what is customary.

Also, I order that there be said twenty masses of *requiem* in the said chapel, for the soul of the Captain Compañon, and that what is usual be paid for them.

Also, that there be twenty masses of Our Lady of the Conception said in the chapel.

Also, I order that ten masses of the Holy Ghost be said in the chapel.

Also, I order that ten masses be said of All Saints in said chapel.

Also, I order that ten masses be said, five of them of the Passion, and five of the Wounds, in the aforesaid, my chapel.

Also, I order that sixty masses be said for souls in purgatory, in my said chapel; all which masses shall be said by whom my executors shall please.

Also, toward the completion of pious works, I order to each of them one real.

Also, I order for the redemption of captives, two reals.

Also, I order, that inasmuch as I gave Ysabel de Soto in espousal to Don Carlos Enriquez, and it was understood should be given with her in marriage and for dowry whatever I might think best, I order that of my goods there be given to him three thousand ducats, which are the dowry of marriage of the said Ysabel de Soto, my cousin [niece; See *ante*, p. 179].

I confess to have received in dowry with Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my

legitimate wife, seven thousand castellanos, of which, at the time of making this my will, I have received two thousand castellanos, the same being within my control; in Spain are deposited other two thousand in the House of Contratacion, and the remaining three thousand are in the possession of the debtor to whom was sold certain cattle in which the dowry was assigned.

Also, I admit that at the time I married Ysabel de Bobadilla, I sent her in marriage pledge six thousand ducats, all which, the seven thousand castellanos of dowry, as well as the six thousand ducats of *arras*, I order that she have and inherit of my goods, as her sole undivided property, that should belong to her of my said estate.

Also, I command that of my goods be given to my nephew, Pedro de Soto, five hundred ducats.

Also, I order that to a boy, who they say is my son, called Andrés de Soto, be given four hundred ducats from my goods.

Also, I order that to a daughter I left in Nicaragua, called Doña Maria de Soto, married to Hernan Nieto, be given one thousand ducats from my goods.

Also, I order to be given to Alonso Ayala, my mayordomo, from my goods three hundred ducats.

Also, I order that to Rodrigo Rangel, my secretary, be given, for the good service he has rendered me, three hundred ducats of my goods; to Castro, my carver, I order fifty ducats from my goods.

Also, I order two thousand ducats for the marriage of the maids of Doña Ysabel, who are Maria Arias, and Catalina Ximenes, and Mexia, and Arellano, and Carreño, which will be divided among them by Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my wife, as shall appear well to her, and as they shall have served her.

Also, I order to Doña Leonor de Bobadilla, in marriage, one thousand ducats, for the service that she and Nuño de Tobár have rendered, of which I desire she have five hundred, and he five hundred, to avoid delicacy or doubts.

Also, I order to Leonor de Bolaños two hundred ducats for her services.

Also, I acknowledge and declare that I have made a writing of companionship with the Captain Hernan Ponçe de Leon, in which are contained many things, as will appear by it, which was executed before Domingo de la (*illegible*), public notary, resident in Lima, and of that city, in the Province of Peru, which was amended and reaffirmed, with some additions, by another writing, made and executed before Francisco Sepero, and Francisco de Alcocer, notaries of His Majesty, in the town of San Christóbal, of the Havana, in the Island of Fernandina, named Cuba, which I have present: whence I say and declare, that of all the goods that to me belong, or can be



mine, of which I have no exact knowledge, I admit that of the whole, one-half I possess are his; and of all goods whatsoever that he possesses and has, the half are mine, by reason of the partnership and brotherhood that we have formed, as contained in those writings.

Also, I declare that, in the event my body cannot be had for taking to Spain, for sepulture, as is set forth, it be no impediment or hindrance to the founding of that chapel and the chaplaincy aforesaid; but that all be done as in this my will is expressed and declared.

Also, I order, that this my will being executed in the manner set forth, of the remainder of my goods be purchased one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis of perpetual rents, in good possessions, which shall be joined with the other one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis of income which I have belonging to me of my share in the royal revenues from silk, in the city of Grenada, which, taken together, amounts to three hundred thousand maravedis, of which I wish and order to be made two parts, one, being one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis, Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my wife, to have and enjoy all her lifetime, and the other one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis be employed yearly in marrying three orphan damsels, daughters of some that be of my line, and to the fifth degree, the poorest that can be found; the which shall be employed by Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my wife, in their marriage, on whom I confer all my power complete to that full object, and they whom she shall elect and name, shall be elected and named as though I myself had done so; and if it happen that damsels shall not be found of my lineage to the fifth degree, I wish and order that they be any other damsels, orphans, daughters of nobility, of the poorest there may be in the city of Xeréz, near Badajóz, who likewise are to be selected and named by Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my wife; and I order that after her days the said rent of one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis I leave to her during life be united to the other hundred and fifty thousand maravedis, being three hundred thousand maravedis of rent employed in the marriage of six damsels yearly, in the same manner as hereinbefore declared of the three, to each of whom shall be given fifty thousand maravedis for their dowry—the half in money, the half in apparel and furniture; and for the better execution hereof, I leave for patrons and administrators of the three hundred thousand maravedis' rent, the very reverend fathers, the prior, or president, of the Convent of Santo Domingo, of the city of Badajóz, and the minister of the Convent of the Santísima Trinidad, of that city, and the prior of Sto. Agustin, of that city, and the guardian of San Francisco, which is within that city, who now are, or shall be, to whom I give my complete power to that

end, and I order that the persons whom they name and designate stand named and designated as if by me; and I entreat them as favour, and charge their consciences, that this be done with all diligence, for it is in the service of Our Lord, mindful of all the foregoing contained above, that they be all six damsels of nobility of my line, the nearest of kin, and to the fifth degree, and should there be no relatives of my line within this grade, I desire they be daughters of nobility, orphan damsels, the poorest there are in the city of Xeréz, of Badajóz. And should there be no orphans that are of the poorest, I give such patrons the full power I have and possess, and of right belonging to me, to receive the said three hundred thousand maravedis, and have an administrator, that they may be collected, to whom shall be paid such salary for his trouble as they shall deem just; and, that there may be memory of this, I desire that each of these reverend fathers have one thousand maravedis of alms, which, with what will have to be given the administrator, shall be taken from the said three hundred thousand maravedis.

And in order to make compliance with and protect this my will, and the bequests in it contained, I leave as my executors Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my wife, Captain Hernan Ponçe de Leon, Juan Mendez de Soto, my brother, and Gutierrez Garay de Cardenosa, and, in default of him, his son Hernan Gutierrez Cardenosa, to whom and to each I give *in solidum* all my complete power, with general administration, and all its incidences and dependences, accidences, annexes and connexes, so much, in such case as may be requisite, that without authority of judge or superior, but of their own inherent, they may enter upon those my said goods, and take of them all that may be necessary, and sell them at public outcry, or otherwise, at very low, or bad price, to comply with all the requirements of this my will, according as they are therein contained, discharging them conformably to law.

Made in the town of San Christóbal of the Havana, on the tenth day of the month of May, in the year of the birth of Our Redeemer Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine.

EL ADELANTADO DON HERNANDO DE SOTO.

All in this will contained is correct, and was set forth in the presence of Señor Fray Juan de Gallegos, and Señor Fray Francisco de la Rocha.

FRAY JUAN DE GALLEGOS.

FRAY FRANCISCO DE LA ROCHA.

Besides this, and over what is set forth, I order that all the debts that it shall appear at any time I owe, by information or truth spoken, be paid from my goods; and inasmuch as I caused some soldiers to be quartered of my

armament in the city of Santiago, and the other towns of this Island, the inhabitants of which gave them subsistence, if any thing because of this should be asked, let there be paid of my goods whatsoever shall appear I am indebted in this behalf.

Made on the said day of May, one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine years.

EL ADELANTADO DON HERNANDO DE SOTO.

*Witnesses:* FR. JUAN DE GALLEGOS.  
FR. FRANCISCO DE ROCHA.

Translated from a copy in the Lonja, at Sevilla, among the papers existing in the action of Ysabel de Bobadilla, widow, against Hernan Ponce de Leon.

The name Maria de Soto seems not to be well transcribed from the original instrument, since the mention of Doña Mencía, as the sister of Hernando, is observed to occur several times among the voluminous papers in the suit, which is in conformity with what Salazar y Castro writes in his history of the House of Silva, that Maria Enriquez de Vargas brought with her in marriage the entailed estate of Manchada, with other lands from her parents, Don Alonzo Enriquez, Prefect of Badajóz, and Doña Mencía de Soto, sister of the Adelantado of Florida.

## LETTER TO THE KING OF SPAIN FROM OFFICERS AT HAVANA IN THE ARMY OF DE SOTO.

[Original in the General Archive of the Indies, Seville.]

*On the envelope is written:—*



TO THE S. I. C. MAJESTY

OF THE EMPEROR AND KING OUR LORD.

H. I. C. My.

We gave relation to Your Majesty from Saint Jago de Cuba of the favourable beginning of our expedition, which, it appears, the Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto brought with his good fortune, wherewith to serve in the matter of which he comes in control. Suffice it to say, that he has thought best to look both into the state of the Island and the population, as Your Majesty is informed; but with great toil and cost to himself, as he wished to travel throughout, visiting the towns, which had much need of attention. As well has he been detained, at great expense with his soldiers, longer than he wished, while providing himself, without loss of time, in every particular useful for his conquest, managing aptly in all matters, and setting every thing in complete order.

We inform Your Majesty, that to-day, on the eve of departure, he has large vessels in port, two caravels and two brigantines, in all nine sail, having lost two since our arrival. He carries in them two hundred and thirty-seven horses, besides some of relief; three hundred and thirty foot, as well as those mounted; in all, five hundred and thirteen men, without the sailors. With these go more abundant subsistence than could have been gotten out of Spain for an armada. There are three thousand loads of çaçabi, twenty-five hundred shoulders of bacon, and twenty-five hundred hanegas of maize: moreover, there are beasts on hoof for the settlement, and for the butcher, to be in readiness on the return of the vessels, through which we are to receive large supplies. With this object, the Adelantado has bought many grazing farms, at the cost of much money, to be employed solely in affording us sustenance.

In order that Your Majesty may entertain good hopes of that country of Florida, we report, that directly upon our arrival here, in order that Juan de Añasco might go with fifty men to look for some port on the coast, he was elected to be the royal Comptroller; and although he passed through many hardships, because of the winter, he found the most convenient place that could be desired very near, only some seventy-five or eighty leagues from this land, inhabited and very secure. He brought four of the Indians, as interpreters, who are so intelligent that they already understand us, after a manner, and give grand expectations of that country, so much so, that all depart joyfully and contented.

The bearer of this letter is the Captain Hernan Ponçe de Leon, companion of the Adelantado, who has been a witness to all this, and is a person of whom Your Majesty can be informed in whatsoever may most interest you.

We will say no more at present, save that on arriving in the land of Florida, we will, by Divine pleasure, take particular care to give a very long relation of all that shall hereafter occur.

Our Lord guard and increase the S. I. C. life of Your Majesty with augmentation of more and greater kingdoms and lordships, as the servants of Y. M. desire.

From the town of San X<sup>o</sup>bal of the Havana, the eighteenth day of May, of the year 1539.

From Y. S. I. C. M<sup>y</sup>'s

Servants, who your Imperial feet kiss.

JUAN  
GAYTAN  
*Rubrica.*

JNO. DE AÑ  
ASCO  
*Rubrica.*

LUIS FERNANDEZ  
DE BIEDMA  
*Rubrica.*

criasos q sus ymperiales  
besan via

Francis  
Gayton

Luys fernandez  
de bled mall

Facsimile of Signatures to Foregoing Document

LETTER OF HERNANDO DE SOTO AT TAMPA BAY TO THE  
JUSTICE AND BOARD OF MAGISTRATES IN  
SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

VERY NOBLE GENTLEMEN:

The being in a new country, not very distant indeed from that where you are, still with some sea between, a thousand years appear to me to have gone by since any thing has been heard from you; and although I left some letters written at Havana, to go off in three ways, it is indeed long since I have received one. However, since opportunity offers by which I may send an account of what it is always my duty to give, I will relate what passes, and I believe will be welcome to persons I know favourably, and are earnest for my success.

I took my departure from Havana with all my armament on Sunday, the XVIIIth of May, although I wrote that I should leave on the XXVth of the month. I anticipated the day, not to lose a favourable wind, which changed, nevertheless, for calms, upon our getting into the Gulf; still these were not so continuous as to prevent our casting anchor on this coast, as we did at the end of eight days, which was on Sunday, the festival of Espiritu Santo.

Having fallen four or five leagues below the port, without any one of my pilots being able to tell where we were, it became necessary that I should go in the brigantines and look for it. In doing so, and in entering the mouth of the port, we were detained three days; and likewise because we had no knowledge of the passage—a bay that runs up a dozen leagues or more from the sea—we were so long delayed that I was obliged to send my Lieutenant-General, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, in the brigantines, to take possession of a town at the end of the bay. I ordered all the men and horses to be landed on a beach, whence, with great difficulty, we went on Trinity Sunday to join Vasco Porcallo. The Indians of the coast, because of some fears of us, have abandoned all the country, so that for thirty leagues not a man of them has halted.

At my arrival here I received news of there being a Christian in the possession of a Cacique, and I sent Baltazar de Gallegos, with XL. men of the horse, and as many of the foot, to endeavour to get him. He found the man a day's journey from this place, with eight or ten Indians, whom he brought into my power. We rejoiced no little over him, for he speaks the language; and although he had forgotten his own, it directly returned to him. His name is Juan Ortiz, an hidalgo, native of Sevilla.

In consequence of this occurrence, I went myself for the Cacique, and came back with him in peace. I then sent Baltazar de Gallegos, with eighty lancers, and a hundred foot-soldiers, to enter the country. He has found fields of maize, beans, and pumpkins, with other fruits, and provision in such quantity as would suffice to subsist a very large army without its knowing a want. Having been allowed, without interruption, to reach the town of a Cacique named Urripacoxit, master of the one we are in, also of many other towns, some Indians were sent to him to treat for peace. This, he writes, having been accomplished, the Cacique failed to keep certain promises, whereupon he seized about XVII. persons, among whom are some of the principal men; for in this way, it appears to him, he can best secure a performance. Among those he detains are some old men of authority, as great as can be among such people, who have information of the country farther on. They say that three days' journey from where they are, going by some towns and huts, all well inhabited, and having many maize-fields, is a large town called Acuera, where with much convenience we might winter; and that afterwards, farther on, at the distance of two days' journey, there is another town, called Ocale. It is so large, and they so extol it, that I dare not repeat all that is said. There is to be found in it a great plenty of all the things mentioned; and fowls, a multitude of turkeys, kept in pens, and herds of tame deer that are tended. What this means I do not understand, unless it be the cattle, of which we brought the knowledge with us. They say there are many trades among that people, and much intercourse, an abundance of gold and silver, and many pearls. May it please God that this may be so; for of what these Indians say I believe nothing but what I see, and must well see; although they know, and have it for a saying, that if they lie to me it will cost them their lives. This interpreter puts a new life into us, in affording the means of our understanding these people, for without him I know not what would become of us. Glory be to God, who by His goodness has directed all, so that it appears as if He had taken this enterprise in His especial keeping, that it may be for His service, as I have supplicated, and do dedicate it to Him.

I sent eighty soldiers by sea in boats, and my General by land with XL. horsemen, to fall upon a throng of some thousand Indians, or more, whom Juan de Añasco had discovered. The General got back last night, and states that they fled from him; and although he pursued them, they could not be overtaken, for the many obstructions in the way. On our coming together we will march to join Baltazar de Gallegos, that we may go thence to pass the winter at the Ocale, where, if what is said be true, we shall have nothing

to desire. Heaven be pleased that something may come of this that shall be for the service of our Divine Master, and whereby I may be enabled to serve Your Worships, and each of you, as I desire, and is your due.

Notwithstanding my continual occupation here, I am not forgetful of the love I owe to objects at a distance; and since I may not be there in person, I believe that where you, Gentlemen, are, there is little in which my presence can be necessary. This duty weighs upon me more than every other, and for the attentions you will bestow, as befits your goodness, I shall be under great obligations. I enjoin it upon you, to make the utmost exertions to maintain the repose and well-being of the public, with the proper administration of justice, always reposing in the Licentiate, that every thing may be so done in accordance with law, that God and the King may be served, myself gratified, and every one be content and pleased with the performance of his trust, in such a manner as you, Gentlemen, have ever considered for my honour, not less than your own, although I still feel that I have the weight thereof, and bear the responsibility.

As respects the bastion which I left begun, if labouring on it have been neglected, or perhaps discontinued, with the idea that the fabric is not now needed, you, Gentlemen, will favour me by having it finished, since every day brings change; and although no occasion should arise for its employment, the erection is provident for the well-being and safety of the town: an act that will yield me increased satisfaction, through your very noble personages.

That our Lord may guard and increase your prosperity is my wish and your deserving.

In this town and Port of Espiritu Santo, in the Province of Florida, July the IX., in the year 1539.

The servant of you, Gentlemen.

EL ADELANTADO DON HERNANDO DE SOTO.

This document, which exists in copy only, written in a firm, clear hand, is to be found in the *Archivo de Indias*, and doubtless is that which accompanied the letter of the Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz, dated at Santiago, the eighth day of November, 1539, addressed to the Emperor and Council of the Indias. In it he says:

“Directly as the Governor left here I fell sick in bed, and remained so three months, on which account I could not finish the bastion and bulwark he commenced. \* \* \* It may be a month since the Governor of this Island wrote from the Port of Espiritu Santo to the Board of this City,



stating his arrival in Florida, and its occurrences, a copy of which I send. He strongly urges the completion of the bastion at this port, but the magistrates oppose it; and, contrary to my commands, have ordered the assessment to cease, which is necessary for this purpose, and the following up of the wild Indians. \* \* \*

Notwithstanding the character in which the letter of the Adelantado is copied, the transcript seems to be faulty in omissions, and affords several evident mistakes of words.

LETTER TO CHARLES V FROM THE JUSTICE AND BOARD  
OF MAGISTRATES OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA, GIVING A  
STATEMENT OF OCCURRENCES ON THE ISLAND.

[Original in the General Archive of the Indies, Seville.]

*On the envelope is written:—*

TO THE SACRED IMPERIAL CATHOLIC MAJESTY,

THE EMPEROR KING OUR MASTER.

S. I. C. M.

On the seventh day of June, of the present year, the Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto arrived at this port with five ships, bringing six hundred men for the conquest of Florida. He laid before us a provision bestowing on him the government of this Island, which we receive as favour. Being mindful that he goes to serve Your Majesty in the settlement of that country, his people have been entertained among the inhabitants of the place in the best manner possible, and he now makes ready for his departure. May our Lord guide him thither, and give the success most for His service and that of Your Highness.

According to Your Majesty's command, he presented for his Chief Judge the Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz, a civilian, long resident in these parts, of whom we hope that he will see the inhabitants receive good treatment, with considerations of justice and honour.

On the 5th of April just past, a French vessel, having seventy-eight men, entered this port, with the intention of robbing the city, at a time when it pleased God there should be found here a vessel belonging to Diego Perez, resident of Sevilla, which opposed her, the two with bombards fighting together a day and night, each killing three or four men for the other, the most

of the townspeople in the mean while going to their farmhouses and bringing together their women and property, as in the city there was no military defence or support of any sort. With this resistance, that vessel went out and went off. Now we have news that she sailed to San X<sup>o</sup>val of the Havana, on this Island, burned all the town, the church inclusive, taking a certain amount in gold, the property of persons deceased, and another of the Crusade, with one hundred and fifty dollars, the proceeds of gate duties, belonging to Your Highness, besides doing other injuries to individuals. When she left this city, they said she would return; and as it may be that these or some other Frenchmen might dare as much, we resolve to make this known to Your Majesty, that the remedy may be applied in affording the protection of some artillery with which to make defence at the wharf, and give that security which a half dozen of large calibre and a dozen culverins we think sufficient to insure. These we beg that Your Highness will order to be sent to us, and the necessary ammunition from the House of Contratacion in Sevilla, with the haste possible; for if this town be burned or destroyed, the Island is ruined, and the injury is great. God will not permit that the Church and other stone edifices shall be consumed. They have cost much to erect, and could not be rebuilt in a long time.

We likewise make known to Your Majesty that, eight months since, twenty or thirty wild natives insurged, and have committed many atrocities, killing Christians, Spaniards, negroes, domestic Indians, and herds, and setting farms on fire. Although this Board has from the first sent a force against them, which killed many, they continue to do harm; and the Adelantado, having got this information, directly upon his arrival in this city sent out a troop of Spaniards, with negroes and tame Indians, at the cost of the assessment we have made here; and having also ordered out another party, from the town of San Salvador, the two are now in their pursuit. We hope these may be overtaken and chastised, that the evil may cease. Nothing has been heard as yet. Since there are no arms here nor on the Island, and standing in much need of some, it will be necessary that Your Highness require that from Sevilla there be provided for us as many as fifty thousand maravedis, the half for crossbows, shafts, strings, and appurtenances, the other half in lances and bucklers. We ask Your Majesty will order that the money be laid out in the Contratacion of Sevilla, and the arms sent to us in the first ship that comes to this city, when directly as they arrive we will pay the royal officers the amount thus spent.

Money has been requisite to make this war upon the Indians, who do so great mischief, and to protect us from the French vessels. The Board, being

without any for the purposes, was obliged to raise as many as three hundred dollars gold by assessment of the community. We entreat that Your Majesty be pleased to deem the act properly done, the greater part being paid by the principal persons of the Island; and that, should one or two hundred more be found necessary, Your Highness will favour us by directing that we be authorized and empowered to raise the sum, which, beyond our great obligations, is a necessary measure for the welfare of the land.

From what has been already said, it may be seen how greatly this Island and people need that Your Majesty should order that they be favoured and assisted, lest every thing be lost, and they go away to Florida, Peru, and other parts to find support, which occasion, to many residents, appears to be at hand. Should Your Highness be pleased to permit that all the gold which is got by the Indians and negroes pay the tenth part during seven or eight years, the mines would be sought out and worked unattended by the frauds and deceptions practised at the time of melting the metal, many per-juring themselves in statements that it is got by the negroes, when it is procured by Indians. So small is the quantity obtained, because of the hindrance, that it does not annually amount to thirteen thousand dollars; and, making this concession, every one would strive to discover mines, and not cease to look after gold, as many have done, to engage in fields of other labour and pursuits, whence the income of Your Majesty is less, and the inhabitants continue very poor.

We entreat that it may serve Your Highness to command this favour: that a stone fortress be directed to be built in the Havana; and all the citizens of this place, with the residents, beseech that, in consideration of the want also here of one for defence, it serve you to direct that a fortress be built at this port, to be a permanency in the Island, so that, though many French vessels come, it may be able successfully to prevent their entrance here. This fabric would be the avoidance of many evils, put the inhabitants in heart to remain and settle here; or otherwise, Your Majesty may be assured that this city is in danger of being pillaged and burned, whenever it is the disposition of the French that it should.

The Bishop of the Island arrived here ten or twelve days after the Adelantado came; consequently we have rejoiced much, his presence giving us great consolation, and we trusting in God that it will be very profitable, both for the Island and its inhabitants. As he writes to Your Majesty, nothing remains to be said more than refer to what he states.

Sacred I. C. Majesty our Master. Be the Imperial person of Your Majesty preserved, and your dominion enlarged, as we your vassals desire.

From the City of Santiago, of the Island of Fernandina, the XXVI. day of July, of the year 1539.

From Y. S. I. C. Majesty's humble vassals, who kiss your royal feet and hands.

JUAN DE LA TORRE.

INO. ARMANSA.

LOPE HURTADO.

ANDRES PARADA.

THORIBIO DE CASTRO.

By order of the Justice and Board of Magistrates:

X<sup>o</sup>VAL DE TORRES,

*Notary Public, and of the Board.*



# *El Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto*

*by Rocío Sánchez Rubio  
Translated by Eduardo Korryright*

Dra. Rocío Sánchez Rubio is a native of Badajoz. She is currently at the University of Extremadura. Her research interest is the emigration of Extremadurans to the New World in the sixteenth century. The following biographical sketch of De Soto was published in Spain in 1988 as Number 25 in the *Cuadernos Populares* series of the Junta de Extremadura.

This essay gives a good capsulized version of the life of Hernando de Soto and presents the Spanish point of view of the conquest. It is a point of view that allows for the expression of regional and national pride in the lives and accomplishments of the conquistadors. But it does not cover up the flaws of men such as De Soto, whose character encompassed as many notes of cruelty and caprice as of courage and nobility.

This essay should be read as a counterpoint to the immediately following biography of De Soto by Paul Hoffman, a senior American historian with much experience in the field. Yet the spirit and verve of Rocío Sánchez Rubio's article catches well the spirit and nature of the conquistador class, men, such as Hernando de Soto, who helped elevate Spain to a world-class power in the sixteenth century.

The finer points of modern archaeological debate—such as where exactly the De Soto *entrada* passed through the American Southeast and what was the effect of the Spanish expedition on Native American peoples—are addressed in this essay only in passing, if at all. However, for those wishing a general perspective on De Soto, his life and times, this is an informative place to begin.

## The Conquistador

Like all human endeavors, the Spanish conquest of America was filled with "lights and shadows." Its principal figures have been caught between

the Black Legend on the one hand and blind heroic adoration on the other, yet they deserve to be seen as they actually were: men of their times. Only in this way can a truly critical history of their accomplishments be written.

Despite the fact that the conquest was a collective event, individuals—the triumph of the hero—stand out from the rest. The common features that characterized these men allow us to talk of a “Generation of the Conquista.” Born between 1474 and 1504, they left for America very young, issuing mostly from Andalusia, Castille, and Extremadura; second-born sons of the petty nobility, impoverished noblemen and commoners, their social and cultural origins were diverse.

Their heyday was between 1510 and 1545, coinciding with the reign of Emperor Charles V. Religious by conviction, their sword served not only the king, but also served God. They became divine instruments, waging a holy war that closely paralleled the one against the Turks during the same period.

They gained experience in the Antilles and became acclimated there before making the great leap to the mainland. The vast continents of the Americas were marked by diverse climates, topography, vegetation, and fauna, as well as sharp contrasts in the customs, attitudes, and rituals of their inhabitants. The constant challenges that the New World offered these conquistadors called for remarkable powers of adaptation. Through their efforts they learned to respect this new world they trod upon.

With few resources and lacking names or reputations, they left the Peninsula seeking honor, fame, and social and economic betterment in the New World. The great figures of the conquest were virtually unknown when they began their journeys to America. In their ambition and desire to stand out above others, they often refused to place themselves directly under the patronage of either the king’s representatives or the leading captains. They did appeal to the monarch, but only to seek those offices and titles needed to undertake new adventures of conquest. Conflicts and lawsuits brought about by disputes over jurisdictional authority multiplied among the conquistadors, and these struggles for control of the subdued territories sometimes ended tragically.

Without financial support from the crown, they personally financed every new expedition. If too expensive for one, they often formed partnerships. In exchange, they shared overseeing and recruiting the members of the expedition, and the parties tacitly agreed to share the benefits obtained. Thus, the conquest was primarily the fruit of private enterprise.

In the following pages we will reconstruct the life of Hernando de Soto, a

representative example of the Spanish conquistador. Many of the above-mentioned characteristics and circumstances can be applied to this Extremaduran. This is the story of a conquistador, a man whose life followed the knife edge between glory and failure; it was a life filled not only with wealth, triumph, and satisfaction, but also with toil, want, and suffering.

The adelantado Hernando de Soto was . . . of more than medium build, of a very good appearance, looked well on foot and on horseback, he was of cheerful countenance, dark in color, skillful on both saddles, and more on the genet than the bridle. He was extremely patient in toil and in need, so much so that seeing the patience and suffering of their Captain General was his soldiers' greatest comfort in the midst of their own afflictions.

He was fortunate in the individual journeys that he himself undertook, although not in the principal one, for life failed him at the greatest moment.

. . . He was severe in punishing military misdemeanors; others he pardoned easily. He honored soldiers greatly, those who were virtuous and courageous. He was most courageous, so much that wherever he went he entered the fighting in pitched battle; he cleared the way with room enough for ten of his own to pass, and so they all admitted: that ten lances from all his army were not worth as much as his.

This brave captain had in war a notable and most memorable trait, —in the sudden attacks that the enemy visited on his camp, by day he was always the first or second to go out in arms, and never third; and in those by night he never was the second, but always the first to appear having readied himself to go out [before retiring]. The alarm he always gave himself.

—The Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega

## Controversy over De Soto's Birth

Biographers are often frustrated by the lack of good documentation. Either the relevant documentation has not survived, or the existing sources contain contradictions, or both. The birth and childhood of people who later gained fame are often obscure. Such is the case with Hernando de Soto. Leonor Arias Tinoco, a native of Badajoz, gave birth to him some time between 1495 and 1500; the exact date is not known, since, in the Castille of the late fifteenth century, parish records were not regularly kept. These only became widespread after the Council of Trent in 1545.

Determining the place of De Soto's birth is even more problematic than fixing its date. As with many who figured prominently in the discovery and



conquest of the New World—for example, another illustrious Extremaduran, Pedro de Valdivia, and even the great discoverer, Christopher Columbus—the uncertainty about De Soto’s birthplace has given rise to polemics and disagreements. Three towns contend for the honor of being considered the birthplace of the Adelantado de la Florida: Jerez de los Caballeros, Barcarrota (formerly Villanueva de Barcarrota), and, to a lesser extent, Badajoz. We owe the confusion to three chroniclers who portray him as having been born in each of the above-mentioned places: Pedro Pizarro, the Fidalgo de Elvas, and the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega. The first two were contemporaries of De Soto, and the third was not far removed from the events of his life.

Pedro Pizarro recorded the conquest of Peru, where Hernando de Soto played a significant role, and he identifies Badajoz as De Soto’s birthplace. The Fidalgo de Elvas, who accompanied the *adelantado* in the expedition to Florida, declares De Soto a native of Jerez de los Caballeros, where his father, Francisco Méndez de Soto, was born. Finally, the Inca, Garcilaso, relates in his *Crónica sobre la conquista de la Florida*: “The adelantado Hernando de Soto . . . was a native of Villanueva de Barcarrota.”

Over time, different authors have adopted the views of one or another of these three sixteenth-century chroniclers, so that each option gained a certain following. In the end, Garcilaso’s view emerged as the most popular.

There are other important documents related to De Soto in the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid and in the Archivo General de Indias of Seville. The first of these preserves the adelantado’s papers of admission into the Order of Santiago. That honor was conferred upon De Soto by the king when the conquistador left for Florida, as a reward for the many services he had rendered. The heading of this document reads: “Santiago 1537. The adelantado Hernando de Soto, a native of *Xerez* . . . ” [emphasis added]. The file includes the testimony of several persons who declared that they knew De Soto and his ancestors. While they mention his nobility and his more or less protracted stays in Badajoz, all of them confirm that Jerez was his birthplace. The Sevillian archives contain the last will and testament that Hernando signed on May 13, 1539, in San Cristóbal de la Habana, a few days before beginning the expedition to Florida. In it he made several bequests that were ultimately to be carried out in Jerez. Moreover, he stated his wish to be buried alongside his parents in the Church of San Miguel in Jerez. There can be no doubt that his ties to Jerez must have been important, whether he was born there or not.

But there are also arguments in favor of Barcarrota that lend credibility to that town’s claims. De Soto’s parents frequently traveled between Jerez and

Badajoz, spending the first years of their marriage in these two towns. However, it is difficult to believe that the bond between the conquistador and Barcarrota could have developed solely from such happenstance, especially when we consider the enthusiastic response among its inhabitants in enlisting for the expedition to Florida. And the honor and glory claimed by Barcarrota as the birthplace of Hernando de Soto is not lacking in concrete symbols; Barcarrotians still feel proud to preserve the house where their renowned son once “lived.” The frequent contacts between this town and the “Society of Knights of Bradenton” in Florida, who annually travel from Florida to Barcarrota to commemorate De Soto, help to reinforce this belief. The meetings, colorful and picturesque, commemorate the expedition 450 years ago when the conquistador and a few hundred Spaniards landed on the coast of Florida to begin their memorable endeavor. These reunions also keep intact Barcarrota’s claim to fame as the birthplace of the adelantado.

Whatever the place of his birth, De Soto was indisputably from Extremadura. Like him, many Extremadurans, some of them well known and written about (Pizarro, Cortés, Alvarado, Valdivia, Orellana, Balboa . . . and others, unfortunately anonymous), abandoned their homeland and undertook a great endeavor in search of the fame and fortune that were in such short supply in Extremadura, but so invitingly available to the bold and daring in the New World.

## Encounter with the New World

If Hernando de Soto’s birth is obscure, the first years of his life are impenetrable. The son of a noble family, though of modest means, his childhood was spent on horseback between Badajoz and Jerez de los Caballeros, accompanied by his three siblings: Catalina, María, and Juan Méndez de Soto. We do not know what sort of education he received; nevertheless, he must have been familiar with the “teachings” and rumors about America that circulated during his childhood and adolescence.

From the moment when Columbus first returned from the New World, a fascination with this exotic, unknown region spread through Castille. An expedition to the isthmus of Panama by another Extremaduran, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, opened the doors to the immense territory still to be discovered and to legends of wealthy kingdoms farther south. Balboa’s expedition began in Nuestra Señora La Antigua, a town that Balboa himself founded on the coast of Darién (now Panama), and ended when he reached

the South Seas—the name given to the Pacific Ocean. The Indians encountered during his trip across the isthmus all pointed Balboa to the existence of a great people to the south, possessing immense riches.

### Pedrarias's Expedition

The reports brought back by the discoverer of the South Seas prompted King Ferdinand to organize a great expedition. His first measure was to name Pedro Arias de Avila governor and captain general of Castilla del Oro, the suggestive name given to this country, which captured the aura of wealth created by Balboa's reports. The offices granted to this native of Segovia, better known as Pedrarias Dávila, gave him the power to organize, subdue, and colonize the new territories. He was to settle in the Darién, in the aforementioned Nuestra Señora La Antigua.

Rumors of the wealth that could be obtained by participating in the expedition spread throughout Spain and proved very powerful in attracting volunteers. Besides the potential wealth offered by that part of the world, there were the many recompenses and benefices that the Catholic king would grant to anyone willing to embark in order to populate and colonize Castilla del Oro. The concessions of land, houses, and mansions, the right to participate in the apportionment of Indians, the exploitation of mines, the exemption from taxes and tariffs—these, among other privileges, facilitated the preparations. Hundreds of Castellians, blinded by the promises of wealth, rushed to enlist. Among those, still an adolescent, was Hernando de Soto. The resources deployed (twenty-five ships), the participating contingent (around two thousand people), and the direct involvement of the crown, which paid for and organized the preparations to the last detail, made this expedition unique in the history of America. This is even more striking if we consider that later enterprises involving discovery, conquest, or colonization were of a private nature; they were financed by the conquistadors themselves, the sovereign limiting himself to the legal recognition of the new possessions.

The expedition left San Lúcar de Barrameda on April 11, 1514; with De Soto traveled a group of individuals who, like him, gained renown in the conquest and exploration of the American continent: Bernal Díaz del Castillo (chronicler of the conquest of Peru), Diego de Almagro, Sebastián de Benalcázar, Hernando Luque, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, and Pascual de Andagoya, to name but a few.

When the fleet arrived at La Antigua on June 29, Pedrarias Dávila took possession of the governorship of Castilla del Oro. Unfortunately, this site, which three months earlier had been idealized and had seemed a kind of paradise, turned out to be a veritable hell. The small colony was soon overwhelmed by this influx of adventurers from the Peninsula. Food soon became scarce, and the situation turned terribly critical. The words of Fernández de Oviedo, a direct witness of these events, are eloquent. He described the colony's experience and the prevailing atmosphere: "The men [were] starving in the streets. . . . Every day fifteen or twenty of them died . . . and in a short time more than five hundred men died. . . . Some returned to Spain and others moved to these our islands Española and Cuba and Jamaica and San Juan. . . . Those who died or departed were more numerous than those who were left in the land."

### The Attainment of a Name

Hernando de Soto's early arrival in the New World allowed him to begin his brilliant military career by witnessing and participating in many different attempts at expansion into the lands of Central America.

In order to alleviate the difficult circumstances enveloping the small colony, Governor Pedrarias ordered incursions into the northern as well as the southern parts of the Darién. The expeditions to the south paved the way for the campaign that the Extremaduran (Trujillo) Francisco Pizarro launched years later to conquer the coveted Inca empire. De Soto must have figured in one of these expansionary incursions, especially given his ability as a rider, since the governor named him "Captain of the men on horseback." Other testimonies remain of his excellence in the saddle; the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega described him as "skillful on both saddles, and more on the genet than the bridle," later calling him "one of the best lances that have come to the New World, and few as good and none better, unless it were that of Gonzalo Pizarro." A famous episode occurred during the conquest of Peru when he used his skill as a rider to impress the Inca emperor, Atahualpa.

Bearing the title of captain, he must have been an eyewitness to the stormy relations between Pedrarias Dávila and Vasco Núñez de Balboa, as well as to the tragic end of their confrontations.

The quarrels between these men began with the arrival of the governor in La Antigua. They settled on a short truce in 1516 after the marriage by proxy of Balboa and María, Pedrarias's daughter. However, the truce was

broken by Pedrarias, who accused Balboa of taking advantage of his title (as a reward for his services, the king had named Balboa adelantado of the South Seas and general of two provinces—he was still subject to the governor's authority, however), and that Balboa, furthermore, was infringing upon his jurisdiction by usurping the crown's land. Charged with treason and condemned to death, Vasco Núñez was executed in January of 1519.

After the death of Balboa, the center of operations was moved to Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Panamá, a city founded by Pedrarias when he realized that movement to both the north and south would be more feasible from the Pacific Coast. Very soon this city, the first to be founded on the Pacific Ocean, replaced Nuestra Señora de La Antigua as the capital of Castilla del Oro. From here De Soto embarked on expeditions where—without yet playing a prominent role—he performed brilliant acts that increased his fame and merit in the eyes of the governor and his comrades. In the most significant episode, he personally rescued Master Espinosa, a lawyer, from the Indians during an expedition led by De Soto and Francisco Pizarro, which in 1520 attempted to expand the colony toward the territories of Costa Rica and Veragua.

Four years later Hernando was one of the captains under Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, whom Pedrarias had entrusted with the conquest of Nicaragua. De Soto again had the opportunity to demonstrate his personal loyalty to Pedrarias.

Hernández de Córdoba, after advancing without difficulty and having founded several towns and cities (León, Granada) in Nicaragua, tried to dissociate himself from the government of Castilla del Oro. He petitioned the king to make him the governor of Nicaragua; however, he found that the majority of his troops opposed him, including De Soto, who was imprisoned. He was freed by Captain Francisco Compañón, a lifelong friend of his. Together they returned to Panama and informed the governor of the chief expeditionary's behavior. Hernández de Córdoba was later executed in León, a city which he founded.

This display of absolute fidelity to Pedrarias increased De Soto's popularity to the point that the future adelantado of Florida began to become known outside the American territories. This, added to his participation in the expansion of Castilla del Oro throughout the Central American region, earned him prestige and respect in courtly circles. When he returned to Castille from Isla de La Española in 1526, Charles V could not find a better ambassador to send to Lisbon to rescue Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa. This

man, along with others, had accompanied Juan Sebastian Elcano in his voyage of circumnavigation, and they had been imprisoned by the Portuguese and lost their ship.

We do not know the outcome of his trip nor of his negotiations, nor do we know the date of his return to America. In 1529, De Soto was in Nicaragua again, where he lived as one of the richest and most influential inhabitants of León. This did not last long, however. Rarely were such men satisfied with the status gained at any given moment. They frequently exchanged the comfort and luxury that their previous expeditions had yielded for the privations, discomfort, and possible death that accompanied a new endeavor. Their desire for fame and greater riches drove them to invest their belongings in new expeditions. In 1531, Hernando de Soto participated in the final drive to conquer the Inca empire, an endeavor that up to that time had cost a great deal of effort.

## The Conquest of Peru

The first years of Castilla del Oro were dominated by constant attempts to expand toward the south. In that direction lay the kingdom that, according to Panamanian Indians, possessed fabulous wealth. It was not until Asunción de Panamá was founded on the Pacific that access to Peru was made possible.

Following the failed expedition by Pascual de Andagoya in 1522, Francisco Pizarro, an Extremaduran (Trujillo) who had arrived in the Indies in 1502 and distinguished himself militarily under Pedrarias, began his incursions in 1524. He formed a partnership with Diego de Almagro, a native of La Mancha, and the Andalusian cleric Hernando Luque. After two unsuccessful attempts, the reticence and obstacles placed in Pizarro's path by Governor Pedrarias, by then an old man, became too much for him. He returned to Spain and received express authorization from the emperor: in 1530, by means of an agreement signed in Toledo, Pizarro was entrusted with the conquest of Peru and was named governor, captain general, and adelantado. Accompanied by his brothers and several contingents of Extremadurans, he returned to Panama to begin the preparations.

In order to launch an enterprise of that caliber, Pizarro had to seek people willing to participate in the expedition, and to risk their possessions and capital. Since Hernán Ponce de León was a member of the Pizarro group, it

is only natural that his longtime friend, Hernando de Soto, was also included; the pair formed a partnership, agreeing to divide between them the profits obtained in battle. In this way, De Soto abandoned the privileges and comfort of León and was granted, through Ponce's exertions, the most important subordinate position in the army that embarked for Peru. In addition, he was promised that he would be made the lord of the first large town to be conquered.

## Peru

All of the territory that lay to the south of Panama, beyond the Gulf of San Miguel, was known as Birú, Pirú, or Perú. The Tahuantinsuyu—a name used by the Incas to refer to their dominions—included today's Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and a part of northern Chile.

The Inca empire was forged from different tribes of the Quechua race and culture that originated in the Altiplano and Lake Titicaca. The Incas founded their capital in Cuzco, and from this city they expanded outward, subduing the length and breadth of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. The expansion, which took place in less than two centuries, respected the traditions of each conquered tribe; however, the vastness of the territory and its topography were not propitious for political unity, and constant crises and conflicts drove the ruling caste to maintain an authoritarian and centralized regime.

Of the approximately eight million persons in Tahuantinsuyu, the inhabitants of the northern lands were the most troublesome. They were the last to be assimilated by the empire, and the political, economic, and social structures that the Incas tried to impose on them did not take root there.

At the time that the Spaniards began the conquest of Peru, the empire was experiencing its gravest crisis ever: the problem of dynastic succession. Upon the death of Huayna Capac, the last Great Inca, the unity of the empire was shattered by two of his children: Huáscar and Atahualpa. The first was the legitimate heir, since he was a *coya's* son, that is, a queen's son. He controlled the greater part of the empire with the support of virtually the entire nobility of Cuzco. Atahualpa, the son of a *ñusta*, or royal maid, settled with his followers in Quito. Civil war was inevitable, and Atahualpa emerged victorious in the struggle when he took Huáscar prisoner. He proclaimed himself the only Inca and received the imperial *lauto*, a symbol of sovereignty.

## Conditions That Favored the Conquest

The Spanish endeavors in the New World during the sixteenth century have been frequently characterized as heroic, and their principal figures have been elevated to the rank of demigods. Without belittling the daring and valor that they demonstrated, we have to admit that terms such as hero, feat, epic, geste, prowess, etc., so often used in relating the story of the conquest can be replaced in many instances by strategist, military expert, diplomacy, cleverness, and ability. These words give a more human dimension to the history of those events.

In the case of the conquest of Peru, it is unthinkable to suppose that a few hundred Spaniards could have single-handedly subdued a great and vast empire such as that of the Incas. The empire possessed an army of potentially thousands of male subjects, ready at any moment for the draft.

The conquistadors skillfully capitalized on the strife among the descendants of Huayna Capac. Pizarro, for example, gained the assistance of the defeated Huáscar's followers, who were the sworn enemies of Atahualpa. In a similar fashion, Pizarro won over different peoples under the control of the Incas who were discontented over the domination and demands by their Inca conquerors. In their view of things, the Spaniards were coming to liberate them from the yoke of the Incas. They expressed this belief at the mythological level as they identified the strangers with the "messengers of Viracocha," the emissaries of the god that created the world. Like that supreme being, the foreigners wore beards and had emerged from the waters (the ocean) where the god Viracocha had disappeared a long time before. Their reappearance could only mean one thing: the messengers would carry out the divine vengeance and would defeat the destroyers of the empire.

A similar situation arose during the conquest of Mexico. Hernán Cortés took advantage of the Indians' image of him as a demigod to establish his authority in the Aztec empire. In addition, he received help from the natives, who were tired of submission to the Aztecs, whom they viewed as their oppressors.

These circumstances, together with the weapons and horses they brought, gave the conquistadors the element of surprise that they needed to gain the fear and respect of the local people. However, as the Indians perceived that the newcomers suffered and died just like them and were therefore merely human, they gradually became less vulnerable to their initial beliefs. Yet, one must praise the Spaniards' effort and courage at times like these, alone in those unknown, inhospitable, and hostile places.



## The Arrival of the Spaniards in Peru

On board three ships obtained for them by Hernán Ponce de León, the expedition led by Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro embarked, heading south. It was January of 1531, and the group consisted of 180 soldiers, three friars, and thirty-seven horses.

Almost two years went by before Francisco Pizarro penetrated the land in Peru to which he had been named governor. The expedition, some of its members advancing by land and others by sea, reached Coyoacan. At this point it was determined that De Soto should return to Panama to recruit new contingents of troops. No problems were foreseen in the enlistment of men, given the riches that everyone expected to find. De Soto, having obtained some reinforcements, rejoined the ranks of the scouting expedition on the island of Puná, where the natives had killed some of the members of the expedition. According to the historian Diego de Trujillo, the first Spanish woman to tread on that soil was among the persons that arrived with Hernando de Soto; her name was Juana Hernández.

They all marched together until reaching Túmbez, the gateway to Peru, where they learned of the civil war then engulfing the empire. Advancing through the Tangarara Valley, the favorable terrain encouraged the Spaniards to found their first city, giving it the name San Miguel; it would later be moved to the Piura River valley, and would be known from then on as San Miguel de Piura. Other cities were established along their trajectory, always with a twofold purpose: to secure the colonization and, above all, to serve as bases or platforms from which new incursions could be launched.

Of the land conquered thus far, Hernando de Soto received the district and lordship of Túmbez. The promise made to him at the beginning of the expedition was thus fulfilled.

After five months in San Miguel, they left a detachment in that city as a base for their rear guard. They turned toward Cajamarca, near where the emperor Atahualpa was stationed with a large army. The Spanish troops numbered fewer than 180 men, and more than half did not have horses. Hernando de Soto, commanding forty soldiers, was sent on a reconnaissance mission into the mountains. De Soto and his scouts experienced *soroche*, the sickness of the high Andes caused by the altitude and the lack of oxygen. A number of De Soto's companions have left us a record of how, after crossing several localities, they came to a town called Caxas. Diego de Trujillo depicted their arrival and sojourn in this spot.

I went with him . . . and after twenty leagues we came upon a town called Caxas . . . and in it was one of Atabalipa's captains, with more than two thousand Indian warriors. And there were in that town three houses for secluded women who were called *mamaconas*. And since we entered and the women were taken out to the plaza, there were more than five hundred of them, and the captain gave many of them to the Spaniards, the captain of the Inca was greatly outraged and said: How dare you do this with Atabalipa staying twenty leagues from here?, because not one of you will remain alive. Then captain De Soto wrote to the governor about everything that was happening and about that Indian's arrogance. The governor responded that they should endure all his arrogance and we should lead him to believe that we were afraid of him. And so we brought him to Caruán, where everything about Atabalipa and his whereabouts became known.

Knowing where the Inca was stationed, Pizarro's armies continued their difficult march toward Cajamarca. "The going was so bad," wrote Hernando Pizarro, "that we would have made an easy match for them . . . , because even by making displays of ability we couldn't use the horses on the trail, and leaving the road rendered everyone, both on horseback and on foot, unstable and ineffective." The expedition halted for a few days in a town near Cajamarca. The chroniclers of the conquest of Peru give differing accounts of Atahualpa's reaction to the proximity of the Spaniards. According to some, the Inca was afraid, supposedly because it appeared that the prophecy of the arrival of the "children of the sun" was being fulfilled. In a more probable account, the emperor's attitude is portrayed as firm and menacing, since he was well aware of the small size of the foreign contingent advancing toward him. Even so, we may suppose that he felt some misgivings, although his position as emperor would not allow him to show them.

## Encounter with Atahualpa and His Imprisonment

On November 15, 1532, the Cajamarca Valley lay at their feet. Far away, very near the baths at Konof, where hot springs still gush forth, they could see Atahualpa's encampment. The amazement and the impression that this sight caused was captured by Hernando Pizarro: "The Indians' camp looked like a very beautiful city. There were such a number of tents before our eyes that we all felt gripped by apprehension. We never would have imagined that the Indians could make a display of so much order, or possess such a num-

ber of tents and such magnificent ones. Until then nothing like it had been seen in the Indies, and despite the size of our Spanish army, the spectacle filled us with fear and confusion.”

That same afternoon, once settled in Cajamarca, Pizarro sent Hernando de Soto as an ambassador; the Extremaduran thus became the first Castillian official to set eyes on Atahualpa. Francisco de Jerez, De Soto’s companion, describes the meeting in his account of the conquest of Peru: “And the tyrant was at the door of his abode, sitting in a low seat and many Indians before him and women standing, almost surrounding him; and he had a woolen tassel that looked like silk . . . tied to his head with its cords . . . his eyes fixed on the ground without raising them to look anywhere.”

Impatiently, the governor sent a second group, headed by his brother Hernando. The Inca’s interview with the two Spanish captains has been described often enough, but the moment stands out when Atahualpa offered the governor’s brother a cup of chicha: Hernando requested another for De Soto, stating that he was worthy of the same treatment. The emperor promised to approach Cajamarca the following day, and De Soto, before leaving, took part in a scene that impressed the Indian armies and Atahualpa himself: “A captain, Hernando de Soto, brought a small trained horse. . . . He exercised it about gracefully for a bit. The nag was spirited, foaming much at the mouth, at which, on seeing the rapidity with which it revolved, he (Atahualpa) marveled, although the people expressed more admiration among themselves. There was a great murmur, and a squadron of persons, seeing that the horse was coming towards them, drew back [the Indians had never seen a horse before]; which, those who did so paid for it that night with their lives because Atabalipa had them killed, because they had shown fear.”

When the ambassadors returned, Pizarro and his men realized how untenable their situation was. They were eyewitnesses to the greatness, the resources, and the degree of organization of their enemies. It was then that Pizarro thought of capturing Atahualpa. He attempted to imitate Cortés, whose campaign in Mexico against the Aztecs had included the imprisonment of Moctezuma. Pizarro hoped that once he had been captured, the Inca’s army would crumble and with it the empire.

The next day, in the midst of great pomp, Atahualpa headed for Cajamarca. The procession caused considerable admiration and made a great impression on the Spaniards. Father Valverde was chosen to read before the Inca a pronouncement whereby the Indians were required to accept the sovereignty

of the Spanish monarchs and the true faith. Pizarro, like so many other expedition leaders of his generation, did not consider himself an intruder in Peru. Invoking the legitimacy of his titles, he was certain that those territories belonged to him, and that Atahualpa was obliged to obey his authority. As we can imagine, the emperor did not understand one word of the cleric's speech. He demanded that everything taken by the Spaniards since they entered his dominions be returned. Valverde offered him a Bible. Atahualpa, after turning its pages, threw it to the ground, extremely irritated, and the Spaniards then sprang their trap. They began to fire on Atahualpa's retinue while the cavalry charged into the plaza. Atahualpa's companions fled, unable to react from fear of the animals and of the noise and fire issuing from the weapons. The emperor was made a prisoner in a few moments.

During his captivity, Atahualpa maintained his status of emperor, still carrying out the functions of an absolute monarch. He was allowed to surround himself with the members of his court who had not been killed in the attack. The chroniclers, amazed by the ceremonies that accompanied all his acts, have left us a description of the rituals of his daily life.

Hernando de Soto and Hernando Pizarro became regular members of the Inca's coterie and held long conversations with him. Antonio de Herrera confirms this and describes the friendly and conciliatory climate that existed in the Spanish encampment: "Captain Hernando de Soto was one of those whom Atahualpa liked the most. Everyone tried to please him and found his conversation entertaining, because he had learned to play chess and throw dice and spoke admirably and asked witty and ingenious questions."

As the days of his captivity went by, Atahualpa observed the Spaniards' interest in precious metals. He offered, in exchange for his freedom, to fill the room where he was imprisoned with gold and silver in the space of forty days. Using safe conduct passes issued by the Inca, several of the Spanish captains crisscrossed Peru, gathering the precious metals. The ransom was never completely collected, since after some time Almagro proposed that they divide among themselves the riches obtained so far. Hernando de Soto was among those who benefited most from the division; his share amounted to about eighteen thousand gold pesos and eight hundred silver marks, an immense sum at that time.

Meanwhile, Atahualpa had his brother Huáscar killed, because he was afraid that Pizarro would enter into negotiations with him. The Spaniards used this act, together with false accusations of conspiracy, to condemn the emperor to death.

## Death of Atahualpa and Entry into Cuzco

Once the ransom was divided, Hernando Pizarro was sent back to Spain. He was to report on the progress of the conquest and to deliver the king's fifth, for one-fifth of all the wealth obtained in the conquest belonged to the royal treasury and had to be deposited in the House of Trade of Seville as a mandatory tax. While the governor's brother returned to the Peninsula, Hernando de Soto was sent on a reconnaissance mission. The absence of both men, who were considered the Inca's best friends, has prompted certain authors to suggest that a premeditated plan existed to eliminate any possible defense for Atahualpa. Perhaps. In any case, the Spaniards charged the emperor with treason, believing that the army in Quito was preparing to attack them upon his command (these rumors later proved to have no basis in fact). The emperor was indicted and condemned to death, the sentence being carried out on July 26, 1533. Not all the Castellians were pleased by the execution; several of the chroniclers actually criticized it and questioned its legality. And even in Spain, in certain courtly circles, some regret became apparent over what was felt to have been an unwise decision.

With Atahualpa dead, anarchy spread. To prevent this, a new Inca had to be named, and the choice fell to Tupac Huallpa, another of Huayna Capac's sons.

The Spaniards had been in Cajamarca for eight months before the conquest of Peru began to roll again. With the aid of some of the Indians—mostly Quechua followers of the dead Huáscar—they began the march toward Cuzco, the capital of the empire. Advancing through Huamachuco, Andamarca, and Huaylá, they reached Jauja on October 11, where the newly elected Inca died. By then they were so close to Cuzco that De Soto was sent to reconnoiter the way, commanding a cavalry platoon. It was on this mission that he was violently attacked by the armies from Quito. Had it not been for Almagro's intervention, the attack could have cost him his life.

On November 14, 1533, the Spaniards and the Quechuas made their entrance into the capital. They were met with a display of gratitude from the inhabitants, who believed that the Castellians had come to avenge Huáscar and to restore the empire. It was here that Manco Inca Yupanqui, another of Huayna Capac's sons, was crowned emperor. Francisco Pizarro named Hernando de Soto lieutenant governor of the city of Cuzco as a reward for services rendered.

In this way the Spaniards took possession of the Inca empire. The

sovereigns—Atahualpa and Huáscar—who had caused the civil war were dead; the armies from Quito were retreating; and the new sovereign, a survivor of the royal family, was agreeable to Spanish interests. The conquistadors spread through the territory, founding cities and completing the conquest.

Hernando de Soto's last action in Peru was to participate in the founding of Pizarro's new capital city of Lima in 1535. A year later he was on his way to Spain. We can be certain that he already had the adventure of Florida in mind.

## Return to Spain

Hernando de Soto returned to Spain in 1536. He accomplished two things during his stay on the Peninsula: he married Isabel de Bobadilla, and he obtained the capitulación for the conquest of Florida.

The prestige and fortune he had obtained in the New World allowed him to make an alliance with one of the oldest Castillian families. De Soto married Isabel de Bobadilla, daughter of the renowned governor of Castilla del Oro, Pedro Arias de Avila, by then dead. The indenture for the dowry, preserved in the Archivo General de Indias, was granted in Valladolid on November 14, 1536; in it are enumerated all the possessions that Pedrarias's daughter brought to the union. The indenture, signed by her mother, by Isabel de Bobadilla, and by De Soto himself, reads as follows:

. . . I give you and promise you as a dowry with said Ysabel de Bobadilla, my daughter . . . all the bovine cattle with their offspring that remained from said governor, my lord and husband in Panama, on the Mainland, with all his cattle and the slaves that tend it and the mares that accompany said cattle. . . .

Likewise, I want him to have the totality of said cattle and herds that the convent and monastery of the devout house of Señor Santo Domingo, outside the city of Piedrahita, ceded in my favor, by reason of the habit and profession made and taken by fray Francisco de Bobadilla, my son, in said monastery. . . .

. . . and I, said captain Hernando de Soto, who am present, concede and acknowledge by the present letter that I accept and receive this above-mentioned contract and promise and obligate myself, said dowry having been given and delivered to me, to consider it . . . as the dowry of said doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, my spouse and wife. . . .

The belongings mentioned in the letter of dowry undoubtedly added to the great personal fortune that Hernando de Soto had already amassed in the conquest of Central America and Peru, allowing him to finance the expedition he was planning.

## The Capitulación of la Florida

On April 20, 1537, in Valladolid, the king signed the agreement that granted Hernando de Soto the right to conquer and settle Florida. Years earlier, the same privileges had been given first to Pánfilo de Narváez, and after that to Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón.

The document, preserved in the Archivo General de Indias, stipulated the various conditions that were to be met for the proper completion of the expedition. The capitulación begins by expressing the esteem and trust that the monarch placed in De Soto, who by his earlier campaigns had amply demonstrated his ability to perform tasks of this nature: "Inasmuch as you, Captain Hernando de Soto, have served us in the conquest, pacification, and settlement of the provinces of Nicaragua and Peru and of other parts of our Indies, and now with the desire to serve us further and to continue and increase our patrimony and Royal Crown, wanted to return to the aforementioned Indies of ours to conquer and populate the province of Río de las Palmas up to Florida and the provinces and new lands. . . ."

Hernando de Soto was given a series of titles, ranks, and honors that endowed him with extraordinary powers concentrated in a single person. The same was done in every stage of the conquest of America. Thus, he was made governor and captain general of the territory that began at the coast and ended two hundred leagues inland; the delimitation of this area was left to him, and he was to fulfill the offices of Alguacil Mayor and Adelantado of the territory.

The title of adelantado carried with it multiple responsibilities. At the military level, as captain of the troops, he was in charge of defending the territory and maintaining peace and order. At the judicial level, he was empowered to represent the king himself. Besides these offices, he was granted the governorship of Cuba, "since from there you could govern better and provide everything that is essential and important for said conquest and settlement."

Five hundred men were to accompany De Soto, with arms, horses, munitions, and other things necessary for the expedition; the colonization would

be carried out by giving the townspeople lands and lots, with the benefit of a tax exemption for the first ten years. They were still required, however, to pay the royal fifth of all the gold, silver, and other goods they found in those territories.

The dual purpose of the expedition (conquest and colonization) could be seen in the diverse makeup of the participants. Alongside experienced soldiers there traveled persons who had never left the Peninsula: there were representatives of the petty and medium nobilities and, most of all, laborers, “all of them young, for among them one could hardly be found who had gray hair, a thing very necessary for victory over the toils and difficulties that emerge in the new conquests,” as Garcilaso wrote. With them came a small group of women who were to remain on the island of Cuba. Among these was Isabel de Bobadilla, the wife of the adelantado.

The makeup of the expedition matched, in general terms, the characteristics of any migratory movement: a marked predominance of male representatives—although in this case this was due to their mission of conquest—and a mass of young people, suited to the task at hand.

The capitulación also called for the presence of clergy, “for the instruction of the natives of that province in our holy catholic faith.” We have already remarked that the sword of the conquistadors also served their religion. The adelantado would cover the cost of taking the clerics along, as well as pay for all the preparations and expenses of the expedition. The crown limited itself to granting the territories and titles, without ever risking money in the royal treasury. The document is clear in this respect: “all of it at your expense and mission, and neither we nor the monarchs that come after us shall be obliged to pay you or satisfy the expenses you may incur therein.”

One must explain here that Hernando de Soto, along with so many other conquistadors, never expected to obtain financial aid from the king. All of them did, however, seek the legal recognition of their possessions and their heraldic confirmation:

These titles and offices were published all over Spain, with much talk about the new enterprise that Hernando de Soto would undertake in going and subduing and winning great kingdoms and provinces for the Spanish crown; and since throughout it was said that the captain who would carry it out had been the conqueror of Peru, and that, not satisfied with the one hundred thousand ducats which he had brought over from there, he was spending them on this second conquest, all were amazed and considered it better and richer than the first: because of which from every part of Spain came many knights of very



illustrious lineage, many noblemen, many soldiers practiced in the military art, who in different parts of the world had served the Spanish crown, and many citizens and laborers; all of whom, with such good reports of the new conquest, and at the sight of so much silver and gold and precious gems that they saw being brought from the New World; leaving their land, parents, relatives, and friends, and selling their estates, they readied themselves and offered in person or by letter to go to this conquest, with the hope that was promised, that it was to be as rich or richer than the two previous ones of Mexico and Peru.

—The Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega

To ensure that the capitulación would be honored, the king sent officials from his treasury to accompany the expedition. They were in charge of collecting the king's fifth. The capitulación, like those granted to other conquistadors, contained extensive instructions in this respect. Juan Gaytán, Juan de Añasco, and Luis Fernández de Biedma were to travel with Hernando de Soto as accountants in the service of His Majesty.

### Extremadurans Who Accompanied De Soto

The preparations began once the capitulación was confirmed. News of this new expedition spread throughout the Peninsula, and the response exceeded all expectations; it was not for nothing that De Soto had arrived from America a rich man, and with an aura of fame and prestige around him. His confidence in the successful completion of the endeavor encouraged hundreds of people, all wanting to change their luck and become rich, to enlist; a better advertisement than the expedition's organizer could not have been found.

The participation of the Extremadurans was enormous. Several factors contributed to the massive enrollment: news of the marvels that the New World offered; the fact that Hernando de Soto was from Extremadura; the tradition of the Extremadurans—many from Extremadura had accompanied Balboa, Cortés, Pizarro, and other captains, becoming rich in a short time. Those were the attractions of America. On the other hand, Extremadura's poverty relative to the other regions under the Castillian crown resulted in a constant emigration of its population during the sixteenth century toward the continent discovered by Columbus.

Of the approximately 600 persons who made up the expedition, more

than half were natives or residents of Extremadura; specifically, there were 311 Extremadurans with De Soto, issuing from fifty-six towns. The passenger logs prepared by the House of Trade of Seville still preserve personal data for every one of them.

Regional differences can be observed in the enlistment figures, as the participation of the provinces, or even of certain sections, differed significantly. For example, the province now known as Badajoz contributed a greater contingent than that of Cáceres, and within the former, more departures were recorded from the southwestern section. Albuquerque and Barcarrota were, after Badajoz, the towns contributing the greatest number of persons. The ties between Badajoz and the conquistador have already been noted, so that its contribution is not unexpected. In addition, the fact that some of its citizens possessed the same last name as the adelantado is only natural; this coincidence could well imply that they were related in some way. By the same token, the meager participation by the inhabitants of Jerez de los Caballeros is surprising, given the many dealings that De Soto had with this town.

## The Journey to Florida

Once the expedition assembled in Seville and the necessary permits were issued by the House of Trade, they traveled to San Lúcar de Barrameda. They embarked from this spot on April 6, 1538, a year after the capitulación was signed. The fleet under Hernando de Soto's command consisted of seven ships and three brigantines and was accompanied by twenty other ships that, after reaching Cuba, would head for their final destination, Vera Cruz. After stopping at La Gomera Island, the fleet arrived at Santiago de Cuba toward the end of May, and De Soto took over the governorship.

A year passed before the departure for the conquest of La Florida. Twice during this waiting period, De Soto sent Juan de Añasco, a seaman and cosmographer, in command of two brigantines to reconnoiter the ports and coves of Florida. This reconnaissance shows how De Soto's plan for the conquest was marked by exhaustive preparation, and how he attempted to leave nothing to chance or improvisation. In his exploration of the Florida coasts, Juan de Añasco captured four Indians who would later be used as guides and interpreters. The royal officers who accompanied the expedition reported this in a letter sent to the king, in which they inform him of the final preparations for the voyage: "He brought four as interpreters and they

are so intelligent that we already understand each other somehow and they afford high hopes for that land, so much that everyone is very cheerful and happy to go.”

While he waited in Cuba for the best time to set out for Florida, De Soto reaffirmed with Hernán Ponce de León the pact they had signed before the conquest of Peru, in which they swore to be brothers as well as partners. During this time, the adelantado also prepared his last will and testament. Signed in the city of La Habana only five days before the expedition departed, this document reveals interesting aspects of the Extremaduran’s life. In it he mentioned his children, all of them illegitimate, since they were conceived before his marriage (Isabel de Bobadilla bore him no heirs). They were María de Soto, who lived in Nicaragua, Andrés de Soto, referred to by the adelantado as “a boy said to be my son,” and Leonor de Soto, whose mother was Leonor, the daughter of the last Great Inca, Huayna Capac.

In other matters, the document records his wish to be buried in the Church of San Miguel de los Caballeros. In the event of his death during the attempt to conquer Florida, he requested that his body be brought to that church. He desired that a chapel be built in this same church, to be paid for out of his estate. The chapel was to be erected under the title of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, who must have been the object of his devotion. He wished also to establish a chaplaincy, and he made several bequests intended for various relatives. In addition, his will contains a request in memory of his very close friend Francisco Compañón, who was dead by then.

Having completed all the details of the expedition, Hernando de Soto named his wife governor regent of Cuba during his absence. He left San Cristóbal de la Habana on May 18, 1539, bound for Florida, the land where, in the years before, hundreds of Spaniards had perished in the midst of the most dreadful misery.

## Previous Attempts in Florida

Florida, the land called Bimini by the Indians, was the place where the Fountain of Eternal Youth was thought to be, one of so many myths born in the New World, such as those of the Country of the Amazons and of El Dorado. Before the sixteenth century, the geography of Florida had been unknown. It was discovered in 1512 by Juan Ponce de León, who named it La Florida, apparently because its fields were filled with flowers, and because he discovered it on an Easter Sunday (Domingo de Pascua Florida). La

Florida, to the Spanish, included all of the present-day Southeast of the United States. Ponce de León attempted to conquer it twice, in 1515 and 1521, but both occasions ended in failure.

A new attempt was made in 1526, led by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón. Some time earlier, he had chartered three ships sent to enslave Indians to work in the mines of the Antilles. The success of that first slaving adventure encouraged him to ask the king for permission to proceed with the conquest. Unfortunately, his expedition never got very far inland, since Ayllón died on the coast. Hunger and struggles for power decimated his troops to the point that “out of six hundred men that Ayllón had brought into that land, no more than fifty-seven escaped.”

In 1527, Pánfilo de Narváez left Spain with intentions of colonizing the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. After experiencing the devastating effects of a hurricane, he disembarked in Tampa Bay, in the same spot where De Soto would begin the conquest years later. The expedition of Narváez traveled through areas that De Soto would also explore later. Hunger, cold weather, and attacks by the Indians gradually destroyed them: only four survivors were left. After living with the Indians for several years, these men escaped and began a long journey, spanning the territory of what is now the United States from East to West. One of the survivors, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, wrote in his work *Naufragios* about the suffering and tribulations they experienced in their walk across the continent.

These were the attempts to conquer Florida, considered one of the most inhospitable territories in the American continent. All of them had failed. Far from intimidating De Soto, however, they encouraged him to embark on an uncertain and dangerous adventure.

## The Chroniclers of the Journey

The early stages of the conquest of America are well known to us, thanks to the many chronicles that survive today. In most cases, these testimonies were written by persons who participated directly in the events they related.

These soldier-chroniclers, in their desires to write memoirs of all that they witnessed, have left us valuable materials essential to our understanding of the different chapters of the Spanish conquest. They distinguished themselves by the quality of their works and by the attention to detail of their narratives. They not only preserved the most important events but also included geographic accounts of the areas they crossed and precise descrip-

tions of their inhabitants. Likewise, there are reports written by the crown officials who accompanied each expedition; their chief function was to inform the king of the circumstances in which the conquest unfolded.

De Soto's expedition to Florida included several of these chroniclers. One of them was the Hidalgo de Elvas, an unknown writer who came originally from the city of Elvas in Portugal. Others accompanying De Soto were Alonso de Carmona, Juan de Coles (another Extremaduran), and Luis Fernández de Biedma, who was one of His Majesty's officials. The Hidalgo de Elvas published his chronicle in 1557, and it is the most complete of all those written about Florida. The works by Carmona and Coles, on the other hand, appear to be short narratives that survive only in quotations included in the account by Garcilaso de la Vega. They are, however, also of undeniable interest. Finally, the account prepared by Biedma is quite complete and detailed. The writing reflects its author's position, since he traveled with the expedition as a royal official whose account constituted a report to the king.

There is another important chronicle of Hernando de Soto's endeavor in Florida; its author, the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, did not participate personally in the expedition, but his sources are apparently the works by Carmona and Coles, as well as an anonymous author [presumed to be Captain Gonzalo Silvestre] who, like them, took part in the expedition. The Inca published his work in 1605, half a century after the events that he wrote about.

Writers with such varied backgrounds naturally interpreted the events in different ways, and this of course makes their chronicles differ in certain details. Some of these can be disregarded, but others are quite noticeable and significant. There is a veritable *mêlée* of dates and figures, and it is difficult to unscramble the discrepancies. Some of the chroniclers even omit events of unquestionable interest.

In light of this, whenever we are faced with contradictions of this nature, we follow here the account by the Hidalgo de Elvas. As we have already mentioned, it is the most exhaustive, and it was written by a direct witness. Quotations not otherwise attributed, come from Elvas.

## The Many Faces of Florida

The chroniclers served as genuine ethnographers who described the land and its inhabitants, the customs, rituals, and prevailing ways of life.

The encounter with this inhospitable and alien land shocked the Span-

iards, but their presence caused an even greater impact upon the indigenous population.

Charleton W. Tebeau estimates that at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were twenty-five thousand inhabitants in what later became Spanish Florida. This population was distributed throughout the territory as follows: around four thousand Calusa Indians (including such peoples as the Mayaimi, Ais, Jeaga, and Tequesta) occupied the southern part of the peninsula up to Tampa Bay; the Timucans, numbering slightly over fourteen thousand, lived scattered between Cape Canaveral, the Aucilla River to the west, and what is now Georgia to the north; finally, the Apalachees (together with their tributary peoples), estimated at sixty-eight hundred, settled between the Aucilla and the Ocklockonee rivers. These Indians had not yet discovered writing and were at a cultural level similar to that of the Neolithic. Aside from this, however, each group was quite different from the others: the Calusas, for example, isolated in the southern part of the peninsula, were not as advanced in relation to other cultures that settled more to the north.

The fertility of the soil was not uniform throughout the territory. The land toward the north, with its rich earth, was well suited for farming, whereas the southern terrain was poor, sterile, and marshy. Because of this, even though all these groups were hunters and gatherers, only the Timucans and the Apalachee practiced agriculture. They did this by burning the vegetation, opening clearings where they could plant beans, squash, and, above all, maize. The Hidalgo de Elvas describes the rooms where these products were stored: "They have barbacoas in which they keep their maize, which is a house built on high, on top of four sticks, made with boards like a loft and with reeds on the floor."

The tribes living near the coast included seafood in their diet to add variety to it. They deposited the shells, gathering them in heaps.

Florida's inhabitants lived in small settlements for long periods of time, and sometimes permanently. The dwellings were round in shape, and the materials used in their construction were diverse and showed how well they had adapted to the environment. Houses were built using wood, clay, palm leaves, weeds, and straw. Each town had a public house that served both as a meeting place and for holding ceremonies. The most characteristic structure that the Floridian Indians built was the mound, which was of two types: some mounds became the residence of the *cacique*, while others were set aside as burial places. The bodies of the dead were left there, open to the air, until only the bones remained, and these were later buried in cemeteries.

Besides the mounds, they also built sepulchral houses, called *mezquitas* by the Spaniards.

Their social system was based on the clan, a unit determined by blood ties. The tribe was composed of different clans and, headed by the cacique, constituted an independent sociopolitical unit, although there could be a higher entity that could unite several tribes under its authority. The office of cacique was hereditary and could be held by a woman. The cacique was entitled to collect taxes from the people; he presided over the meetings and decided the time for sowing, hunting, and gathering. Nevertheless, despite the many powers that fell to him, his authority was not absolute, and he had to seek the opinion of prominent members of the Indian community, who formed a kind of privileged caste within their society. The lowest layer of the social scale was formed by slaves captured in battles against other tribes, who were then employed in agricultural labor and similar tasks. Garcilaso, referring to these captives, remarks that “the nerves or tendons of their feet” were cut “to prevent their escape.”

The Floridians worshiped the sun and the moon, and they venerated animals such as deer, serpents, and small reptiles or insects. They believed in a life after death, which they thought would be similar to the one they had led on earth. Occasionally they would offer human sacrifices to the sun. On these occasions, children and captives were the propitiatory victims for preventing calamities and obtaining divine favors.

Polygamy was permitted, although it was mainly practiced by caciques and the nobility. Adultery was severely condemned in women. Garcilaso tells us: “She was obligated to be most faithful to her husband, under penalty of the laws that they had established for the punishment of adultery, which in certain provinces ordained a cruel death and in others a very ignominious punishment.”

This was, broadly speaking, the land that cost Hernando de Soto his life. His search for a new Incario was fruitless—the cultural development and degree of evolution of the Floridian Indians were centuries behind those of the Incas.

## The Beginning of the Adventure

On May 30, 1539, the expedition disembarked at Tampa Bay, which they called Puerto del Espíritu Santo. De Soto, with his army of six hundred,

took possession of the land in the name of Emperor Charles V, a formality that was repeated in every expedition made to the New World.

The first town they came upon was Ucita, where they found Juan de Ortiz, a Sevillian who had survived the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez. Held by the Indians for twelve years, and undergoing enormous tribulations, he had managed to survive until the Spaniards freed him from his lengthy captivity. After the joy occasioned by this encounter, preparations began for the entry inland. De Soto sent the ships back to Cuba under orders to return with provisions at a later time. A group of men stayed behind on the coast, while the main body of the expedition penetrated inland, heading for the province of Paracoxis. De Soto had previously sent a group of men ahead of him to reconnoiter. These scouting missions were carried out throughout the campaign; their information was vital, since it prevented unpleasant surprises and saved them unnecessary marching. Similarly, the Indians who joined the expedition as guides and interpreters (*lenguas*) offered invaluable help, although their work was made difficult by the extent of the territory they covered, in addition to the fact that Florida had many faces to show them. As we have already mentioned, its tribes were very different from one another, each speaking a distinct dialect.

Advancing from Paracoxis, they reconnoitered new territory throughout the summer. They found, however, that the different settlements they crossed could barely support the Indians who lived in them, much less feed De Soto's troops. His men began to feel the ravages of hunger. The expedition was off to a difficult start, and far from improving, these conditions would only worsen during four interminable years, as the Hidalgo de Elvas relates: "[The troops] were badly beset by hunger and the bad terrain, as the land was very poor in maize, low and full of water, lakes, and thick bushes, and the provisions they had brought from the port had been exhausted."

The Portuguese chronicler attests to the difficulties of the journey: the dense vegetation and swamplands that composed the landscape made the progress of the troops slow and laborious, especially for the cavalry.

To the problems of topography were added the warlike nature of the tribes they encountered. De Soto's armies began to suffer casualties in skirmishes with the natives. The chroniclers have left us a long list of the Indian names of the towns and regions they crossed: Cale, Ytara, Cholupa, Napetaca. . . .

Hoping to find riches and precious metals there, the expedition headed north for the Apalachee region, where they found instead only the remains of the failed expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez. At this point, they had covered 110 leagues (some 450 km) since disembarking in Tampa Bay. The near-



ness of the sea and the good terrain prompted them to spend the winter in Apalachee: “There were great quantities of maize, squash and beans and dried plums of the earth, which are better than those of Spain and grow in the fields without anyone planting them . . . , the provision was collected which seemed that it would suffice to spend the winter.”

During the stay in Apalachee, De Soto ordered the men who had stayed behind in the port of Espiritu Santo to come and join them; he also sent several brigantines to La Habana in order to inform the *gobernadora* of the progress of the conquest, and to bring back new supplies and provisions when they returned. We know, with the benefit of hindsight, that even though Francisco Maldonado, who was in charge of the voyage, returned several times, he could never contact De Soto or his expedition. At the end of March 1540, the adelantado broke winter camp at Apalachee and headed north toward Cofitachequi. It was there that they hoped to find the long-awaited riches, encouraged by statements made by the Indians. Again the going became difficult. They constantly encountered rivers that slowed their progress; in some cases it took them more than two days to ford them, and several Spaniards drowned during the crossings. Along the way, interpreters were not lacking to steer them incorrectly, and hunger and disease became chronic companions: “If a man fell sick there was nothing to help him get better and with a sickness that could have been easily remedied elsewhere he walked, spent, until he had not a well bone in him. And they died of sheer weakness, some of them saying: if I had a slice of meat or a few rocks of salt, I would not now be dying.”

On the way to Cofitachequi they crossed a poor and unpopulated region. The scarcity of food was aggravated to the point that De Soto “began to distribute rations out of some swine we had brought,” the Hidalgo de Elvas tells us. Each “Christian” received one pound of meat, which, “cooked in water with no salt,” alleviated the emptiness of the Castillian stomachs for a while. It is strange to see how these men could want for food while marching beside an entire herd of swine that at one point contained hundreds of head. Nevertheless, these animals were not to serve as provisions for the troops, but rather as an important part of the colonization effort. Hernando de Soto’s mission was not only to conquer, but also to populate the territories. Both phases of his mission were considered essential, and in the second—the colonization—the preservation of the swine played a significant role.

At this stage of the journey the number of members of the expedition had increased enormously with the addition of Indian guides, interpreters, and *tamemes* (those employed in carrying the cargo) from the villages they

passed. The time came when there were more of these Indians than there were Spaniards. When the need for food became extreme, De Soto had to let many of them go, because “he did not have anything with which to feed them.”

## The Second Year in Florida

They arrived in April at Cofitachequi, where they found remains of the unsuccessful expedition led by Lucas de Ayllón. De Soto’s army rested easily here. Located near a river, very close to the sea, its cacique was a woman, who received them with great splendor. The chroniclers agree in describing the good impression that these people made on them, both physically and culturally. The Spaniards admired the dresses, the cloaks made with colorful feathers, the good workmanship in leather and pearls that, even though they were perforated, could fetch a great price. Many of them, tired and disillusioned after wandering through wild and inhospitable territories without finding the promised wealth, began to view this land as appropriate for settlement. Their reasoning was solid: Cofitachequi was situated near the Atlantic Ocean, making it possible as a waypoint for ships traveling from New Spain, Peru, and the mainland on their way back to the Peninsula [Spain and Portugal]. Besides, the fertility of its fields ensured that everyone could be fed. Nevertheless, Hernando de Soto did not give up his determination to find a treasure like Atahualpa’s, which had yielded such spectacular dividends. He was firm in his resolve, “and because he was a hard man and curt in his words, although he was glad to listen and to know everyone’s opinion, after stating his own he did not want to be contradicted and he always did as he saw fit.”

These were the first signs of division or disagreement among the Spaniards. The adelantado’s authority and strict character drove them on in search of the long-awaited precious metals. They crossed the river where Cofitachequi was situated (which they called Espiritu Santo), heading northwest. In a few days the panorama again turned desolate. Along the way they found only scattered villages and impoverished lands, incapable of feeding the members of the expedition and their horses.

Advancing through rough terrain that obstructed their progress, they reached the river’s source, arriving at Guaxule. This was as far north as they would ever go into what is now the United States. The three hundred dogs they were given there alleviated their near-continuous hunger. The enclosed

towns and peaceful Indians of this region allowed them to regain their strength; “the horses arrived there so thin that in their weakness they could not carry their owners.”

Throughout the entire journey, the adelantado constantly interrogated the natives about the existence of a land possessing great riches. The replies he received were always in the affirmative, and he was invariably shown in which direction to set out, somewhere far from the homes of those being interrogated. We may be certain that these answers concealed the desire of the Indians to be rid of him and his people; it is impossible to ignore the upheaval that this expedition caused in the settlements they crossed, or in the abuses they committed. De Soto’s men were tired, hungry, and ever more discouraged. Food and women were requisitioned without any scruples.

The caciques were not always obliging when faced with the adelantado’s demands, and this led to trouble. This happened in Tascaluça, for example. According to Fernández de Biedma, when the cacique, “an Indian so tall that everyone considered him a giant,” was required to provide Indians for carrying the cargo, he answered “that he was not wont to serve anyone, rather, that everyone served him.” In other places, De Soto had to resort to his diplomatic talents: in Acoste, he pretended to rebuke his own Spaniards for their vandalism in order to avoid being attacked by the Indians.

In the fall of 1540, while headed south toward the Bay of Mobile, they suffered the fiercest attack since their arrival in Florida at a town called Mauvilla: “The Indians fought with such energy that they returned many times to expel our men. The battle lasted so long that, tired and very thirsty, many of the Christians went to drink from a lake near the fence and returned to fight, and it was dyed with the blood of the dead.”

The battle was tremendously bloody. On the Spanish side, according to Biedma, more than twenty men died and the wounded neared two hundred and fifty. A great number of horses were lost as well. Among the Indians the casualties must have been greater, given the superior weapons that De Soto’s men carried. However, the figures quoted by the chroniclers are excessive and exaggerated; the twenty-five hundred enemy deaths they report surely betray their bias. The writers tried to emphasize the valor of the Castillian troops, although they also praised the daring of the Indians, who “fought like fierce lions.”

In Mauvilla they stopped for a month so that the wounded could heal. There they heard that the sea was not far off, and entertained the hope that Maldonado had returned from Cuba and was waiting for them with provisions. In spite of this, Hernando de Soto decided to set out northward. The

chroniclers disagree as to the reason for this decision. The king's official, Biedma, states that, as it was the month of November and the weather was quite cold, the governor thought it best to go and look for some new spot where they could find enough provisions to spend the winter. On the other hand, the Hidalgo de Elvas remarks that De Soto feared that news of his fruitless search, of not having yet found gold or silver, would reach Cuba. This news would give Florida a bad name, and no one would wish to go there; he therefore chose to continue searching before informing anyone of his situation.

This last version seems more probable if we consider the adelantado's resolve to succeed in his expedition at any cost. Besides, he knew his people's state of mind. He was aware that if they reached the coast, he risked a mass desertion.

The army crossed into present-day Mississippi and decided to spend their second winter at Chicaça, a small town of "no more than twenty houses." We can easily imagine the suffering of those undernourished, weakened men, tired by the constant marches, ravaged by the cold, and many of them wounded in the last encounter. The few buildings in the town were not enough to shelter all of them, and in spite of the fires they built, "they spent all night turning and tossing, without sleeping, because if they warmed themselves on one side, they froze on another."

The relations with the natives seemed to be peaceful. The Indians became so fond of pork meat "that each night the Indians came to some houses . . . where the pigs slept and they killed and took all the pigs they could."

Toward the end of the winter, however, the Spaniards were unexpectedly attacked by the Indians, who set fire to the already-battered winter quarters. Eleven Spaniards, fifty horses, and several hundred pigs perished during the fray. The material losses were irreparable, because "if by chance any of them had any clothing left from the war of Mauvilla, there they lost it in the fire." In addition to the wretched conditions they were already in, they were now faced with having to march half-naked. The Spaniards lost practically all of their supplies and most of their equipment in the fire resulting from the surprise attack on the town.

Elvas describes the battle in these words:

The Indians came to the sleeping quarters, in four squadrons, each squadron separate from the rest. And when their presence was discovered they sounded a drum and attacked with great cries and with such speed that they arrived together with the night watch, who had been away from the camp. And

when they were found by those inside the town, half of their things were burning from the fire they set.

. . . And outside, behind the doors, they awaited the Christians, who left the houses with no time to arm themselves. And as they got up confused from their sleep, and the smoke and fire blinded them, they did not know where they were going, nor could they hit their target with the weapons, nor could they saddle their horses, nor could they see the Indians who threw them down. Many of the horses were burned in the stable, and those that could break their halters freed themselves.

The confusion and disorder were such that everyone fled wherever he could, without there being anyone to resist the Indians.

## The Discovery of the Mississippi

In March of 1541, they continued their search for riches, having abandoned Chicaça. The attacks by the Indians came one after another, unceasingly, and only on a few occasions were they received peacefully by the natives. The chroniclers described the many bloody battles, which often followed the same pattern. The element of surprise and the lack of knowledge about their surroundings worked against the Spaniards, who continually suffered casualties. The Indians were a menacing sight in the eyes of the members of the expedition: their bodies, legs, and arms painted different colors, they were covered with tufts of feathers and wore horns on their heads; their faces were blackened and their eyes “bordered with red in order to look fiercer.”

Weakened by the sheer number of trials, the morale of the Castellians gradually crumbled beyond repair. Their hopes of finding wealth disappeared, and in their place the shadow of death emerged. Yet even in spite of this, they remained faithful to the adelantado, who still clung firmly to his belief that he would find an Incario in Florida.

In June, the expedition arrived at the shores of the Mississippi, which they called the Río Grande because of its width and volume. De Soto and his men were the first Europeans to see it, and the surprise they felt was justified: “The river was around half a league wide, if a man stood motionless on the other side, one could not descry whether he be a man or something else. Its depth was great and its current very strong; the water was always muddy; in it many trees and pieces of wood floated down river, carried by the force of the waters and the current.”

In time, the Indian name Meaot Massipi (“Father of the Waters”) came to be used. It took the army a month to build canoes to cross the river.

Advancing westward through the swamps and lakes of the Mississippi basin, they reached the plains, where they marveled at the movable dwellings (*tipi*) used mostly by the Sioux and Comanches, who could quickly dismantle their semipermanent villages. They found empty settlements, abandoned by their inhabitants out of fear of the foreigners. In other places, however, the natives received them as demigods, convinced that they were the children of the sun. The cacique of Casqui, for example, asked De Soto to cure certain blind Indians and restore their eyesight, appealing to his divine powers. On occasion, De Soto described himself as a child of the sun. While this strategy was intended to intimidate the Indians, it did not always give the desired results. The cacique of Guayocha, a town on the shores of the Río Grande, put the adelantado’s divinity to the test, by asking him to dry up the Mississippi. Only if he did this, he told De Soto mockingly, would he be convinced that he was indeed a child of the sun.

These two episodes show, once more, the Spaniards’ precarious situation. They could not impose their authority effectively on the Indians. Biedma tells us,

. . . We came to another province . . . called Ycasqui, this peaceful cacique came out to us, telling us that he had heard of us for a long time and that we were men from heaven, and that their arrows could not harm us and because of that they did not want to go to war against us, but to serve us. They were well received by the governor, and he did not want anyone to enter their town so that no harm would be done to it. . . . The cacique asked the governor . . . to leave them a sign to which he could come to ask for help in their wars and which his people could ask for water for their crops, which had great need of it, since their children were starving. The governor had a very tall cross made from two pine trees, and told him to come another day, and he would give him the sign from heaven, and he should believe that he would want for nothing if he placed a true hope in it. . . . We went in a procession to the town. . . . We erected that cross and we went with great devotion, going on our knees to kiss the cross in the town, the Indians did as they saw us do, no more and no less.

In their travels they came near Coligua, where they obtained salt from a lake filled with warm, briny water. This compound was vital for their survival, and they had not tasted it for several months. Coligua’s inhabitants had not heard of the Spaniards, but when “they were in sight of the town . . . they fled.” The Hidalgo de Elvas named this area Caya, since a river that

ran through it reminded him of “the brook that runs through Extremadura.” Here they were informed that to the west the inhabitants were few and widely scattered. On the other hand, to the southeast they would find large towns. De Soto decided to follow this route, intending at least to reach the sea and inform Cuba of the progress and whereabouts of the expedition. Although the governor was aware of their failure up to that point, he was not discouraged by it. In spite of the enormous effort they had invested, seemingly to no avail, he still hoped to rebuild his estate, to “turn and attack and discover, further ahead, toward the west.” It was December 1542, and winter had overtaken them. They had lost half of their men, and more than a hundred and fifty horses. During their third winter in Florida, “it was so cold and there was so much snow,” remarks Biedma, “that we thought we would die.”

### Death of the Adelantado Hernando de Soto

At the end of the third winter they advanced toward the southeast in search of the coast. Juan Ortiz—the man who had survived Narváez’s expedition and had offered them invaluable services as an interpreter—died on the way. They again reached the Mississippi and stopped at Guayocha, the place where the cacique had tested De Soto. The governor sent out a party to look for the sea, and they returned, reporting enormous obstacles that had to be overcome: swamps, very dense vegetation, marshes, “which was received with great sorrow by the Governor when he saw the bad course of action he had for reaching the sea, and a worse one for surviving unaided on land, as his people and horses were diminishing, and with those thoughts he fell ill.”

De Soto contracted what was probably typhoid fever, then called *tabardillo*, which killed him a few days later. He died filled “with sorrow for leaving them in such confusion, for that was what he was doing in leaving them in a land where they did not know where they were.” It was June 25, 1542. Before his death, he made a new will, whose whereabouts is not known. He named his lieutenant—Luis de Moscoso, born in the town of Zafra—chief of the expedition. His death was deeply felt and greatly mourned by many, although, according to the Hidalgo, some were glad because with it came their liberation. Now they could return and leave behind the struggles, suffering, and poverty that had loomed over them ever since they set foot on that soil.

He was buried in secret, and his death was kept from the Indians. They

noticed his absence and asked for him, and they were told “that he had gone to heaven, as he had often done in the past.” However, they must not have been satisfied with this answer, because the Spaniards were still afraid that their captain’s body would be desecrated. They disinterred it secretly and put it in the Mississippi, whose waters became a resting place for the intrepid Extremaduran.

The new captain, according to a custom of that time, sold the adelantado’s belongings to his men: two male slaves, two female slaves, three horses, and 700 pigs. The buyers promised to pay whenever a distribution of riches were made. Obviously, Hernando de Soto’s personal fortune was not limited to these possessions. Although in the journey to Florida he had invested an exorbitant amount of money, the failure of that enterprise would not have ruined him. Isabel de Bobadilla, having received news of her husband’s death, made an inventory of the household goods, land, and livestock belonging to her husband. In a document dated December 6, 1543 in the city of San Cristóbal de la Habana, she listed all the possessions for which she had proof of ownership. She was aware that the inventory did not include property and goods that the adelantado had in the Kingdom of Castille and in other kingdoms of the crown. The lengthy enumeration includes a house and other outbuildings, land, slaves, livestock (horses, cows, pigs, sheep, and fowl), farming implements, furnishings, wardrobes, dresses and implements for household duties, gold and silver jewelry—in short, the inventory lets us glimpse the enormous fortune that Hernando de Soto’s sword earned him in the different expeditions in which he participated.

The death of the governor, Captain General Hernando de Soto, so worthy of lamentation, caused great sorrow and sadness among all his own. . . . Their sorrow and pain were doubled when they saw that they were forced to bury him in silence and in secret, which was not done in public so that the Indians would not know where it lay, because they feared they would do to his body certain ignominies and affronts they had done to other Spaniards. . . . Because of which they decided to bury him at night, with standing guards so that the Indians would not see or know where he was being left. . . . The next day, to hide the spot where the body lay and to conceal their sadness, they made it known to the Indians that the governor was in better health . . . , but as pleasure can only be badly feigned and grief cannot be hidden . . . , our men could not do so much that the Indians did not thus suspect the governor’s death and the place where they had laid him. . . .

As the Spaniards saw and noticed these signs . . . they thought it would be best to lay him to rest in the Río Grande. . . . They cut down a very thick



holm oak and at about half the height of a man they hollowed it out on one side where they could place the body, and the next night, with the greatest silence possible, they disinterred him and placed him in the oak's trunk with boards nailed to embrace the body on the other side, and so he was left, as if in an ark, and with the many tears and sorrow of the priests and knights that were present in this second burial, they placed him in the middle of the river's current, committing his soul to God and they saw him then fall to the bottom.

—The Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega

## The End of the Expedition

The main instigator and promoter of the expedition was dead. The number of soldiers had been reduced to less than half of the initial army, with virtually no horses remaining. Their hopes of finding the treasures and riches promised at the start of the journey had vanished. The majority of the Spaniards expressed their desire to renounce the conquest of Florida. Exhaustion and discouragement had reached their peak, and the death of the governor eliminated the last obstacle to the fulfillment of the thought in the minds and spirits of almost everyone: to return.

Two alternatives were considered. One was to go westward to New Spain [Mexico], attempting to repeat the journey that Núñez Cabeza de Vaca carried out years earlier; the other was to build ships and sail down the river to the sea. The better option seemed to be to set out across country for New Spain, since the descent of the Mississippi was risky—they had no one that could serve as mate or pilot, and they had no charts for navigation. Besides, on the journey by land it was still possible that they might find some treasure that could compensate for the sorrows they had encountered in that “accursed” place. So they started overland, but they again encountered the problems that had haunted them in their passage across most of Florida: difficult terrain, attacks by Indians, impoverished territories, hunger—all this, added to the fact that they did not know which route to follow or the true distance between them and New Spain, made them retrace their steps after having covered a good distance.

Back on the shores of the Mississippi, in Aminoya, they were forced to spend another winter. Building the seven brigantines that would carry them downriver took months. When this task was finished, they proceeded to kill the remaining horses (except for twenty-five of them) and the pigs that were left, since it was impossible to bring them aboard. For this same reason they



*Delisle's Map of Louisiane, 1718. Guillaume Delisle was a prominent European mapmaker in the eighteenth century, and this map is remarkable for its careful depiction of the French settlements in the new colony of "Louisiane." The map is also noteworthy because it shows Delisle's attempt to reconstruct the route of De Soto's army through the region over 170 years before. His method was to match the names mentioned in the published chronicles to native tribes and locations extant in 1718, such as Apalache, Cheraqui (Chalache), Conchaque (Coça) and Mobiliens (Mobila). (Courtesy of the Cornell University Library)*

freed most of the Indians who had carried their cargo. This measure was inhumane in the opinion of the Hidalgo de Elvas, because many of these Indians were far from their own lands and were left at the mercy of other tribes. When they embarked, on July 2, 1543, the chronicler could not avoid describing the reaction of the unfortunate Indians who were not allowed on board the ships: "Most of them were left crying, which was very pitiful to behold, seeing that all those of good will had been Christians and would now be lost."

During their voyage downriver, they were continually attacked by the natives. They were unable to repel the attacks, since their firearms had been melted down and used in the construction of the ships.

After nineteen days, they reached the sea and decided to continue along the coast until they found New Spain. This was more feasible than crossing the gulf to reach Cuba, which would have been a risky adventure. Finally, on September 10, 1543, they sighted the mouth of the Pánuco River (in Tampico). Sailing into it, they noticed that there were Indians there, dressed in the manner of the Spaniards. The feelings of the members of the expedition on learning that these were indeed the shores of New Spain were captured by the masterly pen of the Hidalgo de Elvas: "The pleasure that everyone felt at this news cannot be entirely expressed, because it was as though at that moment they had been born."

The Spaniards, "dressed in deerskins that had been tanned and dyed black," had survived a hard journey "among infidels, without a single fortification where they could regain their strength, and without any other assistance." Hundreds of Castellians, including the man responsible for the enterprise, perished in the adventure they had begun four years earlier in Tampa Bay. Hernando de Soto died without realizing how wide was the gulf that separated the Peru of the Incas from the Florida he attempted to conquer.

So ended one of the most dramatic expeditions made by the Spaniards on American soil in the sixteenth century. Thousands of kilometers were explored in the southern part of the United States, covering the area now occupied by the states of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. The expedition, although a failure from the standpoint of the conquest, brought about important geographic discoveries.

# *Hernando De Soto: A Brief Biography*

by Paul E. Hoffman

Like many prominent persons of his time, Hernando de Soto's date of birth is unknown. Estimates range from 1496 to 1501.<sup>1</sup> But De Soto's own testimony in late October 1535 was that he was thirty-five, and thus born in 1500.<sup>2</sup> The idea that he was born in 1496 seems to have arisen from De Soto's testimony in 1536 that he was "about forty" and from an effort by later writers to make Lambert A. Wilmer's biographical "facts" fit with the date (1519) that De Soto was alleged to have gone to the Indies. Wilmer himself says that De Soto was born in 1500.<sup>3</sup> Until additional evidence turns up, a birth date of 1500 seems most likely.

The place of De Soto's birth remains controversial. Both Villanuevas in the immediate vicinity of Badajoz have claimed him on the basis of Garcilaso de la Vega's statement that De Soto was born in Villanueva de Barcarrota. Villanueva de la Serena is not mentioned in any account or document. Saying De Soto was born in Barcarrota seems to have been Garcilaso's droll way of resolving the rival claims of Jerez de los Caballeros and Badajoz. Barcarrota

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<sup>1</sup>John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 1938, reprint with introduction by Jeffrey Brain (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 67; curiously, Swanton mentions that De Soto stated his age and place of birth in manuscript sources but fails to say what he said.

<sup>2</sup>Merits and Services interrogatory for Alonso Martín de San Benito, Lima, 26 October 1535, in José Toribio Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacífico: Vasco Núñez de Balboa, Hernando de Magallanes y sus compañeros*, 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1913-20), 2:360.

<sup>3</sup>James Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 198; Wilmer claimed that De Soto came under Pedrarias's protection at age seventeen, spent six years at a university (Zaragoza), and then in 1519 [at the age of twenty-three] went to the Indies with his patron, who had returned to Spain in that year. Lambert A. Wilmer, *The Life, Travels and Adventures of Ferdinand de Soto, Discoverer of the Mississippi* (Philadelphia: J.T. Lloyd, 1858), 18-20.

is roughly halfway between them. Local lore to the contrary, there is no evidence De Soto was born or lived there.<sup>4</sup>

Solar and Rújula make a case for Jerez de los Caballeros on the basis of two documents. The first is De Soto's *expediente* for membership in the Order of Santiago. Among the testimony of nine witnesses is the explicit statement of Suero Vazquez de Moscoso that De Soto was born in Jerez and Alvaro Romo's less direct statement that De Soto's parents had lived in Jerez after their marriage and that he had seen Hernando in his parents' home there.<sup>5</sup> The second document is De Soto's will, in which he makes provision for the construction of a chapel in the church of San Miguel in Jerez de los Caballeros, in which he was to be buried and his parents reburied. His will does *not* say he was a native of that town.<sup>6</sup> To these Swanton added the statement of the Gentleman of Elvas that De Soto was born in Jerez de Badajoz.<sup>7</sup> Porrás Barrenechea notes that De Soto claimed to be a native (*natural*) of Jerez in testimony given at Seville in 1536, although in another place he said that he was a *vecino* of that town, which is not a claim of nativity.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, Badajoz was mentioned during his life as his birthplace. For example, the order for the investigation of his lineage preparatory to granting him membership in the Order of Santiago states that he was a native (*natural*) of Badajoz, and that is where the inquiry was conducted. Ordinarily, such inquiries were made in the person's hometown because that was where the most reliable witnesses as to his ancestry would be found. In a similar vein, his dowry agreement with Isabel de Bobadilla (November 14, 1536) states that he was a native (*natural*) and *vecino* (owner of a house) of Badajoz.<sup>9</sup>

The question of his birthplace thus resolves itself into the rival claims of

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<sup>4</sup>Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida*, trans. Charmion Shelby, herein, vol. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Antonio del Solar y Taboada and José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto: Breves noticias y nuevos documentos para su biografía* (Badajoz, Spain: Ediciones Arqueros, 1929), 133, 138.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 205–21, from a copy in Archivo General de Indias, Seville (AGI), Justicia 750; see also herein, vol. 2.

<sup>7</sup>"The Account by a Gentleman from Elvas," *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida, Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*, trans. and ed. James Alexander Robertson, herein, vol. 1. Cited hereafter as Elvas, *Relation*.

<sup>8</sup>Porrás Barrenechea, notes to the "Relación" of Diego de Trujillo, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st Series 3 vols. (Lima: Editores Asociados, 1968), 2:64.

<sup>9</sup>Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 125 and 158, respectively; see also herein, vol. 2.

Jerez de los Caballeros and the city of Badajoz. De Soto's father was a native of the former, his mother a native of the latter.<sup>10</sup> His parents lived in both places during De Soto's infancy and boyhood, according to most witnesses in the Santiago expediente. De Soto's willingness to claim birth in both places means that no firm conclusion can be reached on the basis of his evidence. On a numerical count of the available sources, Jerez emerges as the "winner," but the official nature of the Santiago investigation lends weight to Badajoz (city). Perhaps the truth is that he was actually born in Badajoz, probably in his mother's family's house, but was almost immediately taken to and largely raised in his father's hometown of Jerez. We may agree with Lockhart that "all that we can assert categorically, given the usage of the times, is that De Soto felt himself to be from Jerez or its environs."<sup>11</sup>

There is little doubt that his parentage was noble, although much of the genealogy presented by authors such as Solar and Rújula must be viewed with great caution, coming as it does from eighteenth-century sources. The eighteenth century was a period when "historians" produced genealogies of some noble families that can be shown to be inaccurate at many points for which there is independent documentation.

De Soto is usually said to have been poor prior to going to the Indies. Heretofore, this claim was based on Oviedo's and Elvas's statements, repeated by Garcilaso, that De Soto went to the Indies with only a sword and buckler.<sup>12</sup> The veracity of this assertion is seemingly attested by Ruth Pike's note that De Soto (and his longtime partner, Hernán Ponce de León) borrowed money from a Genoese banker at Seville, probably so that he could equip himself and pay his fare in the Pedrarias fleet.<sup>13</sup> Obtaining such a loan suggests that De Soto may have been more short on cash than poor in the absolute terms that his biographers usually suggest. The point of Elvas's account, after all, is in its next sentence, which describes De Soto's return to Spain with a 180,000-*cruzado* fortune. De Soto, in short, was another "rags to riches" success story from the Indies.

De Soto went to Castilla del Oro with the expedition of Pedrarias (Pedro

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<sup>10</sup>Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, Expediente of Santiago, passim; all witnesses agree on this point.

<sup>11</sup>Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 199.

<sup>12</sup>Elvas, *Relation*, herein, vol. 1; Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida*, herein, vol. 2; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general de las Indias*, 1851, rpt., 5 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1959), does not comment on De Soto's economic status when he left Spain.

<sup>13</sup>Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 102, n. 1, and 194.

Arias de Avila) when it sailed on February 25, 1514. Swanton cites a witness in the Isabel de Bobadilla—Hernán Ponce lawsuit of 1539 to that effect.<sup>14</sup> Pike's discovery of the loans taken out in 1514 removes any remaining doubt.

By the date of De Soto's first known participation in an expedition, the worst of the "starving time" of the Pedrarias expedition was over, although hunger continued to plague the Spaniards for years afterward. Even though the Pedrarias expedition had been limited to twelve hundred persons, they were too many for the food resources of Darien and those they had brought. One estimate has it that by March 1515, when two caravels arrived from Spain with food, as many as seven hundred of the original twelve hundred had died or returned to the Antilles. Too, the Spaniards had fallen into a pattern of raids directed against the Indians in which finding food was almost as important as finding gold. Thus large numbers of men had been sent off with Luís Carrillo, Juan de Ayora (four hundred men), Pedrarias "El Mancebo," Francisco de Vallejo, Gaspar de Morales, and Balboa, to mention but the expeditions of 1514–15, evidently in the hope that they could live off the land for a time.<sup>15</sup> The subsequent history of the colony, to 1519, is a continuation of this pattern of "cabalgadas" in search of gold and food and slaves. All of these combined mixtures of negotiation (from a position of strength) and often a spectacular brutality.

De Soto's first known participation in a raid was with Vasco Núñez de Balboa's expedition of August 1515 into the Cueva Indian province of "Dabaiba," up the Rio Grande River in Panama.<sup>16</sup> Balboa took 190 men in a fleet of thirteen small boats. Expecting to find gold mines and a large native population, and hence food, the Spaniards were bitterly disappointed on

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<sup>14</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 68.

<sup>15</sup>Pablo Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias Dávila: Contribución al estudio de la figura del "Gran Justador," gobernador de Castilla del Oro y Nicaragua* (Madrid: Instituto Fernández de Oviedo, 1944), 209–10, 142–68. For gold presented for taxation, see Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacífico*, 2:397–400, and, for slaves, 416.

<sup>16</sup>De Soto's testimony in Merits and Services interrogatory of Alonso Martín de San Benito, Lima, 26 October 1535, in Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacífico*, 2:359–60; date from Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias*, 171–73. If he had not already participated in Luís Carrillo's first expedition (end of 1514), or Pedrarias "El Mancebo"'s expedition (July–September 1514), this entrada would have been his introduction to dealing with Indians in frontier conditions. None of these three entradas was very profitable. Carrillo presented 1,155 p. 6 tomines, Pedrarias 535 p., and Balboa only 154 p. in gold objects of various finenesses for taxation. See Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacífico*, 2:398, 400, 416 for treasury entries.

both counts. They returned to Santa Maria del Darien with only 150 pesos de oro and a few slaves.<sup>17</sup>

De Soto's next known participation in an expedition was in 1517. In September 1517, he was a member of Juan de Tavira's exploration of the Rio Grande. When Tavira drowned, the men elected Francisco Pizarro their captain. He got the survivors back to Darien. Shortly after returning from this disaster, De Soto apparently went to work with Balboa in his construction of boats at the Island of Pearls, an activity that may have kept him busy into 1518.<sup>18</sup>

Apparently by the time of the Tavira expedition, De Soto and Hernán Ponce, already a captain, had begun their company, which included Francisco Campañón. In June 1535, they said that it was then eighteen or nineteen years old, which puts its creation in 1516 or 1517.<sup>19</sup>

The basis for forming the company can be inferred from what little we know of these men at the time. In December 1515, Ponce left Acla as part of Licenciado Espinosa's 210-man expedition along the Pacific Coast to Natá and the province of chief "Paris" in search, among other things, of a treasure that Gonzalo de Badajoz was supposed to have buried in the land of Paris earlier in 1515. At one point in this expedition, noted as the most brutal toward the Indians up to that time, Ponce and Bartolome Hurtado and some men went off in canoes to islands off the coast. They returned with abundant loot and many Indian slaves.<sup>20</sup> Thus by the time Espinosa returned to Acla in April of 1516, Ponce was wealthy.<sup>21</sup> De Soto, on the other hand, probably still had relatively little wealth. He was young, was a foot soldier, and had participated in only one expedition (that we know about). Tavira's expedi-

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid. Balboa to SM (Su Majestad; Your Majesty, the king), 16 October 1515, in Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacífico*, 2:142-43.

<sup>18</sup>Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias*, 191; Carl O. Sauer, *Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1966), 259, 263; Testimony of De Soto, Lima, 26 October 1535, in Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacífico*, 2:359-64, and 2:402, 411-12 for quinto entries.

<sup>19</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 68; see text of 1535 agreement in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 80-82.

<sup>20</sup>Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias*, 188; on p. 190 he confuses this side trip with another by other men during Espinosa's 1519 expedition. Cf., *ibid.*, 276-78.

<sup>21</sup>Treasury records published by Medina, ed., in *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacífico* show that Espinosa's expedition turned in for taxation 725 p. of gold and paid 146 p. 5 t. 3 gr. (de oro) as the quinto on Indian slaves in April 1516; 55,298 p. 4 t. for taxation in March 1517; paid 1,724 p. 6 t. 11 gr. as the quinto on Indian slaves in June 1517; and turned in for taxation an undisclosed amount of pearls in this same period. *Ibid.*, 2:400, 417, 401, 411.



tion of September 1517 promised him a golden return, but outfitting for it was probably up to each man. De Soto may have needed help, which Ponce might have supplied in return for an equal share of any booty. Later, Ponce may have funded De Soto's purchase of a horse, again in return for a share of any incomes De Soto gained from participation in raids or other sources. Such an arrangement with De Soto, and perhaps others, was not only standard business at that time, it may also have been attractive, because, according to Alvarez Rubiano, Ponce was posted at this time to the site of Panama city as Pedrarias's lieutenant, a position that probably kept him out of the field and so away from loot.<sup>22</sup> Ponce's title of captain, bestowed by Pedrarias, probably also dates from his success in 1515–16.<sup>23</sup>

De Soto and Ponce next appear in the account of Espinosa's expedition of July to October 1519, in which they both participated. This expedition of 115 men and thirty horsemen (De Soto among the latter) set out from Panama in search of gold and food. This is a commonly told incident in De Soto's biography because he is credited with leading a cavalry charge that saved Espinosa and a part of the force when they were in danger of being destroyed by the Indians of Utraboa (or Urraca). At the time, De Soto was part of the land party commanded by Francisco Pizarro. De Soto later served as a witness of the submission of cacique Paris (August 1) and of the truth of an account of the expedition (city of Panama, October 18).<sup>24</sup> Later in 1519, Espinosa included De Soto among the occupiers of the new town of Santiago, at Natá, the site of natural sources of salt. Francisco Campañón was given command of the new settlement. Santiago was about thirty leagues from Panama city. Herrera's account makes De Soto a hero for going for aid when Utraboa's (or Urraboa's) Indians attacked Santiago.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias*, 189–90.

<sup>23</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:207–8, stresses that only seven men had the title of captain when Pedrarias left Spain in 1514, but others, including Ponce and De Soto, were given the title afterward to honor an achievement or because “this name of captain was one of the principal sources of wealth or instrument for gaining [it],” that is, as a political favor.

<sup>24</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 69; account of the expedition in Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacifico*, 2:272–317, with De Soto on pp. 292, 315–16, and *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización, de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*, edited by Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco D. Cárdenas, and Luis Torres Mendoza, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864–84) 20:56, 116 (cited hereafter as *DII*). Gold objects weighing 1,977 pesos were presented for taxation in November 1519. Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacifico*, 2:404.

<sup>25</sup>Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las*

As a resident of Santiago de Natá, De Soto disappears from available records for the next four years. The only hint of what he and his partners were doing are the entries in the treasury records showing Ponce submitting gold objects for founding and taxation.<sup>26</sup> Thus we do not know what role, if any, De Soto played in Lic. Juan Rodríguez de Alarconcillo's superficial *residencia* of Pedrías (1520) nor in the two years of delays that Pedrías imposed on Gil Gonzalez Dávila and Andrés Niño (January 1520 to January 1522) nor in their expedition to Nicaragua, January 1522 to June 1523.<sup>27</sup> We can be fairly certain, however, that De Soto heard of the ninety thousand pesos de oro that Gonzalez Dávila and Niño brought back, of how Gonzalez Dávila fled to Santo Domingo rather than surrender twenty percent of the haul to Pedrías, and of the conviction of the men that Gonzalez Dávila had found a water route across Central America from the Gulf of Fonseca via the Nicaraguan lakes and the San Juan River to the Caribbean. Pedrías likely had no difficulty recruiting De Soto for the old governor's own expedition to Nicaragua.

Once Gil Gonzalez Dávila was out of the way, Pedrías lost no time in organizing his own expedition to grab the newly discovered riches and potential waterway in Nicaragua. Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, Governor Diego Velazquez's first explorer of Mexico, was given command, with De Soto, Campañón, and Gabriel de Rojas as captains. The expedition departed Panama at the end of 1523 and spent 1524 conquering western Nicaragua, founding the towns of Granada, León, and Segovia during the course of the year.

Nicaragua, even more than Castilla del Oro (the isthmus of Panama), made the fortunes of the partners in the Ponce–De Soto–Campañón company. De Soto's role, as it apparently had been on the isthmus, was making war and obtaining its spoils, while Ponce provided supplies and managed De Soto's wealth.<sup>28</sup>

In Nicaragua, De Soto continued to be a leading Indian fighter and seems to have emerged as a preferred leader of punitive expeditions. In addition, he occasionally led exploring parties. The chronicles are silent about these activities in the first three years of the conquest, aside from noting his involve-

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*islas y tierra firme del mar oceano*, 1601, rpt., 17 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Maestre, 1934–57), 5:355. See also Swanton, *Final Report*, 69.

<sup>26</sup>Mario Góngora, *Los grupos de conquistadores de tierra firme (1509–1530)* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, 1962), 89.

<sup>27</sup>Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrías*, 270, 272–73, 319–27.

<sup>28</sup>Góngora, *Los grupos de conquistadores*, 48, 89.

ment in several expeditions associated with the struggle among the Spaniards for control of Nicaragua and Honduras; such expeditions inevitably involved subjugating and looting the Indians along the line of march.

The picture becomes clearer for the years 1527–30. In 1527, Diego López de Salcedo, who had seized the governorship of Nicaragua at a time when Pedrarias was undergoing his second residencia, used De Soto to suppress Indian rebellions.<sup>29</sup> Later that year, or early in 1528, De Soto was one of four captains sent to seek mines reported near Granada. They found good mines within fifteen leagues of the city. A second De Soto expedition later in 1528 had to return because of a shortage of food.<sup>30</sup> Finally, in 1530, Pedrarias sent De Soto and as many as a hundred men to suppress the Indian rebellion in the Islas de Petronilla up by the border with Guatemala. Apparently De Soto made two or three voyages for this purpose, each time returning with slaves. Juan Ruiz de Arce, one of the foot soldiers on at least one of these expeditions, was able to pay for his subsequent journey to Peru with his share of this (largely human) loot.<sup>31</sup>

De Soto's rewards for this leading role in the conquest of Nicaragua are, like his Indian fighting, poorly documented prior to 1527. The indirect evidence of his political position in these years (see below) suggests that he received one of the larger shares of the material and human loot. Some indication of what such a share might be is provided by a record of the agreement for the division of spoils from the first phase of the conquest. Dated at Hacoatega on May 1, 1524, this document called for the division of one hundred thousand pesos (weight?) of golden objects. De Soto was to receive one thousand pesos in fine gold for the services of his person, his horse, and a young black slave (*negrito*). Since it was recognized that the golden objects were of low karat, De Soto's share was to be much larger than the one percent suggested by the numbers. In the end, when reduced to sixteen-karat gold, this loot amounted to only 15,215 pesos. De Soto's share is not

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<sup>29</sup>*Expediente*, Gov. López de Salcedo against Hernando de Saavedra and Capt. Diego de Albitez, Trujillo, 6 May 1528, in Andrés Vega Bolanes, ed., *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 17 vols. to 1957 (Madrid: Imprenta Juan Bravo, 1954–), 1:324, 344.

<sup>30</sup>Reply of Treasurer Rodrigo del Castillo to question 17 of Pedrarias's Interrogatory, León, 13 July 1528, *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 1:426; Pedrarias to SM, León, 15 January 1519, *ibid.*, 456.

<sup>31</sup>Testimony in reply to question 81 of Lic. Francisco Castañeda's interrogatory from his residencia as alcalde mayor of Nicaragua, León, January 1536, *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 4:268, 330–31 (and other places), and Juan Ruiz de Arce, "Advertencias que hizo el fundador del vínculo y mayorazgo a los sucesores en el," in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st Series, 1:413.

known, but the ordinary soldiers got about twelve pesos de oro after the king's fifth, various fees, and the expenses of the outfitting of the ships had been deducted.<sup>32</sup> Clearly this division did not make his fortune. But later divisions, and *encomienda* grants, did. When he was captured by Gil Gonzalez Dávila in 1524, De Soto and his men had 130,000 pesos of low-grade gold objects with them, according to Herrera, although Oviedo does not mention a figure.<sup>33</sup> By 1525, he was wealthy enough, and important enough politically, to be named one of the two *alcaldes ordinarios* of León and, two years later, to be nominated as a perpetual *regidor* of that city's council.<sup>34</sup>

The first clear indication of De Soto's economic rise to prominence comes from the time of López de Salcedo. According to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who was in León at the time, López de Salcedo favored De Soto and Ponce with "very good caciques and Indians" so that they amassed great wealth. Apparently the governor's favor extended to regrating certain *encomiendas* held by other old settlers. One witness called in 1529 by Alcalde Mayor Francisco Castañeda said that De Soto had received the Indians of Hernán Gomez de Cortaya and that Ponce de León had been given ones belonging to Rodrigo Muriel. The *alcalde mayor* had restored the first to their former owner in the judgment of a lawsuit, and fear that he might do the same for Rodrigo Muriel caused the partners to reach an out-of-court settlement with him.<sup>35</sup> In addition, López de Salcedo allowed the shipment of Indian slaves from Nicaragua to Panama. Evidence from 1529 shows that the Ponce–De Soto partnership had an interest in the trade at that time (see below).<sup>36</sup> Certainly, De Soto's suppression of Indian rebellions in 1527 and 1530, noted above, would have provided captives to be sold.

In addition to their *encomiendas*, and interest in the trade in Indian slaves, the partners had interests in mines. Some years later, when Pedrías was trying to justify not naming either De Soto or Ponce, by then very wealthy men and favored by Alcalde Mayor Castañeda, as *regidores* of

<sup>32</sup>Góngora, *Los grupos de conquistadores*, 48, 53, 89.

<sup>33</sup>Cited in Swanton, *Final Report*, 69–70; Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:302.

<sup>34</sup>Replies to question 8, *Diligencias, re election of Alcaldes for 1530*, León, January 1530, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:500, 515, 545, 548; Instructions for Procuradores, León, 30 July 1527, *ibid.*, 1:261.

<sup>35</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:351; Información de parte de Castañeda, León, 17 September 1529, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:136. López de Salcedo helped himself as well as those he wanted to influence. Pedrías charged that he took 9,000 Indians from others! Pedrías to king, León, 15 January 1529, *ibid.*, 1:451–52.

<sup>36</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 70, is certain of their participation in the slave trade.

León, he found witnesses to testify that when Ponce was *alcalde ordinario* in 1527 he spent most of the year at the mines of Gracias a Díos instead of attending to the duties of his office.<sup>37</sup> In 1528, Pedrías sent De Soto and other captains to discover mines near Granada, apparently with some success. Ordinarily the discoverer of a mine, and his political superiors, enjoyed a share in it; that probably happened with any mines that De Soto discovered on this occasion.

Finally, by the spring of 1529, the Ponce–De Soto partnership had branched out into shipping. According to Licenciado Castañeda, at the end of March they had a ship, the *San Gerónimo*, ready for launching, a ship that was one of the largest yet built on the Pacific Coast. By that fall, he could charge that Pedrías had taken control of the carpenters the partners had employed, in order to prevent them from building two or three more ships and engaging in exploration. Pedrías, he claimed, wanted to monopolize the carrying trade from Panama to Nicaragua; in an earlier letter he listed the five ships (the *San Gerónimo* was not yet launched) engaged in that trade, only one of which belonged to Pedrías.<sup>38</sup>

Aside from their offices in 1525 and 1527, De Soto's and Ponce's wealth is indicated by various levies that they, and other *encomenderos*, were required to pay in the years 1529–33. Thus in 1529, they were among six men each required to supply or support one soldier for a force being sent to “conquer” the mines of Gracias a Díos. Other *encomenderos* had to contribute only part of the support of a soldier. In 1532, De Soto and Ponce were among the nine men assessed fifty pesos de oro or more to pay for another force sent to guard the mines at Villa de Santa María de Buena Esperanza. The two most common assessments were thirty pesos (twenty-four instances) and twenty pesos (twenty-two instances).<sup>39</sup> Finally, in 1533, Ponce and De Soto together, in common with only two other *encomenderos*, were required to supply three Indians for training as Christians, who could in turn instruct their fellows. Fourteen other *encomenderos* had to supply two Indians each; the rest, only one each.<sup>40</sup> In sum, these levies indicated that Ponce and De Soto *each* had *encomiendas* that ranked them among the half-dozen richest men in León.

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<sup>37</sup>*Diligencias*, León, January 1530, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:500, as question 10, with confirming testimony following.

<sup>38</sup>Castañeda to SM, 30 March, 5 October 1529, in *ibid.*, 2:492; 2:209–10.

<sup>39</sup>Order of Pedrías, León, 28 October 1529, in *ibid.*, 2:225; Act of Cabildo, León, 8 January 1532, *ibid.*, 3:258–69.

<sup>40</sup>Order of Lic. Castañeda, 28 September 1533, in *ibid.*, 4:508.

The partners' wealth is also indicated by their house. It was located on León's principal street, next door to the cathedral. Too, in September 1529, they were the second owners in the town (Castañeda was the first) to rebuild with *tapieria* construction.<sup>41</sup>

De Soto's political role during his years in Nicaragua shows a man rapidly maturing from the position of a loyal subordinate to that of a man with political savvy who established a degree of independence within the autocratic, not to say authoritarian, political system that Pedrarias maintained until his death in 1530. When Gil Gonzalez Dávila invaded Nicaragua from Honduras in 1524, Hernández de Córdoba sent Gabriel de Rojas and then De Soto to warn him off. Unlike Rojas, who avoided an armed confrontation with Gonzalez Dávila (because he said he lacked enough men), De Soto was drawn into the night battle of Toreba, where he and his men were captured by a trick and suffered a number of casualties.<sup>42</sup> Only Gonzalez Dávila's return to Honduras because of Cristobal de Olid's arrival there turned this defeat into a qualified victory. Nonetheless, De Soto received his reward: the position of *alcalde ordinario* in León. But he failed to exercise his office because, said his longtime friend Sebastian Benalcazar, De Soto knew that Hernández de Córdoba was affronted by his election.<sup>43</sup> Still the careful subordinate, De Soto avoided giving offense to the lieutenant governor.

A reason for Hernández de Córdoba's dislike for De Soto is suggested by De Soto's behavior later that year (1525), when Hernández de Córdoba decided to throw off Pedrarias's lordship over Nicaragua. De Soto, as *alcalde*, upheld Pedrarias's authority and was jailed. Campañón and nine other Pedrarias loyalists broke him out of jail and, after standing down Hernández de Córdoba and a small force that went in their pursuit, went overland to the Gulf of Fonseca, where they took a ship to Natá, from which they sent word to Pedrarias at Panama. De Soto and the others joined Pedrarias when he went to León early the next year and beheaded Hernández de Córdoba after the briefest of informal judicial proceedings.<sup>44</sup> Pedrarias then set about put-

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 2:344, 137, respectively.

<sup>42</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:302.

<sup>43</sup>*Diligencias*, León, January 1530, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:515, confirmed on 545, 548. Benalcazar did get him to walk about with the *vara* (the symbol of the office) for a few days at the very end of his year as *alcalde*, but apparently that was after Pedrarias had executed Hernández de Córdoba.

<sup>44</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:169; documents in Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacifico*, 1:225, 314, and 2:205, 357-360; Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias*, 334; Swanton, *Final Report*, 70.

ting the province in order, according to his ideas, and asserting a claim to Honduras!<sup>45</sup>

Pedrías did not long enjoy his newly reestablished authority in Nicaragua. In August 1526, Pedro de los Ríos, his replacement as governor of Castilla del Oro, arrived on the isthmus. Pedrías returned to Panama in January 1527, to begin his second residencia. He quickly persuaded Ríos that Nicaragua belonged to his (Ríos's) jurisdiction, even though Gil Gonzalez Dávila had been granted it as early as 1520 and again in 1524. But Gonzalez Dávila had died in 1526. Pedrías's wife and other agents already had asked that Pedrías be appointed governor of Nicaragua, but that grant had not been made. It is not clear whether officials at Panama knew that the Audiencia of Santo Domingo had appointed Diego López de Salcedo to go to Honduras and Nicaragua to resolve the multisided jurisdictional conflicts that had arisen in 1524 when Pedrías, Hernán Cortés, Cristobal de Olid, and Gonzalez Dávila were contesting for control of the two provinces. In any case, getting Ríos to go to Nicaragua to claim it for Castilla del Oro not only got him out of Panama, giving Pedrías a freer hand to attend to his affairs there, but also furthered Pedrías's claims to the province.

The apparent ending of Pedrías's rule in Castilla del Oro, and possibly Nicaragua, afforded De Soto and Ponce an important political opportunity that they seized, to their profit. Ríos arrived at León only a few days after López de Salcedo did, coming overland from Honduras. Both presented their titles and asserted a claim to govern Nicaragua. The *cabildo*, heavily stacked with Pedrías's supporters (he had selected the regidores and the *alcaldes ordinarios*), decided that Ríos' title was limited to Castilla del Oro. López de Salcedo was installed as governor. Hernando de Soto was made the captain of his guard and proposed for the position of perpetual regidor. Hernán Ponce de León was already serving as *alcalde ordinario*. A redistribution of Indians was made, supposedly with the concurrence of the captains (De Soto and Ponce both held that rank) and principal persons. López de Salcedo and his new supporters, including De Soto and Ponce, were the chief beneficiaries.<sup>46</sup> De Soto and Ponce were beginning to assert a degree of political independence from their former commander, Pedrías.

This situation did not last. On March 16, 1527, the queen signed orders making Pedrías the governor of Nicaragua, permitting Pedrías to remove his moveable property from Panama duty free, allowing him to leave an

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<sup>45</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:366–67.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, 3:367.

agent to answer for him during his residencia, and allowing his servants and clients (*criados*) to freely immigrate to Nicaragua. In short, Pedrías was allowed to move his operation to Nicaragua. López de Salcedo was instructed to concern himself solely with Honduras. At the same time, a new *alcalde mayor*, Francisco Castañeda, and a royal treasurer, Diego de la Tovilla, were named to provide checks on the old tyrant. In addition, Martín Enriquez, Martín de Medrano, and Diego de Madrigal were named permanent *regidores* of León, another way to restricting Pedrías's power.<sup>47</sup>

The news of Pedrías's appointment reached León late in 1527 or early in 1528. Martín de Estete, one of Pedrías's faithful followers, organized others to prevent López de Salcedo from resisting Pedrías's advent, as rumor and some of his actions seemed to suggest that he might. Still other men joined upon the rumor that López de Salcedo would flee to Honduras, defrauding his creditors in Nicaragua. De Soto joined this faction, whether initially or later in the conspiracy is not known. Such, comments Oviedo, was De Soto's payment for the good works that López de Salcedo had done for him.<sup>48</sup>

The crisis came to a head when Pedrías landed on the Nicaraguan coast on March 24, 1528. López de Salcedo, after unsuccessfully trying to disperse the conspirators, fled to sanctuary in the cathedral, which is where Pedrías found him upon entering León. López de Salcedo emerged from the church and publically acknowledged Pedrías as the new governor. But he was not allowed to leave town. The *cabildo* and persons with claims against the former governor demanded that he post bonds to ensure them of payment in the settlement of lawsuits they were lodging. When he failed to do so, he was jailed, remaining in the fort until he agreed to pay certain claims. Pedrías released him on January 8, 1529.<sup>49</sup>

Having changed loyalties at the right moment, De Soto continued to be an important member of León's society although he was likely less subservient to Pedrías's will than formerly. Pedrías's decision to send him to discover mines may have been an award, although the old man may also have hoped De Soto would place himself in a fatal position. But De Soto returned, apparently having found mines that added to his wealth.

De Soto soon confronted a more complex political situation, however.

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<sup>47</sup>Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrías*, 353–55.

<sup>48</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:351.

<sup>49</sup>Pedrías to SM, León, 15 January 1529, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 1:448–51; Juan Perez de Tudela Bueso, "Vida y escritos de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," in Oviedo, *Historia general*, 1:cvi.



The arrival of Lic. Castañeda, Treasurer Tobilla, and Veedor Alonso Perez de Valera later that spring challenged Pedrarias's exercise of authority. Tobilla seems to have accepted the old man's autocratic rule, but Castañeda and, even more, Perez de Valera challenged it. By mid-June (?) 1529, Perez de Valera had tried and failed to organize an opposition, even approaching De Soto. According to Ponce, De Soto had replied that "he would serve and support the lord governor as he had always done."<sup>50</sup> De Soto himself said during an investigation of this situation that he talked with Pedrarias often and intimately about persons and events, a comment suggesting that he continued in the man's good graces and thus in the role of loyal subordinate.<sup>51</sup>

On the other hand, De Soto and Ponce were careful to cultivate Lic. Castañeda, even though he found against De Soto in the Gomez de Cortaya lawsuit. In fact, De Soto praised the alcalde mayor for providing justice, where before Pedrarias had appointed judges with little learning or ability to decide suits.<sup>52</sup> De Soto and Ponce also befriended Francisco Hurtado, a royally appointed perpetual regidor. Hurtado became their informant about the business of the cabildo.<sup>53</sup>

De Soto and Ponce's increasingly independent (of Pedrarias) political position was further enhanced by Diego de Almagro's efforts during 1529 to recruit men and obtain new partners for his and Francisco Pizarro and Hernando de Luque's company for the exploration of Peru. Once a member, Pedrarias had been bought out after the first voyage had failed to provide much return. But after the second voyage turned up promising evidence of a complex, wealthy Indian society, the old man seems to have renewed his interest in the venture. When, therefore, Almagro sent Nicolás de Ribera and Bartolomé Ruiz to Nicaragua to solicit aid from Ponce, De Soto, and Pedrarias, the latter used his authority to try to either regain a share of the venture or again, as with Gil Gonzalez Dávila, to get the jump on a rival by organizing his own expedition before Pizarro and Almagro could get theirs going.

Ribera and Ruiz appeared in Nicaragua in June 1529, aboard a ship belonging to Almagro and Pizarro. After what may have been failed negotiations with Pedrarias, Ruiz began to openly recruit. Pedrarias issued orders

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<sup>50</sup>Información, León, 17 September 1519, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:126.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 132.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 136.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 531.

that no person or ship could leave Nicaraguan waters without his permission and, in the case of ships, a register of all persons and cargo. With his ship anchored offshore, but using a bark from the Ponce–De Soto ship, now launched, Ruiz nightly ferried the daring from shore to ship. Eventually as many as 132 persons were aboard, with another 90 said to be waiting on shore.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile, according to Alvarez Rubiano, Pedrías tried to force Ponce and De Soto (and probably others) into a company that would sail to Peru, but these talks failed when Ponce and De Soto demanded command, probably for De Soto. Ruiz did, however, obtain Ponce’s agreement to sail to Panama to await Pizarro’s return and the negotiation of an agreement for the use of the *San Gerónimo*. With that achieved and as many Spaniards and Indian slaves as his ship could carry, Ruiz and his illegal passengers sailed for Panama. This development eventually provided a reason why the *San Gerónimo* should be sent to Panama.<sup>55</sup>

Scheming associated with Peru continued. Witnesses Pedrías later called to support his refusal to select De Soto or Ponce or other persons that Castañeda supported for regidor and alcalde ordinario for 1530 testified that they had heard that Ponce, De Soto, and Castañeda had formed a company to build additional ships for the Peruvian venture. Ponce was said to have complained that summer that he could not make a living in Nicaragua, even though he held one of the better encomiendas. It was also alleged that De Soto’s opposition to Pedrías’s plan to send Miguel Estete to “Moroteга, Maslalata, and Cozcatan” was motivated by a desire to keep Spaniards in Nicaragua so that they could be recruited for a Peruvian venture under the Ponce–De Soto–Castañeda company. De Soto himself said that Estete was not fit to command and was being preferred only because he was a “criado” of Pedrías and married to one of his female servants.<sup>56</sup> Estete eventually went anyway.

Since by this time Perez de Valera was no longer welcomed in León and wished to return to Spain, Ponce sought permission to take him to Panama in the *San Gerónimo*. Because there was no money to pay for her freighting, on August 19, permission was granted for the ship to carry Indian slaves to the Panama market. She was finally fully loaded by mid-October with 347

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<sup>54</sup>Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrías*, 365–66; Inquiry, León, 3 July 1529, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:32, 37, 45–56.

<sup>55</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 71, follows Herrera in misdating these events to 1530.

<sup>56</sup>*Diligencias*, León, January 1530, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:507, 512–16, 532; De Soto’s testimony, *Información*, León, 17 September 1529, *ibid.*, 132–38.

slaves (some belonging to Ponce and De Soto) and fifteen *naborias*, besides her crew of nine, two of whom were black. Three Indian slaves also served with the crew. Apparently Ponce sailed with her.<sup>57</sup>

The final rounds in the drama of De Soto's political life in Nicaragua involved the selection of the *alcaldes ordinarios* of León for 1530 and his role as commander in the expeditions against the Petronilla islanders. The first, and perhaps the second, suggests some estrangement between Pedrarias and his former protégés. In brief, Castañeda proposed a number of candidates for *alcalde ordinario* and for *regidor*, but Pedrarias refused to appoint them, selecting instead men in whom he had confidence. Pedrarias justified this by long custom, from Castilla del Oro, and by having witnesses show that De Soto and Ponce, to discuss only the men of interest to us, had both failed to perform when they had been *alcaldes* on earlier occasions (1525(?) and 1527, respectively). The governor had his way.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, when he ordered De Soto to the Petronilla Islands, the captain obeyed. As has been noted, his purse was the better for it.

Probably by the time De Soto returned from the Petronilla campaign, Pedrarias was dead (March 6, 1530), a death that removed the last obligations that De Soto may have felt to the man he had served faithfully in Panama and whose patronage had sent him to Nicaragua and given him the opportunity to establish a more independent position, one from which he moved on to Peru.

Almagro's activities on behalf of the Pizarro–Almagro–Luque partnership came to a halt when Francisco Pizarro returned to Panama and told his associate that the Council of the Indies had insisted that only one man be in command of the projected conquest. Pedro Pizarro, not a wholly unbiased reporter, says that Almagro and Luque both withdrew from the company and began to claim as their own certain funds and supplies that had been accumulated against Francisco's return. Efforts by third parties to resolve the conflict got nowhere.

At that point, according to Pedro Pizarro, Ponce showed up with his ship (he erroneously says two ships) and a load of slaves. This was the *San Gerónimo*, whose preparations in the summer and fall of 1529 have been noted. Hernando Pizarro, acting for his brother, negotiated a contract for the use of the ship on terms very favorable to the Ponce–De Soto company. De Soto was to be made lieutenant governor of the chief Spanish town, and

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<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:84–88, 264–77.

<sup>58</sup>*Diligencias*, León, January 1530, in *ibid.*, 2:467–556.

Ponce would get a choice encomienda, in addition to the freight of the ship and any shares they earned from participation in the venture. This agreement, which made the trip to Peru possible without Almagro or Luque's participation, caused Almagro to back down and enter again into the old partnership, although with strained feelings and bad intentions, according to Pedro Pizarro.<sup>59</sup> In light of later events, it is difficult to see how the venture could have succeeded without Almagro's support from Panama during 1531 and 1532.

Preparations dragged on until the end of December 1530. The chroniclers who discuss the matter agree that many Spaniards did not want to go to Peru because they had heard reports of the hardships of the second voyage. Finally, either on December 27, 1530, or about January 1, 1531, the three ships, 180 men, and about thirty horses departed.<sup>60</sup> The *San Gerónimo* carried the five Pizarros, most of the foot soldiers, and as many of the horses as could be crammed aboard.<sup>61</sup>

For reasons that are unexplained except for Zarate's claim of adverse winds, the force was landed not on the Peruvian coast, but at San Mateo Bay in Ecuador, a good hundred leagues from the original goal, which seems to have been Tumbes.<sup>62</sup> The town of Coaque was captured, and perhaps three thousand pesos in loot, including several gold crowns, were sent back to Nicaragua and Panama to lure more men and capital into the venture. The *San Gerónimo* returned to Nicaragua at this time. Bartolomé Ruiz was her pilot.<sup>63</sup> In Nicaragua, Ponce already had two other ships, at least one named *La Concepción*, under construction.

The first relief to reach Pizarro came from Panama thanks to Almagro and Pedro Gregorio, a merchant. Probably in early November 1531, this ship brought a load of supplies, the royal treasury officials assigned to the expedition, about twenty men, and thirteen horses. Thus resupplied, the force marched south to Puerto Viejo, where, on November 15, they saw the two small ships that Sebastian de Benalcazar had used to reach the coast. He and

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<sup>59</sup>Pedro Pizarro, *Relación*, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st Series, 1:452, 454–55; see also Swanton, *Final Report*, 71, for Hernando Pizarro's own recollection of this contract.

<sup>60</sup>Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 6–7, n. 7.

<sup>61</sup>Zarate, "Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru," *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 2:145.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup>Pedro Pizarro, *Relación*, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 1:456; Diego de Trujillo, "Relación," in *ibid.*, 2:14; Ruiz and one of these crowns is mentioned in Lic. Castañeda's residencia in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 4:56.

his force of thirty men and twelve horses had landed up the coast but soon joined Pizarro's army. That force, rapidly sickening, marched farther south, to Puna Island in the Gulf of Guayaquil. There on December 1, Hernando de Soto arrived with two ships, both called *La Concepción* according to the treasury records of the expedition. He had about a hundred men and twenty-five horses.<sup>64</sup>

Pedro Pizarro recorded that De Soto's arrival gave Francisco Pizarro and his men "great happiness and contentment," although the new arrivals felt quite differently, having left the "paradise" of Nicaragua to find themselves on an island with hostile Indians, little food, disease, and no gold or silver. De Soto, he says, refused to leave out of pride; his men were unable to leave.<sup>65</sup> Apparently the ships were sent north almost as soon as they had been unloaded. For his part, Francisco Pizarro may have regretted the bargain made at Panama. The Gregorio-Almagro and Benalcazar reinforcements showed that men, and horsemen, could be attracted to the venture. Ponce's price for the horses and men that De Soto had brought, in comparatively small numbers, may have begun to seem large.

Although preparations for a move to Tumbez began in February 1532, the army required months to make the journey and even more time before it was ready to enter the mountains to challenge the Inca empire. Finding Tumbez devastated, the Spaniards moved on, leaving Tumbez on May 16. They arrived in late July at Tangarara, the site of the first founding of the town of San Miguel (de Piura). There, on August 1, more supplies were received in the *Santa Catalina*, master Juan Pichón, and in the bark, *Santo Domingo*, master Juan de San Juan. Almagro seems to have been responsible for this aid, which made a venture inland thinkable. As a first step, the town of San Miguel was formally founded on October 4 with forty vecinos and about twenty other Spaniards as its residents. The old, infirm, and weak were left, although promised a share of any loot.<sup>66</sup>

Hernando de Soto's activities to this point are not recorded except for his service as judge at Tumbez when Francisco Pizarro wished to make a formal complaint against the treasury officials.<sup>67</sup> Far from being the sort of judicial authority that he had been unwilling to exercise in León in 1525, this judicial

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<sup>64</sup>Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 7–9, and notes.

<sup>65</sup>Pedro Pizarro, *Relación*, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 1:459.

<sup>66</sup>Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 9.

<sup>67</sup>Testimony of Jeronimo de Aliaga, in *Pesquisa*, by Bishop Tomás de Verlanga, Lima, 20 August 1535, *DII*, 10:246.

role was the formal one of authorizing an inquiry before a notary. It required no exercise of judgment or impartiality.

As the army prepared to move inland, De Soto took up a role long congenial to his temperament, and which had earned him the respect of many men in Nicaragua: commanding forces sent to scout and combat Indians. Lockhart interprets the evidence to suggest that De Soto's dash and horsemanship and the personal loyalty of most of the men who had come from Nicaragua under his command were winning him additional followers from among men raised in the western, Badajoz region of Extremadura, thereby creating a political threat to Francisco Pizarro's leadership, which was based on the allegiance of men from the Trujillo region of eastern Extremadura. To counter this development, "the Pizarros decided to give him his head, letting him ride out in command of the vanguard, where he might exceed his orders and plot mutinies, but was at least out of the way."<sup>68</sup> A few trusted loyalists were sent along to keep an eye on this restless subordinate.

Although Herrera credits him with an attack on the chiefs of Cango and Icotu, the first opportunity for De Soto to exercise his new role—which was also compatible with his position as Pizarro's putative lieutenant—was to scout Cajas, a town in the foothills about twenty leagues from San Miguel. His patrol found it devastated because it had supported Huascar in the war between him and Atahualpa. In addition to a small amount of gold seized as loot, De Soto allowed his men to indulge themselves with some of the five hundred women from the Holy Woman's building (the *acllas* and *mamaconas*), much to the anger of Atahualpa's envoy, who was in the town scouting the Spaniards when this outrage against Inca law and custom took place.<sup>69</sup>

During the march into the mountains and to Cajamarca, De Soto seems to have stayed with the main body of the army. But once at Cajamarca, Pizarro sent De Soto with fifteen horsemen and an interpreter to invite Atahualpa to visit him. At one point in the interview, De Soto is credited with charging his horse right up to Atahualpa's throne, then causing the beast to rear on its hind legs, froth from its flanks (or mouth) falling on the emperor. Another version has the animal's breath stirring the imperial fringe

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<sup>68</sup>Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 84.

<sup>69</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 72, on the basis of Herrera, *Historia general*, dec. 4:178 and 5:7; question 8, Merits and Services interrogatory of Fernando Beltrán, Seville, 18 October 1536, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 3:466–87; see also John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1970), 30, 32.

(the sign of his office) on the man's forehead. At once an act of spontaneous intimidation, bravado, and foolish, infantile showmanship, the act fits well with De Soto's character as seen by many of his contemporaries and should be interpreted as a sign of one aspect of his personality.<sup>70</sup> Hernando Pizarro was right to worry about De Soto and to obtain permission to take twenty more horsemen to the Inca's camp.<sup>71</sup>

Following Atahualpa's capture and while his ransom was being gathered, De Soto seems to have accompanied Hernando Pizarro on the march to and from Pachacamac. The story that he was one of two Spaniards to go to Cuzco to collect part of the ransom is false, a case of later writers transferring an unusual deed to a man whose reputation fitted with such a deed.<sup>72</sup> The march to Pachacamac and back took from February to early April 1533. Among the trophies was Chalcuchima, one of Atahualpa's generals, who had agreed to accompany Hernando Pizarro from Jauja to Cajamarca.

Not long after Hernando Pizarro and his men returned to Cajamarca, Almagro appeared with some two hundred new men. Lockhart suggests that these men provided the Pizarros with enough loyal troops so that they could more effectively elbow aside potential rivals such as Benalcazar and De Soto. Thus in the division of the ransom during late July—the new men were excluded—Benalcazar and a number of lesser leaders received only modestly larger sums than the private soldiers. De Soto received 4 shares of the 217 distributed, while Francisco Pizarro claimed 13 and Hernando Pizarro, his actual second in command, took 7. The other Pizarro brothers, who had not exercised any leadership roles, received 2.5 shares each. But unlike Benalcazar, who took the hint and shortly left central Peru as the escort for the king's twenty percent of the ransom, De Soto stayed on. He still had the contractual promise of a lieutenantcy in the best city the Spaniards might found.<sup>73</sup>

De Soto's general attitude toward Indians and his barely disguised efforts to gather a loyal following probably account for his next action: the burning

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<sup>70</sup>I thus disagree somewhat with Swanton's assessment that "De Soto was still young and this looks very much like an outburst of boyish 'showing off.'" *Final Report*, 72.

<sup>71</sup>Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 34. Atahualpa's willingness to talk with Hernando Pizarro, but his silence in response to De Soto's earlier speech, may well have galled the (slightly) older man. Hernando was about thirty, De Soto about thirty-two. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 157, 190.

<sup>72</sup>Porrás Barrenechea, "Notes" on Pedro Pizarro, *Relación*, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 2:64; Swanton, *Final Report*, 72, repeats the traditional, false story.

<sup>73</sup>Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 80–81, 84.

of Chalcuchima. The Spaniards were convinced that he knew where a quantity of gold was hidden. When he denied any knowledge of it, De Soto took him aside and threatened to burn him if he did not tell where the gold was. When he again claimed ignorance of the matter, he was tied to a stake and a fire was begun that burned his arms and legs before he was removed, still denying he knew where any gold was to be found. On a previous occasion, in Castilla del Oro, De Soto was also said to have used fire to try to torture information out of an Indian leader. Some of his later actions in La Florida fit into this pattern of deliberate, even sadistic violence.<sup>74</sup>

Not long after this, in July, De Soto, Rodrigo Orgoñez, Pedro Ortiz, Miguel Estete, and Lope Velez volunteered to scout for the Inca army under Ruminavi, which was reported to be marching toward Cajamarca with the intention of freeing Atahualpa. They found no evidence of the army at the place it was said to be.

While De Soto and his companions were gone, the 153 men who remained at Cajamarca and who were already planning to march on Cuzco, allowed fear to decide Atahualpa's fate. On the night of July 26, the Inca was garroted. De Soto, supposed by many writers of a romantic bent to have been opposed to the execution, seems to have commented only that it would have been better if he could have been shipped to Spain. He did not question that Atahualpa could not be left, alive, in Peru much longer. As Hemming has argued, the Inca had served his purpose and would have been a liability on the march to Cuzco. Hemming's careful review of how the various generations of sixteenth-century chroniclers treated this event suggests that De Soto's alleged position on this matter as well as Almagro's and the new arrivals' lack of sympathy for the man (and role in urging his execution) need to be dealt with cautiously. Panic at the realization of where they were and how few they were seems to explain why the Spaniards decided to kill Atahualpa.<sup>75</sup>

With Atahualpa dead and his ransom divided, the army left Cajamarca for Cuzco on August 11, 1533. On October 12, they reached Jauja. On the 24th, De Soto and a small force were dispatched to march ahead of the main body of the army, in the hope that he could seize and hold various bridges before the Inca army could destroy them. Thus given his head, De Soto bulled ahead, fighting the Inca at Vilcas, October 29, and at Vilcacongá on

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<sup>74</sup>Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 69–70; Porrás Barrenechea, "Notes," to Pedro Pizarro, *Relación*, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 2:97–98.

<sup>75</sup>Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 76–85.



November 8 and 9. In the latter battle, unlike the first, his rash charges nearly cost him his men, the precious horses (who were worth more in battle than foot soldiers), and his life. Only the timely arrival of Almagro and forty horsemen saved him. He had disobeyed orders to wait for the body of the Spanish army at Vilcashuaman, apparently because he and his men wanted to be the first to get to Cuzco and its remaining loot (it had already been stripped to make up Atahualpa's ransom). For the rest of the march to Cuzco, De Soto kept company with the army. After another battle on the approach to Cuzco's valley, the army arrived at that city on November 15. Chalcuchima, saved in April from a fiery death and carried with the army as a hostage to ensure that his troops did not attack, was executed by burning on November 13, because Francisco Pizarro and De Soto were convinced (on purely circumstantial evidence) that he had been behind the attacks at Vilcas and Vilcaconga and the approaches to Cuzco.<sup>76</sup>

From Cuzco, where Manco Inca had been installed as puppet ruler, De Soto was sent on two expeditions to seek out Quisquis and his army of Ecuadorian Indians. This army had conquered Cuzco for Atahualpa during the civil war. Manco Inca was one of Huascar's relatives, now continuing the civil war with the help of his new friends. The first of these expeditions, in December 1533, involved fifty Spanish horsemen and five thousand Inca soldiers from Cuzco on a ten-day march to the southwest that failed to take them into contact with Quisquis. The second, from the end of January to early March 1534, involved Almagro, fifty Spaniards, Manco Inca (for part of the journey) and some twenty thousand native troops. The line of march was toward Jauja, but the army arrived three weeks after the Spaniards there (led by the royal treasurer Riquelme) had defeated units of Quisquis's army, with help from the local Indians and Quisquis's own blundering tactics. An attempt to dislodge Quisquis from a pass that he had fortified failed. De Soto and Almagro retired to Jauja to await Francisco Pizarro and Manco Inca.

Pizarro and Manco Inca reached Jauja in mid-April 1534. A subsequent attempt by Gonzalo Pizarro, De Soto, Manco Inca, eighty Spaniards and four thousand Inca warriors (mid-May to early June) to catch Quisquis, resulted in some fighting but not the engagement of the main body of his army, which was retreating toward Ecuador.<sup>77</sup>

Having conquered Huascar's empire and found an apparently compliant

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 107–09.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 126–41, *passim*.

puppet ruler, Pizarro set about consolidating his power. To that end, on July 27, 1534, he issued instructions to Hernando de Soto for his position as lieutenant governor at Cuzco, the rich city promised to him in the negotiations at Panama in 1530.

Pizarro's instructions to De Soto indicate that his authority was to be quite limited. De Soto was to have no authority in legal cases, although he was to secretly inquire about any gold or silver that the eighty Spanish residents might have found and was to see to the enforcement of Pizarro's decrees concerning the good treatment of the Indians and their instruction in the Catholic religion. Too, he was to guard the city against Indian attacks or disorder.<sup>78</sup> Whether Pizarro really expected De Soto to meekly accept these limitations cannot be known.

Pizarro also turned his attention to the question of who would control Ecuador. As early as October 24, 1533, Sebastian Benalcazar, then at San Miguel preparing to sail for Panama and Spain, had learned that Alvarado was on his way from Guatemala to challenge Pizarro's conquest, on the claim that he was operating south of the area of his (Pizarro's) grant, in an area that Alvarado had been given by the king. This attempted claim jumping had been revealed by events in Nicaragua on the night of July 22. Alvarado had entered the Port of Possession and seized two large ships, Ponce-De Soto's *La Concepción* (returned from her trip with De Soto in 1531), and Pedro Bravo and Cristobal de Burgos's *La Vitoria*, along with the ship tackle and anchors for three smaller ships that were being careened. All five were being prepared to carry Captain Gabriel de Rojas and 180 or so men (with a hundred horses) to Peru on behalf of Lic. Castañeda, now Governor of Nicaragua after Pedrarias's death, and other, unnamed parties. Ponce and Bravo's efforts to get their ships back had failed, as had Luis de Moscoso's efforts on behalf of his cousin Alvarado to buy horses from Castañeda or, apparently, to bribe him to prevent Rojas from sailing for Peru until after Alvarado had gotten on his own way there. Rojas had left Nicaragua on September 16, sailing directly to San Miguel, although with only a few men.<sup>79</sup> Benalcazar sent him to tell Pizarro. Rojas arrived at Jauja just before Quisquis attacked in mid-February 1534. He conveyed his news upon Pizarro's arrival there in mid-April.

Acting on Rojas's information, Benalcazar set out for Ecuador about mid-

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<sup>78</sup>*DII*, 42:132-34.

<sup>79</sup>*Información*, San Miguel, 24 October 1533, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 3:283-304; date from *ibid.*, 4:459.

February 1534. He had two hundred men and sixty-two horses. Not long after, Almagro, informed of Alvarado's advance by Rojas, set off for the coast, where he learned in early April of Benalcazar's unauthorized departure from San Miguel. This news was in turn reported back to Pizarro. By late May 1534, Pizarro himself was laying plans to take the Spaniards not needed at Cuzco, Jauja, and San Miguel and march to Quito.<sup>80</sup> He soon abandoned these plans, preferring to let Almagro follow Benalcazar while he went to the coast to select a site for the "city of kings," which became Lima.

Alvarado's invasion of Ecuador went badly and was conducted with tactics learned in Central America, including the use of neck chains to keep Indian porters from running away. By the time he reached the highlands, Benalcazar had occupied Quito (June 22) and Almagro had joined him (July?). After a tense confrontation that almost produced a war, the rival camps agreed that Almagro, acting on behalf of the Pizarro-Almagro-Luque partnership, would buy out Alvarado's investment in ships and equipment for one hundred thousand pesos in gold. Alvarado's men, most of whom had probably paid their own ways, as was the custom then, were allowed to stay and join Pizarro's forces, but Alvarado had to return to Guatemala. Not long after signing this agreement on August 26, 1534, Almagro and Alvarado set out for Jauja to collect the money. Benalcazar, still loyal to Pizarro, was left to govern Quito.<sup>81</sup>

Almagro's bargain with Alvarado affected De Soto's rule at Cuzco in two ways. First, in following Pizarro's instructions, he had persuaded the residents to surrender enough gold and silver to make up the gift to Charles V that the cabildo had agreed to on August 4, 1534 (at Pizarro's request). Apparently the bargain he struck with the Spanish residents, at a meeting held in their church, was that he would not enforce Pizarro's orders against trade with and extortion from the various Indian groups if they would pay their shares. Once paid up, the thirty-four thousand marks of silver and twenty-six to twenty-seven thousand pesos de oro of the gift were sent to Jauja. But this fortune was diverted to buy out Alvarado.<sup>82</sup> De Soto's prestige among the Spaniards at Cuzco probably did not suffer for all of this because he was

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<sup>80</sup>Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 153; Pizarro and royal officials to cabildo of Panama, Jauja, 25 May 1534, in Raúl Porrás Barrenechea, ed., *Cartas del Perú (1524-1543)* (Lima: Sociedad de Bibliófilos, 1959), 114; this document is also found in *DII*, 10:134-43.

<sup>81</sup>Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 159-64.

<sup>82</sup>*Pesquisa*, by Bishop Verlanga, Lima, 20 August 1535, *DII*, 10:246-72, especially 247-49, 256-57, 264, 272.

with them in continuing to loot, extort, and otherwise get all the gold and silver he could from the local population.<sup>83</sup>

The second effect of the Almagro-Alvarado bargain was Pizarro's decision of late 1534 to reward Almagro with the lieutenancy of Cuzco. De Soto had shown himself disobedient and had not taken kindly to the arrival of Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, sent to maintain the Pizarro interest in Cuzco.

Almagro was on his way to Cuzco when word was received in early 1535 that his petition for a section of South America south of Pizarro's 270 leagues had been approved.<sup>84</sup> Almagro immediately concluded that Cuzco fell within his area and moved to occupy it (March 1535). De Soto's initial position was to resist this claim, but he apparently was persuaded of its justice (or at least his interest in supporting Almagro) and came to be viewed by Juan Pizarro as pro-Almagro.<sup>85</sup> Francisco Pizarro, who believed that Cuzco was in his grant, sent Melchor Verdugo to Cuzco with a formal revocation of his company agreement with Almagro and a new appointment of De Soto as his lieutenant, with Juan Pizarro as captain of the Spanish militia. Almagro ignored this, forcing Francisco Pizarro to go to Cuzco himself. Throughout these events, De Soto seems to have done nothing to cause the Almagro and Pizarro factions to disarm themselves. Civil strife was averted, but probably not because he exercised the authority of his office to try to prevent it. Rather, what little evidence there is suggests that De Soto was deeply involved in the partisanship of the time, doing nothing to cool passions.

Once in Cuzco in late May, Pizarro got Almagro to agree to occupy Chile under terms of an agreement they signed on June 12. Pizarro pledged to put up one hundred thousand pesos for the venture.<sup>86</sup> Chile was clearly outside of the limits of Pizarro's grant, whose exact boundary was to be determined by the bishop of Panama, Tomás de Verlanga, as the actual royal orders made clear when they arrived.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 73, notes that De Soto presided at the meeting of the Cuzco cabildo on 25 October 1534, during which the allotment of town lots was begun.

<sup>84</sup>Text, dated 21 May 1534 (*sic*), is in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*, 4:224–39.

<sup>85</sup>Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 174–76; queen to Francisco Pizarro, Madrid, 17 December 1535, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile desde el viaje de Magallanes hasta la batalla del Maipo, 1518–1818*, 30 vols. (Santiago: Imprenta Ercilla, 1888–1902), 4:328.

<sup>86</sup>Text in *ibid.*, 4:319–22.

<sup>87</sup>For some of the documents in this ongoing dispute, see *ibid.*, 4:224–39, 318–19, 385–98, 407–18, and 5:279–80.

Pizarro also ordered the smelting of all precious metals, so that the royal fifth could be deducted. Hernán Ponce, now at Cuzco and acting for De Soto, presented some 18,500 pesos of gold of various finenesses on May 20. When smelted, they yielded gold worth 5,456,800 *maravedis*, from which the king got 1,080,448.<sup>88</sup> The Pizarros presented even larger amounts for smelting and taxation.

With Almagro agreed to go to Chile,<sup>89</sup> a move also supported by Manco Inca for his own reasons, the question arose as to whether Almagro would appoint an agent to conquer the coast from the Straits of Magellan northward. De Soto volunteered himself and two hundred thousand ducats. He and Ponce had just renewed their partnership (June 27).<sup>90</sup> Almagro got Rodrigo Orgoñez, by now a faithful follower, to propose to undertake this task, with one hundred thousand pesos de oro supplied by Almagro.

De Soto's motivation is not hard to discover. He was clearly out of the picture so far as a continued role at Cuzco. Moreover, the lack of Indian fighting since July 1534 had probably caused him to become restless. His ambition did the rest. Orgoñez wrote to a cousin that he and De Soto nearly came to blows, so intense were their desires to have a leading role in the new conquest. De Soto claimed Almagro had made certain, undisclosed promises to him, which he demanded be honored. But Almagro, probably with some pressure from Pizarro, refused. Instead, he openly preferred Orgoñez.<sup>91</sup> Orgoñez immediately wrote to his relatives in Spain to get them to press for a grant of five hundred leagues of coast, various offices for himself (patterned on Pizarro's grant), a habit of the Order of Santiago, confirmation of his encomienda at Pachacama, and the legitimization of his birth, to note but the more important items.<sup>92</sup>

Almagro's support of Orgoñez over De Soto was probably the bitterest humiliation De Soto had had to suffer. Although not all of the details may have been known, the fact of Orgoñez's illegitimacy and his shady, if profitable, career in the Italian wars was probably well enough known, along with

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<sup>88</sup>*DII*, 10:504-5.

<sup>89</sup>Really western Bolivia and the mountains and coastal zone of modern Chile rather than the central valley of that nation.

<sup>90</sup>Date from the reaffirmation of the agreement, Havana, 13 May 1539, as published in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 79-89.

<sup>91</sup>Rodrigo Orgoñez to Antonio de Vergara, Cuzco, 1 July 1535, in Porrás Barrenechea, ed., *Cartas del Peru*, 1524-43, 165.

<sup>92</sup>Orgoñez to Vergara, 1 July 1535; Orgoñez to his father, Cuzco, 2 July 1535, both in *ibid.*, 165, 167, respectively.

his lack of distinction in the conquest of Central America. The insult to De Soto was apparent. Whether the shadow of Almagro's mother's *converso* origins, and arrest by the Inquisition for witchcraft, was also known is less certain, but if it was rumored, the insult would have been all the greater.<sup>93</sup> De Soto was noble, legitimate, and of old Christian stock and had a more distinguished record in the conquests of the Americas. And unlike Orgoñez, who had little money of his own, De Soto was rich and backed by Ponce's and the partnership's assets in Nicaragua. But Almagro preferred to support a man without De Soto's ability to become independent. On that, he and Pizarro were probably agreed, because both had seen De Soto's behavior in Peru.

De Soto remained in Cuzco until early July 1535. He thus saw Almagro's army depart on July 3, to be followed by Francisco Pizarro not many days later. In fact, De Soto probably traveled with Pizarro to Lima. In late August he was a witness in Bishop Verlanga's inquiry into how the royal revenues had been handled until that date. He reaffirmed that testimony on October 15 and was still in Lima on October 26, when he appeared in support of Alonso Martín de San Benito.<sup>94</sup>

In December 1535, De Soto sailed to Panama in his and Ponce's *San Gerónimo*. In March, he, many of his Peruvian followers, and a part of his fortune departed from Nombre de Dios in Damian de Soria's *Santi Spiritus*.<sup>95</sup> Another ship in the group carried more of his fortune under the watchful eye of Luís de Moscoso, later De Soto's successor in the La Florida venture. This ship was wrecked in the Jardines de la Reina, off southern Cuba, according to one report, or at the "point of Bime" in the Bahama Channel, according to another.<sup>96</sup> Even with some losses in that wreck, De Soto arrived at Seville with a large fortune, said to be between 100,000 and 180,000 pesos. He also carried letters recommending him as a man that the government could question to learn the facts of events in Peru.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>Porrás Barrenechea, "Notes," to Pedro Pizarro, *Relación*, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 2:91-95.

<sup>94</sup>*Pesquisa*, *DII*, 10:269-72, 288; "Información de parte de Alonso Martín de San Benito," Lima, 26 October 1535, in Medina, ed., *Descubrimiento del oceano Pacifico*, 2:359-64.

<sup>95</sup>Listed as a 1535 return (1535 R # 44) in Huguette and Pierre Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650)*, 8 vols. in 10 (Paris: SEVPN, 1955), 2:262. The unreliable nature of the records that the Chaunus used accounts for this dating discrepancy.

<sup>96</sup>Casa de Contratación to SM, Seville, 26 April 1536, in Porrás Barrenechea, ed., *Cartas del Peru*, 1524-43, 188-89; Swanton, *Final Report*, 73.

<sup>97</sup>Francisco Barrionuevo to Council of Indies, Nombre de Dios, 30 January 1536, *ibid.*; Bishop Verlanga to SM, Panama, 3 February 1536, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*, 4:330.

De Soto's first order of business upon reaching Seville was to outfit himself and his servants, and probably a number of his followers from Peru, with clothing signifying his wealth and pretensions to status. Elvas recalled that "he employed servants, including a major domo, grand master of ceremonies, pages, equerry, chamberlain, footmen, and all the other servants requisite for an establishment of a gentleman."<sup>98</sup>

Next, De Soto had to negotiate with the House of Trade concerning the "loan" that Charles V was demanding from all who returned with loot from the empire. In undertaking the Tunis campaign, Charles needed all the money he could find and so ordered seizures of remissions from Peru.<sup>99</sup> Juan Ruiz de Arce recalled that sixty of the men from Peru lent the crown some eight hundred thousand ducats, in return for which Charles assigned various revenues to them.<sup>100</sup> This is the origin of the three hundred thousand maravedis in "rents" on the Granada silk monopoly that De Soto acquired at about this time.<sup>101</sup>

With those matters settled, De Soto and others went to court, where they spent lavishly and petitioned for various benefits. De Soto's interest was in acquiring a province to govern and the right to carry out additional discoveries. While in Seville, he had entered his request for a grant south of Pedro de Mendoza's two hundred leagues; that is, for the area granted to Simón de Alcazaba in the summer of 1534. Alcazaba had died trying to reach it. This was the same area that Rodrigo Orgoñez was also soliciting.<sup>102</sup> It embraced the southern portion of Chile and the mouth of the Straits of Magellan.

Whether because he learned that the Bishop of Plasencia, Juan Rodriguez

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<sup>98</sup>Elvas, *Relation*, herein, vol. 1; Swanton, *Final Report*, 75.

<sup>99</sup>Ramón Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1949–67), 3:170–79.

<sup>100</sup>Juan Ruiz de Arce, "Advertencias," in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 1:435.

<sup>101</sup>Agreement of Ponce and De Soto, Havana, 13 May 1539, AGI, Justicia 750, printed in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 79–89. Elvas says that Charles paid him 600,000 reales and interest from the silk monopoly and other monies from the House of Trade. Elvas, *Relation*, herein, vol 1. If the income were at the 3% rate normal on *juros* of the time, the principal sum was 10,000,000 maravedis or about 22,222 pesos de oro, about 20% of the fortune De Soto was said to have carried to Seville. Hernández Díaz, *Expedición de Hernando de Soto*, 32, documents of 4 December 1537 and 4 January 1538 grant Isabel de Bobadilla, the mother, power to collect 620,000 maravedis (1,377 p. 6 t. 3 gr. de oro @450 maravedis) that Charles V agreed to pay De Soto from the revenues of the treasury of Grand Canary Island.

<sup>102</sup>Casa to SM, n.d. [summer of 1536?], in Porrás Barrenechea, ed., *Cartas del Peru, 1524–43*, 185–86. Alcazaba's story is briefly noted in John H. Parry, *The Discovery of South America* (New York: Taplinger, 1979), 216.

de Fonseca, was interested in this area for his brother or some other captain he wished to patronize, or because he thought he saw a better opportunity, De Soto soon changed his petition to the 100 leagues north of San Miguel de Piura, the supposed beginning of Pizarro's 270 leagues. This was, he wrote an agent, "the most sterile and unprofitable [part] of that land," although he noted that "by way of Quito" it offered a good opening to the interior. If that were not available, he wanted Guatemala and the right to explore in the Pacific with the title of adelantado and ten percent of all goods discovered. He also wanted habits of the Order of Santiago for himself and Hernán Ponce de León and royal confirmation of their encomiendas, houses, and lands.<sup>103</sup> Evidently he was worried that Pizarro might deprive him of his Peruvian holdings.

While awaiting the decision of the Council of the Indies on his petition, De Soto entered into marriage with Isabel de Bobadilla, daughter of his old lord, Pedrías, and of a woman of the same name. Much romantic nonsense has been written about De Soto and his new bride. Wilmer (1858) seems to be the origin of much of it in English, but as recently as 1986 Miguel Albornoz incorporated their supposed love story into his work on De Soto. According to these stories, the young people had become interested in each other during the years 1514–19 when mother and daughter (then a toddler) had been in Castilla del Oro. Their love had been temporarily frustrated by Pedrías, who is alleged to have disapproved of De Soto and to have sent his daughter back to Spain to separate them.

In fact, De Soto's marriage to Isabel de Bobadilla was probably, like most such alliances, a calculated affair on both sides with the long-term preservation of property at issue. The dowry agreement was signed at Valladolid on November 14, 1536, at a time when De Soto's petition for a governorship in Ecuador or Guatemala was still pending (apparently). The possibility of a Guatemalan governorship would seem to be the point of the agreement. Isabel's sister María Arias de Peñalosa had married Rodrigo de Contreras y de la Hoz, governor of Nicaragua (1535–41). An alliance with a prospective governor of Guatemala would further solidify the Pedrías-Bobadilla interests in Central America. Isabel's relatively modest dowry of a Panamanian ranch with a herd of cattle and horses worth seven thousand pesos de oro was only part of what she brought to the marriage. Through her De Soto gained access to the Bobadilla clan, still powerful in Segovia and the royal

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid.; De Soto to "Magnífico Señor," n.d., n.p., in *ibid.*, 273; translated in Swanton, *Final Report*, 75–76.



court, thanks to their services to Isabel the Catholic. De Soto offered not only the prospect of another Central American connection, but also six thousand ducats as a groom's portion (Isabel's if he died before her) and properties in Nicaragua and Peru that might pass to an heir.<sup>104</sup>

When the government finally acted, it offered De Soto not a governorship in one of the established colonies but the opportunity to conquer La Florida, roughly the southeastern quarter of what is now the United States.<sup>105</sup> Coupled with this was the position of governor of Cuba, which would serve as a supply base. Apparently Guatemala was denied to him because Bartolomé de las Casas, who held a low opinion of all Indian fighters and De Soto in particular, was trying to show that peaceful preaching would convert the Indians, even in the infamous "land of war" that had resisted the usual martial form of subjugation.<sup>106</sup> Too, Pedro de Alvarado was already governor of Guatemala. Ecuador and any part of South America were also denied to De Soto because other men were favored by court interests and, probably, because he was known to have bad relationships with Pizarro and Almagro. North America, on the other hand, was not claimed by anyone and the unpromising reputation of its coasts probably seemed analogous to the northern coast of Peru, which De Soto had said he wanted.<sup>107</sup>

After negotiations not recorded in surviving documents, the government issued his contract with a date of April 20, 1537. It is notable for being long on economic privileges and short, compared to Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's, for example, on any emphasis on the Dominican theory of a peaceful approach to the native polities that might be found in La Florida. The contract did contain a copy of Charles V's decree of November 17, 1526, enjoining pacific treatment of the Indians, reading of the Requirement of 1514 to them

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<sup>104</sup>Dowry agreement, Valladolid, 14 November 1536, in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado*, 157–214; Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, *Hernando de Soto: Cuba y la conquista de la Florida* (Havana: Sociedad Colombista Panamericana, 1939), 13–14.

<sup>105</sup>The contract gave De Soto the areas formerly granted to Narváez and Ayllón. Narváez in turn had obtained Ponce de León's grant and Garay's Amichel, that is peninsular Florida and the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The exact western boundary was defined by a royal decree of 30 December 1538 that set Río de las Palmas (the modern Soto La Marina) as the western border and Newfoundland as the northern border. Empress to viceroy of Mexico and others, 30 December 1538, AGI, CT 3309, Book for Florida, fols. 131v—132v.

<sup>106</sup>Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice* (Boston: Little Brown, 1949), 77–81.

<sup>107</sup>For the development of this reputation, see Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast in the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 1–102.

until they understood it,<sup>108</sup> peaceful and honest trade, no forced labor or enslaving of Indians, and no recruitment of Spaniards from the Antilles for the expeditionary force. On the other hand, the contract permitted the establishment of *encomiendas*, the very device that had produced all the abuses that the decree wished to avoid! To help guarantee that Indian rights were respected, at least two friars were to go on every expedition. These religious commissars were to be consulted about all matters relating to the Indians.<sup>109</sup>

To sweeten the agreement, the crown ordered an investigation to determine whether De Soto qualified for the Order of Santiago. That inquiry, conducted at Badajoz in 1537, is an important source for his background and place of birth.

By early August 1537, De Soto was in Seville, beginning to purchase ships and to make other preparations for the journey.<sup>110</sup> He fixed rendezvous for his expedition at Seville and January 1538. He then settled into the business of raising men, aided by the arrival of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, one of three men to survive from Pánfilo de Narváez's ill-starred expedition of 1528 to Amichel. Asked to join the De Soto expedition, he eventually declined, but he did tell relatives that they might be well advised to join the venture. In other contexts he spoke of things that were only for Charles V's ear, which his hearers took to mean that he knew of great riches.<sup>111</sup> Men began to gather money to pay for their outfitting and journey. Some, like Garcia Osorio, sold real estate to support themselves and their relatives (a brother in this case), horses, foot soldiers, and servants.<sup>112</sup>

The Elvas narrative provides a graphic description of the gathering of the army (herein, vol. 1). The list of men and when they enrolled has been published, although it is not certain that all went on the expedition. Three or

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<sup>108</sup>See Hanke, *Spanish Struggle for Justice*, 31–33, for the content of this document.

<sup>109</sup>Text in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 91–117. The cedula is on pp. 103–16.

<sup>110</sup>José Hernández Díaz, *Expedición del Adelantado Hernando de Soto a la Florida: Notas y documentos relativos a su organización* (Sevilla: Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de America, 1938), 13. See his pp. 13–31 for other contracts, especially with seamen for the ships. Hernández Díaz's documents came from only Oficio X, one of twenty-four notarial offices. Many more documents connected with this outfitting await discovery.

<sup>111</sup>Elvas, *Relation*, herein, vol. 1.

<sup>112</sup>Inquiry for Garcia Osorio, Mexico, 5 December 1560, AGI, Patronato 63 (photocopy in J. B. Stetson, Jr., Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida).

TABLE 1. PROVINCES OF ORIGIN OF PARTICIPANTS IN CONQUESTS

PROVINCE	BOYD #	PERCENT	PERU #	PERCENT	DE SOTO #	PERCENT
Andalucia	6,419	34.2	34	20.2	92	13.2
Extremadura	2,973	15.9	36	21.4	341	48.9
New Castile	2,070	11.0	15	8.9	41	5.9
Old Castile	3,324	17.7	17	10.1	88	12.6
León	1,410	7.5	15	8.9	64	9.6
Basque	857	4.6	—	—	8	1.1
Galicia	309	1.6	—	—	12	1.7
K. of Aragon	304	1.6	2	1.2	3	0.4
Murcia	151	0.8	—	—	3	0.4
Navarra	81	0.4	2	1.2	—	—
Asturias	113	0.6	8	4.8	1	0.1
Canarias	39	0.2	—	—	—	—
Foreigners	698	3.7	2	1.2	8	1.1
Unknown	—	—	37	22.0	45	6.4
	18,743		168		698	

*Sources:*

Boyd: Peter Boyd Bowman, "Patterns of Spanish Emigration to the Indies until 1600," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 41 (1976): 585, table 1; columns 1 and 2 summed.

Peru: James Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca* (Austin, 1972), 28, table 3.

De Soto: John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (rpt., Washington, D.C., 1985), 82.

four women also joined the expedition over and above Isabel de Bobadilla, De Soto's wife, and her ladies. Four men of possible Moorish origins have been noted. In all, about seven hundred persons sailed with the expedition, of whom eighteen had known civilian occupations (the majority tailors) and four were clergy.<sup>113</sup> Swanton has published a list and prepared a numerical analysis of some 698 names. Table 1 provides comparative information with all immigrants of 1493–1539, according to Boyd Bowman's compilation, and with the men of Cajamarca, as Lockhart has tabulated them. It is clear that, except for the very large percentage of Extremeños in the De Soto force

<sup>113</sup>Ignacio Avellaneda, *Los sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition* (Gainesville: University of Florida, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 1990), 7, which also contains prosopographical analyses of the 257 survivors.

(48.9 percent compared to 15.9 percent overall and 21.4 percent of the men at Cajamarca) and a correspondingly small number of Andalucians, De Soto's force had a composition not unlike that of Pizarro's at Cajamarca, while both differed by having fewer New Castilians and more Old Castilian and Leónese than the general pattern of immigration in that period.

Although most of the men provided their own weapons and supplies and probably contributed to their transportation costs, De Soto still had large expenses. At present little is known of them<sup>114</sup> aside from the fact that he pawned (or sold) the royal grant of income from the Granada silk monopoly in order to raise money. The purchasers may have been Genoese. One of their own, Cristobal Spinola, sold his goods and joined De Soto. Too, Elvas says that when he left Spain, De Soto was in debt, having arrived with a fortune!<sup>115</sup>

As the fleet made up, it was assigned the task of accompanying a group of merchantmen. Spain was still at war with France, although her diplomats were close to arranging the Truce of Nice (July 14–16, 1538). Lacking the means to provide an escort as far as the Canary Islands, the crown took advantage of De Soto's force. Swanton has provided a table listing the ships, approximate size, and commanders in the De Soto fleet. This is reproduced here as table 2.

De Soto sailed from San Lucár de Barrameda on April 7, 1538. The trip was uneventful. Gomera, in the Canary Islands, was reached on Easter Sunday, April 21. After a week there gathering water and supplies, the convoy was off again, keeping company until well into the Caribbean, when the Mexican ships went their separate way, leaving De Soto's fleet to work its way to Santiago de Cuba. They arrived there on June 9.<sup>116</sup>

After a round of welcoming ceremonies, De Soto made provision for additional fortifications at Santiago, which had been raided some months before his coming, and attended to other governmental matters. That done, he divided his expedition, sending his family and the foot soldiers by ship to Havana while he took the horsemen, divided into several squadrons, overland to Havana. Although the men were supposed to pay for the provisions

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<sup>114</sup>See Hernández Díaz, *Expedición del Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 13–15, for expenses totaling 2,622 ducats for the purchase of two ships and of 653 ducats for the making of ship biscuit and for freight agreements whose value to De Soto is not indicated. These are but the tip of an iceberg of similar documents.

<sup>115</sup>Agreement, Havana, 13 May 1539, in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 79–89; Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, 74–75; Elvas, *Relation*, herein, vol. 1.

<sup>116</sup>Swanton, *Final Report*, 100.

TABLE 2. SHIPS OF HERNANDO DE SOTO'S FLEET, SAN LUCAR, 1538

NAME	SIZE	COMMANDER
<i>San Cristobal</i>	800 toneladas	Hernando de Soto
<i>La Magdalena</i>	"no smaller"	Nuño de Tobar
<i>La Concepción</i>	> 500 toneladas	Luís de Moscoso
<i>Buena Fortuna</i>	"equally large"	Andre de Vasconcelos
<i>San Juan</i>	a "large ship"	Diego Garcia
<i>Santa Barbara</i>	a "large ship"	Arias Tinoco
<i>San Antón</i>	a "small galleon"	Alonso Romo de Cardeñosa
(not named)	caravel	Pedro Calderon
(not named)	two pinnaces	

Source: Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 97.

they obtained, a trail of complaints followed them. De Soto, who went ahead, reached Havana about November 1. The rest of the cavalry did not arrive until March 1539, having spent the winter living off the land and its inhabitants.

Over that winter, De Soto sent Juan de Añasco to seek out a port on the west coast of Florida and attended to the fortification of Havana and other governmental chores. With Añasco's report and the cavalry at hand, De Soto pushed final preparations. By then he had acquired four agricultural properties that could supply maize, sweet potatoes, *cacabi* biscuit (a bread made from bitter manioc), beef, pork, mutton, turkeys, and chickens, in addition to any of those supplies that he bought from other Cuban producers. One of his properties, which also had fifty resident Indians held in *encomienda*, was used to raise horses as well as other livestock, maize, and manioc.<sup>117</sup> Almost on the eve of sailing, Hernán Ponce arrived aboard the *Santa Ana*, a ship in which he had bought a half-interest at Nombre de Díos. He was on his way back to Spain with the proceeds of De Soto's Cuzco properties (including slaves), sold to Almagro for four thousand pesos de oro, probably in early 1538 during Almagro's rebellion against Pizarro. Ponce had also given Almagro De Soto's *encomienda* at Cuzco because Almagro had purchased the

<sup>117</sup>Inventory and sale of goods, Havana, 6 December 1543, in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 223-73; Irene A. Wright, *Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana en el siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Havana, 1927), 1:17.

other properties.<sup>118</sup> According to Elvas (repeated with elaboration in Garcilaso), Ponce had not intended to put in at Havana because he did not want to meet De Soto and only did so when adverse weather caused the ship's master to seek port.<sup>119</sup>

This story seems wrong on its face; ships from Tierra Firme almost never avoided a final food, water, and firewood stop at Havana, and a ship in as poor a condition as the *Santa Ana* supposedly was would surely have been brought to port before the long Atlantic crossing. On the other hand, Ponce might not have been particularly anxious to discuss their affairs with De Soto, because if he knew of the expedition he could have anticipated demands for money.

Whatever the truth of Ponce's motivations and feelings upon landing at Havana, he soon found cause for offense. On May 13, 1539, De Soto dictated his will. This made elaborate provision for charitable works and for De Soto's monument in the Church of San Miguel in Jerez de los Caballeros, but left nothing to Ponce. De Soto also induced Ponce to sign an agreement in which each accepted the other's actions in the nearly four years since they had renewed the company at Cuzco and waived all future claims for compensation under the partnership for any action taken to May 13, 1539. De Soto was particularly insistent that his expenses at court and in fitting the expedition be accepted and that he be released from any claim of extravagant spending. He did recognize that Ponce had a right to half of the income (150,000 maravedis) from the royal grant against the Granada silk monopoly, and a provision was made for Ponce to purchase for himself alone an equivalent income, using the partnerships' funds. This document so angered Ponce that he went to another notary and declared that he had signed it under duress and against his will and so would not be bound by it.<sup>120</sup> Subsequently confronted about this by Isabel de Bobadilla, Ponce renounced his renunciation, but then they became involved in a lawsuit about the company.<sup>121</sup>

Ponce's anger is understandable. Not only had De Soto squandered the

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<sup>118</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 5:196, noting that after Almagro's death in the battle of Las Salinas, 26 April 1538, Hernando Pizarro appointed Felipe Gutierrez as a regidor of Cuzco, assigning him the encomienda and giving these details of how Almagro had obtained it.

<sup>119</sup>Elvas, *Relation*, herein, vol. 1; Garcilaso, *La Florida*, herein, vol. 2.

<sup>120</sup>Letter of agreement, Havana, 13 May 1539, in Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 79–89.

<sup>121</sup>AGI, Justicia 750. This is the source for many of the documents found in volume 1 of this publication.

more than one hundred thousand pesos de oro he had taken to Spain, he had apparently run up large debts that the partnership—meaning Ponce—was obliged to pay. On top of that, De Soto was probably treating his former friend and one-time benefactor with a hauteur that had to have been offensive. And he was about to embark on a plunge into an area that had a reputation as a wasteland, one from which little profit might be expected.

De Soto sailed on May 18, to take advantage of favorable winds. The Florida coast was hailed on Sunday, May 25, the feast of the Holy Spirit. In due course the army was landed and began its great peregrination, as De Soto searched for mineral wealth or some other resource whose location would indicate which two hundred leagues of coast he should request from Charles V for the area of his government. His contract, it should be recalled, provided for exploration before he had to request a specific part of the continent for his territory.

Because this essay is a brief biography, the still controversial details of the landing point and the route will not be addressed. Suffice it to say that De Soto showed that he wanted to find minerals and would not settle for agricultural prospects (at Cofitachequi and Coosa), that he turned away from the coast rather than make contact with Maldonado and the supply ships he had at Achuse, and that he died west of the Mississippi River on May 21, 1542.

Led by Luís de Moscoso, De Soto's surviving soldiers, women, Indian slaves, horses, and pigs spent another sixteen months seeking riches, an overland route to New Spain, and building and sailing seven brigantines from Guachoya, on the Mississippi River, to the Rio Pánuco in New Spain. They reached that haven on September 10, 1543. Of approximately 600 Spaniards who landed in La Florida, only 311 survived to return to New Spain. Avellaneda's recent prosopographical study of the 257 survivors for whom some biographical data could be found reveals that they were what might be expected from what is known about those who embarked with De Soto in Spain. That is, the typical survivor was a male from Extremadura, about 24 years of age in 1539, able to sign his name, and a commoner who settled in New Spain or Peru after his adventure in Florida, and married.<sup>122</sup> Because there is no known list, we do not know the characteristics of the Indians who accompanied these Spaniards to New Spain. We do know that some of them later were sent to Guatemala whence they influenced Fray

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<sup>122</sup>Avellaneda, *Los sobrevivientes de la Florida*, 67–74.

Luis Cacer's ill-conceived missionary voyage to Florida and the Luna expedition of 1559–62.<sup>123</sup>

The news of De Soto's death reached Havana on December 4, 1543, when the *Santiago*, master Ochoa Vizcayno, put in with a number of the surviving members of the expedition, including Rodrigo Rangel, and with letters from the viceroy of Mexico. Within two days, Isabel de Bobadilla had obtained not only depositions about that but also a court order for the inventory and sale of De Soto's and her property. The inventory was begun on December 6 and completed on December 12. Auction of the goods yielded 3,121 pesos de oro and 3 *tomines*, all of which Isabel claimed against the 7,000 pesos de oro value of her dowry. As many as eight of the purchasers, including Rangel, may have been survivors of the expedition.<sup>124</sup> The widow and her household left Havana the following spring.

What sort of person was Hernando de Soto? His contemporaries in Central America, Sebastian de Torres, Sebastian Benalcazar, and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, offer a far from flattering picture, one that fits well with the more brutal aspects of his Florida venture and gives the lie to the romantic idealization of him as somehow different from other Spanish conquistadors. Torres and Benalcazar, both of whom had known him since 1514, testified in an admittedly partisan context in 1530 that De Soto would not make a good *alcalde ordinario* because "he is very excitable [*apasionado*] and thoughtless [*corto de razones*]" (Torres) and was an "excitable [*apasionado*], curt [*mal sufrido*] man" (Benalcazar).<sup>125</sup> That is, he was a man given to snap judgments, vehement support of persons and causes, and, likely, great anger and other emotions. In addition, he would not suffer gladly those he considered to be fools or bores. He was not, in short, the sort of thoughtful, objective, patient person who would make a good judge. Oviedo, who had seen him off and on since 1514, offered the opinion that he was "a good man in his person [that is, good looking] and very busy in this hunting [*monteria*] of Indians and he has sent many to hell. . . ."<sup>126</sup> The use of a term ordinarily denoting something akin to fox hunting, suggests Oviedo's assessment of De Soto's attitude toward his human prey.

These judgments are supported by a review of his biography. Incidents such as his rashness at the battle of Toreba (1524), before Atahualpa (1532)

<sup>123</sup>Paul Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient*, 100, 154.

<sup>124</sup>Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, 223–73.

<sup>125</sup>*Diligencias*, León, January 1530, in *Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, 2:506, 515.

<sup>126</sup>Oviedo, *Historia general*, 3:351.



and at the Battle of Vilcaconga (1533), his near insubordination throughout the Peruvian campaigns and especially as lieutenant governor of Cuzco, his bidding war with Orgoñez over the right to invade southern Chile, and finally his almost reckless agreement to explore La Florida all indicate a man who did not think carefully about his options but plunged ahead. Such boldness, coupled with his skill as a horseman and fighter with the lance and sword, seems to have been admired by many of his followers because he (and they) seldom came to harm because of it. Probably vain, clearly ambitious, but handsome and apparently well spoken (on occasion), De Soto had most of the characteristics that might make a man charismatic, even a *caudillo* in the Hispanic world of his time. Such men draw some others to their orbits, while colliding with men of similar character or of superior social status.

That he was happy to engage in the “hunting of Indians” is well attested by events in Nicaragua, Peru, and La Florida and probably would be for Castilla del Oro if we knew more about his life there. Trained in Indian warfare in the schools of Balboa, Espinosa, and Pedrías, he approached all Indians with the Central American tradition, which was one of brutal oppression directed against rulers, first of all.<sup>127</sup> On at least two occasions, he was party to, and probably led, the burning of Indians as a method of torture. He had no qualms about the Indian slave trade either in Central America, where slaves were branded on their foreheads, or in La Florida, although in the latter case he did not export any Native Americans because that would have required contacting his ships and thus admitting his failure in 1539–40 to find any minerals in the mountains, Ayllón’s “Xapira.”

This is not to suggest that he lacked social graces or that his personality did not change, even mellow a bit, with age. Clearly he was a man who knew how to act acceptably when the circumstances of the Spanish world required him to do so. As a youth and into his twenties, this meant being the loyal subordinate in Pedrías’s Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua, at least until about 1526 or 1527 when, legally of majority age (twenty-five was the age of majority), he began to be more independent. In Peru, where he was subject to the authority of a man of lower social origins than himself, he carried off his role of subordinate with great difficulty but just enough civility so that Pizarro did not have cause to take any action against him beyond sending trusted friends, even his own brothers, along with De Soto to keep him from striking out on his own. And once returned to Spain, where his role as a leading commander in Pizarro’s forces was well advertised, he apparently

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., 2:165, says as much.

fitted into court life without difficulties, only to find that he was again treated like a subordinate when his petitions for a known, profitable governorship were denied. But he maintained his *amour propre* and his lavish household, putting a bold face on what must have been something of a disappointment. This behavior and his generally moderate conduct in La Florida toward the Indians (compared to his actions in Central America) suggest some moderation of his personality with age.

In sum, one has to agree with Raul Porrás Barrenechea that De Soto was “neither better nor worse than other conquistadores nor in any way a paradigm of goodness and gentleness.”<sup>128</sup> Garcilaso and romantic writers who have followed his lead would have it otherwise, but a close reading of the available record shows us a man who delighted in his skill with a horse and lance when used against other human beings, was ambitious and greedy, and, in the view of contemporaries who knew him well, passionate and curt in his behavior toward others. Such a person would not be welcomed in the dens of many who, knowing only the romantic image, continue to idealize Hernando de Soto.

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<sup>128</sup>Porrás Barrenechea, “Notes” to Pedro Pizarro, *Relación*, in *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1st series, 2:98.



SOME NEW TRANSLATIONS OF DE SOTO DOCUMENTS  
FROM THE GENERAL ARCHIVE OF THE INDIES,  
SEVILLE

*Selected and Introduced by Rocío Sánchez Rubio*  
*Translated by David Bost*



# Introduction

The documents presented here reflect several stages of Hernando de Soto's long American trajectory.\* Appearing in chronological order as they were issued, the first of the collection relates his passage through Peru, where he had participated in the conquest under the command of Francisco Pizarro, also an Extremaduran. His active collaboration and leadership in some of the most important episodes of the Peruvian conquest, along with his proven loyalty, induced Pizarro to name him *Teniente de Gobernador* [lieutenant governor] of the city of Cuzco, the capital of the Incan empire. The post qualified him as supreme authority of the city surpassed only by Francisco Pizarro.

The naming [*nombramiento*] appears dated July 27, 1534, eight months after the Spaniards entered that city; it was issued in the nearby settlement of Jauja and signed by the governor. Instructions are included in the document for carrying out the post, specifying his obligations. As lieutenant governor of Cuzco, Hernando de Soto had the power to intervene in matters of jus-

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\*Included are: 1) a document naming De Soto as lieutenant governor of Cuzco [Archivo General de Indias, Seville (AGI). *Patronato*. Legajo 90-A]; 2) a Cédula Real from 1537 authorizing certain other ships bound for the Indies to accompany De Soto [AGI. *Indiferente General*. Legajo 1962, Folios 301 vto.-302]; 3) a Cédula Real from 1538 authorizing the same ships to leave by March 15 if De Soto was not ready (which he was not) [AGI. *Indiferente General*. Legajo 1962, Folio 331 vto.]; 4) authorization for Doña Isabel to bring three women slaves to Cuba in her personal service [AGI. *Indiferente General*. Legajo 1962, Folio 331]; 5) a lengthy interrogation for De Soto's admission to the Order of Santiago [Archivo Histórica Nacional. *Sección Ordenes Militares (Santiago)*. Expediente No. 7855]; 6) a document in which De Soto granted wide authority to his wife to represent him in administering all his assets and properties [AGI. *Justicia*. Legajo 750 (A)]; and 7) an inventory of De Soto's assets drawn up by Isabel de Bobadilla after learning of her husband's death [AGI. *Justicia*. Legajo 750 (A)].

Spanish transcriptions of documents 5 and 6 have appeared before in Antonio del Solar y Taboada and José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto* (Badajoz, Spain: Ediciones Arqueros, 1929).

tice, whether they be civil or criminal cases, and his authority extended to the Spanish population (residents or transients), as well as to the native population. Outside his jurisdiction were the defense of the city and conflicts brought about by indigenous uprisings. It is seen from this document that during this period Cuzco enjoyed ordinances that regulated municipal life not unlike those that also existed in Spain. In the instructions, for example, was the recommendation to Spaniards who had been awarded *repartimientos* and *encomiendas* of Indians not to commit abuses with their charges. This circumstance was entrusted to the care of De Soto, who was admonished to watch over the indigenous population and their treatment; he was also encouraged to begin the work of indoctrination and preaching of the Catholic faith among them.

For barely two years De Soto held the post of lieutenant governor. In 1536, he returned to Spain and obtained the royal authorization to begin preparations for the expedition to Florida. Related to these preparations are two royal *cédulas* issued in Valladolid on December 7, 1537, and February 25, 1538, respectively.

When the first of these *cédulas* was granted, all of the preparations had concluded for the expedition that De Soto would direct toward what is now the southeastern United States, the fleet and participants having joined together in San Lúcar de Barrameda. Through this document authorization was granted to the ships that were preparing to depart for the Indies in the company of the armada of the *adelantado*. With this concession the crown put into practice one of the means adopted in 1521 for the navigation of the Atlantic: the organization of convoys protected by warships to eliminate the dangers posed by pirates and corsairs and to safeguard the shipment of precious metals. Given the size of the armada that, under De Soto's command, was prepared to depart, and the material means within his reach, military protection was ensured.

The second of the *cédulas* issued from Valladolid is couched in terms similar to the first. Due to the delay of the expedition's departure, the crown again recommended that the ships preparing to depart for the Indies wait until March 15 so as to be able to travel under the guard of De Soto's armada, though it did grant the freedom to depart after that date even if De Soto's ships might not have left, which is essentially what happened. The expedition to La Florida would begin its navigation some days later on April 6.

In addition to the *cédulas*, we have included a document that is not directly related to Hernando de Soto but to his wife, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, whom he married in 1536. It deals with a license that allowed her to bring

along three women slaves for her personal service. The circumstance that these three slaves were white suggests with a high degree of probability that they were Moors. The reference in the document with respect to their having proved their Christian quality before their twelfth birthdays points equally in this direction.

Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, upon requesting a license for her slaves, was obeying the law of the time regarding the passage of slaves to the Indies. She was respecting the disposition that prohibited the passage of slaves without express consent of the king. Had she not done so, Doña Isabel would have incurred a penalty of one thousand pesos of gold, the fine levied against those who disobeyed.

Deposited in the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid [National Historical Archives] is the proceeding leading to the concession to Hernando de Soto of the “*hábito e insignia*” [habit and insignia] of the Order of Santiago. In this proceeding are included the investigations that were brought about to prove that De Soto met the necessary requirements to make him worthy of such a distinction.

The basic requirement to accede to the habit and to be named *caballero* [knight] of the order consisted above all in demonstrating the quality of the individual, his condition of nobility [*hidalgúia*] as well as that of his ancestors, and also his pure blood [*limpieza de sangre*]. The latter would be the central point around which revolved questions that the priest of Lobón—a village situated quite near the road between Mérida and Badajoz—asked various residents of the city, finally completing the charge with which the emperor had entrusted him. More than as king, the intervention of Charles V in this matter was motivated by his condition as “perpetual administrator” of the Order of Santiago.

The beginning of the proceeding had as a prelude—as the king indicated—the express petition of De Soto to enter the order as a caballero. De Soto’s interest to rise to such a grade corresponds perfectly to the aspirations and wishes of that epoch to ascend the social ladder. The amount of money it would cost him should his request be found favorable mattered little to De Soto, in light of the distinction, prestige, and honorific relevance that he could obtain with this designation, given that there were many *hidalgos* in sixteenth-century Spain, while the number of people who could be presented as caballeros was somewhat lower. In any case, once such a distinction was obtained the aspirations of the Extremaduran would not end there. It is probable that De Soto envisioned the possibility of acceding to a domain [*señorío*] with a title—such as when Hernán Cortés was named Marqués del



Valle—if La Florida was revealed as a second Peru or Mexico and he managed to come out successful and triumphant.

Returning to the document, it contains the declarations that the cleric Juan Mexía took from nine people about a week after De Soto had set sail from San Lúcar de Barrameda. The witnesses are all mature, almost senile individuals: the youngest is more than forty years old, four are sexagenarians, and the oldest—Hernando Romo “el Viejo”—brings honor to his nickname and is said to be seventy years old. The profession and quality of the group are not explicit, but in accordance with the recommendation of the emperor to the priest, the latter was to search out testimony of people of “good fame and conscience.” It only makes clear to us that one of them bragged about having the post of regidor and that another had obtained the degree of bachelor of law from the University of Salamanca. The fact that all, with one exception, signed the declaration with their own hands does not lead us anywhere, given that from such a circumstance it cannot be inferred with certainty who had control of the writing.

In spite of what might be supposed, in the testimonies contained in the interrogation little light is cast that might resolve the polemic surrounding De Soto’s birthplace, even though he and his family, based on the declarations of the witnesses, are closely associated with Badajoz and Jerez; the third Extremaduran site in question is not mentioned at all—Villanueva de Barcarrota, the location indicated by Garcilaso de la Vega in his chronicle, *La Florida*, as the adelantado’s birthplace.

In San Cristóbal de la Habana, moments before his departure for the Florida coast, Hernando de Soto endorsed a document granting wide authority to his wife Doña Isabel de Bobadilla. This document appears dated May 17, 1539, and through it Isabel was converted into the maximum representative of Hernando de Soto during his absence. The adelantado authorized his wife to administer all of his assets and properties in the kingdoms of Castille as well as on the island and Tierra Firme. Isabel de Bobadilla could henceforth collect and receive all money pertaining to the conquistador, rule and administer his Indians, carry out in his name contracts and companies, sell and pawn his assets, and represent him in civil and criminal cases. The adelantado also authorized his wife to send the support ships and necessary supplies to continue the conquest of La Florida.

This collection of documents closes with the inventory of assets drawn up by Isabel de Bobadilla after learning of her husband’s death. Although the news had been sent through an official channel by means of a dispatch from the viceroy of New Spain, Isabel already knew of the details of the failed

expedition and of the death of the adelantado from other people “who escaped and left La Florida.”

The inventory, carried out on December 6, 1543, covers all of the assets—furniture, land, and livestock—that the couple possessed on the island to that moment, leaving aside the property in Castille and in other parts of the New World.

## I

### NAMING OF CAPTAIN HERNANDO DE SOTO AS LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF CUZCO, 1534.

What you, Captain Hernando de Soto, must do to fulfill the post of lieutenant governor of the city of Cuzco is as follows: Firstly, the things regarding the settlement of lawsuits, demands, denunciations, quarrels, and debates, and other civil and criminal matters that might occur among the Spanish, residents, and other persons in said city in all matters, as well as the matters that they as well as the natives under their control are subject to and other [matters] that require judgment, attention, and decrees through decisions. You will have your post without being involved in, nor being accustomed to, nor being aware of, anything involving the protection of said city, the pacification of the natives, or of war, should it occur, because I have provided for this, and I will provide the person who will be in charge of this as is contained in the instruction and provision that will be given.

ITEM: Because I left in place certain ordinances in said city of Cuzco and I am informed that some people have gone against them, you will secretly communicate which ones and who have broken them or have done anything other than what I left ordered, such as requesting and receiving gold, as well as other things, and how and in what way it is heard or done, you will send it to me so that I may see it and do what is right.

ITEM: If through such information you find that one or more have received gold or silver, you will determine and learn if it has been from their *caciques*, and if they have harassed them for it, and if they received it in the presence of a supervisor [*veedor*] and in the prescribed manner, and if they discovered it or brought it from another area. Having seen this, you will truthfully advise me, and above all you will

send for and keep said gold and silver until you hear from me what will be well to do with it.

- ITEM: Because Juan de Quincoçes has gone to said city on business related to the service of His Majesty, as you know and will see, you will give him all of the favors and help in such a way as to be carried out by my command, not impeding what has been said and stated above in this instruction.
- ITEM: You will protect and carry out the ordinances that I left in place in said city, preventing anyone to take gold from his cacique or from anywhere else, or from harassing his Indians and caciques and from telling them to extract a lot of gold from the mines, or in asking or making them do more than what is necessary for their well being.
- ITEM: You will have the responsibility and care to see that the Indians be well treated, not allowing that any harm or vexation be done to them by the Spaniards whose charge they may be in or by anyone else. You will especially see to it that they be indoctrinated and taught in the things of our Catholic faith, and you will let me know what might be needed to provide for their well being and for the maintenance and good governance of said city, taking special care with this matter.

It will be advisable to carry out all of the above and all related matters found in this instruction, and I trust that you will fulfill and resolve [such matters] with diligence and care as you see fit, deserving of service to His Majesty and the good governance of the republic of said city. Issued in the city of Jauja on the twenty-seventh day of the month of July, 1534. Francisco Pizarro. [AGI. *Patronato*. Legajo 90-A.]

2.

CÉDULA REAL PERMITTING THE SHIPS GOING TO THE  
INDIES TO GO IN THE COMPANY OF DE SOTO'S  
ARMADA, 1537.

Our officials, you who reside in the city of Seville in the Casa de Contratación of the Indies, on behalf of the adelantado Hernando de Soto, our governor and captain general of the province of Florida, it has come to my

attention that he is ready to set sail on the January winds [*brisas de Henero*], because before now no ship has been able to enter the sea, and I have been requested to order that when he departs from the bar of San Lúcar all of the ships ready to go to our Indies go in his company, since traveling in the company of his armada they will go more safely protected from French corsairs, or as my wish might be. I took the above to be reasonable. Thus I command you to grant that said adelantado go as captain of the ships setting sail to continue their trip to our Indies at the time that he departs with his armada. Issued in Valladolid on the seventh day of the month of December, 1537. I the king. [AGI. *Indiferente General*. Legajo 1962, Folios 301 vto.-302.]

3.

CÉDULA REAL REQUIRING THE SHIPS GOING TOWARD  
THE INDIES TO DO SO IN THE COMPANY OF HERNANDO  
DE SOTO, 1538.

To those of their Majesties' Royal Council of the Indies, we order on behalf of the Crown that you, the officials who reside in the city of Seville in the Casa de Contratación of the Indies, that upon receiving this you notify the captains and masters and other seamen on that river [Guadalquivir?] or in the port of San Lúcar or in Cádiz that they wait until the fifteenth day of March of the present year and not leave without De Soto's armada. If Don Hernando has not set sail by the stipulated date, they may go whenever they wish, because this is suitable to His Majesty's service and the well being of his subjects. Issued in Valladolid on the twenty-fifth of February, 1538. Signed by the count and Beltrán Carvajal and Bernal Gutierrez Velázquez. [AGI. *Indiferente General*. Legajo 1962, Folio 331 vto.]

4.

AUTHORIZATION FOR DOÑA ISABEL DE BOBADILLA TO  
BRING THREE SLAVE WOMEN TO THE ISLAND OF CUBA  
FOR HER SERVICE, 1538.

Our officials, you who reside in the city of Seville in the Casa de Contratación of the Indies, Doña Isabel de Bovadilla, wife of the adelantado Don

Hernando de Soto, our governor and captain general of the province of Florida, it has been communicated to me that she has three white slaves who are good Christians and women of good life and reputation whom she would like to bring with her to the island of Cuba to serve her and her household, and she has asked that I give her permission for this. Therefore, I order you to find out who these slaves are and to verify that they were Christians before they had turned twelve years old and that they are servants of said Doña Isabel. And allow them to travel with her to the island of Cuba without imposing upon her any impediment, having first paid Diego de la Haya, *cambio* [broker, purser, accountant] of our court, two ducats for the license of each one, inasmuch as it is his duty to collect this amount. Issued in the town of Valladolid on the sixteenth day of the month of February, 1538. I the Queen. [AGI. *Indiferente General*. Legajo 1962, Folio 331.]

5.

INTERROGATION FOR THE CONCESSION OF THE HABIT  
OF SANTIAGO TO HERNANDO DE SOTO, 1538

(transcription of Antonio del Solar  
and José de Rújula).

Don Charles, by divine clemency Emperor *sempers augusto*, king of Germany, Castille, León, Aragón, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Seville, Cerdeña, Córdoba, Córcega, Murcia, Jaén, of los Algarves, Algezira, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, the Indies, islands and Terra Firme of the ocean, Count of Barcelona, Lord of Vizcaya and Molina, Duke of Athens and Neopatria, Count of Flanders and Tyrol, etc., perpetual administrator of the order and knight-hood of Santiago by apostolic authority, to you Juan Mexía, priest of Lobón, friar of said order, health and grace. May you know that on behalf of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto it was communicated to me that his purpose and will is to be in said order and to live in observance and under the rule and discipline of it, out of devotion that he has for the daring apostle Santiago, beseeching me to order that he be given the habit and insignia of said order, or as my wish might be. And because the person who is to be received into said order and be given its habit and insignia must be a noble [*hijodalgo*], according to traditional Spanish law and custom, and provided

that he possess the qualities that the statutes of said order require, it was resolved in my council that I should send you this letter concerning said information, and I, trusting that you are an individual who will work to my benefit and who will faithfully and efficiently carry out what I have ordered and entrusted unto you, I considered it to be good. And through this letter I entrust unto you and order as is required [in the letter] you to go to the city of Badajoz, where it is said that the aforementioned adelantado Don Hernando de Soto was born, and that you receive through your office [*oficio*] any witnesses that you deem to be necessary, that they be people of good reputation and conscience, that they know the adelantado and his lineage, and that you ask him the questions contained in the interrogatory that you will be given with this letter, signed by Francisco Guerrero, secretary of my Council. And to the witness who answers the question, ask him how he knows, and if he believes it, how and why he believes it. And if they saw or heard tell something, let them say from whom and how, and how long ago, in such a way as to give a certain explanation to their statements and depositions. And send to my Council what these witnesses say and attest to, signed with your name, closed and sealed, so that I may see it and decide what has to be decided concerning it. I give you power to carry this out with its incidences and dependences, appurtenances and rights, and it must be carried out in the prescribed manner, subject to my grace, for twenty ducats of gold for pious works. Issued in the town of Valladolid, the twenty-eighth of March, 1538.

Count Don Garía Manrique, Licentiate Luxán, Licentiate Sarmiento, Doctor Anaya. I, Francisco Guerrero, chamber scribe of his imperial and Catholic Highness, had this written by his command in accord with those of his Council of the Orders.

The questions that are to be asked the witnesses who are to be received through the office regarding the habit of Santiago requested by Don Hernando de Soto are those herein contained. Above all, these witnesses must be assured that what they attest to will be known only to the gentlemen of the Council and no one else, that there will be no record of their statements, that it will not be brought before a scribe in the place where they live, that it will be brought only to the Council, and that it will not be made known outside the proceedings, as it is told. Having thus assured the said witnesses and first receiving from them a legal oath, ask them the following questions:

Firstly, if they know the aforementioned Don Hernando de Soto, where

he was born, and whose son he is. And if they know his father and mother, and what their names are. And where they live, and if they know or knew De Soto's grandparents on both his mother's and father's side. And what their names were, where they lived and were born, and if the witnesses are related to any of them.

ITEM: If they know, believe, saw, or heard tell that the father of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto and the father and mother of said father, naming each and every one of them, have been and are currently and generally reputed to be people of nobility [*bijosdalgo*], according to traditional Spanish law and custom, and that they have not been touched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants.

ITEM: If they know, etc., that the mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto and the father and mother of said mother, naming each and every one of them, have been and are currently reputed to be old Christians [*cristianos biejos*], without being touched by the race of Jews, converts, or Moors, as it is said.

ITEM: If they know, etc., that adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has a horse.

ITEM: If they know, etc., if adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has been challenged, and if the witnesses say that he has been challenged, may they declare how he overcame the challenge.

Francisco Guerrero.

In the town of Lobón, which is in the jurisdiction of the lord Santiago, on April 12 in the year of our Savior Jesus Christ, 1538, I, Juan Mexía, priest of the aforementioned town of Lobón, received a closed and sealed package of papers that Francisco Guerrero, secretary of the Council of the Orders, sent me through the mail, in which came a provision from the Emperor and King, our Lord, perpetual administrator of the order of Santiago, issued in the aforementioned Council and countersigned by the said secretary and sealed with His Majesty's seal, by means of which I am ordered to receive through my office the witnesses I determine to be necessary in order to know if the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has the qualities that he should have for him to be given the habit of said order as is contained in said provision. And in this package came an interrogatory signed by the aforementioned Francisco Guerrero, with which I have to question and examine the witnesses; the provision and interrogatory are attached herein. And thus

having received the aforementioned package with the said dispatch and with a letter that the secretary wrote to me on behalf of the gentlemen of the Council, so that through my office I secretly obtained this information from people of good reputation and conscience, that I not go before any scribe, that there be no record of any of it, that I get a clerk with no suspicion to do it, and that I send it closed and sealed to the Council signed by me and by those witnesses who can sign. And thus I, Juan Mexía, priest, with all humility and reverence, obeyed and accepted this provision and commission of His Majesty in fulfillment of what is contained within. I went to the city of Badajoz, and as discreetly and secretly as I could, I searched out and found people from whom the truth could be known, who were not indebted or unreliable regarding the information, which through my office I secretly did in the following way:

In the city of Badajoz, on the thirteenth day of April of the present year, I, Juan Mexía, priest, took and received legal oath from Hernando de León, resident of Badajoz; I read the provision and interrogatory to him, I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him under the obligation of his oath that he tell and clarify the truth about what he knew and about what he may be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, what he said and attested to is the following:

Being asked the first question, he said that he was more or less sixty years old, that he is not indebted to or related to anyone referred to in the first question. He said that he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and that he knew the adelantado's father and mother, whose names were Francisco Méndez, his father, and Leonor Arias, his mother. He knew them to live in this city of Badajoz and in the city of Jerez. He also knew the adelantado to be in these cities in his parents' house. This witness did not know the father and mother of the adelantado's father, but he heard them say that they were natives of Jerez, but he did not know their names, and this is what he knows of this question.

This witness said that he knew the father and mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto's mother, and their name was Hernando Gutiérrez and Cardeñosa. He knew them to be residents of this city of Badajoz for a long time, because they were neighbors of this witness and he had dealings and conversed with them every day.

To the second [question], this witness said that he knew the father of the adelantado who was named Francisco Méndez to live in this city of Badajoz and in the city of Jerez, and that he was regarded in these two cities as



hidalgo and hijodalgo and was generally regarded as such until he died. And this witness knows that he was untouched by the race of Jews, Moors, or peasants, but rather having been regarded as hijodalgo, and as such was regarded, as has been said. And as for his parents, as already stated, he did not know them, except to hear that they were hidalgos.

To the third [question], this witness said that he knew adelantado Don Hernando de Soto's mother, and the father and mother of his mother, as has been stated, that his mother's name was Leonor Arias Cardenosa, and the father and mother of the adelantado's mother were named Hernán Gutiérrez, and the mother and grandmother of the adelantado were named Cardenosa. And this witness knows that they are old Christians and hidalgos and were regarded as such for as long as they lived in this city of Badajoz, and thus they are taken to be hijosdalgos, and that they are untouched by the race of Jews, Moors, or peasants. They were generally regarded as such in this city because they were neighbors of this witness.

To the fourth [question], this witness said that he knows that the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has a horse because he has seen it, and his father and grandfather had one, and therefore it is the truth.

To the fifth [question], this witness said that he does not know anything, nor does he know anymore about this case, to which he swore an oath.

Hernando de León was sworn by me, Juan Mexía, priest, to secrecy, that he not ever say or reveal anything to anyone, under penalty of perjury, to which he promised and signed his name. Hernando de León.

In this city of Badajoz on the aforementioned day, month, and year, I, Juan Mexía, priest, received through my office the oath of Suero Vázquez de Moscoso, resident and regidor of the city of Badajoz. I read to him the provision and interrogatory, I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him that under said oath he tell and declare the truth about what he knew and about what he may be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, he said and attested to the following:

Being asked about the tenor of the first question from the interrogatory, he said that he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and knows that he is a native of the city of Jerez, and knows that he is the son of Francisco Méndez and Leonor Arias Tinoca, and knows that said Francisco Méndez was a resident of the city of Jerez, and that said Leonor Arias was a native of this city of Badajoz. He did not know the father and mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto's father but had heard of them. He knew

Hernán Gutiérrez and Juana González, father and mother of the adelantado's mother, and that they were residents of this city of Badajoz, whom he knew by sight, by dealings, and by conversation. And this witness is not a relative of any of them and is more or less fifty-three years old.

To the second, this witness said that he knew, as is already stated, the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto's parents. They were named, as is stated, Francisco Méndez and Leonor Arias Tinoca, and he knew them to be hijosdalgo, as the question declares, and were generally regarded as such in this city of Badajoz. And this witness knows that they were untouched by the race of the Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, but rather they and their descendants were regarded as hijosdalgo.

To the third, this witness said that he knew the father and mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto's mother. The father was named Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and the other, Juana González Tinoca, grandparents of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto. He knew them to be hijosdalgo and were generally regarded as such in this city of Badajoz and throughout this land. They were untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, and peasants, but rather were regarded as hijosdalgo and as old Christians and are thus regarded, and this is the truth because this witness knows it.

To the fourth, this witness said that he knows that Don Hernando de Soto has a horse and horses, because this witness has seen them.

To the fifth, he said that he knows no more of this case, to which he swore an oath. He was charged with secrecy, as with the first witness, and he signed his name here. Suero Vázquez de Moscoso.

In said city of Badajoz, the fourteenth day of April, 1538, I, Juan Mexía, priest, received through my office the oath of Hernando Morales, resident of the city of Badajoz, to whom I read the aforementioned provision and interrogatory, and I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him that under said oath he tell and clarify the truth about what he knew and about what he may be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, he said and attested to the following:

Being asked about the tenor of the first question, he said he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, that he knew his father, who was named Francisco Méndez, he knew the adelantado's mother who is named Leonor Arias Tinoca, that he knew them in the city of Jerez and in this city of Badajoz, and he also knew the adelantado in his parents' house. And this witness did not know the father and mother of the adelantado's father but

had heard of them. He knew the father and mother of the adelantado's mother, who were named Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and she was Tinoca, not remembering her other name. He knew them to be residents of this city of Badajoz because he had dealings and conversation with them. He is probably forty-five years old and is not indebted to or related to anyone in the above question.

To the second, this witness said that he knew Francisco Méndez, father of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, in this city of Badajoz and in the city of Jerez. He knew him as an hijodalgo and had been regarded as such in these cities. And his descendants are regarded as hijosdalgo. And this witness knows that he is untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, but rather considered to be a very good hidalgo and hijodalgo. He did not know his parents, but this witness heard from his own parents and many other older men that they were very noble hidalgos and were regarded as such in this land, and this he knows.

To the third, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Leonor Arias, mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and Hernán Gutiérrez and Fulana [so-and-so] Tinoca, his grandparents, father and mother of the adelantado's mother. And he knew them in this city of Badajoz to be hijosdalgo, and they were commonly reputed to be such hijosdalgo in this city of Badajoz and throughout this region, and regarded as old Christians. And they were untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants and were untouched by any of the flaws referred to in the question, but rather were regarded, as has been said, as hijosdalgo and old Christians, and this is the truth.

To the fourth, this witness said that the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has a horse and horses, because this witness has seen them.

To the fifth, he said that he does not know the content of the question, nor anything about it. He was charged with secrecy, as with the first witness, who promised it under the charge of said oath, and he signed it with his name. Hernando Morales.

In the city of Badajoz, on the fourteenth day of the current month and year, I, Juan Mexía, priest, through my office received in legal manner the oath of Alvaro Romo, resident of the city of Badajoz, to whom I read the provision and interrogatory, and I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him that under said oath he tell and clarify the truth about what he knew and about what he may be asked

by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, he said and attested to the following:

Being asked the first question, he said that he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto and knew Francisco Méndez, his father, who was a native of the city of Jerez, and he also knew the adelantado's mother, who was named Leonor Arias, who was a native of this city of Badajoz. He knew them to live in Jerez after they got married, and there he knew the adelantado in the house of his parents. He did not know the adelantado's grandparents on his father's side but had heard tell of them. He knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and Hernán Gutiérrez's wife, the father and mother of the mother of the adelantado, his grandparents. And he knew them to live in this city of Badajoz until they died here. This witness is approximately fifty-five years old, more or less, and is neither indebted to nor relative of anyone referred to in this question.

To the second, this witness said that he knew, as has been said, Francisco Méndez, father of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, in the city of Jerez and in this city of Badajoz. He knew him as hijodalgo according to traditional Spanish law, and this witness regarded him as such for as long as he lived. He did not know his parents, as has been stated, other than to hear tell that they were hijosdalgo, and he heard this publicly in these two cities. And this witness knows that he was untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, having been regarded as stated, as hijodalgo, and this is the truth.

To the third, this witness said that he knew Leonor Arias, the adelantado's mother, and that he knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and his wife, whose name he does not remember, who are the parents of the adelantado's mother, his grandparents. He knew that they lived in this city of Badajoz, and that they and their descendants were generally regarded as hijosdalgo, because this witness has seen a judgment of nobility [*sentencia de hidalguía*] that other children and grandchildren of Hernán Gutiérrez have. They are regarded as hijosdalgo in said city. They are untouched by the race of the Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, rather regarded as hijosdalgo and old Christians, and as such this witness has regarded them. Thus it is the truth to which he swore an oath.

To the fourth, he said that Don Hernando de Soto has a horse and horses, and this witness knows because he has seen them, and thus it is true.

To the fifth, this witness said that he does not know, nor does he know any more about this case. To the oath that he made, he was sworn to secrecy,

as with the first witness, and he promised it under the charge of said oath. And he signed it with his name. Alvaro Romo.

In the city of Badajoz, on this day of the current month and year, the fourteenth of April, I, Juan Mexía, priest, through my office received in a legal manner the oath of Hernando Romo, the elder, resident of the city of Badajoz, to whom I read the provision and interrogatory, and I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him that under said oath he tell and clarify the truth about what he knew and what may be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, he said and attested to the following:

Being asked about the tenor of the first question, he said that he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto from sight, from dealings, and from conversation. He knew Francisco Méndez, the adelantado's father, and knew Leonor Arias Tinoca, mother of the adelantado. And that Francisco Méndez was a native of Jerez de Badajoz, and that his wife, mother of the adelantado, was a native of this city of Badajoz. He did not know the father and mother of the father of the adelantado, the adelantado's grandparents, other than to hear tell of them. He knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa, and the wife of said Cardenosa, whose name he does not remember, but dealt and conversed with them because they were neighbors of this witness. They were the father and mother of Leonor Arias, mother of the adelantado, and grandparents of the adelantado, and were regarded as such in this city of Badajoz where they lived. He is seventy years old, more or less, and he is neither indebted to nor related to anyone referred to in said question.

To the second, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Francisco Méndez, the father of adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and he saw him marry in this city of Badajoz Leonor Arias, his wife. And he was generally regarded as hijodalgo in this city and throughout this land, and as hidalgo and hijodalgo he was generally regarded. He heard publicly stated in this city that Francisco Mendez's parents were very good hidalgos. This witness knows that he had no trace of the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, but rather was hidalgo, as has been stated, because this witness dealt with and conversed with him many times and many days, because he was his neighbor, and this is the truth.

To the third, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Leonor Arias, mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and he knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa, and said Cardenosa's wife, whose name he does not remember, who are the parents of Leonor Arias, and grandparents of the

adelantado. They lived in this city of Badajoz until they departed from this life. This witness knows that they were hidalgos and hijosdalgo according to traditional Spanish law, and they were generally regarded as hijosdalgo in this city of Badajoz and in this land, and this witness regarded them accordingly. And he knows that their descendants are considered to be hijosdalgo, untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, but rather hidalgos, old Christians, and very noble, and this is true.

To the fourth, this witness said that he knows that the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has a horse and horses, and this witness knows this because he has seen them.

To the fifth, he said that he does not know the content of the question or anything else about this case to which he swore an oath. He was charged with secrecy as with the first witness, and he promised it under the charge of the oath that he made and signed it with his name. Hernando Romo.

In the city of Badajoz on this day of the aforementioned month and year, I, Juan Mexía, priest, took and received in a legal manner an oath from Alonso González, resident of the city of Badajoz. I read to him the said provision and testimony, and I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him under the obligation of his oath that he tell and clarify the truth about what he knew and about what he might be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, he said and attested to the following:

Being asked the first question, he said that he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto from sight, from dealings, and from conversation, and he knew Francisco Méndez and Leonor Arias Tinoca, his wife, parents of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto. And the father was a native of the city of Jerez, near Badajoz, and he knew them to live in both of these two cities, but he did not know the father and mother of Francisco Méndez, grandparents of the adelantado, but had heard tell of them. And this witness knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and his wife, whose name he does not remember, father and mother of Leonor Arias, mother of the adelantado and his grandparents. These were residents and natives of this city of Badajoz and were there until they died, and this is the truth, because he knew them and dealt and conversed with them.

He said that he is sixty years old, more or less, and that he is neither indebted to nor related to anyone referred to in this question.

To the second, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Francisco Méndez, father of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, to live in

this city of Badajoz and in the city of Jerez, and this witness knew him, and he was generally regarded in these two cities as hijodalgo, according to traditional Spanish law and custom, and was regarded as such until he died. He did not know the father and mother of Francisco Méndez, as has been stated, other than to hear publicly stated in this city of Badajoz that they were very noble hidalgos. And this witness knows that he is untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, but rather regarded as a very good hidalgo and hijodalgo. And this is the truth to which he swore an oath.

To the third, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Leonor Arias Tinoca, mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and he knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardeñosa and his wife, whose name he does not remember, father and mother of Leonor Arias, grandparents of the adelantado, and that they lived in this city of Badajoz until they died. This witness considered them and their descendants as old Christians and as very noble hidalgos and hijodalgo. They are and were regarded as hijosdalgo, and this witness knows that they were untouched by the race of Jews, Moors, converts, or peasants, but rather were regarded generally as hijosdalgo and old Christians, and this is the truth to which he swore an oath.

To the fourth, this witness said that the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has very good horses, and he knows because this witness has seen them.

To the fifth, this witness said that he does not know, nor does he know any more about this case. To the oath that he made, he was sworn to secrecy, as with the first witness, and he promised it under the charge of said oath. And he signed it with his name. Alonso González.

In the city of Badajoz on this day of the aforementioned month and year, the fourteenth day of said month and year, I, Juan Mexía, priest, received through my office in a legal manner an oath from Ruy Sánchez de Arjola, resident of the city of Badajoz, to whom I read the provision and interrogatory. I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him under the obligation of his oath that he tell and clarify the truth about what he knew and about what he might be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, he said and attested to the following:

Being asked the first question, this witness said that he has known the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto since he was born, and he knew Francisco Méndez and his wife very well, the father and mother of the adelantado, but that he does not remember her name. And that Francisco Méndez was from the city of Jerez, and that he knew them and knows that they were where he has said because this witness is a native of Jerez and now lives in

this city of Badajoz. But this witness did not know the father and mother of Francisco Méndez, grandparents of the adelantado, but had heard tell of them many times in the city of Jerez, nor did he know the father and mother of the adelantado's mother but had heard of them, and they were natives of this city of Badajoz. He is sixty years old and is not a relative of anyone referred to in the aforementioned question.

To the second, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Francisco Méndez, father of adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and he was a native of the city of Jerez, and this witness knew him to be hijodalgo, and he was generally regarded as hijodalgo in the city of Jerez and in this city of Badajoz. And this witness knew many relatives of Francisco Méndez in the city of Jerez, and that they were and are generally regarded as noble hijosdalgo. And this witness heard many people in general in Badajoz and Jerez say that the father and mother of the father of the adelantado were very noble hijosdalgo, and he knows that neither he nor his lineage was touched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, and this is the truth.

To the third, this witness said that he knew Leonor Arias, mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and he knew her very well. And he knows that she was from a line of very good hidalgos who are his relatives that he has in this city, and as such regarded by this witness, and he knows that they are old Christians, and as such regarded by this witness. And he heard publicly stated in this city of Badajoz that the grandparents of the adelantado, his mother's parents, were very noble hidalgos, and this is what he knows.

To the fourth, this witness said that he knows Don Hernando de Soto to have a horse, and he always saw that Francisco Méndez, his father, had one.

To the fifth, he said that he does not know other than what has been said, nor does he know any more about this case. He was charged with secrecy, as with the first witness, and he promised it. He did not sign because he said that he did know how to sign, and I signed it. Juan Mexía.

In the city of Badajoz, the fourteenth day of the aforementioned month and year, I, Juan Mexía, priest, through my office received an oath in a legal manner from the *Bachiller* Alonso Romo, Bachelor of Law, resident of the city of Badajoz, to whom I read the provision and interrogatory, and I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him that under the obligation of his oath he tell and clarify the truth of what he knew and what he might be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, he said and attested to the following:



Being asked the first question, he said that he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto from sight and conversation, and that this witness did not have that much knowledge of his parents, because he was young and was absent from this city of Badajoz in the city of Salamanca, but he saw them and knew them by sight in this city of Badajoz. And he knows that the father of the adelantado was named Francisco Méndez de Soto, and the mother Leonor Arias Tinoca, and thus he heard them called and named. They were residents of the city of Jerez, near this city. And he heard tell that they were married in this city and that Francisco Méndez, father of adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, died in it. He did not know the father and mother of Francisco Méndez, father of the adelantado, because they were from the city of Jerez. And this witness knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and his wife Fulana [so-and-so] Tinoca, whose name he does not remember, the parents of Leonor Arias, grandparents of the adelantado. And he knew them to live in this city of Badajoz a long time, because this witness as a child grew up on the street where they lived, and they were neighbors. This is the truth, and he is more than forty years old, and he is not indebted to or related to anyone referred to in this question.

To the second, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Francisco Méndez, father of the adelantado, and that this witness regarded him as hijodalgo, and as such was regarded in this city and in the city of Jerez where he was a native, because thus it is publicly declared and known in these two cities, and thus he always heard it said and never heard anything to the contrary. And he is regarded as an old Christian, untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, because if he had any of this, this witness would know it and would have heard tell, as has been stated, and this is what he knows of this question.

To the third, this witness said that he knew, as has been stated, Leonor Arias, mother of the adelantado, and he knew as well Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and Fulana [so-and-so] Tinoca, his wife, parents of Leonor Arias and grandparents of the adelantado. And he knew them all, as has been stated, in this city, and he regarded them as old Christians and hijosdalgo and as such were generally regarded in this city, and as such their children and grandchildren who are living are also regarded. And they were untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, because if they had been touched by any of the above, this witness would have known and heard tell, as has been stated, and thus it is publicly known and common opinion in this city and where they are known, and he never heard anything to the contrary, and this is the truth.

To the fourth, this witness said that he knows that the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has a horse because this witness has seen it and has seen him sometimes lend it.

To the fifth, this witness said that he does not know any more than what has been stated, by the oath that he swore, and he signed it with his name. He was charged with secrecy, as was the first witness, and thus promised it under the charge of said oath. The Bachiller Romo.

In the city of Badajoz, this aforementioned day, month and year, the fourteenth day of April of said year, I, the aforementioned Juan Mexía, priest, through my office took and received an oath from Alonso de Medina, resident of the city of Badajoz, to whom I read the provision and interrogatory, and I attested to him what the opening part [of the interrogatory] contains, and I charged him under the obligation of his oath that he tell and clarify the truth about what he might be asked by me regarding the interrogatory. The oath executed, what he said and attested to is the following:

Being asked the first question, he said that he knows the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto from sight, dealings, and conversation, and that he knew Francisco Méndez and Leonor Arias Tinoca, his wife, father and mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto. And this witness knew them to be residents in this city of Badajoz and in the city of Jerez, because Francisco Méndez was from Jerez, and his wife was from this city. And there he knew Don Hernando de Soto in the house of the aforementioned through his son. He did not know the father and mother of the adelantado's father because they were from the city of Jerez, but he had heard tell of them. He knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and his wife, whose name he does not have news of at the present, the father and mother of Leonor Arias, the adelantado's mother, and his grandparents. And he knew them to be residents for a long time in this city of Badajoz until they died. He is sixty-five years old, more or less, and is not a relative of anyone referred to in this question.

To the second, this witness said that he knew, as has been said, Francisco Méndez, father of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and he knew this witness and he regarded him and was generally regarded as hijodalgo and had such a reputation in this city and in the city of Jerez. And he heard publicly stated in this city that his parents in Jerez were very noble hidalgos and that he is untouched by the race of Jews, converts, Moors, or peasants, because if he had any of this, this witness would know about it through the dealings that he had with him, but rather was regarded as hijodalgo and old Christian, and this is the truth.

To the third, this witness knew, as has been stated, Leonor Arias, mother of the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, and he knew Hernán Gutiérrez Cardenosa and his wife, whose name he does not have news of, parents of Leonor Arias and grandparents of the adelantado. And he knows them to have been regarded, as has been said, as old Christians and as hijosdalgo, and were regarded as such in this city of Badajoz while they lived. And at the present their children, grandchildren, and descendants are without any contradictions, and as such were and are generally regarded. He knows that they are untouched by any of the flaws contained in the question, because they were old Christians and very noble hidalgos. And this is the truth to which he swore an oath.

To the fourth, he said that he knows that the adelantado Don Hernando de Soto has a horse and horses, because this witness has seen them and thus it is true.

To the fifth, this witness said that he does not know, nor does he know any more of this case, to which he swore an oath, and he signed it with his name. He was charged with secrecy as with the first witness, and thus promised it.

The above information was compiled by me, Juan Mexía, priest, in the city of Badajoz, as it is declared, and is written on eight sheets of paper of an entire sheet [*pliego entero*], which has my signature. Above there are some flourishes in pairs and down below another flourish from side to side and at the beginning are found the provision and interrogatory, and in witness whereof I signed it here with my name. Juan Mexía. [Archivo Histórico Nacional. *Sección Ordenes Militares (Santiago)*. Expediente No. 7855.]

## 6.

### POWER GRANTED BY THE ADELANTADO HERNANDO DE SOTO TO HIS WIFE, ISABEL DE BOBADILLA, 1539 (from the transcription of Antonio del Solar y Taboada and José de Rújula).

May all who see this letter know how I, Don Hernando de Soto, adelantado and captain general of the conquest and land of Florida and on behalf of Their Majesty governor on this island Fernandina, currently a resident in this town of San Cristóbal de la Havana, from this island grant and recognize

that I give all of my free, full, complete, and sufficient power, according to what I have and to what it rightly should be worth, to Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, who is my present legitimate wife, so that generally notwithstanding the people who with my power or through my commands have or might have the duty to administer and manage, all of my assets, chattel, real estate, and seigniories of Castille, as well as in all of these parts, the islands of the Indies, the islands and Tierra Firme of the ocean, the aforementioned Doña Isabel de Bobadilla may be able above all others to manage, order, govern, and administer all of our assets and properties, those that we currently have and might have from now on, as well as those that in any manner may pertain to us and that benefit me and my positions just as I am able to do, manage, administer, oversee, and command. And for this may she name whomever she wishes to carry it out. And furthermore, may she demand and collect, receive and collect, both with and without court judgments, from any and all people who legally owe me, from their assets the following: any and all *maravedís*, weights of gold, jewels, pieces of gold, silver, and other metals, any valuable clothing, cloth, and silk, and any other chattel, real estate, and livestock, as well as annual rents and any other type that are or might be owed to me and that pertain or may pertain to me and that I am to receive in any form, as well as public contracts, companies, sentences, and conveyances, and any other public or private writings as well as others, and in any manner or for whatever reason, whatever titles and rights they may be. And furthermore, may she manage and administer and command any and all of my Indians and *naburías* [Indians as domestic servants] that I have in these parts of the Indies, islands, and Tierra Firme of the ocean, as well as black and white slaves, and may she demand and collect them from any person in whose power they may be with the interests and value of them and penalties that they might have incurred, in accordance with the command of Their Majesty in such a case. And from all that in my name she may receive and collect, may she give and execute a letter or letters of payment or receipt and of final payments. Such letters may be carried out when necessary and will be of the same worth were I myself to give and grant them, I being present. And in anything and any case that may seem to her to be worthwhile, may she deal with, contract with, or have any contracts and companies of quality and substance with any person or persons in any type of farming and commerce that seems to her to be most useful and profitable. And may she form said contracts and companies that seem appropriate to her, including those that up until now I have formed with anyone, as well as those that I may form from now on or that Doña Isabel de Bobadilla may

form in my name. And furthermore, may she make any pacts and agreements, arrangements and promises, freeing transactions, releases, pardons, and any other cases or things that may come up, and may she execute them in the presence of any scribe with whatever entailments, firmness, conditions, penalties, agreements, and obligations that are necessary for their validation, and in order for this to be carried out, my person and my assets may be pledged, that by her executing these things I execute them and promise to resolutely carry them out and to accept them according to what is contained in them. And furthermore, may she sell, exchange, and pawn any of my assets that seem to her should be sold, exchanged, traded, and pawned to anyone she wishes and for the amount and for other things that may seem appropriate to her. And may she collect maravedís, weights of gold, and other things so that she might sell, pawn, exchange, and trade them, and she may execute any strong and firm letters of sale, exchange, and pawn in the presence of any scribes who concur that I should pledge my person and assets and with the conditions, penalties, agreements, and disclaimers of law that may be rightfully required, and through this letter I grant and promise to carry out, pay, and look after all that may be contained [in such letters]. And furthermore, may she buy any caravels, ships, and brigantines, and supplies and provisions for them, and all manner of munitions, both for the purpose of the conquest of La Florida as well as for any other purposes that may be worthwhile and necessary, and I may be obligated regarding them for any sum of weights of gold and other things that I may owe, which might be paid to people who are entitled to them by the due date that is agreed upon. And, above all, may she execute any strong and firm letters of obligation before any scribe with whatever entailments, firmness, corroborations, penalties, agreements, obligations, and disclaimers of law that may be necessary, and by her executing them I henceforth execute them and obligate myself to pay what is contained in them, according to and in the manner that such a contract and obligation may require. And furthermore, may she charter any ship or caravel that may be necessary to go to Spain or any other place, for the amount of weights of gold and maravedís that seem appropriate to her, and may she obligate me through [this money] to the person or persons with whom she might contract, that I will pay them back without fail by the due date that is agreed upon according to the agreements and conditions that are in the contract and writing. And furthermore, may she take and receive any servants, majordomos, administrators, applicants, and others for common service of my household that may seem appropriate to her, paying wages in installments or in any other manner seen to benefit my

property and businesses, and she may dismiss whomever she wishes at any time, settling their account with payments from what they may owe to her, and she may collect any balances that she may have made to them. And furthermore, may she revoke any and all power and powers, both general as well as special, that I, from times past until today's date, have given to any person or persons, both in Castille as well as these parts and islands of the Indies and Tierra Firme of the ocean, if it seems to her that said persons or any one of them is not using said powers with the solicitude and fidelity that they should, and may she rectify and revoke and newly grant any power or powers that I have given and granted and revoked, it seeming necessary to her that they make use of them, that by Doña Isabel's revoking and renewing them, I henceforth revoke, renew, and ratify them in the way that she might enact them as it may seem to her. And furthermore, for those persons whose powers may be revoked, may she be able to restore their honor and good reputation according to and how they had it before and at the time that said powers were given and granted to them, and through this letter I restore them and consider them restored. And furthermore, may she get from scribes any power, and from other parties and authorities in whose power they may be, any writings, titles of privilege, and other pertinent writings, and, if any of the writings might be worthy of being annulled, may she annul them, in order to win from His Majesty any favors, be it conquests, settlement of lands, or any other provisions, privileges, cédulas, and commands that suit me, in order to capitulate with His Majesty all of those favors, duties, and offices that he might wish to give me and concede to me, and in order to eradicate and restrain any favors that may be won or wished to be won against my person and state. And furthermore, wherefor in all of my current and future civil and criminal suits, both in demanding as well as in defending, that I currently have and hope to have, against any and all person or persons of any quality or condition, and that such persons may have or plan to have against me in any way or for any reason, and for all that has been said and for each item, may she appear before His Majesty the Emperor, King Don Charles, and the Queen, Doña Juana, his mother, our lords, and before the president and judges [*oidores*] of his very high council, mayors and judges of his house and court, and before the president and judges of his royal *Audiencias* and chanceries who reside in these parts, the islands of the Indies, Tierra Firme, New Spain, and other parts, and before any and all mayors, judges, and justices, both higher as well as lower, ecclesiastics and seculars from any *fuero* and jurisdiction. And in the presence of them and any one of them, may she demand, respond, defend, deny, recognize, con-

front, protest, require, denounce, contest, ask for, take, and attain or in my name put forth, tell, and allege any other good reason, exception, and defense, and may she ask for, demand, and swear on my soul, both an oath of *calumnia* as well as *decisorio* [two types of legal oaths used in testimonies], and any other type of oath that I rightly should swear to, on the persons and assets of said debtors, conveyances and excisions, the sale and auction of their seized assets, may she put forth pleas and testimonies, and ask the other party or parties that they testify, and may she respond to those [testimonies] that may be put to me, in order to give and to present witnesses and evidence, to accuse, contradict, impute, and condemn those [testimonies] that may be given and presented to me, and to ask for the publication of them, and tell and contradict each and every one of them, both in statements as well as in person. And may she determine, ask for, and hear sentences, both interlocutory as well as definitive, and may she consent that those offered by me and those against me be appealed and that the appeal be carried out there or where it legally should be. And in order to request and protest costs and damages, and to swear to them and from them receive taxation, above all may she convoke other proceedings and measures legally required that I myself would do and could do being present, even if such actions according to law require my presence and special power and more copious and sufficient command. And furthermore, for all of the above may she employ and replace a prosecutor, or two or more, both before the contested case or cases, as well as afterward, and may she withdraw them when she wishes. And returning to assuming this power in and of itself, and the complete and sufficient power that I have over all of the above and everything fully related to it, I grant it and give it to said Doña Isabel de Bobadilla and to the substitute or substitutes named by her, with all of the incidences and dependences, appurtenances and rights, and with everything joined to it and concerning it, and with free and general administration I release them from any burden of satisfaction and guaranty under the legal clause that in Latin is *judiciun sisti judicatun solvi*, with all of its customary clauses. And in order to fulfill and to firmly have all that may be issued, procured, and granted by me and in my name in virtue of this power and not to go against it, I obligate myself and all of my chattel and real estate that I currently have and will have. And through this letter I give license, authority, power, and faculty to said Doña Isabel de Bobadilla so that through it she may make and execute all of the contracts and writings, enact and execute the other proceedings, both with and without court judgments, both regarding me as well as her and her own things. The letter issued in said town of San Cristóbal de la

Havana, the seventeenth day of the month of May, the year of our Lord 1539. Witnesses who were present at the above, Don Carlos e Nuño de Tovar and Alonso Romo, residing in [Havana], and the said adelantado stipulated the above and signed it with his name. [AGI. *Justicia*. Legajo 750 (A).]

7.

INVENTORY OF THE ASSETS LEFT BY THE ADELANTADO  
HERNANDO DE SOTO FOLLOWING HIS DEATH, 1543.

In the town of San Cristóbal de la Havana, that is on the island of Fernandina of the Indies of the ocean, on the sixth day of the month of December, the year of the birth of our saviour Jesus Christ, 1543, in the presence of the very noble gentleman Francisco Cepero, magistrate [*alcalde ordinario*] in this town on behalf of His Majesty, and in the presence of Fernando Florencio, notary of His Majesty, and notary for the public and council of this town, appeared Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, wife of the adelantado Don Fernando de Soto, who is said to be dead, may he be in glory, and she presented a petition in writing on his behalf, the tenor of which is as follows:

Very noble gentleman Francisco Cepero, magistrate in this town of Havana, I, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, who was wife of the adelantado Don Fernando de Soto, may he have glory, appear before your mercy, and in the best form and manner that befit my rights, I ask that [it is possible that part of this sentence has been omitted] inasmuch as it is evident, two days ago the ship named Santiago came into this port, piloted by the Biscayan master Ochoa and Mateo de Bides. In this ship they brought me certain dispatches from the Viceroy of New Spain through which it was communicated to me that my lord and husband, the adelantado, had died. I am also informed through testimony and writings of Baltasar Hernández, notary of His Majesty, and through information of other people who are here who escaped and left La Florida. And keeping with what by law I am obligated, it is necessary to make an inventory of all of the assets that the aforementioned adelantado, my lord and husband, and I have at the present time, and that have resulted from our marriage. I ask your mercy, as I have asked, to be present at the report and to authorize said inventory, putting on it your decree and authority in such a form and manner that befit my rights, without anything being diminished, and I ask for this through testimony.

And said writing being presented in the manner that is stated, the magis-



trate next said that he would have the inventory done of all of the assets that in her request Doña Isabel de Bobadilla asks for within the legal time limit, and he said that this being done, he is ready to put his authority and judicial decree on it. Witnesses Alonso de Ayala, majordomo of Doña Isabel, and Rodrigo Rangel, her secretary.

And next, on the aforementioned day of the same month and year, the inventory of the assets of the adelantado and of Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, his wife, was begun and completed in the presence of said magistrate and in the presence of me, the notary, in the following manner.

After the above, on the twelfth of December of the same year, in the presence of the magistrate and in my presence, the aforementioned notary, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla appeared and said that after the presentation of her request, an inventory was made of all of the assets, property, clothing, and other things that the adelantado Don Fernando de Soto, may he be in glory, and she had on this island and in their home, as will appear on this inventory. Having carefully read it, the aforementioned magistrate received a legal oath from Doña Isabel de Bobadilla and she swore to it. And under the weight of said oath she said that the assets, property, and things contained in the inventory are those that the adelantado and she have on this island and in their home, and that she does not know of any more, and if any more come to her memory she will declare it. Witnesses to this were Rodrigo Ranjel, Alonso de Ayala, and Joan de Rentería. The tenor of the inventory is as follows:

The assets, chattel, and livestock that Doña Isabel de Bobadilla declared that she has and possesses and had and possessed until learning of the adelantado's death, may he have glory, are the following:

- one house in this town in which she lives
- another small house that serves as a storehouse next to the other one; both are covered with thatch; they are bounded by mayor Francisco Cepero's house on one side, and by Juan Márques' house and public streets on the other.

#### SLAVES

- Isabel, Moorish slave
- Joanillo and his wife, Francisca, with one daughter, Margarita
- another child, son of Joanillo and an Indian slave—Manuel

- Francisco, *loro* [generally, someone of African descent], son of Manuel and an Indian slave
- Domingo
- Hernando
- Jorge
- Julián

#### SLAVES OUTSIDE THE ISLAND

- Alonso
- Perico
- María
- Catalina
- Inés
- [illegible]

#### THE THINGS THAT ARE IN MATABANO ARE THE FOLLOWING:

- fifty-six female and two male turkeys, that are fifty-eight in all
- two hundred head of pigs, one hundred large ones in the corral and one hundred branded pigs from this litter
- one ass
- nine horses used for burden
- fifty *fanegas* of corn
- five hundred bushels [*monton*, a heap or pile] of yucca [cassava] from this year

#### THE THINGS THAT ARE IN MAYABEQUE

- four hundred fifty head of pigs, two hundred older ones and two hundred fifty from this year's litter, all branded
- sixty birds, among which are sixteen capons
- three more hens with thirty chicks
- eight pickaxes
- one shepherd's knife
- two hundred bushels of sweet potatoes
- five hundred bushels of yucca from this year

WHAT THERE IS IN BAYONOA

- seventeen breeding cows, and four young bulls, three or four years old
- thirteen head [of cattle], eight old ones and five calves

WHAT THERE IS IN COGIMAR

- one cabin with a new doorway
- one stable with one *barbacoa* [lattice frame used for preserving grain] for corn
- twenty fanegas of corn
- seven *almudes* of planted corn not yet ready to harvest
- ten thousand bushels of yucca from last year
- one thousand bushels of old yucca of two years past
- five thousand bushels of yucca from this year
- five thousand bushels of sweet potatoes
- three pickaxes
- one *romana* [steelyard]
- three axes
- another seven pickaxes
- another five new pickaxes
- two cauldrons and one old pan
- two geese
- four turkeys
- ten birds
- sixty head of sheep, two rams, and twenty lambs
- one horse in the stable

THE THINGS THAT DOÑA ISABEL DE BOBADILLA DECLARED  
THAT SHE HAS IN HER CHAMBER AND AT HOME

- a gilded chest and in it the following:
  - a new fruit holder made of *cortado* [a type of cloth]
  - a new cortado towel
  - a new cortado gown
  - a new cortado towel, I mean to say a new embroidered towel
  - another new mesh towel

- a used mesh fruit cover
- some new mesh sleeves with gold and silver thread lined with colored taffeta
- a ruffled traveling hat with some gold thread
- thirty *varas* of black ribbon
- a white box and in it the following things:
  - a panel of damask table linen
  - eight and one-half pounds of thread
  - some Latin prayers of Our Lady
  - twenty-five hundred pins
  - two small mirrors made of steel
  - some fringe trimmings for an old scarlet tablecloth
  - two pair of white gloves
  - some paper and wrapped in it a quarter [of a vara] of white cloth, I mean to say of silver
  - and one collar of gold and pearls that is from a gorget
  - more paper with a gold and black gorget and two of mesh
  - more paper with a gold gorget and a hairnet
  - more paper with a gold hairnet
  - a large panel of damask table linen
  - another two pair of large damask table linens
  - four shirts, two gold and two black
  - thirteen *varas* of Dutch linen
  - four scarlet pillows and two pin cushions
  - four black pillows with their pin cushions
  - one yellow bolster pillow with its pin cushions
  - four old green pillows with their pin cushions
  - one new scarlet towel
  - another old scarlet and gold one
  - another gold and green embroidered one
  - another pink one
  - another old white embroidered one
  - another with some old dark threads
  - a calico Portuguese smock
  - two panels of worn-out tablecloths
  - four pieces of calico six *varas* long
  - one collar for a shirt and black leggings
  - some old embroidered black sleeves
  - some worn-out gold sleeves

- an old towel
- some paper wrapped around ruffles that probably are three hats
- two and one-half varas of fine napkins
- some paper with four hats and two gorgets
- some more paper with some gloves and an embroidered cloth and a gold handkerchief
- twenty varas of colored taffeta in pieces
- a gorget of black velvet with nine gold eyelets that weigh three pesos
- some paper with two pieces of cloth that probably are ten varas long
- four old Dutch sheets of two and one-half sets
- seven French sheets, four new and three old
- four rather worn-out fitted sheets
- two other worn-out French sheets
- eight sheets made of *angeo* [a type of fabric] that are used on women's beds
- four old mattresses
- eight panels of small tablecloths, four of one and one-half varas and four of two varas
- two dozen old napkins
- four pounds of linen
- one hundred cakes of soap
- one small mesh bed
- two small towels, one white and one scarlet
- twelve embroidered strips of cloth for four colored sheets
- some green velvet shoes for women
- another black collar for a shirt and leggings
- a small box which these things are in:
- an outfit for saying mass consisting of an orange damask chasuble, two albs, two amices, one mesh frontal lined in colored linen, one altar, and two pair of corporals
- a leather-covered box which the following things are in:
- a blue damask country bed, sleeves and canopy valances of scarlet velvet, a bedspread for the same, and a front part with trimming
- three worn pieces of scarlet velvet that is the border for a tablecloth
- two sets of the damask blue tablecloth
- three tapestry cushions
- one scarlet brocade *raso* [a type of cloth] dress with its lace sleeves and some distaffs of the same and their rolls of cloth

- another yellow brocade raso dress with its lace sleeves lined in crimson raso
- two new tawny velvet cushions
- two more worn velvet ones
- an old black taffeta dress
- a leather-covered box that has the following:
  - a worn scarlet petticoat
  - a purple velvet dress with its smock
  - a black velvet dress with two pair of lace sleeves, some lined in crimson raso, the others in yellow raso
  - a black velvet open overskirt
  - a black velvet cloak lined in taffeta
  - two pair of small raso sleeves, some black and the others brown
  - some white raso cone-shaped small sleeves
  - other black knitted small sleeves
  - others of gold pink cloth
  - some sleeves covered in crimson fur
  - a black velvet jacket
  - a crimson raso bodice
  - a worn-out black velvet hat trimmed in gold
- a leather-covered box with the following things:
  - a writing desk lined with tawny velvet
  - a damask-white dress with its white velvet smock
  - a dress of crimson raso without sleeves
  - a pink raso smock
  - a pink raso pinafore
  - another pinafore of Peruvian feathers with gold embroidery
  - a pink raso petticoat
  - five brushes
- another leather-covered box with the following things:
  - a frizzed silk cape lined in black velvet
  - a white serge capitular cloak
  - a box with two dozen silk and flannel habits
  - some white velvet stockings
  - five pair of velvet shoes
  - some velvet slippers
  - a black silk sword belt
  - two velvet caps

- a worn black velvet jacket
- another jacket of brown velvet and raso
- some Castilian clothing of raso lined in taffeta
- a velvet sleeveless smock, open with raso strips with fringes
- two pair of ankle boots
- an old blue harness with a protective cover, breastband, whitened headgear, and tassels on straps; it has no more than one stirrup strap and spur
- a scarlet cap
- a scarlet bonnet
- another white box which the following things are in:
- a green velvet hoopskirt
- some silver *angarillas* [suspended baskets] that for the sake of not being squandered, so that they are not falsely judged, they are not weighed; it has all of its harness, silver covering, and it does not have panels, it has a velvet covering and panels covered with velvet, headgear, checkreins for a mule, they are decorated with some silver flowers, they lack two pieces of the breaststrap with its supporting brace, it has a black velvet cushion
- another mule harness made of black cloth
- a wooden country bed
- some old bedclothing from this bed from Perú
- four *colones* [possibly German-made bed linen (from Cologne)]
- a Dutch bedspread of buckram
- a white box of embossed leather
- it has nine embossments of diverse colors
- another embossed leather box that has six embossments
- two embossed leather cushions
- four old torn tapestry cloths with figures
- two old rugs, one large, the other small
- two old blue velvet cushions
- there were the following copper things:
- three copper pitchers
- two stills
- one copper bread oven
- one large copper pot for a ship
- one new copper pot
- one larger pan with its iron handle
- another copper pan for making wax

- two skillets
- a casserole dish with a new top
- two other pot tops
- a vat for cooking pitch
- two brass candlestick makers
- two old plain tables with their benches
- a part of a table in pieces with its bench
- two small tables with their benches
- a small table with inlay
- three old chairs with backs
- three old padded white boxes
- two old white boxes in the house
- three *versos* [light artillery] with their iron chambers
- two bronze *versos*, one with its loading apparatus [*servidor*] and the other is fired without it
- twelve iron *versos* without their loading apparatus
- twenty-four lances
- two shields

The things of gold and silver that Doña Isabel de Bobadilla declared that she has at home and in pawn are the following:

- Eleven gold bracelets, one gold and pearl necklace, a gold sash, a medallion, some small necklace beads, a rosary, two ends of a sash, some earrings, fifty pieces of hairnet with sixteen other pieces of *cruzadillas* [probably a decorative fastener for hairnets] for the same hairnet and thirty-nine pieces of neckguards; they weighed two hundred ninety-five and one-half pesos of gold.
- There are six dozen gold nails that are on top of one another that they have in glass; two were broken, one of the larger ones and one of the smaller ones; because of not being falsely judged they were not squandered. These two weighed one peso and one *tomín*, all of them weighing forty and one-half pesos.
- There is a perfume box with some little bars and a small gold chain that, because of not being squandered, was not weighed; it might have had eight or ten pesos of gold, more or less.
- Two buckles plus another piece of gold from a sword belt, and one ducat weighed twenty-two pesos.
- The worked silver weighed one hundred twenty-two *marcos*; this included a broken jar, a broken chalice, two cruets, and the stirrups given



by Fernán Ponce, and the rest is silver service and for baptismal fonts. All of this is in the power of Juan de Rojas, pawned for four hundred seventy pesos of gold that are owed to him that were given for ordinary household expenses; these four hundred seventy pesos should take away from the value of said silver.

- two silver sauce boats that were not weighed that are used at home as salt dispensers
- a cross with relics and a ring that all weigh three pesos of gold
- a wooden crucifix that cost two pesos
- two *celcericas* [?] and one silver thimble weighing two and one-half *adarmes*
- a little bit of pearl that might weigh two *adarmes*
- a rosary with thirty-two gold beads that are very small and that weigh two pesos
- a small chest with inlay and in it the following things:
  - a perfume bottle with a little civet
  - a small box with an *adarme* of musk
  - two and one-half *adarmes* of perfume
  - one-half vara of Dutch linen
  - two and one-half ounces and one-quarter of yellow silk
  - two ounces of scarlet silk
  - one and one-half ounces of thin thread
  - one and one-half ounces of blue silk
  - six small tablets of perfume
  - two *adarmes* of black silk
  - two unraveled handkerchiefs
  - coral trimming for a cart

[AGI. *Justicia*. Legajo 750 (A)]

# INDIAN PROPER NAMES IN THE FOUR NARRATIVES

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RANJEL	ELVAS	BIEDMA	GARCILASO
Oçita (and Eçita?) . . . . .	Ucita . . . . .	. . . . .	Hirrihigua.
Mocoço . . . . .	Mocoço . . . . .	. . . . .	Mucoço. (Hirrihigus.)
Orriygua (chief and prob- ably province).	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Naguarete (chief and probably province).	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Çapaloey (chief and prob- ably province).	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Orriparacogi, Orriparagi, Urriparacoxi.	Paracoxi . . . . .	Hurripacuxi (De Soto has Urripacoxit).	Urribarracuxi.
Guaçoco . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Luca . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Viçela . . . . .	Acela . . . . .	. . . . .	
Tocaste . . . . .	Tocaste . . . . .	. . . . .	
Ocale (province) Cale (river or swamp).	Cale . . . . .	Etocale . . . . .	(Acuera.)
Uqueten (town of Ocale)	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Acuera . . . . .	. . . . .	Acuera (De Soto) . . . . .	Acuera (for Ocale).
Itaraholata . . . . .	Ytara . . . . .	. . . . .	
Potano . . . . .	Potano . . . . .	. . . . .	Ocali (name misplaced).
Utinamocharra . . . . .	Utinama . . . . .	. . . . .	
("Mala-Paz") . . . . .	("Mala-Paz") . . . . .	. . . . .	
. . . . .	Cholupaha (Villafarta in Portuguese).	. . . . .	
Aguacaleyquen . . . . .	Caliquen . . . . .	Aguacalecuen . . . . .	Ochile (name misplaced).
Guatutima (an Indian) . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Uriutina . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
("Muchas-Aguas") . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Napituca . . . . .	Napetuca (or Napetaca).	. . . . .	Vitachuco (name mis- placed).
Apalu . . . . .	Hapaluya . . . . .	. . . . .	
Uçachile . . . . .	Uzachil (or Uzachill) . . . . .	Veachile . . . . .	Osachile.
Agile . . . . .	Axille . . . . .	Aguille . . . . .	Ochile (see above).
Apalache . . . . .	Palache (or Apalache) . . . . .	Apalache (& Apalachi).	Apalache.
Ivitachuco . . . . .	Vitachuco . . . . .	Ivitachuco . . . . .	Vitachuco (name mis- placed).

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RANJEL	ELVAS	BIEDMA	GARCILASO
Calahuchi .....	Uzela .....	.....	
Iviahica .....	Anhaica Apalache .....	Iniahico .....	Aute.
	Ochete .....	.....	Achusi.
Achuse .....	Ochus .....	.....	
Guacuca (river) .....	.....	.....	
	Yupaha (distant province) .....	.....	
Capachequi .....	Capachiqui .....	Acapachiqui .....	
("Fuente Blanca") .....	.....	.....	
Toa .....	Toalli .....	Otoa .....	
Chisi, Ichisi (province) ..	Achese .....	Chisi .....	Altapaha (name misplaced).
	.....	.....	
("Rio Grande") .....	.....	.....	
Altamaha .....	Altamaca .....	Altapaha .....	Achalaque name (misplaced).
	.....	.....	
Çamumo (chief) .....	.....	.....	
Ocute .....	Ocute .....	Ocuti .....	Cofa.
Cofaqui .....	Cofaqui (chief) .....	Cofaqui .....	Cofaqui.
Tatofa (chief) .....	Patofa .....	.....	Patofa (officer).
Hymahi .....	Aymay .....	.....	
Ilapi .....	.....	.....	
Cofitachequi .....	Cutifachiqui .....	Cofitachique (or Cofitachyque).	Cofachiqui.
	.....	.....	
Talimeco .....	.....	.....	Talomeco.
Chalaque (or Xalaque) ..	Chalaque .....	.....	Chalaques.
Guaquili .....	.....	.....	
Xuala .....	Xualla, Xuala .....	Xuala .....	Xuala.
Guasili .....	Guaxule .....	Guasuli .....	Guaxule.
Canasoga .....	Canasagua .....	.....	
Chiaha .....	Chiaha .....	Chiha .....	Ychiaha.
Coste .....	Acoste (or Coste) .....	Costehe .....	Acoste.
Tali .....	Tali .....	.....	
Chisca .....	Chisca .....	.....	Chisca (name misplaced)
Tasqui .....	.....	.....	
Coça .....	Coça .....	Coça (or Coca) .....	Coça.
Talimachusy .....	Tallimuchase .....	.....	
Itaba .....	Ytaua .....	.....	
Ulibahali .....	Ullibahali .....	.....	
Piachi .....	.....	.....	
Tuasi .....	Toasi .....	.....	
Talisi .....	Tallise (& Talisi) .....	Italisi .....	Talise.
Casiste .....	Casiste .....	.....	
Caxa .....	.....	.....	
Humati .....	.....	.....	
Uxapita .....	.....	.....	

RANJEL	ELVAS	BIEDMA	GARCILASO
caluça . . . . .	Tascaluca, Tastaluca . . .	Taszaluza . . . . .	Tascaluça.
ahachi (or Atahachi) .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
chi . . . . .	Piache . . . . .	. . . . .	
bila . . . . .	Mauilla . . . . .	Mavila . . . . .	Mauvila.
icpacana . . . . .	Taliepataua . . . . .	. . . . .	
çulixa . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
usta . . . . .	Cabusto . . . . .	. . . . .	
afalaya . . . . .	Pafallaya . . . . .	. . . . .	
icaça . . . . .	Chicaça . . . . .	Chicaza . . . . .	Chicaça. Chicacilla.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
uça . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
chuma . . . . .	Saquechuma . . . . .	. . . . .	
ulasa (chief) . . . . .	Nicalasa (chief) . . . . .	. . . . .	
apatica . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
namu . . . . .	Alimamu . . . . .	Alibamo . . . . .	Alibamo.
izqui . . . . .	Quizquiz . . . . .	Quizquiz . . . . .	Chisca (name misplaced).
uixo . . . . .	Aquixo . . . . .	. . . . .	
squi (also "Quarqui")	Casqui . . . . .	Icasqui . . . . .	Casquin.
aha . . . . .	Pacaha . . . . .	Pacaha . . . . .	Capaha.
	Macanoche (woman's name).	. . . . .	
	Mochila (woman's name).	. . . . .	
	Caluça (2d province) . .	Caluç . . . . .	
iguate . . . . .	Aquiguate (or Quigu- ate).	Quiquate . . . . .	Quiquate.
ligua . . . . .	Coligoa . . . . .	Coligua . . . . .	Colima.
pista . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
isma . . . . .	Palisema . . . . .	. . . . .	
ixila . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
ilcoya . . . . .	Tatalicoya . . . . .	Tatil Coya . . . . .	
ico . . . . .	Tanico . . . . .	. . . . .	
rase . . . . .	Cayas . . . . .	Cayas . . . . .	
a . . . . .	Tulla . . . . .	Tula . . . . .	Tula.
ipana . . . . .	Quipana . . . . .	Quipana . . . . .	
	Anoixi . . . . .	. . . . .	
itamaya . . . . .	Catamaya . . . . .	. . . . .	
angue . . . . .	Autiamque (and Auti- anque).	Viranque . . . . .	Utiangue.
	Ayays . . . . .	. . . . .	
	Tietiquaquo . . . . .	. . . . .	
	Tutelpinco . . . . .	. . . . .	
	Tianto . . . . .	. . . . .	
	Nilco (or Anilco) . . . .	Anicoyanque . . . . .	Anilco.
	Guachoya . . . . .	Guachoyanque . . . . .	Guachoya.

RANJEL	ELVAS	BIEDMA	GARCILASO
Quigudta .....	Quigualtam (or Quigaltam)	.....	Quigualtanqui.
	Tamaliseu (river) .....	.....	
	Tapatu (river) .....	.....	
	Mico ("river" at Coça)	.....	
	Ri ("river" in Ucita lang.).	.....	
	Catalte .....	.....	
	Chaguete (or Chagguate).	Chavite .....	
	Aguacay .....	Aguacay .....	
	Pato .....	.....	
	Amaye (or Maye) .....	.....	
	Naguatex .....	.....	Naguatex.
	Hacanac .....	.....	
	Nissohone (or Nissohone).	Nisione .....	
	Lacane .....	Came .....	Guancane (?)
	Nondacao .....	Nondacao .....	
	Aays .....	Hais .....	Auche (?)
	Soacatino .....	Xuacatino (or Xacatin).	
	Guasco .....	.....	
	Naquiscoça .....	.....	
	Naçacahoz .....	.....	
	Daycao (river) .....	.....	
	Chilano .....	.....	
	Aminoya .....	.....	Aminoya.
	Tagoanate (or Taguanate).	.....	

## Glossary

- adarme*: approximately 179 centigrams.
- adelantado*: authorized to settle a new territory. Literally, “one who pushes forward.” A military concept carried over from the Middle Ages. Recruits his own army and bears all costs of the expedition. Distributes land to loyal followers. Reserves an hereditary holding for his own family. Full military and civil authority. Responsible for the internal and external peace of the territory. Represents the king in his own person.
- AGI* [Also *AI*]: Archivo General de Indias in Seville. The chief depository in Spain of materials about the Spanish experiences in the New World.
- alcalde*: mayor; head of a town council.
- almirante*: second in command of a fleet. Sailed in the ship designated as *almiranta*, which guarded the rear of a convoy.
- almud*: an ancient land and grain measure; 0.8 bushels
- alquiere*: a measure of volume. Either a dry measure of 138 deciliters, or a liquid measure of 84 deciliters.
- apu*: a term like *curaca*, borrowed by Garcilaso de la Vega from Inca usage in Peru. In the present context, the noble office of war chief, subject to a principal chief.
- arquebus* [also *harquebus*]: “The earliest and mechanically the crudest of the hand-held firearms. It was fired by touching a piece of lighted matchcord, like a slow-burning fuse, to the powder hole. . . . A ball or shot fired from a harquebus had much greater velocity than an arrow or a crossbow bolt, but it was slow to load, not very accurate, and problematic in rainy weather. Because the matchcord had to be kept alight when action might occur, great quantities of it were required” (Charles Hudson, in *The Juan Pardo Expeditions*, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990; 147–48).
- arroba*: either a measure of capacity, about 4 gallons, or a weight of about 25 pounds.

- audiencia*: the highest regional appeals court; a hearing at such a court.
- barbacoa*: a raised framework for smoking meat or fish [source of the modern word *barbecue*]; also the name of a wooden framework used to store corn above ground.
- beheaded*: although the Indians at times did behead their enemies, in Garcilaso, at least, this seems to mean to be scalped; the Spaniards had never seen scalping and had no word for it.
- braza*: a unit of measure; approximately one fathom.
- cacique*: an hereditary lord of vassals. A native term in an Arawak language, borrowed by the Spaniards in the conquest of the Antilles and later applied by them elsewhere in the Americas to various chiefs.
- corregidor*: a magistrate.
- cow*: a buffalo. The Spaniards had never seen a buffalo and had no name for it.
- crossbow*: “Although the crossbow could fire a small missile at high velocity and could be aimed and fired by a person of little skill or strength, an experienced Indian archer could fire an arrow with comparable penetrating power (because of the heavier weight of the arrow), and he could fire several arrows in the time it took a crossbowman to load and fire a single bolt” (Charles Hudson, in *The Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 147).
- cruzada*: a gold coin minted during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, equivalent to seven pesetas.
- curaca*: a district or provincial chief. A native term borrowed from the Quechua language of Peru. It is used interchangeably with *cacique* by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega.
- encomienda*: a grant of Indian tributary labor.
- estado*: a unit of measure equal to about 5 to 6 feet.
- factor*: an agent of the king; usually an accountant; reports to the king on the results of the expedition.
- fanega*: a grain measure equal to about 1.6 bushels.
- fanega de tierra*: a land measure equal to about 1.6 acres.
- geira*: a unit of land, roughly equivalent to the English acre.
- league*: a unit of land or sea measure. At least two versions of the Spanish land league were in use during the sixteenth century; which one is meant in a given context is a matter of dispute. The *legua legal* was 5,000 *varas*, equivalent to 2.63 U.S. miles or 4.19 km. The *legua común*, or common league, known to have been used as an itinerant measure, was equivalent to 3.45 miles or 5.57 km.

*maestro de campo* [also *maese de campo*]: camp master; chief administrative officer of the expedition. A military rank corresponding to a present-day colonel.

*New Spain*: the name the Spanish gave to Mexico and its borderlands.

*oidor*: a judge.

*peso*: a Spanish coin of varying value made of gold or silver; often rated at an ounce of pure silver.

*piragua*: a small, shallow-draft boat, meant to be rowed.

*reales* [*real*, sing.]: the real was a silver coin, first minted in Castile. Its value has varied.

*repartimiento*: a share received from the division of the proceeds of an expedition.

*rodeleros*: soldiers armed with sword and shield, from *rodela*, a round shield or buckler.

*tameme*: a native burden bearer or porter. Borrowed by the Spaniards from a native Nahuatl term used in New Spain, thenceforth applied elsewhere in the New World.

*tercio*: a Spanish regiment of infantry; sometimes the commanding officer of one. Garcilaso de la Vega served as *tercio* in a ship under Don Augustin Mexias during the period of the Spanish Armada.

*Tierra Firme*: the mainland of South and Central America.

*tomín*: 1/3 adarme; approximately 596 milligrams.

*vara*: approximately 33 inches.

*vecino*: a free Spanish citizen of a municipality, most often with voice and vote in municipal affairs.

*Yelves*: the city of Elvas in Portugal.





# *Introduction to Bibliography of De Soto Studies*

*by Jeffrey P. Brain and Charles R. Ewen*

The search for the route of Hernando de Soto through the southeastern United States has become a consuming pursuit for many cartographers, historians, and archaeologists. Since the pioneering efforts of Guillaume Delisle in 1718, researchers have chased a variety of alternative routes.

In 1939, when John Swanton put together the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, the archaeological evidence was sparse. Nearly fifty years later, Brain (1985, xlvi) summarized the progress that had been made on defining the expedition's route since the commission's report and wryly remarked "that we are far more uncertain about the exact itinerary than the Commission was."

Five years after Brain's summary, De Soto scholars are still no closer to agreement on the route and, in fact, may have become more divisive in its interpretation than ever. Swanton himself foresaw this almost forty years ago, saying, "Hernando de Soto, his expedition, and the places he visited will probably be matters of discussion for years and years" (Swanton 1952a, 311). "Discussion" could be termed a euphemism for the heated debate that the study of the expedition's route has inspired. Indeed, the debate has polarized into two opposing factions: those that choose to adhere primarily to refinements of the route proposed by Swanton and those that support the route as reinterpreted by Charles Hudson of the University of Georgia and his associates. We will not attempt a discussion of the disputed points here; rather the reader is referred to the original references presented in our bibliography.

## The Purpose of the Bibliography

This bibliography is intended to aid the scholar pursuing research on topics related to Hernando de Soto's entrada in the southeastern United States. It is not intended as a general guide to the Early Contact Period in the New

World. It was difficult to set the parameters of the bibliography. Including every reference that might conceivably have some bearing on De Soto-related research would have been beyond the scope of this work and certainly beyond the endurance of the compilers. Some general references have been included because they seemed to us to be useful research tools. There may be some personal bias in their selection, as the preponderance of archaeological references betrays the archaeological backgrounds of the authors.

A special effort was made to include those sources not readily available to the casual researcher. This so-called grey literature consists mainly of unpublished manuscripts in possession of the compiler, letters to other scholars or institutions, and archaeological contract reports on file at various federal and state agencies. Several scholars, who are actively pursuing De Soto-related research, were contacted and asked to contribute their most obscure references. Their responses resulted in the compilation of some truly arcane literature.

Pains have also been taken to include all points of view expressed by the various De Soto scholars. Opinions range widely concerning where the expedition went, who they encountered, and what constitutes evidence for these conclusions. Attempts were made to be impartial in the selection process, and all references are presented in an equal fashion. Readers are invited to examine the opposing hypotheses on the various topics and draw their own conclusions.

This introductory essay discusses the De Soto literature in a topical manner. During the compilation of the references it became apparent that there were several major themes pervading the literature. They are: the route of the army, archaeological investigations, artifact studies, biographical studies, and De Soto in explicitly fictitious literature. Many of the works included in the bibliography fit into more than one category, while others were idiosyncratic and hard to fit into any general category. Not all categories that appear in the bibliography (e.g., general anthropological and historical studies) appear in this essay; however, the intent is to get the researcher off to a good start. The reader should also consult the extensive bibliography published in Swanton's *Final Report* (1939, 337–43).

## The Route of the Army

The route of the De Soto entrada is one of the longest-lived and most hotly contested issues in the study of the protohistoric Southeast. The ear-

liest route version in this bibliography is Delisle's (1718) *Carte de la Louisiane et cours du Mississipi*, which graphically depicts what he thought was the track of the expedition. Other early studies of the route include Andrews (1917) and Fordyce (1929), with Swanton's 1939 report concluding the early period of research.

Tracing the entire route of the De Soto entrada is a daunting prospect, and many researchers have chosen to focus on a portion of the route. Most of these studies focus on either the search for an important site or the route within a particular state. It is these segmental studies that have provided and will provide synthesizers with their basic data. There are several key points that form the framework upon which the route is strung, and which have sparked the most heated exchanges.

The state of Florida figures prominently in the De Soto debates. Beginning with the landing site, the controversy is primarily over whether the expedition landed at Tampa Bay (Milanich 1984, 1988, 1989a, 1989b; Mitchem 1986; Swanton 1934, 1939) or farther south at Charlotte Harbor (Schell 1966; Tesar 1989; L. Williams 1986, 1989; Wilkinson 1960). A recent article (Leverette and Lawson 1990), however, suggests that De Soto landed on the east coast of Florida. Unfortunately, all of these speculations rest solely on the interpretation of the documentary evidence, since archaeological investigations have failed to corroborate any of them. There is less debate concerning the location of the first winter encampment. This is one of the few locations on the route for which there is general agreement, or at least not vehement disagreement. Preliminary documentation concerning the archaeological investigations of this site is provided by Ewen (1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1991), Ewen and Jones (1988), B. C. Jones (1988), B. C. Jones and Mitchell (1988), and Tesar and Jones (1989). General characterizations of the route through Florida appear in Blake (1987b), K. Johnson (1987), Milanich (1984, 1988, 1989a, 1990), and Milanich and Mitchem (1986). In attempting to trace the route of the earlier explorer, Pánfilo de Narváez, Scott (1981) provides useful data for interpreting the route of De Soto in Florida.

When the army left Florida and crossed into Georgia, their trail did not become any easier to follow. Much of the research concerning this part of the trail has focused on the prehistoric province of Coosa (Blake 1991b; Boyd and Schroedl 1987; Hudson 1988a, 1990a; Little and Curren, n.d.) and whether the Peachtree site in North Carolina is on the route (Anderson 1990; Eubanks 1989, 1990c; Little 1990; Setzler and Jennings 1941). Other more general works concerning the route through Georgia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee include: Andrews (1917b); Goff (1953); Hudson, Smith, and

DePratter (1984a, 1987); Hudson, Worth, and DePratter (1990); Melvin (1978); and M. Smith (1976).

Alabama holds the distinction for most avidly pursuing the route of De Soto in recent years. The Working Paper Series published by the Alabama De Soto Commission is perhaps the most useful set of recent publications pertaining to the expedition and to efforts made to locate evidence of its passing throughout the Southeast. Alabama also holds the distinction of being one of the first states to attempt to mark the route (Holmes, et al. 1989; D. Jones 1988) and yet having the least agreement as to exactly where the explorer went. Of particular concern is the location of Mauvilla, which though actively sought (Blake 1988b; Brannon 1929; DePratter, Hudson, and Smith 1985; Little 1988c) has still not been satisfactorily located. The hypotheses on where the route travels through Alabama are deeply divided, as is evident from such titles as Curren's (1988a) *A Rebuttal of the 'Georgia Reconstruction' of the Soto Route through Alabama* and (1988b) *A Rebuttal of the Blake Model* and Hudson's (1989a) *Critique of Little and Curren's Reconstruction of De Soto's Route through Alabama*. The various reconstructions of this section of the route include: Curren (1987, 1988c); Curren, Little, and Lankford (1981b); Hudson (1989b); Lankford (1977); Lankford, Curren, and Little (1980); Little (1988b, 1988e).

The route through Mississippi is no less controversial (Atkinson 1987; Brain 1984; Brain, Toth, and Rodriguez-Buckingham 1974; Evans 1940; Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1989; Lewis 1927; Love 1921; Ward 1986; Weinstein 1985). The route through Mississippi, however, is only the precursor to the big question that transcends state boundaries and takes on a national concern. Where did De Soto "discover" the Mississippi River? This question has been addressed early by Rowland (1927a, 1927b), among others, in a symposium concerning that question. Other suggestions are offered in the segmental studies mentioned above.

Wherever they crossed, the diminished army spent the remainder of their sojourn criss-crossing Arkansas and may have even ventured into Missouri (Burgess 1967/1968; Eubanks 1990b) and Louisiana. The debate has been less bitter west of the Mississippi, but a definitive route is still to be marked. Works on the Arkansas portion of the route include: Akridge (1986); Dickinson (1986); Hudson (1985); Hudson and Morse (n.d.); Mixon (1917); Morse and Morse (1990); Swanton (1952b). Schambach (1989) discusses the route from southwest Arkansas into Texas, while Bryan (1956), Strickland (1942), J. Williams (1942), Woldert (1942), and others still in press (Hudson;

Kenmotsu, Bruseth, and Corbin; Schambach) follow the trail of De Soto's successor, Luis Moscoso, in Texas.

Charles Hudson, in 1988, under contract to the National Park Service, synthesized the segments he and his colleagues had researched and offered an alternative to the Swanton route (1988b). This was later published with DePratter and Smith (1989) and released as a final report by the Park Service in 1990. It was not without its detractors, as is evidenced in Curren (1991a), Little (1988d), and Little and Curren (1990c). The controversy eventually became such that the National Park Service declined to recommend that Congress designate the trail as a National Historic Trail, citing difficulties in marking its route because of lack of agreement among the principal researchers.

## Archaeological Investigations

One advantage that contemporary researchers have over the 1939 De Soto Expedition Commission is that a great deal of archaeological work pertinent to the De Soto expedition has been conducted in the last fifty years. Most of it has been merely suggestive, rather than definitive, yet it has contributed to a better understanding of the De Soto entrada and the indigenous societies they met. The archaeological literature is divided into regional syntheses and site-specific investigations. Only a few of these studies will be mentioned here, and the reader is urged to consult the bibliography itself for a more thorough coverage of the archaeological literature.

Regional accounts that deal with the expedition itself and the proto-historic peoples of the Southeast are available for most of the route. These include: Brain, Toth, and Rodriguez-Buckingham (1974), "Ethnohistoric Archaeology and the De Soto Entrada into the Lower Mississippi Valley"; Curren (1984), *The Protohistoric Period in Central Alabama*; DePratter (1983), "Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Chiefdoms in the Southeastern United States"; Dye (1989b), *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*; Morse and Morse (1983), *Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley*; Bruce Smith (1986), "The Archaeology of the Southeastern United States: From Dalton to De Soto, 10,500–500 B.P."; Marvin Smith (1987), *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period*; and Walthall (1980), *Prehistoric Indians of the Southeast: Archaeology of Alabama and the Middle South*. Again, these

references are intended only as the starting place for any research in their respective areas.

There are many individual site reports that claim a connection with the De Soto entrada. Some, if not all, of these will require further research to satisfy the skeptical or even the credulous. Thus cautioned, the reader may wish to consult the following works: for Anhaica (Ewen 1989a, 1989b; B. C. Jones 1988); for Coosa (Boyd and Schroedl 1987; DeJarnette 1958; Hudson et al. 1985, 1987b); for Casqui (H. Davis 1966; Klingler 1977; P. Morse 1981); for Mauvilla (Little 1988c); and for Cofitechequi (DePratter 1989). Along the general route there is a host of protohistoric sites, which the army may have visited or influenced in some way. The bulk of the archaeological site reports listed in the bibliography fall into this category.

One of the major questions concerning the impact of the expedition is whether or not De Soto and his men were responsible for spreading epidemic diseases throughout the Southeast and decimating the native inhabitants. This issue is dealt with on a regional level by Blakely and Mathews (1990), Dobyns (1983), Milner (1980), Ramenofsky (1982, 1987, 1990), and M. Smith (1984a, 1987, 1989a). On the site level, the immediate effects of the De Soto entrada are examined at the King Site in a volume edited by Blakely (1988) and at the Tatham Mound by Hutchinson (1990) and Mitchem and Hutchinson (1986, 1987). Not everyone blames the protohistoric demographic shifts on De Soto, however; Burnett and Murray (1991) point to natural factors in northeast Arkansas that may have contributed to the depopulation of that area.

## Artifact Studies

Artifact studies are an important part of the De Soto literature. Because they are readily identifiable and afford tangible evidence of the passing of the expedition, Spanish artifacts are hailed by archaeologists as solid evidence of De Soto contact. Whether the Spaniards were ever actually at the site where these artifacts were deposited is another issue entirely since all of these artifacts are highly portable. Nevertheless, they are useful diagnostic tools, and much effort has been expended in their study. These artifact studies usually fall into one of two categories: 1) general studies on the kinds of artifacts that have been found at De Soto-related sites; 2) specific studies concerning a specific type of artifact (e.g., beads) and its relevance to De Soto research.

General studies attempt to answer the question "What kind of artifacts

have been found on De Soto sites?” or sometimes “What kind of artifacts are likely to be found on De Soto sites?” These questions are addressed for the route-wide studies by Brain (1975); Curren, Little, and Corey (1991); De-Pratter and Smith (1987); Eubanks (1991a); Milanich and Mitchem (1986); Mitchem (1989a); Polhemus and Smith (1980); and M. Smith (1976). On a more site-specific level, M. Smith examines the European materials recovered from the King Site (1975) and the Little Egypt Site (1979). General guides for sixteenth-century artifacts in the Southeast include: Deagan (1987) and South, Skowronek, and Johnson (1988).

Many of these artifact studies focus on a single class of artifact. Beads are often used as a temporally diagnostic index artifact. Studies of De Soto-era beads have been undertaken by Eubanks (1991d), Floyd (1990), Francis (1986, 1987), Harris (1982), Mitchem and Leader (1988), M. Smith (1982, 1983, 1989b), and M. Smith and Good (1982). Metal artifacts found on protohistoric sites are also often associated with the De Soto expedition. Specific artifacts such as weaponry (Dickinson 1987, Little 1985, D. Morse 1988), bells (Heath 1991, Mitchem and McEwan 1988), and coins (M. Smith 1984b) are subsumed under this category. Other miscellaneous artifact studies include a curious Catholic/Aztec artifact (Langford 1990) and a debate over a spatulate axe from Demopolis, Alabama (Little et al. 1989a, 1989b; M. Smith 1989e).

## Biographical Studies

Virtually every United States history text mentions Hernando de Soto, if only for his “discovery” of the Mississippi River. The man himself, however, has received short shrift in the literature, when compared to other explorers, and is, indeed, considered to be one of the lesser conquistadors by the Spaniards. Many of the biographies of De Soto were written in the late nineteenth century (Abbott 1898, Chadwick 1891, Villanueva 1892, Wilmer 1858) or early twentieth century (Bayle 1930; Graham 1924; W. Malone 1914; Solar y Taboada 1929). Later biographical sketches tend to be part of larger studies, such as Lockart’s (1972) *Men of Cajamarca*, which examined the Spaniards involved in the conquest of Peru. Curiously, even with the 450th anniversary of the entrada and the 500th anniversary of the Columbus voyage at hand, few recent biographies of De Soto have been published.

Some biographical works have a definite agenda, of which the reader should be aware. For example, two works that tend to perpetuate *la leyenda*



*blanca* or glorify the Spaniards' role in the New World are: *Hernando de Soto: Knight of the Americas* (Albornoz 1986) and *Hernando de Soto: El Centauro de las Indias* (Blanco Castillo 1955). These are of interest in that their interpretation of De Soto's exploits in the New World tends to conflict with the politically correct thinking of today. Another interesting biographical work is Avellaneda's (1990) *Los Sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition*, which includes information concerning personal histories of the Spaniards who survived the expedition.

## De Soto in Fiction

Although some may argue that many of the above-mentioned works constitute works of fiction, unless the author thinks so we have not included them as such here. The explicit works of fiction involving the exploits of Hernando de Soto are surprisingly few given the epic nature of the real-life expedition. Most of the early publications (John Jennings 1958, Littleton 1928, Lytle 1941, Steele 1956) are fairly standard action/romances. Such volumes have been the subject of a symposium paper by Ruiz-Fournells (1991). Recent works have told the story of the De Soto expedition in verse (Holford 1984, Peter 1983) or from the native point of view as in Piers Anthony's *Tatham Mound* (1991).

## Conclusion

This brief introductory chapter is only intended to outline the scope of the available research pertaining to the De Soto entrada in the southeastern United States. The references mentioned in this chapter are only a fraction of the total volume of the literature related to De Soto. Our bibliography contains nearly seven hundred entries, but it also is not exhaustive. Nevertheless, we hope it may serve as a useful entry point for those pursuing research on De Soto.

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by Jeffrey P. Brain and Charles R. Ewen

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# Index

This index is divided into four sections: Biedma, Elvas, Rangel, and Supporting Materials. (Each narrative has its own index section, because the spellings of proper names have not been standardized across narratives.) The Supporting Materials section contains all the materials not found in Biedma, Elvas, or Rangel, including Cañete fragment entries, which are listed individually and collectively (under *Cañete fragment, items in*).

For each entry, alternate spellings are indicated by brackets—for example, **At[h]ahachi**—or parentheses—for example, **Atabaliba (Atahualpa)**. For a comparison of alternate spellings across narratives in both volumes, see “Indian Proper Names in the Four Narratives” beginning on page 499 of this volume.

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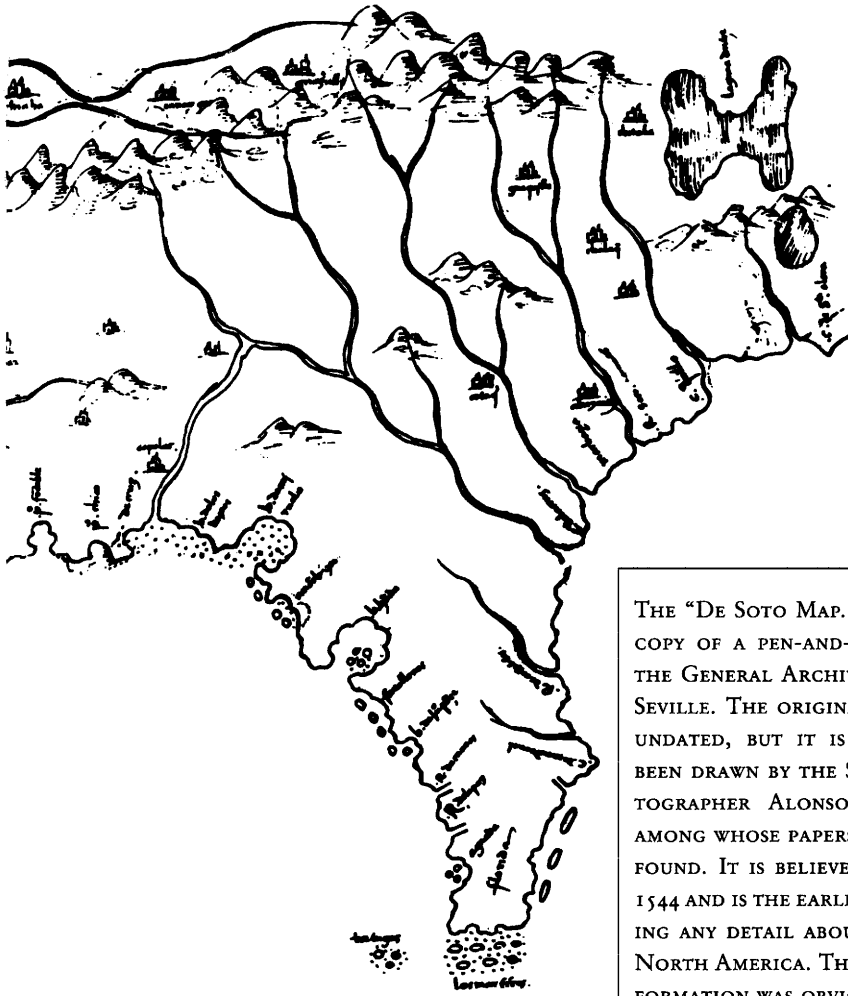
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THE "DE SOTO MAP." THIS IS A MODERN COPY OF A PEN-AND-INK-SKETCH MAP IN THE GENERAL ARCHIVE OF THE INDIES IN SEVILLE. THE ORIGINAL IS UNSIGNED AND UNDATED, BUT IT IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN DRAWN BY THE SPANISH ROYAL CARTOGRAPHER ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ, AMONG WHOSE PAPERS IT WAS ORIGINALLY FOUND. IT IS BELIEVED TO DATE AROUND 1544 AND IS THE EARLIEST KNOWN MAP GIVING ANY DETAIL ABOUT THE INTERIOR OF NORTH AMERICA. THE SOURCE OF THE INFORMATION WAS OBVIOUSLY ONE OR MORE OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION. THE RENDERING OF THE COAST COMES FROM OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, AND THE AUTHOR HAS ATTEMPTED, WITH LIMITED SUCCESS, TO MATCH THE COASTAL RIVER MOUTHS AND BAYS TO THE RIVERS CROSSED IN THE INTERIOR BY DE SOTO'S ARMY. (COURTESY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION)

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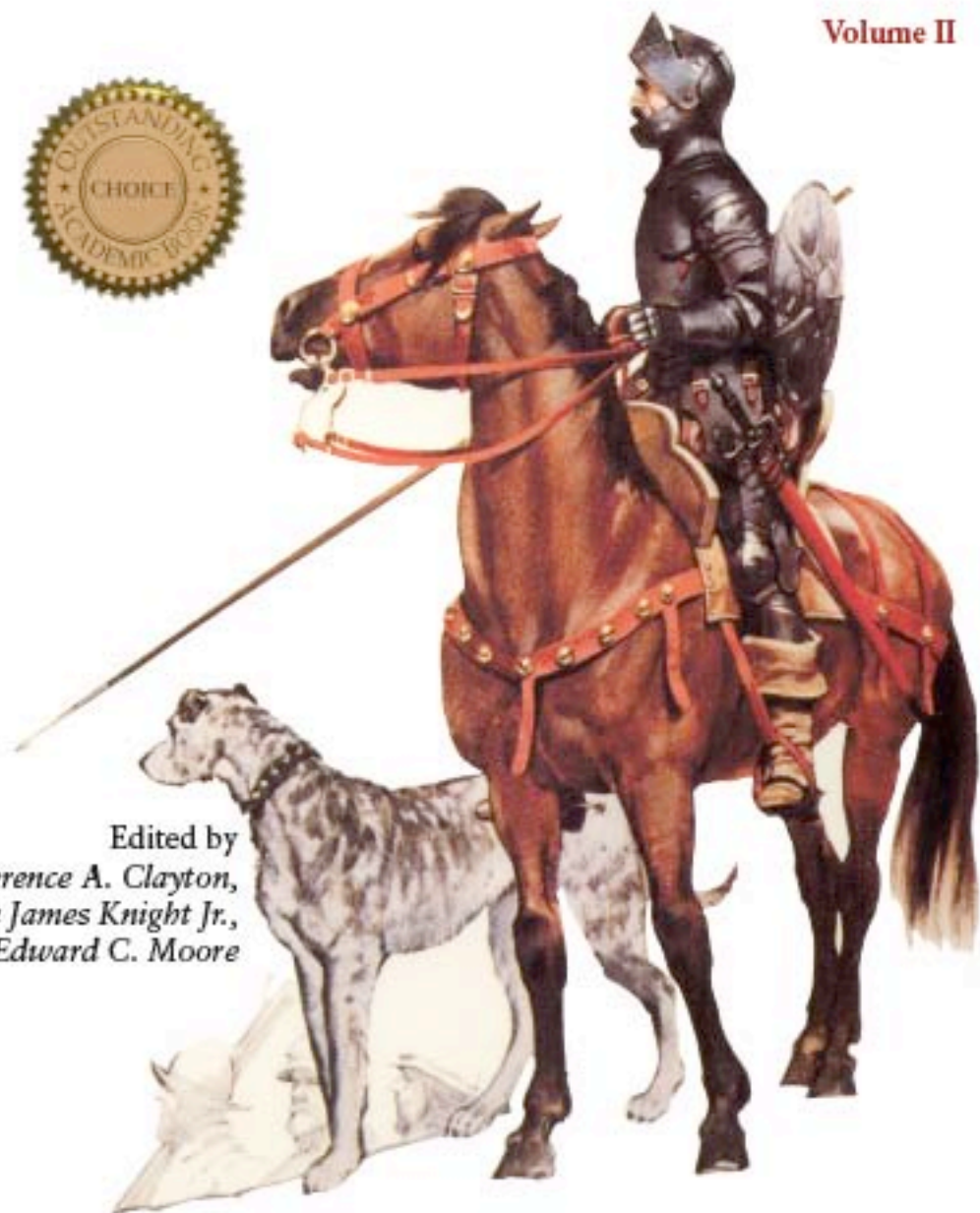


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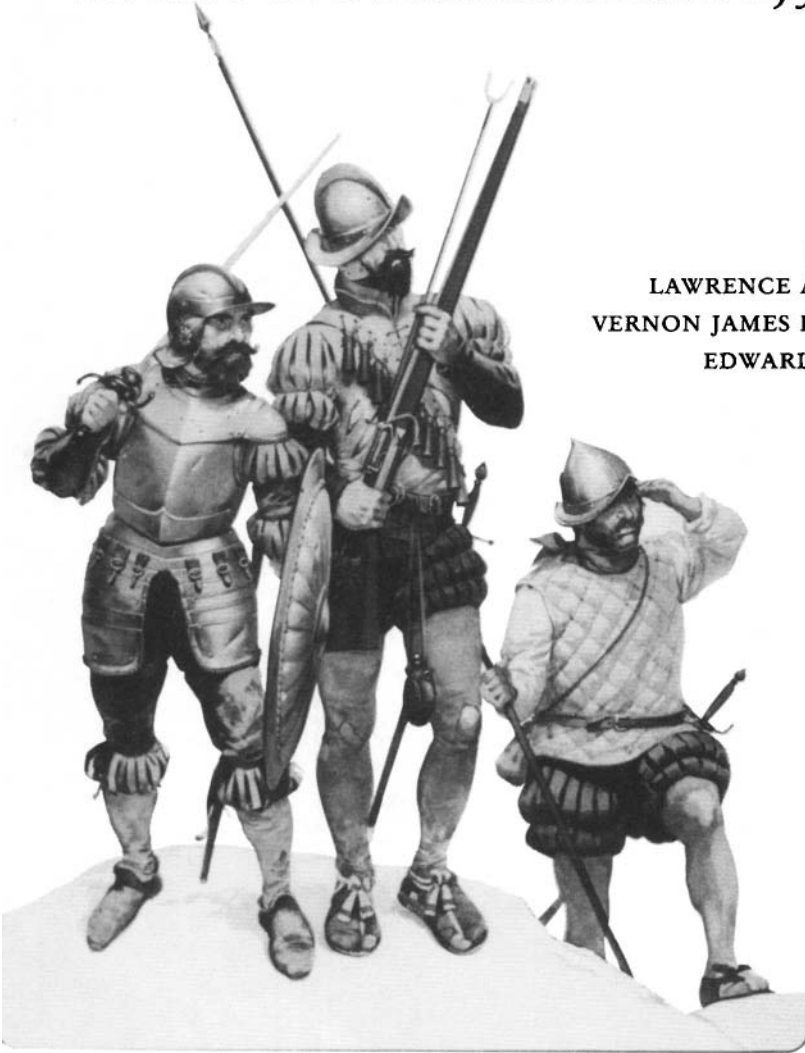
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# Foreword

by Edward C. Moore

Of the four accounts of the De Soto expedition, *La Florida*, by Garcilaso de la Vega, is by far the longest and, with its commentary, occupies this entire volume. It is presented in a new translation, prepared originally by Charmion Shelby for the 1935 United States De Soto Expedition Commission but not published by them because of a lack of funds. It has been edited by David Bost, with notes by Vernon James Knight, Jr., and is introduced here by a biographical and critical essay, "Garcilaso de la Vega, the Inca" by Frances Crowley. We have added, as an appendix, the first English translation of the *Genealogy* of Garcilaso, which will be of much interest to Garcilaso scholars and to those interested in Hispanic-American genealogies.

Although *La Florida* is usually described as "Garcilaso's account," this is misleading. Garcilaso himself never saw North America. This account is Garcilaso's recording of what he was told—some forty to fifty years later—by a soldier who was on the expedition. Almost certainly his source was Captain Gonzalo Silvestre, who served with the expedition, who may or may not have had notes of his experiences on the expedition, and who undoubtedly told the account with the flourishes and embellishments of an old soldier reminiscing about an earlier period in his life. In Garcilaso's rendering of Silvestre's tale, literary liberties were often taken at the expense of historical accuracy.

However, W. H. Prescott, author of the great histories of the Spanish conquests in Peru and Mexico, once wrote about historiography: "Truth does not come from a single source." This is, indeed, the case with the four accounts of the De Soto expedition. But since the time of John Swanton's *Report* in 1939 it has been the custom to speak in a derogatory fashion about the account by Garcilaso. I think this is a mistake. Taken as adventure, the De Soto expedition can be compared to the experiences of Odysseus or El Cid, and to those described in the Song of Roland. What Garcilaso is describing here is a great exploration, not only of a continent, but also of the

strengths of the human spirit in the face of tribulations of a magnitude that occur but rarely in human history.

Aristotle tells us that “science give us less truth but gives it more exactly; art gives us more truth but gives it less exactly.” The account by Garcilaso is great art in that sense. It tells us more about what truly happened on the expedition than does any other account, even though it may tell it less exactly. The accuracy of Garcilaso’s account has come under review primarily because he does not always agree with the other three accounts—but then they do not always agree with one another, either.

In Garcilaso, De Soto found his Homer. For readers who love a good, true adventure yarn, this account is one of the great literary classics—and, incidentally, our first American literary classic.

It has also been the custom to raise some questions about Garcilaso’s motives in writing his account. Probably he had many motives. He was an author. To live, he had to write books that people would buy. Did he want to please his old friend, who told him the story, by describing his friend’s leader, De Soto, in a favorable light? Possibly. Being a part Indian of Peru, did he want to vindicate the courage and resistance to the invader of the Indians of La Florida? Probably. Did he elaborate in telling some of the incidents or borrow them from stories about other expeditions? Perhaps. But did he give us the most fascinating of all looks at life on our continent before the white man came and changed it all? Certainly.

*The De Soto Chronicles*

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**VOLUME II**





# *Garcilaso de la Vega, the Inca*

by Frances G. Crowley

Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, was both a literary writer and a historical chronicler of the conquest of the Americas. It was his avowed primary goal to effectively represent the Inca cause before the Spanish Crown. This purpose is clearly stated in the prefaces and preambles of most of his works. As the presenter of the Indian cause, whether of the Indians in Peru or the Native Americans in the United States, he took positions on issues later challenged by historians; nonetheless he was and is among the first and foremost representatives of the mestizo viewpoint in the New World.

The author of *La Florida del Ynca*, who in Spain claimed his father's name, Garcilaso de la Vega, later adding "el Inca," was born in Cuzco, Peru, on April 12, 1539, and baptized Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, a name still extant on all documentation pertaining to his youth in Peru. His father was Captain Garcilaso de la Vega and his mother was the Inca noblewoman Chimpu Occló. She was a *palla*, the granddaughter of the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanqui, niece of the legendary emperor Huayna Capac, and cousin of Atahualpa and Huascar. Thus, she represented the old Inca hierarchy, whereas Captain Garcilaso represented the Spanish conquistador. A member of the Spanish gentry, Captain Garcilaso de la Vega had left Spain and Badajoz for adventure in the New World. After a nine-year stay in Mexico and Guatemala, the captain followed Pedro de Alvarado to Peru. In his works Garcilaso stresses his father's leadership roles, his native ability to influence both peers and superiors, and the mixture of strictness and gentleness that endeared him as a father.

Garcilaso's education reflects Captain Garcilaso de la Vega's desire that his son be instructed in Spanish culture and the classics. He studied these subjects in Cuzco, under Father Juan del Cuellar, whose dream it was to send all his young mestizo students to the University of Salamanca. From his mother, Palla Chimpu Occló, and his maternal relatives, especially his uncle, Garcilaso received instruction in the folklore and oral tradition of the

Inca people, including his family's hereditary role in the Inca hierarchy. Garcilaso's historical works and viewpoints reflect the dual and at times conflicting directions of such an education.

Although Captain Garcilaso was fond of his son and exerted throughout his life his paternal responsibility, he was not allowed, as an officer of the king, to regularize his relationship with Chimpu Occllo, or to adopt Garcilaso, lest mestizos gain proprietary rights on Spanish soil. Eventually he was forced to abandon Chimpu Occllo, for whom another marriage was arranged, and to marry Luisa Martel de los Ríos, his designated bride. Garcilaso moved quite freely from his mother's home to his father's. During the Francisco Hernández Girón uprising, while Captain Garcilaso was overseer of the city of Cuzco, his son formed part of the household. He refers to this period of his youth in his *Royal Commentaries* (Book 7, ch.9), where he gives a detailed description of people and events highlighting Cuzco's social and political life.

By 1557 Captain Garcilaso had decided to return to Spain. His departure was postponed because of a protracted illness from which he died. After his father's death in Peru on May 19, 1559, Gómez Suárez was informed that part of his father's estate was bequeathed to his legal wife, Doña Luisa Martel, and her two daughters (who died at an early age). As his natural son, Garcilaso inherited the coca fields of La Haulisca in Paucartambo and 4,000 pesos toward his education in Spain.

By 1560 his stepmother had remarried. This time she married Juan del Pedroche, by whom she had two daughters, Luisa de Herrera and Ana Ruiz. Garcilaso decided to try his fortune in Spain and embarked from Peru for Panama and from there for Lisbon, Portugal, on his way to Spain.

In his introductory letter to *La Florida*, dedicated to Theodosio of Portugal, Duke of Braganza, Garcilaso—who upon his arrival in Spain gradually assumed his father's name—wrote that he had always had a high esteem for Portugal. "This inclination was converted later into obligation, because the first land I saw when I came from my own, which is El Perú, was that of Portugal—the island of El Fayal and La Tercera, and the royal city of Lisbon, in which the royal ministers and the citizens, and those of the islands, being such religious and charitable people, gave me as warm a reception as if I had been a native son of one of them. In order not to weary your Excellency, I do not give you a full account of the gifts and favors they bestowed upon me, one of which was to save me from death." He offered his work as a gesture of gratitude for what he considered his obligation for the kindnesses he received there. Most biographers interpret these statements as flattery to

the powerful, because they assume that he immediately traveled on to Spain. This seems unlikely in view of his statement that he was saved from death by either the duke or the Portuguese people.

He reiterated his offering of his book as an expression of his gratitude for this same favor, by which “I shall be able to repay and satisfy the obligation that I owe to the natives of this most Christian kingdom, for by means of Your Excellency’s condescension and favor, I shall be one of them.” These are strong words. It is not known when and how Garcilaso incurred an obligation so deep to either the Portuguese or the house of Braganza as to make him wish to be “one of them.”

Not much is known about Garcilaso’s activities during the year 1560, except for the fact that he went on to Spain, where he first visited Seville, and later Montilla, not far from Córdoba, where his paternal uncle, Captain Alonso de Vargas, resided and received him as a welcome relative.

By 1561 Garcilaso was headed for the Spanish court in Madrid to claim his father’s inheritance. This Madrid trip is frequently mentioned in his *Royal Commentaries*, where Garcilaso referred to the hearings on his paternity accorded to him by Lope García de Castro, who blamed Garcilaso’s father for lending the rebel Gonzalo Pizarro his horse when Pizarro’s horse was killed in a battle. Since Captain Garcilaso and Pizarro had been enemies rather than friends, the allegation seems simply a lame excuse for denying Garcilaso his inheritance. By now he was the only living descendant on his father’s side. Had he been legitimate, he could not have been denied his rights. Being Indian and illegitimate, any excuse would do, and one was found in Pizarro’s horse (*A General History of Peru*, Book 5, ch. 23).

In 1563 Garcilaso was sufficiently upset by the ruling to decide that it was time to leave Spain and return to Peru. The royal decree permitting his departure was issued June 27, 1563, in Madrid, urging Seville officials to give safe conduct to Peru to “Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, son of Garcilaso de la Vega, who served in that country.”<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps because Lope García de Castro, who as a judge denied him his request to be named his father’s heir, was about to sail as viceroy of Peru on that very ship, Garcilaso decided to postpone his departure. This was a fortunate decision in light of subsequent events. Aware that his name of Gómez Suárez de Figueroa would not open the doors of Spanish social and political life, as he wished, he changed his name gradually, first to Gómez Suárez de

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<sup>1</sup>Aurelio Miró Quesada, *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (Lima: Librería Internacional del Perú, 1959), xii.

la Vega, and on November 22, 1563, to Garcilaso de la Vega. These name changes appear in notarized documents that he signed.

On March 4, 1570, Garcilaso received orders signed by Philip II and issued in Córdoba, making him captain of three hundred men to serve under his relative, the Marquis de Priego. This was the first of a series of military duties he was to perform. While he was on his way to take up this assignment, his uncle, Captain Alonso de Vargas, died in Montilla. From him Garcilaso inherited the house in Montilla in which he would spend the next two decades. Although, because Captain Alonso's sister had inherited some of the money, the bequest left Garcilaso in only moderate financial circumstances, he was finally in a position to live off his writings and whatever opportunities for small assignments Montilla could offer. His mother, Princess Chimpu Occlo, who was his last direct link to his Peruvian family, had died in 1571. For reasons he did not disclose, he did not get this information until 1573.

These events may have persuaded Garcilaso to remain in Spain. Taken together they may have induced him to undertake to establish a literary career for himself by beginning a translation of the works written by the Portuguese neoplatonist Jehudah Abarbanel, or as he was generally known, León Hebreo. Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love*, originally written in Italian, had already appeared twice in Spanish, as well as in Latin and French editions. Garcilaso's version was elegant, and better conceived than its predecessors. He made a point of his Peruvian antecedents on the title page, where he described himself as "Garcilasso Inga de la Vega, native of Cuzco, head of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru."

After completing the manuscript on León Hebreo and while he tried to negotiate its publication, Garcilaso spent some time interviewing an old captain who had been a member of the Hernando de Soto expedition. The name of this captain, whom he did not identify as his source for *La Florida*, was Gonzalo Silvestre, the mysterious source about whom Garcilaso kept the reader guessing. Garcilaso often visited Silvestre in neighboring Las Posadas, taking notes from Silvestre's eyewitness account as one of Hernando de Soto's leading captains in the Florida expedition.

The question most often asked refers to the mystery of Silvestre's collaboration. He appears several times in *La Florida* as a participant in the expedition and is credited both favorably and adversely for his participation.

Apparently, Garcilaso's first draft of *La Florida* contained the Gonzalo Silvestre version, without mention of Silvestre's or Garcilaso's name, and included another literary effort by Garcilaso, his account of his own general-

ogy from the time of his ancestor Garcí Pérez de Vargas who fought for Córdoba and Seville during the reign of King Ferdinand the Saint. This was titled the *Genealogy or account of the Descendancy of the Famous Garcí Pérez de Vargas, with some historical selections worth remembering*. These two—the Silvestre version of the expedition and Garcilaso’s *Genealogy*—formed the initial two chapters of what he now decided to call *La Florida*. He may have intended to include the *Genealogy* as the first chapter because it included some of the ancestors of Hernando de Soto.

On November 7, 1589, Garcilaso wrote the king concerning *La Florida*, which he considered almost finished. However, his estimate was considerably premature. It was not until 1596 that he separated *La Florida* from the *Genealogy* and made it a book in its own right. At that time he finished *La Florida*, that is, Silvestre’s account of the De Soto expedition, to which he had now added the reports of Juan Coles and Alonso de Carmona, two other members of the expedition. No mention was made of the report by Rodrigo Rangel or of that by the Gentleman from Elvas. He now made a definitive copy of *La Florida*, which must be the one currently at the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid.

In 1599 he tried to secure permission for publication in Madrid of *La Florida* through the scribe Juan Morales, doorkeeper of the King’s Chamber. When it was rejected, the manuscripts of *La Florida* and of the now-completed first half of another book to be called the *Royal Commentaries* were forwarded to Lisbon, where they were almost immediately processed for publication by the house of Pedro Crasbeeck. Printing took more time, however, and it was not until 1605 that the first edition of *La Florida* appeared, and it was 1609 before the *Royal Commentaries* was published. According to the Peruvian scholar Aurelio Miró Quesada, Garcilaso sent the manuscripts to Lisbon, “where the expert printer Pedro Crasbeeck was working and where he hoped to find the support of the famous Portuguese House of Braganza.”<sup>2</sup>

Without Crasbeeck, Garcilaso’s main works might never have been published. There were some common characteristics between Garcilaso and Pedro Crasbeeck. Both were foreigners, Pedro from the Netherlands and Garcilaso from Peru. Both were trying to establish themselves, Pedro by creating one of the outstanding publishing houses in Lisbon, and Garcilaso by bringing the cultural heritage of Peru to the attention of Spain. Since Montilla, where Garcilaso lived, and Córdoba, where Crasbeeck lived, were

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., ch. 24.

very distant from Lisbon, where Crasbeeck had his publishing house, there arises the question as to how and when editor and author met.

Considering the cool reception of *La Florida* in Spain, the more rapid acceptance by the Portuguese might presuppose some previous contact with the Crasbeeck publishers. The fact that permission to publish the manuscript was speedily granted leads to the assumption that Crasbeeck had talked with Garcilaso and had prepared for the manuscript before its arrival.

Two Peruvian scholars, Aurelio Miró Quesada and Raúl Porras Barrenechea, tentatively placed Garcilaso in Montilla and Las Posadas during the 1580s, but there were many gaps in his activities there. One of these would have had to allow for a prolonged absence covering the time Garcilaso was to spend in Lisbon, in which city he might well have contacted leading publishing houses, including Crasbeeck.

Garcilaso spent this time in Lisbon because he was serving a tour of duty as captain of the ship *San Francisco* during the ill-fated expedition of the Invincible Armada of 1588. As I have reported in an article in *Hispania*, Garcilaso served in that campaign as captain and *tercio* (the commanding officer of a military force of several companies of infantry) on the ship *San Francisco* under Don Agustín Mexía. Garcilaso's name and title appear in the *Relación verdadera del Armada que el Rey nuestro Señor mandó juntar en el puerto de la Ciudad de Lisboa en el Reyno de Portugal en el año 1588*. Garcilaso likewise was mentioned as *tercio* of Don Agustín in Diego de Pimentel's *Declaración*, highlighting the brief history of the Armada. However, the most specific documentation relating to Garcilaso de la Vega's assignment can be found in the plans for the expedition, drawn by Marquis Alvaro Bazán de Santa Cruz.

These plans are contained under miscellanea in Codex 637 of the archives of the Lisbon National Library. In the "assento de Felipe II con o marqués de Santa Cruz," Garcilaso's name was listed on table 57 as captain of the *San Francisco*, which was also the "Almiranta de Garcilaso" (the flagship of the second in command, who guarded the rear of the convoy), and on table 71 under "tercios de Don Agustín Mexías." Santa Cruz further mentioned the fate of the ships of Agustín Mexías in a letter dated November 9, 1587, in which he stated that the vessels had been converted into hospital ships and that there were more than fourteen thousand patients in them. He suggested that, if after six months on board there was that much illness, it would be essential to clean the ships and try to contain the disease. The king replied that, instead, the fleet was to leave, and that the sailors who were ill were to be taken off their vessels prior to departure.

King Philip II, aware that the marquis de Santa Cruz was stalling him, began to listen to those who wanted to hasten the departure of the fleet. Upset by the course of events and by the apparent disfavor of the king, the marquis de Santa Cruz succumbed to a heart attack on February 9, 1588, at the age of sixty-three. During the nearly half year between the announcement of the departure and the time it actually took for some vessels to leave, the *San Francisco* remained in Lisbon, giving Garcilaso sufficient time not only to tend to his men, but to place his manuscript outlines with leading Lisbon publishers, including Pedro Crasbeeck.

Garcilaso was a friend of the marquis de Santa Cruz, who listed Garcilaso by his first name in his manifest. The marquis is described in Don Ramiro Blanco's *Elogio de Santa Cruz* as "well built, of brave and gentle presence, dark face and . . . well-shaped chestnut beard."<sup>3</sup>

Garcilaso and his former fellow officers from the Granada expedition must have been stunned by King Philip II's choice of Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán, duke of Medina Sidonia, as commander in chief of the Armada. The best that could be said about him was that he was honest enough to repeatedly turn down the assignment, admitting that he not only was not a seaman, but was prone to seasickness. However, the king was not to be put off. In spite of many problems, he requested that the fleet assemble at La Coruña and from there start the journey to England.

The details of the Spanish expedition appear, carefully assembled and annotated, in Cesáreo Fernández Duro's *La Armada invencible*,<sup>4</sup> a two-volume summary with tables of total ship deployment derived from documents then extant at Simancas. Tables on pages 30 and 80 list Garcilaso de la Vega as captain, among "the tertios [*sic*] of Don Agustín." On page 111 of *La Armada invencible*, the *San Francisco* is listed among the ships that arrived in the ports of Spain, with Garcilaso as *maestro de campo* of Don Pedro [de Valdés'] almiranta. Thus Garcilaso appears as second in command under orders from Don Pedro de Valdés and Agustín Mexía. In letter number 184 of the above-mentioned work, Duro relates on page 186 the king's explicit order that the fleet was to leave from La Coruña July 16, or the next Sunday at the latest, without waiting for the ships that were missing, "because it is preferable to begin this journey, than to take six ships more or less."

Garcilaso's ship appears on the list of vessels ready to leave La Coruña,

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<sup>3</sup>Ramiro Blanco, *Elogio de Santa Cruz* (Madrid: Impreso de D. Pacheco Latorre, 1888).

<sup>4</sup>Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *La Armada invencible*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Est. tipográfico "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra," 1884-1885), vol. 1, pp. 30, 80, 101.

according to Duro, page 150. The ships missing after the projected departure were more than six. Letter number 156 on page 219 of Duro's collection reveals that during the storm that lashed the Spanish coast between July 12 and 20, forty Spanish ships of the squadron of Pedro Valdés were not accounted for. Although Valdés was confident he could assemble all the vessels, Admiral Martínez de Recalde reported problems with Don Agustín de Mexía's ships, of which Garcilaso commanded the almiranta—the title given the last ship of the convoy. Further delays are reported for vessels under Agustín Mexía, much of whose fleet, including the *San Francisco*, was to be found in Santander after the war. The scarce documentation pertaining to this aspect of the war is an inducement to further research.

In spite of Medina Sidonia's repeated warnings that captains of ships missing from the Armada during its military engagement would be severely punished, actually not much happened to them, because the storms were severe and the war came to an end so abruptly that damaged ships might not have been able to rejoin the fleet. According to Porras Barrenechea's *Garcilaso en Montilla, nuevos estudios sobre Garcilaso de la Vega*, page 34, "in 1588 there can be noticed prolonged absences during the second part of the year and he only appears incidentally in Montilla during August of 1589." During and after the war, many men were released from the Armada for age or infirmities. There is no evidence of what happened specifically to Garcilaso, nor does he ever refer to it. It was an Inca custom not to concentrate on the negative aspects of life and battles, but to simply move beyond them, which he did.

Garcilaso's life as a chaplain is detailed in *Garcilaso en Montilla*. Raúl Porras Barrenechea and the scholars who worked with him, among them Feliz Alvarez Brun, gathered all available legible letters, contracts, personal transactions, baptismal and wedding certificates, signed by Garcilaso during his chaplaincy. He inherited the chaplaincy, as well as property to maintain it in good condition, from his uncle Alonso de Vargas, who died in 1570. This arrangement allowed the Inca author to make a living from the interest, sales and rentals accruing to him as chaplain, and later, temporarily, provided a living for Diego de Vargas, his natural son by his housekeeper, Beatriz de Vega.

According to the documentation of *Garcilaso en Montilla*, the names appearing on documents vary from Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to Gómez de Figueroa, to Garcilaso de la Vega (page 203) to Garcí Inga de la Vega (page 204), to García Laso de la Vega (page 213) to Garcilaso de la Vega (page 214). As he gradually modified his name, he progressively changed his outlook.



After his captaincy in the Armada, he devoted himself to his chaplaincy. By helping the sick and comforting the dying, he demonstrated in his life a path from the sword he abandoned to the cross he embraced.

In 1596, at age fifty-nine, he had published the *Diálogos de amor* and had written *La Florida*. The documents found in Montilla reveal that his aunt, Doña Luisa Ponce de León, heiress of Don Alonso de Vargas's estate, had left her property to Garcilaso, who moved first to Las Posadas and later to Córdoba. Although the recipient of income from the marquis de Priego, he complained "about my lack of income" (*mi poca hacienda*). In 1591 he received funds for the house of Alonso de Vargas, sold in 1591. Between 1594 and 1597 he continued to own some real estate.

By 1592 Garcilaso had moved to Córdoba, where he was very active writing, entertaining friends both American and Spanish, collecting data and specimens of seeds and plants from the New World, and taking care of the sick. Between 1605 and 1608 Garcilaso was *mayordomo* at the hospital of the Immaculate Conception at the Cathedral of Córdoba. During free moments he spent his time revising manuscripts, arranging for their publication, helping his neighbors, and visiting the sick, until his death on April 23, 1616.

Garcilaso, who in his major works made an impassioned plea for the restitution of Inca rights and for peaceful relations between Incas and Spaniards, never lost the opportunity to mediate on behalf of Inca interests in Spain. To this effect, he even offered space in his tomb to those from both continents who wanted to join him. When, years later, his remains were finally brought to Cuzco, the Spaniards did not want them to leave Spain, nor could anyone tell for sure which they were, because they were fused with those of others. But the Spaniards were unable to prevent his removal, and the Inca, as he was and is still called, claimed his heritage—he went home to Cuzco. He had left Peru as Gómez Suárez de Figueroa; centuries later his remains returned to his country as Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, son of the conquistador.

Garcilaso's first claim to fame had consisted of his translation from Italian into Spanish of the three *Dialogues of Love* by León Hebreo (in Madrid, at the house of Pedro Madrigal, 1590). Garcilaso's translation of the *Dialogues* received an initial ten years' approval from the Crown. The Inquisition, however, finally refused to consider its further distribution in the vernacular, because, according to the Inquisitor, the work of an Inca was not needed, with so many Spaniards skilled in translation. Since there obviously was prejudice against his Inca origins, his translation remained dormant in Madrid catalogs.

To create greater interest in himself and his work, Garcilaso had earlier undertaken the compilation of the genealogy of his family in order to prove his Hispanic descendancy. The resulting material, called the *Genealogy*, was at first intended to form part of his narrative of the vicissitudes of the Florida expedition. How the two works were separated in 1596, and why *La Florida del Inca* appeared in Lisbon in 1605, is still difficult to determine, unless he had occasion to meet Pedro Crasbeeck in Portugal while with the Invincible Armada. If so, Crasbeeck might have urged the separation of the two works and offered to publish only *La Florida*.<sup>5</sup>

The Princesps edition in Spanish of *The Florida of the Inca* was published in 1605 by Crasbeeck. It was dedicated to the duke of Braganza with license of the Holy Inquisition. Garcilaso had less difficulty in obtaining the acceptance of the necessary permits in Portugal. The increasing importance of Pedro Crasbeeck's editorial fortunes in Lisbon may have been the cause of Garcilaso's success in getting a Spanish work published in the Portuguese capital. According to José Durand's bibliographical study, there are currently twenty-one copies of the Princesps editions available.<sup>6</sup> There were two Princesps editions, one dated and the other possibly undated.

The editor of the second edition of *La Florida del Inca*, which appeared in 1723, was the Spanish historian Andrés Gonzales de Barcía Carballido y Zuñiga under the pseudonym Daza de Cardenas. What was added at that time was a eulogy of Garcilaso and a chronology that disappeared in later works. *La Florida* was "directed to the Queen, our Lady." Errata were corrected and data up to 1722 were added. The printer was Nicolás Franco.

The errata dealt with the new Spanish emphasis. Garcilaso's importance as historian of the New World was de-emphasized, and preference was shown for tales that described him personally. Many current works are based on the second, or subsequent, editions, thus reflecting this bias. In these editions part of Garcilaso's introduction is often omitted. This was the case for all the editions by Doña Piñuela and Sons from 1829 on. However, cuts within the text of *La Florida* itself, not just the introduction, begin to appear in editions such as those by Jorge and Antonio Ulloa on which various German translations were based.

The reasons vary, but even before the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II (1779–

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<sup>5</sup>Frances Crowley, "New Information on the Biography of Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca," *Hispania* 48 (September 1965): 481–83.

<sup>6</sup>José Durand, *La Florida del Inca, a Bibliographic Study* (Mexico City: Biblioteca Americana, Fondo Económico, 1956).

1785), which caused copies of Garcilaso's works to be labeled as incendiary by the Crown and to silently disappear from the stores, they became scarce. Hardly any of the copies were true to the original, and the cuts in the Ulloa versions, forming the basis of both the French and German translations, deleted important segments of the original. The resulting books gave European readers the impression that Garcilaso's work was less significant than it had appeared to be to his contemporaries.

At the same time the very foreshortened translations, especially the French ones, guaranteed his work its great popularity. In fact, if it were not for the popularity of the French translations, it is very possible that Garcilaso's works might be nearly impossible to find. The first French translator was Jean Baudoin, who in 1633 translated the "*Histoire de la conquête de la Floride*, à Paris, chez Courbe." There were various editions of *La Florida* in France and the Netherlands before the translation by Pierre Richelet, who joyfully tore into both Garcilaso and Baudoin. While he described the latter as a careless translator, on the prowl for easy money, he attacked the form and style of the author. He was positive that his translation, "*Histoire de la Floride, où relation de ce qui c'est passé dans la découverte de ce pays par Ferdinand de Soto . . . imprimé à Lille, Paris Y Nion, 1709*," was better than Baudoin's. At least he recognized that *La Florida* concerned Hernando de Soto's Florida expedition and his problems in dealing with mostly hostile Indians. Richelet confirmed that for forty years copies of Garcilaso's works could be acquired only in auctions, at tremendous prices. He thought it was necessary to issue a new translation because, according to him, the Garcilaso text could not be recognized in the Baudoin edition. But first of all, Richelet felt that cuts were essential. Richelet resented the fact that Baudoin had the audacity to preserve parts of the text that he, Richelet, found boring, but Richelet himself had no such scruples. Thus, there were six abbreviated editions from 1780 on, containing Richelet's negative foreword. What made matters worse was the fact that the subsequent German translation by Konrad Böttger and the English translation by Bernard Shipp were based on Richelet's incomplete text!

The Richelet version was published in 1709 and 1711 by Nion in Paris. It was used as a basis for the translations in Leiden by Van der Aa, in 1737 at The Hague by J. Naulnes, and in the city of Amsterdam by J. F. Bernard. One of the earlier abbreviated Richelet versions was used as a basis for a German edition published in 1753, that, in turn, influenced Konrad Böttger's German version published in Nordhausen in 1785. Böttger's German version—by now, a severely edited version—was then used for the English

translation by Bernard Shipp, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*, Philadelphia, 1881.

If the Germans and the English were reading shortened versions of *La Florida*, and the French were influenced by biased introductions, the harm done to Garcilaso's image in Europe and later in America by these editors cannot be compared with what resulted from the even more radical changes occurring in *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas* from the Princeps edition to the twentieth century. Initially, few of the editors of the *Commentaries* and *The General History of Peru* realized Garcilaso's intent of actually using these works to promote a reinstatement of status for himself and some of the former Inca hierarchy. Having written the *Genealogy* and *La Florida* to showcase his relatives and to exalt his Spanish side, and having failed in this effort to achieve recognition for himself, he embarked on the bolder venture of using a historical buildup to bring the Incas, including himself, back to some degree of status in Peru. He did it so cleverly that the Spaniards who read the last chapters of both the *Commentaries* and *The General History of Peru* considered them reminiscences of past glory, rather than an exhortation for future action. It was not until the revolution of Tupac Amaru II that the Crown became aware of the real impact of Garcilaso's message. Copies of Garcilaso's works were then bought up by the Crown to remove them from the market throughout Latin America, but they survived in libraries and through translation to keep reappearing as symbols of both cultures, the Hispanic and the Inca.

Harold Livermore, in the introduction to his edition of *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, describes the situation this way:

The *Dialogues* and the *Florida* (or the greater part of it) were written before Garcilaso's departure from Montilla. His own material difficulties which followed his removal to Córdoba inevitably sharpened his sympathy for the vicissitudes of his fellow Incas, and in the *Royal Commentaries* we find him gradually linking hands with them. If in Montilla he had identified himself with the great poet of his father's family, we now see him drawn steadily into the orbit of the Incas whose history he is rehearsing. Even while at Montilla he had kept in touch with the affairs of Peru, receiving not only letters and reports but also the visits of his former school fellows when they came to Spain. Shortly before he completed the manuscript of the first part [of the *Royal Commentaries*], moreover, the surviving Incas in Peru asked him to undertake a mission on their behalf. At a meeting held in Cuzco in March 1603 they had empowered him to seek relief [from taxes] from Philip III for the surviving mem-

bers of the imperial caste of Peru, and they supplied him with a genealogical tree “painted on a vara and a half of white China taffeta” with a list of 567 names of surviving Incas. Immersed in the *Royal Commentaries*, Garcilaso excused himself from this duty, though he expressed every sympathy with it—“I would willingly have devoted my life to this, for it could not have been better employed.”<sup>7</sup>

But the existence of 567 petitioners steeled the Spanish government in its determination not to accept the royal origin of the Incas for purposes of tax exemption. Though Garcilaso seems to have come no nearer than this to engaging in political activities on their behalf, his reputation was to suffer. The final humiliation was having the proud title of *Royal Commentaries* suppressed by the Royal Council from his Part Two, which finally appeared seven months after his death under the innocuous guise of a *General History of Peru*.

Garcilaso’s claim to be a loyal Spaniard is demonstrated also in the still extant manuscript of his *Genealogy*, which reveals that its early scope was aimed at bolstering his Spanish descent. And, indeed, in his family tree there were members of the Ponce de León and Hernando de Soto branches. Only later were the *Genealogy* and the *La Florida* separated; *La Florida* was to be the survivor of the split. *La Florida* keynotes the exploits of Hernando de Soto throughout his North American odyssey. The work is well planned. But, in fact, the chapter structure it contains is that of the *Genealogy*—which was originally supposed to be the first part of a larger book combining the two works.

The table of contents of *La Florida* graphically presents the steps of the conquest. Books I and II contain the preliminaries, from permission for the venture by Charles V, through the preparations at Havana, the description of Florida, as Garcilaso conceived it from reports, since he had not seen it, and the early battles faced by Hernando de Soto.

The third book narrates events after the departure from Apalache and contains tales of wealth, treachery, mutiny, and generosity on the part of the lady of Cofitachequi, the rebellion of Tascaluça, and the battle of Mauvila. The fourth book deals with the battle of Alibamo.

The fifth book is divided into two chapters, following the plan of the *Genealogy*. The first part contains the death of Hernando de Soto, and the

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<sup>7</sup>Harold Livermore, *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), xxv-vi.

second describes the return of the Spaniards down the Mississippi on their way to Mexico. The sixth book summarizes the reports of the expedition in Mexico and the attempts by Arias and Maldonado to obtain further news of De Soto.

In *La Florida*, the “Preface to the Reader” leaves many questions unanswered. First and foremost is the question of why as outstanding a firm as that of Pedro Crasbeeck accepted a manuscript in which the main source, who is today agreed to be Gonzalo Silvestre, was anonymous. Garcilaso admitted knowing Silvestre, working for him as a part-time secretary off and on at his home, and gave much information about him, but not his name. They discussed events of the expedition for years and finally decided to record them for posterity. Garcilaso’s hesitancy in fully identifying his source may reflect a hesitancy on the part of his subject. Garcilaso did, however, introduce two other sources for minimal verification of his account, and he names them as Juan Coles and Alonso de Carmona. Perhaps their verification satisfied the publisher.

Juan Coles, an eyewitness to many of the events in *La Florida*, was a soldier on the expedition and came from Safra. He is supposed to have given his notes about the expedition to the Franciscan Fray Pedro Aguado, who collected them with others from the Windward Isles, Vera Cruz, Tierra Firme, and El Darien, only, according to Garcilaso, to forget them at a printer’s in Córdoba, where Garcilaso found and used them. Alonso Priego de Carmona, another eyewitness, and a soldier on the expedition, forwarded his notes to Garcilaso for approval. According to Garcilaso, their notes were short, because they did not intend to print them under their own names. Indeed, since Juan Coles quoted verbal statements by participants, and since the report was written on legal paper, it might have been part of a legal deposition. Garcilaso claimed that Juan Coles’s data agreed with the compilation of events gathered in Mexico for Don Antonio de Mendoza, whose papers would contribute greatly to future studies of *La Florida*.

In any evaluation of *La Florida* as a historical document, it is necessary to take notice of the author’s first intent in combining the genealogy with *La Florida*, which was to reinforce the significance of his genealogy as a worthy subject of the king. Indeed, the conclusion of his message to the reader was an appeal on behalf of all Indians, criollos, and mestizos of Peru, as being worthy citizens who should be allowed to pursue higher endeavors.

As the *Genealogy* flowed into *La Florida*, so the *Royal Commentaries* were a sequel of that same attempt to promote the Inca cause. Whereas Pedro Crasbeeck published both *La Florida* and the first part of *The Royal*

*Commentaries* in Lisbon, on becoming court printer of Philip II, he did not print its second part, *The General History of Peru*, which was produced by the widow of Andrés Barrera at her own expense. Pedro Crasbeeck, as the shrewd founder of a growing enterprise, had probably detected what it took the Spanish government over a century to discover, that much of Garcilaso's work had a political emphasis directed toward restoring the status of the Inca royal family.

Critics have usually quoted Garcilaso's stated intent in the prefaces of his volumes and have criticized or praised him in direct relation to his stated intentions. Anthologies and censors have likewise followed his initial roadmarks and accepted his directions. Had the censors paid as much attention to the last chapter of *The Commentaries* and to the last chapter of his *General History of Peru* (see below), the manuscripts might at best have been edited and at worst not have been accepted. In order to observe how official approval was granted, it is necessary to follow the course of these works through channels.

As could be expected, first approval of *The Royal Commentaries* was granted shortly after submission in Lisbon, on November 6, 1604, by Father Luis Dos Anjos, who found the work very "curiously written and worthy of printing." By December 4, 1604, the book was referred to the Holy Office. At the same time the royal palace received the manuscript, which was approved by the Audiencia and by the House of Braganza as early as March 15, 1605. Although the work could not have met royal approval without church approbation, the latter was given officially only in September 1609.

In his introduction, addressed to Princess Catalina de Braganza, Garcilaso expressed his thanks for her official sponsorship of his work. In his "Preface to the Reader," he introduced the book as a faithful presentation of Inca customs and traditions. Claiming Spanish historians as sources, he professed to correct their statements through commentaries and glosses whenever he thought it necessary. The title page, printed in Spanish in Lisbon in 1609 by Pedro Crasbeeck, claimed that the work dealt with "Inca Kings of Peru, their idolatry, their laws, their government in peace and war, their lives and conquests and all that befell that empire and its republic until the Spanish occupation." No mention was made that Garcilaso also occasionally took the Spaniards to task for things they did, or failed to do.

*The General History of Peru*, which was to have been the second part of the *Commentaries*, did not get published until 1617, and it was not published by Pedro Crasbeeck. Questions pertaining to Garcilaso's relations with the firm of Pedro Crasbeeck are difficult to answer because the firm

was burned with almost total destruction of documents not contained in libraries. What would be of interest is, why did Garcilaso change from a renowned publisher like Crasbeeck to a woman, and by whose initiative? All we know currently is that *The General History of Peru* appeared in 1617, printed by the widow Barrera.

The title change, from the second part of *The Royal Commentaries* to *The General History of Peru*, may have marked the recognition by his literary executors of a change in the role of the author, who no longer wrote as a commentator—one who comments on history, but instead assumed the role of historian—one who records history. The modification must have been gradual, as all permits and dedications were for the second part of *The Royal Commentaries*. These included the initial petition to print by the author in 1612, the request by Don Diego de Mardones, bishop of Córdoba, for the censor's approval, granted on January 6, 1613, the bishop's subsequent confirmation of the approbation, the approval of the Royal Council, issued in Madrid in 1614, and finally, the acceptance by the king himself. The title *The General History of Peru* is mentioned in none of these documents.

Behind the seemingly casual shift causing the title change, however, there may have been a well-thought-out plan that neither the Portuguese nor the Spanish hierarchy were aware of. The whole concept moved imperceptibly from the simple to the complex. Viewed simply, the *Commentaries* were what Garcilaso had presented them as being. On a more sophisticated level, however, they presented a peculiar double-pronged thrust: one prong was a plea for recognition of Garcilaso's own inheritance rights, which should have accrued to him as the only living son of a conquistador; a second prong was a claim of Inca succession rights involving not only himself, but all descendants of royal lineage. If only one part of the ploy worked, Garcilaso was sure to gain. If the Incas won their rights, his would be a leadership position. If neither possibility was realized, his would be the credit of writing a great work. To succeed, he needed the authority of being not just the author of commentaries, but an accredited historian. His goals must be so simple as to mislead possible political observers. The title page of *The History of Peru* is a masterpiece of understatement. His goals are disarming: "the discovery of Peru, the way the Spaniards won it, the civil wars between the Pizarros and the Almagros and the distribution of the land." Their simplistic nature makes them perfectly acceptable. The dedications were carefully prepared. For the bishop there was the repeated dedication to the Virgin, for the Incas there was praise of their native gifts, a sense of identification and pride and an equation of their prowess to the best that antiquity had to offer. For



the king there was a reminder that Garcilaso's father had been a famous conquistador in the royal service and that Garcilaso's uncle had died for the Spanish cause.

It was common knowledge that Garcilaso had been told by his Spanish father—who had officially recognized Garcilaso as his son, although he had never married Inca Princess Chimpu Occlo—that he should come to Spain and claim his rights before the king. What was less obvious, especially to the Spanish reader of the day, was Garcilaso's thrust on behalf of Inca claims generally. That he favored the Inca cause could be seen in *The Royal Commentaries*, of which the seventh book resounds as a paean of Inca pride. In chapter eight Garcilaso professed to have undertaken the enormous task of recording all exploits of the Inca republic until its last days, as an act of historic preservation. Lest Cuzco be forgotten, he determined to describe it as its "natural son" must, the pun on words being that of *hijo natural* of his father and his city. As such, he saw in Cuzco not only a new Toledo, as some called it, but a new Rome. The only advantage Rome had over Cuzco was its literacy. Appropriately, he adds: "It is also a matter of doubt which of these famous men owe more to the others, whether the warriors to the writer, because by writing their exploits they committed them to eternity, or whether the men of letters owe more to the warriors for supplying them with daily accomplishments about which they may write the rest of their lives."

After examining the introductions and some significant passages of the texts, various conclusions as to the author's purposes can be drawn. As the Crasbeecks may have noticed, they are unusual. It may well be that Pedro Crasbeeck hesitated to continue publication because he saw some of these interpretations as real possibilities. He was originally of Jewish ancestry and he may have felt that during the Union of Spain and Portugal (1588–1640) he could not be involved with what he may have perceived as Garcilaso's commitment to Inca nationalism. For a commitment of some degree there was, as revealed in the fortieth chapter of the ninth book of the *Commentaries*. Originally the manuscript had thirty-nine chapters and was probably accepted and approved of with these. Then Garcilaso claimed to have received certain documents for safekeeping. As these reached him, he decided to incorporate their contents into the book and to add another chapter concerning the successors to Atahuallpa.

It is difficult in the absence of independent manuscript documentation to establish when exactly Garcilaso was contacted by the successors of Atahuallpa, but according to Garcilaso this was done at the end of 1603. The documents the Incas sent him, listing heirs to Inca realms and their corre-

sponding claims, were forwarded by Garcilaso to Alonso de Mesa, son of his neighbor of Cuzco days, and to Melchior Carlos Inca. Both of these friends resided at the court in Valladolid. The documents were a full-fledged claim of royal descendancy, including a family tree with not only the names but the portraits of all Incas of royal descent entitled to succession status. The document followed both male and female lines of descendancy, was written partly in the Indian court language known to Garcilaso and partly in the vernacular, which he does not seem to remember well, and was signed by eleven Inca Indians, using both Indian and Christian names. Enclosed was a plea for tax exemption benefiting all royal descendants, including Garcilaso. By placing this information in the *Commentaries* with the list of all descendants of the Incas, as they still appear, Garcilaso entered a claim for himself and them for whatever benefits might accrue to them.

Initially, the plea seemed to have succeeded. As stated in the last paragraph of the *Commentaries*, Don Melchior Carlos Inca, son of Paullu Inca (godson of Garcilaso) and grandson of Manco Capac, was to be awarded 7,500 ducats of perpetual income, which was to be deposited by the king in Lima. He was to be granted a house in Spain and an official appointment in the Royal Palace. Indians who had come under his power were to pass to the Crown, nor was he to return to the Indies. He had negotiated these concessions since his arrival in Spain in 1602, but by the time the chapter was written in March 1604 none of the conditions had been fulfilled. Garcilaso promised to discuss the consequences of these transactions in the tenth book of the *Commentaries*, as he concluded the ninth book with this statement: “and with this we shall enter the tenth book, which will deal with the heroic incredible actions of the Spaniards who won that empire.”

It is at this point that some drastic changes must have been made, for there is no tenth book in *The Royal Commentaries*. That change must not have been contemplated as early as the end of March 1604, nor as late as September 1609, when the Holy Office granted its license. It would be interesting to know when, exactly, the publishing plans were changed and how the title change came about. Perhaps the requests contained in the final chapter of Book 9 were enough to raise some eyebrows in Spain. The relevant portions of that final chapter are as follows:

Many days after finishing this ninth book I received certain information from Peru, from which I have compiled the following chapter, for I thought that this matter belonged to my history and I have therefore added it here. The few Incas of the royal blood who survived the cruelties and tyrannies of Atahualpa

and other later oppressions have more descendants than I had imagined, for at the end of the year 1603 they all wrote to Don Melchior Carlos Inca and to Don Alonso de Mesa, the son of Alonso de Mesa who was a *vecino* of Cuzco, and also to me, to ask us to beg His Majesty in the name of them all to have them exempted from the tribute they are paying and from other vexations that they undertook in common with the rest of the Indians. They sent the three of us powers to act together on their behalf with proofs of their descent, including details of which of them descended from which other king, down to the last of their line; and for clearer proof and demonstration they included a genealogical tree showing the royal line from Manco Cápac to Haina Cápac. . . . They write with great confidence, which we all entertain, that when His Catholic Majesty knows their plight he will relieve them and will confer many privileges on them, as befits the descendants of kings.<sup>8</sup>

Those who believe that the descendancy documents were casually inserted in the last book of *The General History of Peru* will find that, in the same last book, in the next to the last paragraph, Don Melchior Carlos Inca reappears. Fearful lest the long list of royal descendants should cause him to lose his privileges, he had not forwarded the documents to the court. This deprived him, as well as his relatives, including Garcilaso, of any benefits they might then have been able to claim. Garcilaso wanted his countrymen to know what happened lest they blame him for not representing them well. The relevant paragraph from the last chapter of the *General History of Peru* is:

With regard to the descendants of these kings not in the direct line, in the last chapter of the First Part of these *Commentaries* we mentioned how many descendants there were of each of the past kings. As I stated there, they themselves sent me a document in the name of all of them with power of attorney in favor of Don Melchior Carlos, Don Alonso de Mesa, and myself, so that any of the three of us could present it on their behalf of [to] His Catholic Majesty and the Supreme Royal Council of the Indies. This document requested that, as descendants of kings, they should be relieved of the vexations they suffered. I sent the petition and the accompanying papers (which were addressed to me) to the capital directed to the said Don Melchior Carlos and Don Alonso de Mesa, but the former, though his own claims were of the same nature and based on the same legal and natural arguments as those of the Incas, was unwilling to present the papers so as not to reveal how many persons there were of the royal blood, thinking that if he did reveal this, he would lose many of

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pt. 1, p. 625.

the grants and honors he claimed and hoped to receive. He was therefore reluctant to raise his voice on his kinsmen's behalf; and he died, as has been said, without receiving anything for himself or his friends. I have mentioned this in order to clear myself and so that my relatives, wherever they may be, shall know what happened and not accuse me of neglect or ill-will in not having done what they bade and requested me. I would indeed have been glad to have devoted my life to the service of people who so greatly deserved it, but I have not been able to do more, as I have been engaged in writing this history, which I hope will have been as great a service to the Spaniards who won the empire as to the Incas who formerly possessed it.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that Garcilaso felt he must explain to his relatives and friends why the petition failed shows that he had accepted a commitment to represent the disenfranchised heirs of the Inca Empire. Without objection by the Royal Court, he had fought on two sides of the issue—the Spanish side of his father and the Inca side of his mother. Not until 1780 did the Spanish Crown become aware of the descendancy claims contained in the *Commentaries*. It was then that Charles III ordered local governors to purchase all available copies, lest the books, which he considered seditious, become instantly popular. There were, however, more books than he realized, because Garcilaso's claim still stands four centuries later as proof that history has often been produced to satisfy political ends. A key ingredient in the power game was the *Genealogy*, which he used before *La Florida* and throughout his later works, on both the Spanish and the Inca side of the spectrum, to pursue a respect and a status that, while never awarded him by the king, he received from future generations as a writer.

Appraisal of Garcilaso's *La Florida* among recent writers depends on whether the critics view the work as primarily literary or historical. Whereas the former do not concentrate on credibility, the latter see it as a prevailing issue. A literary critic, Arnold Toynbee, in his foreword to Harold Livermore's *Royal Commentaries* (p. xxiv), perceives the *Dialogues of Love*, the *Florida*, and the two parts of *The Royal Commentaries* as corresponding to successive stages of Garcilaso's development. Toynbee's view is that in *La Florida* Garcilaso leaves the world of philosophy and the speculations of León Hebreo to confront the problems of America and its conquest. His was the tale of a bold expedition among savage Indians, only lately removed from the rites of cannibalism, as this expedition was viewed by a Spanish

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pt. 2, pp. 1486–87.

conquistador years after the fact. The ever-present contrast was that of conqueror and conquered, or of Hernando de Soto and his Spanish soldiers in their daily interaction with the native Indians. According to Toynbee, one striking aspect of Garcilaso's approach to the subject was his treatment of the two parties, European and Indian, as equals. Toynbee found in the work the romantic qualities of Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Civil Wars of Granada* in which a ruthless struggle between the peoples of two opposing religions is purged of its brutality to make for agreeable reading. It is the pleasant tempo of Garcilaso's narrative, the almost fictionlike alternation of battle and lush description of the hitherto unknown landscape, that endeared him to Europeans and kept them reissuing his editions across the centuries.

John Grier Varner, in his *El Inca*, praised Garcilaso's literary legacy: "To the world, he left the most picturesque of all accounts of a courageous journey through the vast regions of La Florida. Woven through it is the old cavalier's most splendid eulogy. He himself [the old cavalier] had dictated it to his Peruvian amanuensis [Garcilaso], who treated it with the warmth and sympathy it deserved."<sup>10</sup>

The very fact that the *Florida* was a eulogy weakened its historical accuracy. Garcilaso wanted his times to be remembered. He viewed history not unlike the ancient Greek historians, as the cumulative impact of men of action upon their times, their friends, and their foes. His was the song of the Indian, of the "natural man," whose cause Jean Jacques Rousseau espoused in his *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* and in his *Contrat Social*. Rousseau's concept that the "natural man" was at the base of governance heightened French interest in Indian works during the French Revolution. It was Garcilaso's goal to show that the impact on the Americas of the Indian and Inca cultures was equal to the impact of Spain.

This perception of the greatness which was Inca America would inspire Simón Bolívar. According to John Grier Varner, "the famed Libertador in a moment of poetic ecstasy wrote to a friend of the unsurpassed wonders of the imperial city [Cuzco] and of the civilization, which it symbolized. Its history . . . was a tapestry of cruelty to the Indians, woven by Bartolomé de las Casas; its legend was to be found in the chronicles of the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega."<sup>11</sup> The quotation is significant, because it brings to the fore Garcilaso's appeal to the liberators as a symbol for national unification. Part of a

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<sup>10</sup>John Grier Varner, *El Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 310.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 384.

letter written by Simón Bolívar to José Joaquín Olmedo, written from Cuzco on June 27, 1825, shows that the Garcilaso name itself had become a code word for unification.<sup>12</sup>

In an enlightening article, Hugo Rodríguez Vecchini draws attention to the fact that *La Florida* was published in the same year, 1605, as was Cervantes's *Don Quijote*.<sup>13</sup> Rodríguez Vecchini views *La Florida* as a work in the tradition of Ariosto and Boiardo, modeled equally on history and fiction. For him the majestic bearing of the lady of Cofachiqui is as reminiscent of Cleopatra, as the fierce Vitachuco is of the brave knights of Orlando, be he the Innamorato or the Furioso.

The accuracy of *La Florida* depends in large part, of course, on its original source. The original source of *La Florida*, Gonzalo Silvestre, was probably meant in the beginning to be the sole source. Perhaps, had Gonzalo lived longer, his story would have remained a family document, unpublished or privately printed. But, as John Grier Varner appropriately sums it up, Garcilaso took "occasional journeys back to Montilla and . . . down the dusty road of *Las Posadas* to recapture still what he could from the ailing Silvestre, whose days were ebbing fast. In 1592, after receiving an additional grant from the crown and after demanding that his body, when placed in the sepulcher, be resplendently armed, the gallant old adventurer expired."<sup>14</sup>

Silvestre left money to his nephew Alonso Diaz de Belcazar, to his friend Diego de Córdoba, and to Garcilaso, to whom he bequeathed his data and notes of obligation of 800 ducats. Garcilaso's new sponsor became Juan Fernández Franco, who would not match his friend's generosity, and Garcilaso dedicated the first manuscript to Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, marqués de Priego. It was no longer practical to start the book with a genealogy. Instead, *La Florida* was to be expanded to include the testimony by Coles and Carmona and to become a work of history in its own right.

As a source, Gonzalo Silvestre is vulnerable, since the events he describes were no longer recent. He admits to "presuming" to write the truth. Since both the conquistador and the writer are trustworthy men, *fide dignos*, their testimony, accompanied by that of Coles and Carmona, however admittedly inadequate as to the sequence of events, should be credited. (When Don Francisco de Toledo, who became viceroy of Peru in 1569, took the testi-

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<sup>12</sup>*Cartas del Libertador*, vol. 5, pp. 6–8.

<sup>13</sup>H. Rodríguez Vecchini, "Don Quijote y la Florida del Inca," in *Historia y ficción en la narrativa hispanoamericana* (Coloquio de Yale; Caracas: Monte Avila Editores, 1984).

<sup>14</sup>Varner, *El Inca*, 310.

mony of Coles and Carmona at an inquiry he instituted in Cuzco into the nature and extent of the government of the Incas, their report before the viceroy and his son was so persuasive that the viceroy decided to recommend a continuance of the conquest and exploration of Florida.) But in *La Florida* as elsewhere, Garcilaso criticizes his sources, even as he makes common cause with them, so that at times his “I” as a historian becomes a consensus of “we.”

In a way Garcilaso’s genius for literary writing harmed him as a historian. His definite talent at storytelling, which made him so beloved especially to the French, caused him to be criticized by nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors. In her preface to *La Florida del Inca*, Silvia Lynn Hilton lists Ticknor, Tschundi, and Menendez Pelayo as detractors of Garcilaso, and reports that George Bancroft considered *La Florida del Inca* as nothing more than a novel.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly on the negative side were Manuel Gonzales de la Rosa, John Swanton in the *Final Report of the U.S. De Soto Expedition*, 1939, and Robert Levillier’s refutation of many of Garcilaso’s assumptions. Errors such as the wrong birthplace for De Soto caused critics, among them David Henige, to challenge “the context, content and credibility of *La Florida del Ynca*.”<sup>16</sup> He questions whether Garcilaso ever heard of the gentleman of Elvas’s *Relaçam*, or whether Garcilaso’s work was to be an answer to it, extolling Silvestre. He also thinks it unlikely that he did not know about the Rangel and Biedma reports; Henige opts instead to assume that Garcilaso ignored them.

In tables that show that none of the sources agreed on any of the numbers of participants, he brings out that Garcilaso’s numbers by far exceeded those of the others. The tables would seem more convincing if all other sources were unanimous, which they are not.

In spite of its acknowledged limitations, *La Florida* is defended as a valuable contribution to the literature and history of Hispanoamerica by José de la Riva Agüero, Aurelio Miró Quesada, José Durand, Silvia Lynn Hilton, and Donald G. Castanien.<sup>17</sup> In Castanien can be found one of the strongest defenders of the early Garcilaso. Castanien writes that “as a work of literary

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<sup>15</sup>Silvia Lynn Hilton, *La Florida del Inca* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1982), 27.

<sup>16</sup>David Henige, “The Context, Content and Credibility of *La Florida del Ynca*,” *The Americas* 43, no. 1 (July 1986).

<sup>17</sup>Donald G. Castanien, *El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega* (New York: Twayne, 1961).

art the *Florida* is by far the most satisfactory of Garcilaso's work, perhaps because it does have so many of the qualities of the novel."<sup>18</sup> In his opinion, and in that of most French authors reviewing *La Florida*, Garcilaso's borrowings from the conventions of romance enhanced the curiosity and the interest of readers.

The debates on the relative values of the writer and the historian have kept *La Florida* in print until the present, and as the debate goes on, Garcilaso will be a subject of further investigation. The work has been compared to the best of chivalric novels and even to the *Quijote*, yet it is unique in its kind as the product of a man of mixed allegiance. As fiction, it is well planned and written. Not many works of fiction have survived over three centuries with more or less continued publication. As a historical work, it poses problems, but so do all the other sources of the De Soto expedition. Anthropologists may have trouble with it, but then Garcilaso did not claim to be an anthropologist. As the debate continues, it will produce new outlooks pertaining to literary values versus historical accuracy. Whatever the outcome, Garcilaso's strength lies in his description of the people, the Indians, the Spaniards, Hernando de Soto, and their superhuman goals. In presenting the verdant scenery of Florida, in describing battles and conflicts, he undoubtedly excels.

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 76.



# LA FLORIDA

BY THE INCA

HISTORY OF THE ADELANTADO HERNANDO DE SOTO, GOVERNOR  
AND CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM OF LA FLORIDA, AND  
OF OTHER HEROIC GENTLEMEN, SPANIARDS AND INDIANS;

WRITTEN BY THE INCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA,

CAPTAIN OF HIS MAJESTY, A NATIVE OF

THE GREAT CITY OF EL CUZCO,

CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOMS

AND PROVINCES OF

EL PERÚ

*Translated by Charmion Shelby*

*Edited by David Bost*

*With Footnotes by Vernon James Knight, Jr.*



# LA FLORIDA

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EL PERÚ

*Dedicated to the most serene Prince, the Duke of Braganza, etc.*

---

with license of the holy Inquisition.

IN LISBON

Printed by Pedro Crasbeeck

---

*with Royal privilege.*



*I examined these six books in one volume that treat of the discovery of La Florida, their author [being] the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, and there is nothing in them contrary to our holy faith and good customs; rather, there is history worthy of being read, because they contain many curious things about various and unknown peoples and nations, very remarkable perils and events of war, and many other things that deserve to come to the attention of everyone. In Lisbon in San Francisco Denxobreguas, November 16, 1604.*

FR. LUY S DOS ANJOS.

*In consideration of the [above] approbation, this book entitled "Discovery of La Florida" may be printed, and after being printed let it be returned to this council to be compared with the original and to be given permission to circulate; without it, it may not circulate. In Lisbon, November 23, 1604.*

MARCOS TEIXEIRA.

RUY PIREZ DA VEIGA.

*This book may be printed in consideration of the permission it has from the Holy Office. In Lisbon, February 21, 1605. This book may be seen at this tribunal.*

DAMIÃO D'AGUIAR.

SOUSA.

*His Majesty concedes that no printer or bookseller may print or sell this book without permission from the author, for a period of ten years, under the penalties prescribed, as appear from the dispatch given in Lisbon on March 8, 1605, and from the enclosed patent, etc.*

---

# LA FLORIDA DEL YNCA.

HISTORIA DEL ADELANTADO Hernando de Soto, Governador y capitán general del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos caualleros Españoles è Indios; escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, capitan de su Magestad, natural de la gran ciudad del Cozco, cabeça de los Reynos y prouincias del Peru.

*Dirigida al serenissimo Principe, Duque de Bragança, &c.*

---

Con licencia de la santa Inquisicion.

EN LISBONA.

Impresso per Pedro Crasbeeck.

AÑO 1605.

---

*Con privilegio Real.*

*Title Page of the 1605 Edition of La Florida, by The Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, Printed in Lisbon.*

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SIXTH BOOK

OF THE *HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA* BY THE INCA. IT CONTAINS  
THE ELECTION OF THE CAPTAINS FOR THE VOYAGE; THE  
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THE ORDER AND MANNER OF THEIR FIGHTING, WHICH  
LASTED ELEVEN DAYS WITHOUT CEASING; THE DEATH OF  
FORTY-EIGHT CASTILIANS BECAUSE OF THE RASHNESS OF  
ONE OF THEM; THE RETURN OF THE INDIANS TO THEIR  
HOMES; THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS AT THE SEA; AN  
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THE EVENTS OF THEIR FIFTY-FIVE DAYS OF NAVIGATION  
UNTIL THEY REACHED PÁNUCO; THE MANY QUAR-  
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AND THE REASON FOR THEM; THE GOOD RECEP-  
TION THAT THE IMPERIAL CITY OF MÉXICO  
GAVE THEM; AND HOW THEY WERE SCATTERED  
THROUGH VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD;  
THE PEREGRINATION AND LABORS OF  
GÓMEZ ARIAS AND DIEGO MALDONADO  
WITH WHICH THE *HISTORY* ENDS.

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TO THE MOST EXCELLENT SEÑOR  
DON THEODOSIO OF PORTUGAL

*Duke of Braganza and of Barcelos, etc.*

Through having heard in my childhood, most serene Prince, from my father and from his relatives, of the heroic virtues and great exploits of the kings and princes of glorious memory, your Excellency's progenitors, and of the prowess in arms of the nobility of that famous kingdom of Portugal; and through having read of them here later in the course of my life—not only those they have performed in Spain, but also those in Africa and in the great oriental India—and of their extensive and admirable navigation, and of the toils and hardships the illustrious Lusitanians have experienced in its conquest and in preaching of the holy gospel, and of the noble things the kings and princes have ordered for the one and the other, I have always been much inclined toward the service of their Majesties and of all those of their kingdom. This inclination was converted later into obligation, because the first land I saw when I came from my own, which is El Perú, was that of Portugal—the island of El Fayal and La Tercera, and the royal city of Lisbon, in which the royal ministers and the citizens, and those of the islands, being such religious and charitable people, gave me as warm a reception as if I had been a native son of one of them. In order not to weary your Excellency, I do not give a full account of the gifts and favors they bestowed upon me, one of which was to save me from death. Seeing myself, therefore, on the one hand so obligated and on the other so inclined, I did not know how to repay my obligation or how I could show my affection, except by this bold act (too much so for an Indian) of offering and dedicating this *History* to your Excellency. I have been moved no little to do so by the exploits recounted therein of the gentlemen and hidalgos, natives of this kingdom, who went on the conquest of La Gran Florida. It is fitting that they should thus employ themselves worthily and appropriately, in order that they may live under your Excellency's protection and may be esteemed and favored as they deserve.

I beg your Excellency that, with the affability and generosity to which

your royal blood obligates you, you will be pleased to accept and receive this small *servicio*, and the desire I have always had and now have to see myself included among the number of the subjects and servants of your Excellency's royal house. This favor being conferred, as I hope, I shall have many of my affectionate desires gratified, and with this same favor I shall be able to repay and satisfy the obligation that I owe to the natives of this most Christian kingdom, for by means of your Excellency's condescension and favor I shall be one of them. May our Lord preserve your Excellency for many happy years as a refuge and protection of the poor and needy. Amen.

THE INCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA

## PREFACE TO THE READER

Conversing many times and in various places with a gentleman, a great friend of mine, who was on this expedition, and hearing from him of the many and very great feats that Spaniards and Indians alike performed in the course of it, it seemed to me an unbecoming thing and a great pity that deeds as heroic as any that have taken place in the world should remain in perpetual oblivion. I myself, therefore, being obligated to both nations, because I am the son of a Spaniard and an Indian woman, importuned that gentleman many times that we write this history, I serving him as amanuensis. And although this end was desired by both of us, it was prevented by the times and occasions that arose, now of war, to which I went, now of long periods when we were apart, in the course of which more than twenty years passed. With time, however, my desire increased, and on the other hand the fear that if one of us should die our purpose would never be fulfilled, because, I being dead, he would have no one to encourage him and act as clerk; and he being lost to me, I would not know from whom to obtain the account that he could give me. I determined to make an end of the impediments and delays that existed by leaving the establishment and ease I had in a pueblo where I was living, and go to his. There we busied ourselves with care and diligence in writing down everything that took place on this expedition from its beginning to its end, for the honor and fame of the Spanish nation, which has done such great things in the New World, and no less for that of the Indians, who in this history show themselves and appear worthy of the same honor.

In this history, besides the exploits and hardships the Christians performed and passed through, singly and in common, and besides the notable things that were found among the Indians, an account is given of the many and very large provinces the governor and *adelantado* Hernando de Soto and many other gentlemen—Extremadurans, Portuguese, Andalusians, Castilians, and those from all the other provinces of Spain—discovered in the great kingdom of La Florida, in order that henceforth (the bad name that

that country has of being sterile and swampy, which it is on the seacoast, being obliterated) Spain may be obliged to win and settle it, even though, aside from the principal motive, which is the increase of our holy Catholic faith, it is only to establish colonies where her sons can be sent to live, as the ancient Romans did when there was no room for them in their own country. It is a fertile land, abounding in everything necessary for human life, and it may be made much more productive †[than it is naturally at present, with crops and cattle that can be introduced there from Spain and other places, for which it is very well fitted, as will be seen in the course of this *History*.

The chief care that has been exercised was to write the things that are told herein as they are and as they happened, because my main purpose is for that land to be won, to which end, as has been said, I attempted to obtain from the one who gave me the account of everything that he saw, he being a nobleman and hidalgo and as such taking a pride in telling the exact truth in regard to everything. The royal Council of the Indies (as I know) has summoned him often, as a trustworthy man, to make statements before it concerning the things that took place on this expedition as well as on others in which he took part.

He was a very good soldier and often was a commander, and he participated in all the events of this discovery. Thus he was able to give the account of this *History* in a form as complete as it is. And if anyone should say what is often said in attempting to censure as cowards or liars those who give good accounts of the particular events that take place in the battles in which they participate—for they say that if they were fighting, how could they see all that happened in the course of the battle; and if they saw it, how could they fight, because two jobs together, such as watching and fighting, could not be done well—the answer to this is that it is a common custom among these soldiers, as it is in all wars throughout the world, to return to report to the general and the other officers the most notable dangers they have passed through in the battles. And often when what some captain or soldier reported was very extravagant and difficult to believe, those who heard him went to see and ascertain the facts for themselves. And in this manner he could have knowledge of everything that he told me in order that I might write it down. He was aided no little in recalling past events to memory by the many and repeated questions I would ask him concerning them and concerning the peculiarities and qualities of that country.

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†*Translator's note:* This section set off by brackets (pp. 54–56) is missing from the photostatic copy of the 1605 edition, and has been supplied from the 1723 edition.

Besides the authority of my author, I have the confirmation of two other soldiers, eyewitnesses, who took part in the same expedition. One is named Alonso de Carmona, a native of the villa of Priego. Having traveled through La Florida during the six years of this discovery, and afterward spent many others in El Perú, and then having returned to his own country, because of the pleasure he received from the recollection of his past labors he wrote these two *Peregrinations* of his, and so named them. Not knowing that I was writing this *History*, he sent me both of them, so that I might see them. I was very pleased with them because his account of La Florida, although very brief, and without order either in time or in events, and without naming provinces, except a very few, jumping about from one place to another, recounts the most notable events of our *History*.

The other soldier is called Juan Coles, a native of the villa of Zafra. He wrote another disorganized and brief *Relation* of this same discovery and tells of the most notable events that occurred in it. He wrote them down at the request of a provincial of the province of Santa Fe in the Indies, named Fray Pedro Aguado, of the Order of seraphic father St. Francis. This religious, with the desire of serving the Catholic king, Don Felipe II, had collected many and varied accounts from trustworthy persons of the discoveries they had witnessed in the New World, particularly in this first one made in the Indies, including all the islands they call the Windward Islands, Vera Cruz, Tierra Firme, El Darién, and other provinces in those regions. These accounts he left in Córdoba in the power and custody of a printer, and busied himself with other matters in the interest of his Order, abandoning his accounts, which still were not in proper form for printing. I saw them and they were in very bad condition, half of them having been consumed by moths and mice. They covered more than a ream of paper, divided into sections just as each narrator had written them, and among them I found the one I mentioned of Juan Coles. This was a little after Alonso de Carmona had sent me his, and although it is true that I had finished writing this *History*, seeing these two eyewitnesses so in agreement with it, it seemed well to me (on going back to rewrite it) to name them in the proper places and to include in many passages a literal copy of their own words, in order to present two witnesses confirming my author, so that it might be seen that all three accounts agree.

It is true that in their proceedings they have no regard for chronology, unless it be at the beginning, nor for order in the events they recount, because they put some too soon and others too late, nor do they name provinces, except for a few scattered ones. They simply tell the most important

things that they saw as they happen to remember them; but upon comparing the events they recount with those of our *History*, they are the same, and in some cases they report them with the addition of greater amplification and embellishment, as will be seen set down in their own words.

These inadvertences they had must have been due to the fact that they did not write with the intention of printing; at any rate Carmona did not, because he desired no more than that his relatives and neighbors read of the things that he had seen in the New World, and thus he sent me the *Relations* as an acquaintance who had been born in the Indies, so that I also might see them. Nor did Juan Coles put his account in historical form, and the reason might have been that since the work was not to come out in his name he was under no obligation to take the trouble to put it in order, and told what he remembered more as an eyewitness than as the author of the work, understanding that the father provincial who asked for the *Relation* would put it in the proper form for printing. Thus the account is written in the manner of a legal process, appearing that another person set down what he said, because sometimes it says: "This witness states thus and so"; and again it says: "This declarant states that he saw such and such a thing." In other places he speaks as if he himself had written, saying, "We saw this and did that, etc." Both accounts are so short that that of Juan Coles contains no more than ten sheets of paper, written in a legal script with the letters linked together, and that of Alonso de Carmona has eight and a half sheets, though on the contrary it is in a very cramped handwriting.

Some noteworthy things they tell, such as Juan Coles saying that he, going on with other infantrymen (it must have been without the general's orders), found a temple with an idol decorated with many pearls and seed pearls, and that it had in its mouth a hyacinth [i.e., a precious stone, perhaps a sapphire] as long as the distance between the ends of the thumb and forefinger, and as thick as the thumb, which he took, without anyone seeing him, etc.—this and many other similar things I did not include in our *History* because of not knowing in what provinces they occurred, for in this matter of naming the lands through which they passed, as I have already said, both are very defective, especially Juan Coles. In short, I say that they did not write of any other incidents except those in which I mention them, which are the most important ones. And I take pleasure in referring to them in these places in order to be able to say that I write from the accounts of three authors who confirm one another. In addition to these I have in my support a great favor that one of his Catholic Majesty's chroniclers did me, in writing, saying among other things the following: "I have compared this



*History* with an account I have, which was the one drawn up in México for Don Antonio de Mendoza from the [literary] remains of this excellent Castilian who entered La Florida, and I find that it is truthful and in conformity with the said account, etc.”

This is sufficient in order that it may be believed that we did not write fiction; it would not have been just for me to do so, having to present this account to the whole Spanish commonwealth, which would have reason for indignation against me if I had acted falsely and without good faith.

Nor would the Eternal Majesty (which is what we ought to fear most) fail to be gravely offended if I, in attempting to incite and persuade the Spaniards to win that land for the increase of our holy Catholic faith, should mislead with fables and fictions those who desired to employ their property and lives in such an enterprise. Certainly, stating the whole truth, I say that I was moved by no other purpose in laboring and having written this work than the desire that the Christian religion be extended over such a large and broad country; that I neither aspire to nor hope for temporal benefits from this long labor; that long ago I gave up pretensions and abandoned hopes because of the adversity of my fortune. Looking at the matter dispassionately, however, I ought to congratulate myself very heartily for its having treated me badly, for if it had conferred its benefits and favors generously upon me, perhaps I would have gone by other roads and paths than I have taken, to worse misfortunes, or it would have drowned me in the waves and tempests of this great sea, as it almost always drowns those whom it has most favored and raised to the grandeurs of this world. With its frowns and persecutions it has forced me, having experienced them, to flee from it and hide myself in the refuge and shelter of the disillusioned, which are the retreats of solitude and poverty where, consoled and satisfied with the scantiness of my few possessions, I pass a quiet and peaceful life, thanks to the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, more envied by the rich than envious of them. In this life (so as not to be idle, which is more wearying than labor) I have engaged in other efforts and hopes more satisfying and more diverting to the mind than those of wealth, such as translating the three *Diálogos de Amor* of León Hebreo; having published them, I employed myself in writing this *History*. With the same pleasure I am now constructing, forming, and giving the finishing touches to that of El Perú: the origin of the Inca kings, their antiquity, idolatry and conquests, their laws and the method of their government in peace and in war. Through Divine favor, I now see myself almost at the end of all this. Although they are labors, and not small ones, in order to attempt and attain another, better end I value them more than the favors my fortune

might have conferred upon me in case it had been very prosperous and favorable; because I hope in God that these labors will do me more honor and bring me better fame than the possessions I might have acquired from the gifts of this lady. Because of all this I am rather her debtor than her creditor, and as such I give her many thanks, because at her insistence, impelled by the Divine clemency, I was allowed to offer and present this *History* to the whole world. It is written in six Books, corresponding to the six years that were spent on the expedition. The Second Book and the Fifth were each divided into two parts; the Second so that it might not be so long as to weary the eye, for since in that year there occurred more things to relate than in any one of the others, it seemed well to me to divide it into two parts, so that each part would be proportionate in size to the other Books and the events of one year would be included in a single Book.

The Fifth Book was divided so that the acts of the governor and adelantado Hernando de Soto might be a part to themselves and not joined to those of Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado, who was the one that succeeded him in the governorship. Thus in the first part of that Book the history of Hernando de Soto proceeds down to his death and the two burials they gave him. The second part deals with what his successor did and ordered until the end of the expedition, which was in the sixth year of this *History*. I beg that the latter may be received in the same spirit in which I offer it, and that I may be pardoned for the faults it contains, because I am an Indian. To such, because they are barbarians and not instructed in sciences or arts, it is permissible that they shall not be guided by the rigorous precepts of art or sciences in what they may say or do, because they have not learned them; but they should be accepted as they are.

Carrying this pious consideration further, it would be a noble finesse and a generous ingenuity to favor through me (though I do not deserve it) all the Indians, mestizos, and criollos of El Perú so that they, seeing the kindness and favor that the prudent and wise are conferring upon the beginner among them, may be encouraged to go further in such things, produced by their uncultivated faculties. I hope that the illustrious of understanding and the generous of spirit will confer this kindness and favor upon them and me with much liberality and applause, because my desire and good will in their service (as my poor labors, past, present, and to come, will show) have well deserved it. May our Lord, etc.

FIRST BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*It includes the description of it; the customs of its natives;  
who was its first discoverer, and those who have gone there  
afterward; the people whom Hernando de Soto took there;  
the singular events of his navigation; that which  
he ordered and prepared in La Havana; and  
how he embarked for La Florida. It  
contains fifteen  
chapters.*



# I

## HERNANDO DE SOTO ASKS OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V THE CONQUEST OF LA FLORIDA. HIS MAJESTY GRANTS IT TO HIM

The adelantado Hernando de Soto, former governor and captain-general of the provinces and seigniories of the great kingdom of La Florida, whose history this is, together with that of many other Spanish gentlemen and Indians—which we are attempting to write for the glory and honor of the Most Holy Trinity, God, our Lord, and with the desire of advancing His holy Catholic faith and the Crown of Spain—was present at the first conquest of El Perú, and at the imprisonment of Atahualpa, the tyrant king. This king, being a bastard son, usurped that kingdom from the legitimate heir and was the last of the Incas that monarchy had. Through his tyrannies and cruelties, which were even greater when exercised against those of his own flesh and blood, the empire was lost; or at least the discord and division that his rebellion and tyranny occasioned among the natives facilitated the Spaniards' winning it with the ease with which they did (as we shall tell elsewhere, with Divine aid). From this conquest, as is well known, came that ransom so superb, vast and rich that it exceeds all belief that can be given to human histories, according to the report of an accountant of his Majesty's hacienda in El Perú, who stated the value of the fifth of it. Calculating the whole from the fifth and reducing it to the usual coinage of Castilian ducats, each worth 375 *maravedís*, it is known that it was equivalent to 3,293,000 ducats and some *dineros*, not including what was squandered without being counted for the fifths, which was another large sum. From this quantity and from the advantages that fell to him as such an important captain, and with what the Indians presented to him in Cuzco when he and Pedro del Barco went alone to see that city, and with the gifts this same King Atahualpa gave him (because he took a fancy to him, he being the first Spaniard whom he had seen and spoken to), this gentleman had as his share more than 100,000 ducats.

Hernando de Soto brought this sum of money when he, together with sixty other conquistadores, arrived in Spain with the shares and profits they had acquired in Cassamarca [Cajamarca]. Although with this quantity of treasure (which then, because so much had not yet come from the Indies as has been brought here since, was of more value than at present) he could

have purchased in his own country, which was Villanueva de Barcarota, much more property than could be bought at present, because then possessions were not held in the esteem and value that they have today, he did not desire to buy it. Rather, his ideas and his spirit elevated by the things that he had experienced in El Perú, not content with what he had already done and acquired, but desiring to undertake other similar or greater exploits, if greater there could be, he went to Valladolid, where the Emperor Charles V, king of Spain, had his court. He petitioned that he be granted the favor of the conquest of the kingdom of La Florida (so called because of its coast having been discovered on Easter Day), which he desired to make at his own cost and risk, expending therein his property and life to serve his Majesty and advance the Crown of Spain.

This Hernando de Soto did, moved by generous envy and magnanimous jealousy of the deeds newly done in México by the marqués del Valle, Don Hernando Cortés, and in Perú by Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro and Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, which he saw and helped to perform. However, since his free and generous spirit could not tolerate being subject or inferior to those just named in valor and energy for war, or in prudence and discretion for peace, he left behind those exploits, thought so great, and undertook these other, for him, greater ones, for in them he lost his life and the property that he had won in the others. Wherefore, because of all the principal conquests of the New World having been made in such a manner, some, not without the fault of malice and with excess of envy, have been moved to say that Spain has bought the dominion of all the New World at the expense of madmen, fools, and visionaries, without having expended any other, greater treasure. They do not consider that they are her children and that the greatest resource and treasure that she has always had, and now has, was in producing and rearing them such as they have been in order to win the New World and make her feared by the Old. In the course of this *History* we shall make use of the two terms, Spaniards and Castilians; note that we mean to signify by them the same thing.

## II

### DESCRIPTION OF LA FLORIDA, AND WHO WAS THE FIRST DISCOVERER OF IT, AND THE SECOND, AND THIRD

The description of the great land of La Florida will be a difficult thing to depict as completely as we should like to do, for, as it is so extensive and large in every direction, and is not won or even discovered in its entirety, its confines are unknown.

What is most certain and not unknown is that to the south lies the Ocean Sea and the great island of Cuba. To the north (although they claim Hernando de Soto went a thousand leagues inland, as we shall tell below) it is not known where it ends—whether it borders upon the sea or upon other lands.

To the east it terminates at the land they call Los Bacallaos, though a certain French cosmographer places another extremely large province between, which he calls New France, because of having simply the name there.

To the west it borders upon the provinces of the Seven Cities, so called by the discoverers of those lands. They, having left México by order of Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, discovered them in the year 1539, taking as captain Juan Vázquez Coronado, vecino of the said city. By vecino is understood, in the Indies, he who has a *repartimiento* of Indians; this is the significance of the term *vecino*, because they were obliged to maintain a domicile [*vecindad*] where they had the Indians, and they could not come to Spain without the king's permission under penalty of loss of the *repartimiento*, after the elapse of two years during which they have not maintained a domicile.

Juan Vázquez Coronado, having discovered an extensive and very fine country, could not settle it because of the great difficulties that he encountered. He returned to México, much to the viceroy's regret, because the large and very good force of men and horses he had assembled for the conquest had been dissipated without any gain whatever. La Florida also borders to the west upon the province of the Chichimecas, a most courageous people who live along the limits of the lands of México.

The first Spaniard who discovered La Florida was Juan Ponce de León, a gentleman who was a native of León and a nobleman, having been governor of Puerto Rico. Inasmuch as the Spaniards of that time thought of nothing except the discovery of new lands, he fitted out two caravels and went in

search of an island they called Bimini or, according to others, Buyoca. There, according to fabulous tales of the Indians, was a fountain that rejuvenated the aged. He traveled in search of it for many days, lost, and without finding it. At the end of this time he was driven by a storm on the coast to the north of the island of Cuba, which coast he named Florida because of the day on which he saw it being Easter. It was in the year 1513, and according to the reckoners, Easter was celebrated that year on March 27.

Juan Ponce de León was content simply with seeing that it was land, and without making any effort to ascertain whether it was the mainland or an island, he came to Spain to ask for the government and conquest of that country. The Catholic kings granted it to him, and he went thither with three ships in the year '15; others say that it was in '21. I agree with Francisco López de Gómara: Whether it was the one year or the other matters little. Having experienced some misfortunes on the voyage, he landed in La Florida. The Indians came out to meet him and fought with him bravely until they routed him and killed almost all the Spaniards who had come with him. No more than seven escaped, among them Juan Ponce de León; they went, wounded, to the island of Cuba, where all died of the wounds they bore. Such was the unhappy end of the journey of Juan Ponce de León, the first discoverer of La Florida, and it appears that he left his misfortune as a heritage to those who have followed him there on the same errand.

A few years thereafter a pilot named Miruelo, master of a caravel, while traveling about bartering with the Indians, was driven by a storm upon the coast of La Florida, or to some other land whose location is not known, where the Indians received him peaceably. In the course of his trade, called barter [*rescate*], they gave him some trifles of silver and a small quantity of gold, with which he returned very satisfied to the island of Santo Domingo, without having performed the office of a good pilot in marking out the land and taking the latitude, as he might well have done to avoid finding himself in the plight in which he was afterward by reason of this negligence.

At this same time seven wealthy men of Santo Domingo, among whom was one Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, *oidor* of that *audiencia* and former appellate judge in the same island before the *audiencia* was founded, formed a company and fitted out two ships and sent them among those islands to seek and bring out Indians, which they must obtain in any way possible in order to set them to work in the gold mines the company owned. The ships set out on their worthy enterprise, and during a severe storm they came by accident upon the cape they named Santa Elena, because it was her day, and the river called Jordán, so named on sight by the mariner who first saw it. The Span-



iards went ashore, and the Indians advanced with great fear to see the ships, as a strange thing they had never before seen, and they wondered at seeing bearded men who wore clothing. But with all this they treated with one another amicably, each displaying the things that they had. The Indians gave some fine marten-skins that gave off a very fragrant odor, some irregular pearls [*aljófara*: also, a seed pearl—DB], and a small amount of silver. The Spaniards also gave them their articles of trade, which being ended, and the ships having taken the stores they needed and the necessary wood and water, the Spaniards very affably invited the Indians to come aboard to see the ships and the things that they carried in them. Whereupon, trusting in the friendship and good treatment they had experienced, and in order to see things so new to them, more than 130 Indians came aboard. When they had them below decks, the Spaniards, seeing the good catch that they had made, raised anchor and set sail for Santo Domingo. But on the way one of the two ships was lost, and the Indians who remained in the other, though they reached Santo Domingo, allowed themselves to die of sadness and hunger, for they refused to eat from anger at the deception that had been practiced upon them under color of friendship.

### III

#### CONCERNING OTHER DISCOVERERS WHO HAVE GONE TO LA FLORIDA

With the account that these Castilians gave in Santo Domingo of what they had seen, and with that of Miruelo, both of which came at almost the same time, the oidor Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón came to Spain to ask for the conquest and government of that province, which, among the many names that La Florida had, was called Chicoria. The emperor granted it, honoring him with the habit of the Order of Santiago. The oidor returned to Santo Domingo and in the year 1524 fitted out three large ships and, taking Miruelo as pilot, went with them in search of the land that Miruelo had discovered, for they said that it was richer than Chicoria. But Miruelo, as much as he tried, was never able to hit upon the place where his discovery had been made, as a result of which misfortune he fell into such melancholy that within a few days he lost his reason and his life.

The licentiate Ayllón passed on in search of his province of Chicoria, and

in the Río Jordán he lost the flagship. With his two remaining ships he continued his voyage to the east and reached the coast of a pleasant and delightful country near Chicoria, where the Indians received him with much festivity and rejoicing. The oidor, believing that everything was now favorable to him, ordered that two hundred Spaniards disembark and go to see the pueblo of those Indians, which was three leagues inland. The Indians guided them, and after they had regaled them for three or four days and assured them of their friendship, they killed them one night and made a sudden assault at dawn upon the few Spaniards who had remained with the oidor on the coast to guard the ships. Having killed and wounded most of them, they forced them, broken and defeated, to embark and go back to Santo Domingo, thereby avenging the Indians of the previous expedition.

Among the few Spaniards who escaped with the oidor Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón was a gentleman named Hernando Mogollón, a native of the city of Badajoz, who later went to El Perú where he recounted at great length that which we have told briefly of this journey. I knew him there.

Following the oidor Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Pánphilo de Narváez went to La Florida, in the year 1557,<sup>†</sup> where he perished miserably, with all the Spaniards whom he took with him, as Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who went with him as treasurer of the *real hacienda*, recounts in his *Naufragios*. This man escaped, with three other Spaniards and a Negro; and God, our Lord, granted them such favors that they were able to perform miracles in His name, with which they acquired such reputation and esteem among the Indians that they worshipped them as gods. However, these Spaniards did not wish to remain among them, but left the country as rapidly as they could and came to Spain to ask for new governments; and having received them, the course of events was such that they unhappily lost everything, as Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca himself relates. He died in Valladolid, having come under arrest from the Río de la Plata, where he went as governor.

When Pánphilo de Narváez made his voyage to La Florida he took a pilot named Miruelo, a relative of the other and as unfortunate as he in his office, for he was never able to find the land his uncle had discovered, from whose account he had information concerning it, for which reason Pánphilo de Narváez had taken him with him.

Following this unfortunate captain, the adelantado Hernando de Soto

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<sup>†</sup>*Translator's note:* The 1723 edition has 1527. Neither date is correct: Pánphilo de Narváez reached Florida on April 14, 1528. See Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561*, p. 177.

went to La Florida, entering it in the year '39. His history and that of the many other famous Spanish gentlemen and Indians we are attempting to write at length, together with an account of the many and large provinces he discovered up to the time of his end and death, and that which his captains and soldiers did afterward until they left the land and at length reached México.

## IV

### CONCERNING STILL OTHERS WHO HAVE MADE THE SAME JOURNEY TO LA FLORIDA, AND CONCERNING THE CUSTOMS AND USUAL ARMS OF ITS NATIVES

As soon as the death of Hernando de Soto was known in Spain many pretenders arose to ask for the government and conquest of La Florida. The emperor Charles V, refusing them all, in the year 1549 sent at his own expense a Dominican religious named Fray Luis Cáncer Balbastro as leader of his Order, which had offered to convert those Indians to the evangelical doctrine with their preaching. Having arrived in La Florida, these religious disembarked to preach, but the Indians, taught by their former experience with the Castilians, refusing to hear them, fell upon them and killed Fray Luis and two of his companions. The others took refuge on the ship and returned to Spain, affirming that such barbarous and inhuman people had no desire to hear sermons.

In the year 1562 a son of the oidor Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón asked for the same conquest and government, and they gave it to him. He died in La Española while preparing his expedition, and his illness and death were caused by melancholy and despair from the difficulties that arose from day to day that made the enterprise increasingly impossible. Subsequently others have gone there, among them the adelantado Pedro Meléndez de Valdés [Menéndez de Aviles]; I refrain from writing about them for I have not complete information concerning their acts.

This, though brief, is the most accurate account that it has been possible to give of the land of La Florida, and of those who have gone there to discov-

er and conquer it. Before going on, it will be well to describe some of the customs the Indians of that great kingdom had in common, at least those the adelantado Hernando de Soto discovered. In almost all of the provinces he traversed those customs are the same, and if they differ in some places, we shall take care to note them in the course of our *History*; but in general they all follow almost the same manner of life.

These Indians are a heathen race, and idolaters; they worship the sun and the moon as chief deities but without ceremonies involving idols, or sacrifices, or prayers, or other superstitions such as other heathens practice. They had temples that served them as burial places rather than as houses of prayer where, for pomp and display, besides being sepulchers for their dead, they kept all the best and richest of their treasures. These tombs and temples were held in extreme veneration, and they placed at their doors trophies of the victories that they won over their enemies.

In general they married only one woman, and she was obliged to be most faithful to her husband under penalty imposed by the laws they had for the punishment of adultery, which in some provinces was a cruel death and in others very ignominious punishment, as we shall tell later in its place. Because of their privileged position, the rulers had the right to take as many wives as they wished, and this law or privilege of the rulers was observed throughout the Indies in the New World, but always it was with the distinction of the principal legitimate wife from the others, who were more concubines than wives. Thus they acted as servants, and the children whom they bore were neither legitimate nor equal in honor or inheritance to those of the principal wife.

Throughout El Perú the common people married only one woman, and he who took two incurred the death penalty. The Incas, who were those of royal blood, and the *curacas*, who were the overlords of vassals, had the privilege of having as many wives as they wished or could support, but with the distinction described above of the legitimate wife from the concubines. And like heathen, they said that this custom was permitted and provided among them because it was necessary that the nobles have many wives in order to have many children; in order to make war and govern the commonwealth and augment their empire they affirmed that they must have many nobles, because it was they who spent themselves in war and died in battle; to carry burdens, till the soil, and act as servants there were more than enough of the common people, who (because they were not a people who were employed in the dangerous pursuits in which the nobles engaged), however few of them might be born, still multiplied greatly. They were use-

less for government, nor was it legal for them to concern themselves with it, which would be an offense against the office itself, because governing and dispensing justice was the function of persons of noble birth, and not of plebians.

Returning to those of La Florida, their ordinary food is maize, in place of bread, and their viands are beans and calabashes of the variety they call here *romana*, and a great deal of fish because of the many rivers they possess. There is a scarcity of meat, for they have no species of domesticated cattle. They kill in the chase with their bows and arrows red deer, fallow deer, and roe deer, which are numerous and larger than those of Spain. They kill many kinds of birds, both in order to eat the flesh and to adorn their heads with the feathers, which they wear in showy, multicolored headdresses half a fathom tall; thereby they distinguish the nobles from the plebians in time of peace, and the soldiers from those who are not such in time of war. Their drink is clear water, just as nature gives it to them, without the admixture of anything else. The meat and the fish they eat must be very well dressed and cooked, and the fruit very ripe. They will never eat it green or half-ripe and laugh at the Castilians for eating green fruit.

Those who say that they eat human flesh attribute this to them falsely, at least to those of the provinces our governor discovered. On the contrary they abominate it, as Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca notes in Chapters 14 and 17 of his *Naufragios*, where he says that certain Castilians who were lodged apart died of hunger, and that their remaining companions ate those who had died, except for the buttocks, which none of them would eat, whereupon, he says, the Indians were so scandalized that they were on the point of killing all those who were left in another lodging. It may be that they eat it [human flesh] at places where our people did not go; La Florida is so large and extensive that there is room for all [customs].

They go about naked except for some garments of chamois-skin of various colors almost like very short breeches, which cover them decently, as much as necessary, in front and behind. In the place of a cloak they wear mantles clasped at the throat, which reach half-way down the leg; they are of extremely fine marten-skins, which give off the odor of musk. They also make them of small skins of various animals, such as several kinds of cat, fallow deer, roe deer, red deer, bears, lions, and of skins of cattle [buffalo]. Those hides they dress to such extreme perfection that the skin of a cow or a bear, with the hair on it, they prepare in a manner that leaves it so pliant and soft that it can be worn as a cloak, and it serves them for bed-covering at night. Their hair grows long and they wear it gathered up into a large knot

on top of their heads. For a headdress they wear a thick skein of thread in whatever color they desire, which they wind about their heads and tie the ends over the forehead in two half-knots, so that one end hangs down over either temple as far as the ears. The women dress in chamois-skin, having the whole body decently covered.

The arms these Indians carry are bows and arrows, and—although it is true that they are skillful in the use of the other weapons they have, such as pikes, lances, darts, halberds, the sling, club, broadsword and staff, and other similar ones, if there are others except the harquebus and crossbow which they do not possess—with all this they do not [ordinarily] use any other arms except the bow and arrow, because for those who carry them they are the greatest embellishment and ornament. The ancient heathen for the same reason depicted their most beloved gods, as Apollo, Diana and Cupid, with bows and arrows, for besides that which these arms signify in themselves, they are very beautiful and add to the grace and elegance of him who carries them. For all these reasons, and because of the effectiveness of these arms, which are superior to all others at both short and long range, in retreating or attacking, in fighting in battle or in the recreation of the hunt, these Indians carry them, and these arms are much used throughout the New World.

The bows are of the same height as he who carries them, and as these Indians of La Florida are generally of large stature, their bows are more than two *varas* in length and thick in proportion. They make them of oak and of various other hard and very heavy woods they have. They are so hard to bend that no Spaniard, however much he tried, was able to pull the cord back so that his hand touched his face, but the Indians through their long experience and skill drew back the cord with the greatest ease to a point behind the ear and made such valiant and wonderful shots as we shall see presently.

They make the cords of the bows from deerskin, taking a strip two finger-breadths in width from the hide, running from the tip of the tail to the head. After removing the hair they dampen and twist it tightly; one end they tie to the branch of a tree, and from the other they hang a weight of four or five *arrobas*, and they leave it thus until it becomes about the thickness of the larger strings of a bass viol. These cords are extremely strong. In order to shoot safely in such a manner that when the cord springs back it may not injure the left arm, they wear as a protection on the inner side a half-bracer, which covers them from the wrist to the part of the arm that is usually bled [*sangradura*]. It is made of thick feathers and attached to the arm with a

deerskin cord, which they give seven or eight turns at the place where the cord springs back most strongly.

This, in short, is what can be said of the life and customs of the Indians of La Florida; and now we shall return to Hernando de Soto, who asked for the conquest and the government of that great kingdom, which has been so luckless and so costly to all who have gone to it.

## V

### THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONQUEST ARE PUBLISHED IN SPAIN, AND THE GREAT PREPARATIONS THAT ARE MADE FOR IT

The Imperial Majesty granted the conquest to Hernando de Soto with the title of adelantado and marqués of a state thirty leagues in length and fifteen in breadth, in whatever place he might choose from that which he could conquer at his own expense. He was also conceded, for the term of his life, the office of governor and captain-general of La Florida, as he was also of the island of Santiago de Cuba, in order that its vecinos and inhabitants should obey him as their governor and captain, and aid him more promptly in the things that he might command them, necessary for the conquest. Hernando de Soto very prudently requested the governorship of Cuba, because it is a matter of great importance to him who goes to discover, conquer, and settle La Florida.

These titles and honors were published throughout Spain, with much noise about the new enterprise that Hernando de Soto was undertaking, of going to subjugate and win great kingdoms and provinces for the Crown of Spain. And as it was said everywhere that the captain who was doing this had been a conquistador of El Perú, and that, not content with the 100,000 ducats that he had brought from there, he was spending them in this second conquest, everyone marveled at it and considered this much better and richer than the first. Therefore from all parts of Spain there gathered many gentlemen of very illustrious lineage, many hidalgos, many soldiers experienced in the military arts who served the Spanish Crown in various parts of the world, and many citizens and laborers. All [attracted by] such favorable reports of the new conquest, and in view of such quantities of silver and gold and precious stones as they had seen brought from the New World, leaving

their lands, parents, relatives and friends, and selling their property, appeared and offered themselves personally and by letter to go on this conquest, with hopes that it would be as rich as, or richer than, the two previous ones of México and El Perú. With the same hopes, six or seven of the conquistadores who we said had returned from El Perú also were moved to go on this journey to La Florida, not considering that the land they were going in search of could not be better than that which they had left, nor yet satisfied with the riches they had brought from it; it appears rather that their desire for them increased in accordance with their nature, which is insatiable. We will name the conquistadores in the course of this *History*, as they appear.

As soon as the governor ordered his concessions to be made public, he busied himself in giving directions for the purchase of ships, arms, munitions, provisions, and the other things pertaining to such a vast enterprise as the one that he had undertaken. For these duties he chose persons, each of whom was capable in his office; he assembled soldiers and named captains and officers for the army, as we shall recount in the following chapter; in short, he prepared with all the magnificence and liberality of one who could command and who desired everything conducive to his task.

Since the general and the other captains and officials attended with such liberality to the expenditure and with such diligence to the affairs that each had in his charge, they were concluded and all of them assembled together in San Lúcar de Barrameda (where they were to embark) in a little more than the year his Majesty's concessions had provided. The ships being brought up, the appointed day having come for the arrival at this same port of the men enlisted, and all of them having assembled, they being most excellent; and the other preparations being completed, alike of ship-stores, and of much iron, steel, irons for saddlebows, spades, mattocks, panniers, ropes, and baskets—things very necessary for settlements—they embarked and began their voyage in the following manner.

## VI

### OF THE NUMBER OF MEN AND CAPTAINS WHO EMBARKED FOR LA FLORIDA

Nine hundred and fifty Spaniards of all classes met in San Lúcar de Barrameda to go for the conquest of La Florida; all young men, for there was



scarcely one among them who had gray hairs (a very important thing for withstanding the labors and difficulties offered by new conquests). To many of them the governor gave aid in the form of money, sending it to each one in accordance with his quality and condition and the following and servants that he brought with him. Many received this assistance through necessity, and others (with respect and civility, seeing the vast enterprise that the general had on his shoulders) refused to receive it, it appearing to them more fitting to assist the governor, if they could, than to be assisted by him.

When the time of the spring tides came, they embarked in seven large ships and three small ones, which had been purchased in various Spanish ports. The adelantado, with all his household, his wife, and family, embarked in a ship called the *San Cristóbal*, of eight hundred tons, which went as flagship of the fleet; it was well equipped with fighting men, artillery and munitions, as befitted the flagship of such a great captain.

In another ship, no smaller, called *La Magdalena*, embarked Nuño Tovar, one of the sixty conquistadores, a native of Xerez de Badajoz. This gentleman went as lieutenant general, and he took with him another nobleman, Don Carlos Enríquez, a native of the same city, the second son of one of its great estates. Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado, son of the knight commander Diosdado de Alvarado, a gentleman who was a native of Badajoz and a vecino of Zafra, and one of the sixty conquistadores, chosen and appointed *maese de campo* of the army, went as captain of the galleon called *La Concepción*, which was of more than five hundred tons' burden.

In another galleon, equally as large, called *Buena Fortuna*, went Captain Andrés de Vasconcelos, a Portuguese *fidalgo* and gentleman, native of Yelves. He took a very fine and resplendent company of Portuguese *fidalgos*, some of whom had been soldiers on the African frontiers. Diego García, son of the alcalde of Villanueva de Barcarrota, went as captain of another large ship, called the *San Juan*. Arias Tinoco, named as captain of infantry, went as captain of another large ship, called *Santa Bárbara*.

Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, a brother of Arias Tinoco who also was named captain of infantry, went as captain of a small galleon called *San Anton*. With this captain went another of his brothers, named Diego Arias Tinoco, chosen as *alférez general* of the army. These three brothers were relatives of the general. Pedro Calderón, a gentleman who was a native of Badajoz, went as captain of a very fine caravel, and with him went Captain Micer Espíndola, a Genoese gentleman, who was captain of sixty halberdiers of the governor's guard. Besides these eight ships, they took two brigantines for the service of the fleet, which, being lighter and more easily

handled than the large ships, served as scouts to keep watch on the sea in every direction.

In these seven ships, the caravel and the brigantines, the 950 fighting men embarked, besides the sailors and the people needed for the management and service of each vessel. In addition to the people whom we have named, there went with the fleet twelve priests, eight clerics and four friars. The clerics whose names can be recalled are Rodrigo de Gallegos, a native of Sevilla and a relative of Baltasar de Gallegos; Diego de Bañuelos and Francisco del Pozo, natives of Córdoba; and Dionisio de París, a native of France, of the same city of París. The names of the other four clerics have been forgotten. The friars were named Fray Luis de Soto, a native of Villanueva de Barcarota and a relative of Governor Hernando de Soto; Fray Juan de Gallegos, a native of Sevilla and brother of Captain Baltasar de Gallegos—both friars of the Order of St. Francis; and Fray Francisco de la Rocha, a native of Badajoz, of the advocacy and insignia of the Most Holy Trinity. All were most exemplary and learned men.

With this fleet of La Florida went that of México, composed of twenty large ships, of which Hernando de Soto also was general as far as the place of the island of Santiago de Cuba, where it separated from the others to go to Vera Cruz. There was named as its general, from that point onward, a prominent nobleman called Gonzalo de Salazar, the first Christian born in Granada after the Moors left from there; wherefore, though he was already a nobleman and hidalgo, the Catholic kings of glorious memory who won that city gave him great privileges and granted him favors from which he founded an entailed estate for his descendants. This gentleman had been a conquistador of México, and was returning as factor of the imperial hacienda of the city of México.

In this order the thirty ships of the two fleets left for the bar of San Lúcar and set sail on April 6 of the year 1538, and they navigated that day and many others with all the good fortune and fair weather that could be desired. The fleet of La Florida was so well supplied with all kinds of ship-stores that all who went in it were given double rations, an unwise thing, because all of the large surplus was squandered; but the general's munificence was such, and so great was his satisfaction in taking with him such a brilliant and noble company, that he had little regard for anything except his desire to regale them.

## VII

### WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FLEET ON THE FIRST NIGHT OF ITS VOYAGE

On the first day of their navigation, a little before nightfall, the general called a soldier named Gonzalo Silvestre, a native of Herrera de Alcántara, one of the many whom he had chosen to take near his person, and said to him: "Take care to give orders tonight to the sentries as to the manner of sailing, and direct the constable, who is the chief of artillery, to have all his guns prepared and ready, and if any suspicious-looking ship appears have him fire across it, and observe in everything the order required by good navigation." All this was provided for, as the governor ordered.

The voyage proceeding, then, with very favorable weather, a little after midnight it happened that the mariners of the ship that was to be flagship of the fleet of México, on which was the factor, Gonzalo de Salazar—either to demonstrate its speed and lightness, or assuming that it also was a flagship like that of Hernando de Soto, or, more likely, because the pilot and the master were asleep as a result of the fair weather, and the sailor who steered the ship was ignorant of the rules and laws of navigation—allowed it to outstrip the whole fleet and continue in advance of it a cannon-shot to the windward of the flagship. For either of these two things that mariners may do the penalty is death.

Gonzalo Silvestre, who, in order to give a good account of that which had been entrusted to him, though he had posted his sentinels, was not sleeping (as befits all good soldiers and hidalgos, such as he was), awakened the constable and asked him whether that ship belonged to their fleet and company or was an enemy. He replied to him that it could not belong to the fleet, for if it did, it would not dare to go where it was going because the mariners who did such a thing would incur the death penalty. Therefore he affirmed that it belonged to an enemy. With this both of them determined to fire on it. With the first shot all the sails were pierced through the center, from stem to stern, and with the second shot the upper works of one side were carried away. They were preparing to fire again when they heard its people shouting loudly, asking for mercy, and saying not to fire upon them, that they were friends.

The governor got up at the noise, and the whole fleet was aroused and placed under arms facing the Mexican ship, which, as its speed slackened

because of the damage done to the sails by the cannon-shots, was falling to the leeward upon the flagship, and the latter, which was going after it, soon overtook it. Here there was about to happen another and greater evil and misfortune than that which had already taken place, which was that—as some, in fear and confusion from their dereliction, were more intent upon exculpating themselves than in managing their ship, and the others, in their wrath and anger in thinking that the action was due to want of respect and not to carelessness, and desiring to punish or avenge it, were not watching how or where they were going—the two ships were about to meet and collide broadside. They were so close together that those within them, in order to save themselves from this danger, finding no better remedy, hastily grasped many pikes with which they pushed the two ships apart so that they might not strike. They broke more than three hundred pikes, after the manner of a very fine irregular conflict in a foot tournament, and they produced a good effect. But although the pikes and other sticks prevented a violent collision, they did not prevent the rigging, sails and lateen yards from crossing and striking, so that both were in imminent danger of being sunk, for all was abandoned when everyone attempted to save himself, and the mariners, disturbed with such evident and sudden peril, trusted to no remedy nor knew what to do that would help them. When someone attempted to do something, the clamor of the people, who saw death before their eyes, was so great that they could not hear him; nor would the darkness of the night, which increases terrors, allow them to see what ought to be done; nor could those who had some valor and energy give orders, for there was no one to obey them or to listen when all was wails, shouts, clamor, outcries and confusion.

Both generals and their two flagships were at this pass when God, our Lord, succored them; the *tajamares* [cutwater, which divides the water before it reaches the bow—DB] or knives the governor's ship carried on its lateen yards cut through all the lines, rigging and sails on the factor's ship that held the two together. These being cut, the general's ship, with the good wind that was blowing, was able to draw off from the other, both being free.

Hernando de Soto was so wrathful, as much because of having found himself in this danger just passed and also because of thinking that the act that had caused it had been committed maliciously through disrespect, that he was on the point of committing a great excess in ordering that the factor be beheaded immediately. But the latter exculpated himself with great humility, saying that he was not to blame in any way for what had happened, and everyone on his ship testified to the same effect. With this, and with the

friendly mediators who were not lacking on the governor's ship, who excused and took the part of the factor, the general's ire was appeased, and he pardoned him and forgot all that had taken place. The factor Gonzalo de Salazar, however, after his arrival in México, whenever the events of that night were mentioned always said, with the air of a man somewhat offended by the affair, that it would please him to meet Hernando de Soto on equal terms, in order to charge and challenge him regarding the high words that he had said to him in an excess of anger concerning a matter in which he was not to blame. And it was true that he was not at fault, but neither had the general said anything to him from which he could take offense; but as the one suspected that the action had been malicious, so the other was angered, considering his words to have been offensive. Neither of them forgot the affair, for suspicion and anger have very great force and influence over men so important and powerful as were our two captains.

The mariners of the factor's ship having repaired the damage to the sails and rigging with their accustomed promptness, diligence and skill in such cases, they continued their voyage, giving thanks to Our Lord for having delivered them from such peril.

## VIII

### THE FLEET ARRIVES AT SANTIAGO DE CUBA, AND WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FLAGSHIP AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE PORT

Without any other event worth relating, the governor arrived on Easter Day, April 21, at La Gomera, one of the Canary Islands, where he found the count who was lord of the island, and who received him with great festivities and rejoicing.

Concerning this episode, Alonso de Carmona in his *Peregrination* says the following:

We left the port of San Lúcar in the year '38, during Lent, and sailed by way of the islands of La Gomera, which is where all the fleets go to take water and replenish the ship-stores. We sighted La Gomera after fifteen days' voyage, and I shall tell two things that happened that day in my ship. One was that two soldiers who were engaged in a fistfight fell into the sea and went under, and

no trace of them was ever seen. The other was that a hidalgo named Tapia, a native of Arévalo, who was going there, was taking a very fine and valuable greyhound, and about twelve leagues from the port it fell into the sea. As we had a fair wind it happened that we could not recover it, and we proceeded on our voyage and came into port. On the morning of the next day the master saw his greyhound on shore and, wondering at it, went to recover it, much pleased. He who had it protested and averred that while coming in a boat from one island to the other they had found it swimming in the sea and had put it in the boat, and he asserted that the greyhound had been swimming for five hours. We took on fresh provisions and other things and proceeded on our voyage. In sight of La Gomera the master of the greyhound came aboard, and the sail gave him a push that threw him into the sea; he sank as if he were lead and never appeared again, which caused much sorrow to the whole fleet, etc.

All these are words of Alonso de Carmona, copied literally and included here because the three events he recounts are notable and also so that it may be seen how his account conforms with ours, alike with regard to the year and to the first fifteen days of the voyage, and to the storm and the port they made, all of which corresponds with our *History*. In the same way and for the same reason I shall include many other passages of his and of Juan Coles, who is the other eyewitness. They were in this expedition, along with my author.

After the three days of Easter in which they took on the needed supplies, they continued their voyage. During those days the governor prevailed upon the count, with many requests and supplications, to give him a natural daughter of his, seventeen years of age, named Doña Leonor de Bobadilla, to take with him and marry off and make a great lady in his new conquest. The count acceded to the governor's demands, confiding in his generosity to perform much more than he promised him, and thus she was turned over to Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, the wife of the adelantado Hernando de Soto, so that receiving her as a daughter, she should take her in her company.

With this lady, whose beauty was remarkable, the governor left the island of La Gomera very well content, on April 24, and with the fair wind he always had he sighted the island of Santiago de Cuba at the end of May. The factor Gonzalo de Salazar had asked permission twelve days before to withdraw with the fleet of México and direct his voyage to Vera Cruz, which he desired very much to do in order to leave another's jurisdiction (for the human will would always prefer command to obedience), and the governor had granted it very readily, understanding the desire he had for it.

The adelantado and those of his fleet were coming into port with much

rejoicing and festivity at seeing the end of that long voyage and their arrival at a place so much desired by them, to attend to and make ready near at hand the things pertaining to their expedition and conquest, when suddenly they saw a man coming whom the people of the city of Santiago had sent out on horseback, running toward the entrance of the port and shouting to the flagship, which was on the point of entering it, saying, "A-port, a-port" (which in the language of sailors, for those who do not understand it, means to the right-hand side of the ship), with the intention that the flagship and those following it should all be lost on some very dangerous shoals and rocks in that part of the harbor.

That pilot and the mariners, who were not as well acquainted with the entrance of that port as they might have been (wherefore is seen the importance of knowledge and experience in this office), turned the ship in the direction indicated by the man on horseback. The latter, who had recognized that the fleet was of friends and not of enemies, turned again and in a louder voice shouted the opposite, "To the starboard" (which is the left-hand side of the ship); that they would be lost. [Garcilaso, apparently unfamiliar with such terminology, reversed *a babor* (port) and *a estribor* (starboard). Shelby's translation is correct.—DB] To make himself better understood, he dismounted and ran to his right, making signs with his arms and his cape and saying, "Turn, turn to the other side; you will all be lost!" Those on the flagship, when they understood him, turned as rapidly as possible to the left, but as hard as they tried they could not prevent the ship from striking so hard against a rock that all on board thought that it was stove in and lost. Resorting to the pump, they brought out along with the water a great deal of wine, vinegar, oil, and honey, many of the casks containing these liquors, which they were bringing, having been broken by the blow of the ship against the rock, at the sight of which were verified the fears that they had felt that the ship was lost. The small boat was launched hastily and took to land the governor's wife and her ladies and maids, and hard after them came some young gentlemen, inexperienced in such dangers, who were in such haste to enter the boat that they lost the respect due to the ladies and did not hold back or allow them to enter first, they feeling that it was no time for courtesy. The general, like a good and experienced captain, was unwilling to leave the ship, though they importuned him to do so, before seeing how much damage it had received, and also in order to be at hand to aid it if this should be necessary, and by his own presence to prevent all the others leaving it. A number of sailors going below, therefore, they found that there had been no damage besides the breaking of the casks, and that the

ship was whole and sound, as was shown when the pump brought up no more water. Whereupon everyone rejoiced, and those who had conducted themselves so badly and had been in such haste to go ashore were ashamed.

## IX

### NAVAL BATTLE BETWEEN TWO SHIPS WITHIN THE HARBOR OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA, WHICH LASTED FOUR DAYS

For the exoneration of the people of the city it will be just for us to tell the reason that impelled them to give this false notice that led to the events that have been described. Certainly a fair consideration of the incident that caused it, and the stubborn contest that took place there, will show that it was a notable and memorable case, which in some sort excuses those citizens, because the fear in the minds of the common people prevents and hinders good counsels. It must be known, then, that ten days before the governor arrived at the port there entered it a very fine ship belonging to one Diego Pérez, a native of Sevilla, who was traveling through those islands trading. Although he went in the guise of a merchant, he was a very good soldier by land and by sea, as we shall see. It is not known what his rank was, but his habitual dignity and the nobility he showed in his conversation, dealings and trading showed, they say, that he was by rights an *hidalgo*; for certainly his actions were noble. This trading captain [*capitán plático*] brought his ship very well supplied with men, arms, artillery and munitions in case it should be necessary to fight with the corsairs whom he might meet among those islands and seas, they being very common there. After Diego Pérez had been in the port for three days, it happened that another ship, no smaller than his, belonging to a French corsair who was pursuing his enterprise, entered it.

As soon as the two ships recognized one another as belonging to enemy nations, both attacked, and they fought grappled together all day, until night separated them. As soon as the fighting ceased the two captains exchanged visits by sending messengers to one another with very courteous messages and with gifts and presents of wine and conserves and dried and fresh fruits, which each of them had, as if they were two very fast friends. And they made agreements on their word of honor that thenceforth they would not



attack or commit hostilities at night, but only in the daytime, nor would they fire with artillery, saying that hand-to-hand combat, with swords and lances, more befitted brave men than did missile weapons, because cross-bows and arquebuses gave evidence in themselves of having been inventions of cowardly or needy spirits; and that not attacking with artillery, in addition to fighting in a genteel manner and conquering by strength of arm and personal prowess, would have the further advantage to the victor of leaving the ship and the prize he might gain in good condition and not damaged. The truces were kept inviolably, but it cannot be known for certain what they may have had in mind in not attacking with artillery unless it was the fear that both would perish without advantage to either of them. Notwithstanding the agreement made, they kept watch and were cautious at night in order not to be taken by surprise, because a good soldier ought not to trust the enemy's word to the point of neglecting proper precautions for his welfare and life.

On the second day they returned obstinately to the fray and did not stop fighting until weariness and hunger parted them; then, having eaten and rested, they returned anew to the battle, which lasted until sunset. Then they withdrew and took up their positions, and visited and exchanged presents as on the previous day. Each asked after the other's health and offered such medicines as he had for the wounded.

On the following night Captain Diego Pérez sent a message to the city saying that they had seen clearly what he had done during those days to kill or subdue the enemy, and as he had been unable to do so because of finding him very obstinate, he begged them (for it was very important to the city to rid their seas and coasts of such a corsair as that one) to agree to promise him that if he should lose the battle, as seemed probable, they would restore to him or to his heirs the value of his ship, less a thousand pesos. He offered to fight with the adversary until he overcame him or died at his hands, and he asked this recompense because he was poor and had no property except this ship; if he were rich he would take pleasure in risking it freely in their service. If he should win, he would desire no reward from them. The city was unwilling to grant this favor to Diego Pérez; on the other hand they replied rudely, saying that he might do as he liked, that they did not wish to obligate themselves to anything. Seeing the unfavorable reply to his petition and so much ingratitude in return for his good will and intentions, he determined to fight for his honor, life and property without expecting reward from another, saying that he who was able to serve himself so does ill in serving another; that the rewards of men almost always are like this one.

As soon as the third day of the battle of these brave captains dawned, Diego Pérez was ready to fight, and he went against his enemy with the same spirit and gallantry as on the two days past, in order to let those of the city understand that he was not relying upon them in fighting, but upon God and his own good spirit and strength. The Frenchman came out to meet him with no less desire to triumph or to die on that day as on the others. It seems certain that obstinacy and having made it an affair of honor impelled them to fight more than the advantage that might come to one in despoiling the other, because when the ships were taken their contents could have been of little value. Grappled with one another, then, they fought throughout that day as they had on the two previous ones, separating only to eat and rest when absolutely necessary. After a rest they returned to the battle with as much spirit as if it were just beginning, and always with more anger and fury at not being able to conquer. Darkness separated them, with many wounded and some dead on either side. But immediately upon retiring, they visited and regaled one another as before with gifts and presents as if there had never been any difference between them. Thus they passed the night, the whole city wondering that two private persons who were going out to make their living, without any other necessity or obligation to impel them, should persist so obstinately in killing one another, there being no other reward than having killed the other, nor any hope of recompense from their kings, for they were not acting in their service or in their pay; but human passion is capable of all this and more when it begins to prevail.

## X

### THE NAVAL BATTLE CONTINUES ITS COURSE, UNTIL IT IS FINISHED

With the coming of the fourth day, the two ships having fired a salvo and given a verbal salute to one another, according to the custom of navigators, Spaniards and Frenchmen returned stubbornly to the battle, with the same spirit and determination as on the three days past, although with smaller forces, for they were now very tired and many of them were badly wounded. But the desire for honor, which so influences generous spirits, gave them energy and strength to suffer and sustain such labor. They fought throughout the day, as before, separating only to eat and rest and tend the

wounded, and then they returned to the battle anew until night imposed peace upon them. Having withdrawn, they did not fail to visit one another with their offerings of gifts and fair words. The two such contrary extremes of enmity and friendliness that were in evidence between these captains on those four days certainly are notable; for it is true that their conflict was of mortal enemies anxious to take one another's lives and property, and in quitting it, all became brotherly friendliness, they desiring to make every demonstration possible to show that they were no less courteous and affable in peace than valiant and fierce in war, and that they were no less desirous of conquering in one manner than in the other.

Returning to those [events] of the battle, the Spaniard, who that day had felt some weakness in his enemy, sent to him along with his compliments and gifts to say that he desired extremely that that battle, which had lasted so long, should not cease until one of the two had gained the victory; he begged him to await him on the following day, promising him good rewards if he would do so. In order to obligate him under military rules not to leave that night, he challenged him anew for the battle on the following day, saying that he was confident he would not refuse, for in all the past action he had shown himself such an illustrious and valiant captain.

The Frenchman, making a great show of enthusiasm for the new challenge, replied that he accepted it and would await the next day and many others, if necessary, to accomplish his desire and conclude that battle, whose end he desired no less than his adversary; of this he might be certain and might rest at ease throughout the night, gaining vigor and strength for the following day; and he begged him that that challenge should not be feigned and given slyly and artfully to reassure him and put him off his guard, so that he [the Spaniard] might go to seek safety during the coming night. This he desired, in truth and in fact, in order to show in his person the valor of his nation.

But after all this bravado, when he [the Frenchman] found a propitious time he weighed anchor as silently as possible and set sail, having no compunction at breaking a promise given, to his own prejudice and hurt; and in fact its observance in such cases would be fatuous, for a change of counsel is the part of a wise man, particularly in war because of the instability of its events, not seen in time of peace, and also because its ultimate purpose is to gain victory.

The sentries of the Spanish ship, though they heard some noise from the Frenchman, did not make an outcry or give the alarm, thinking that they were making ready for the coming battle and not for flight. When daylight

came they found that they had been hoaxed. Captain Diego Pérez much regretted that his enemies had gone, because from the weakness he had observed in them on the previous day he was very sure of victory for himself; and still desiring it, taking from the city what he needed for his men, he went in search of his adversaries.

## XI

### OF THE CELEBRATIONS THEY HELD FOR THE GOVERNOR IN SANTIAGO DE CUBA

As the result of an affair so notable and so strange the city of Santiago was left much disturbed and very fearful, and as it occurred such a short time before the governor reached the port, they feared that it was the recent corsair who, having joined others with him, was returning to sack and burn the city. Therefore they gave the false directions of which we have told so that they might be wrecked on the rocks and shoals that are at the entrance of the harbor.

The governor disembarked, and the whole city went out with much rejoicing and gladness to receive him and give felicitations for his happy arrival. In apology for having angered him with their ill-directed precautions, they recounted at more length and in detail all the events of the four-day battle of the Frenchman with the Spaniard and the visits and the presents that were exchanged, and they begged him to pardon them, for their great fear had given rise to this bad counsel. But they did not exonerate themselves of having been so cruel and ungrateful toward Diego Pérez, as the governor learned later in more detail, and he wondered at it no less than at the fight and the courteous exchanges between the two captains. Because it is certain that they informed him that, besides the ungrateful reply they had given to the protection that Diego Pérez had offered them, they had been so severe with him that during the whole four days that he had fought, the battle being in their service, and the whole city having come out to see it every day, they had never offered to aid him while he fought or to give him so much as a jar of water while he was resting; rather they had treated him as scornfully as if he had been of a nation and a religion inimical to theirs. Nor had they been willing to do anything against the Frenchman to their own advantage, for by

sending twenty or thirty men on a bark or raft to make a feint of falling upon the enemy from the other side, without ever engaging him and simply by diverting him, they could have given the victory to their friend. Any assistance, however small, would have been enough to win it, for their forces were so nearly equal that they were able to fight four days without either's gaining an advantage. But the people of the city were unwilling to do this or anything else for themselves or for the Spaniard, as if they themselves were not Spaniards, fearing that if the Frenchman were victorious he would sack or burn it, bringing in others to help him, as they had suspected him of doing, and not remembering that an enemy by nation or by religion, being victorious, does not know how to have regard for the evils that were not committed against him or gratitude for favors received or compunction at breaking a word or a promise given, as is seen by many examples, both ancient and modern. Therefore in war (especially against infidels) let the enemy always be regarded as an enemy and suspected, and the friend as a friend and to be trusted; for the latter ought to be relied upon, and the former feared and his word never trusted; better to lose one's life than to rely on it, because as infidels they boast of breaking their word and hold it as an article of religion, especially against the faithful. Therefore the governor did not fail to blame those of the city of Santiago who had not aided Diego Pérez, because he was of their same religion and nation.

As we said, the general was received with much festivity and universal rejoicing throughout the city, for from the favorable reports of his prudence and affability his presence had been much desired. To this satisfaction was added another, no lesser one, which doubled the pleasure and gladness, in the person of the bishop of that church, Fray Hernando de Mesa, Dominican, who was a holy man, and had gone in the same fleet with the governor, and was the first prelate who had come there. He was almost drowned in disembarking from the ship, for at the moment when his lordship was leaving the ship and stepping into the boat, the latter moved outward in such a manner that he could not reach it (because of his long robes) and fell between the two vessels. As he came to the surface of the water his head struck the boat, and he was about to perish when the sailors, jumping into the water, brought him out. The city, finding itself with two such important personages for the government of both estates, ecclesiastical and secular, for many days did not cease to entertain them, sometimes with dances, balls and masquerades, which were held at night; sometimes with games in which they ran and speared bulls with cane spears. On other days they entertained themselves on horseback by riding at the rings, and those who excelled in

this sport either in dexterity with arms and in horsemanship, or in ingenuity in letters, or in novelty of invention, or in elegance of attire, were given prizes of honor consisting of ornaments of gold and silver, silk and brocade, which were set aside for the victors. On the other hand, they also gave rewards of abuse to those who performed worst. There were no jousts or tournaments, on horseback or on foot, for lack of armor.

Many of the gentlemen who had come with the governor took part in these celebrations and entertainments, both to show their skill in all these things as well as to entertain the people of the city, for the satisfaction was mutual. For these celebrations and entertainments the many and excellent horses—alike in performance, size and color—that they have in the island were of much assistance (as they always are both in sport and in work); because in addition to the natural excellence of those of this country, they bred them at that time with great care and in large numbers. There were private persons who had in their stables twenty or thirty horses, and the wealthy [had] fifty or sixty, for profit, because for the new conquests that had been made and were being made in El Perú, México, and other places, they sold very well, and this was the most important and largest source of revenue the inhabitants of the island of Cuba and its environs had at that time.

## XII

### THE PROVISIONS THE GOVERNOR OBTAINED IN SANTIAGO DE CUBA, AND A NOTABLE CASE CONCERNING THE NATIVES OF THOSE ISLANDS

For almost three months the governor's people amused themselves with celebrations and entertainments, all being peace and harmony between them and the people of the city, for they treated one another with all friendliness and good hospitality. The governor, who was attending to more-weighty matters, visited during this time the pueblos that were in the island, appointed ministers of justice to remain in them as his lieutenants, and purchased many horses for the journey. His chief subordinates did the same, for which reason he aided many of them even more than he had done in San Lúcar,

because in order to buy horses it was necessary to assist them more generously.

The people of the island presented many to him, for as we have said they raised them in large numbers, and that country was then prosperous and wealthy and very well populated with Indians, almost all of whom hanged themselves shortly thereafter. The reason was that, as that whole region is a very warm and humid country, the natives who were there were delicate and lazy and unsuited to labor; and because of the great fertility of the land and the many fruits it produced, there was no necessity for them to work very much in sowing and harvesting, for from the little maize that they sowed they gathered each year more than they needed for obtaining a simple living, and they desired no more. Inasmuch as they did not recognize gold as wealth or esteem it, they regarded taking it out of the streams and from the face of the land where they were bred as an evil, and they felt excessively the molestation the Spaniards occasioned them in the matter, however slight it might be. Also, as the devil incited them on his part and could do whatever he liked with a people so simple, vicious and idle, it came about that, so that they might not have to extract gold, which is abundant in this island and of good quality, they hanged themselves in such manner and so hastily that one day at dawn there were fifty adjoining houses of Indians who were hanged, together with their wives and children, in the same pueblo, there scarcely remaining one man alive in it. It was the most pitiful thing in the world to see them hanging from the trees like thrushes caught in a snare, and the restraints the Spaniards adopted and applied were not enough to prevent them. The natives of that island and its environs were consumed by this such abominable evil, and today there are almost none of them left. This fact gave rise later to the present high price of Negroes, to be taken to all parts of the Indies for labor in the mines.

Among other things that the governor provided for in Santiago de Cuba was to order that a captain named Mateo Azeituno, a gentleman who was a native of Talavera de la Reyna, go with some men by sea to rebuild the city of La Havana, because he had received news that a few days before French corsairs had sacked and burned it, not respecting the temple nor venerating the images that were in it, whereat the governor and all his people, as Catholics, were much distressed. In short, the general provided everything that seemed to him necessary for proceeding with the conquest, to which end that which we shall tell was of no little assistance. This was that in the Villa de la Trinidad, which is one of the pueblos of that island, there lived a very

wealthy and prominent gentleman named Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, a near relative of the most illustrious house of Feria. He visited the governor in the city of Santiago de Cuba, and as he was there for some days and saw the gallantry and display of so many gentlemen and such good soldiers as were going on this expedition, and the magnificent equipment that was provided for it, he could not restrain himself, now that warlike affairs were recalled to his mind, and his own desires for them were kindled anew. He thereupon offered himself voluntarily to the governor to go with him for the conquest of La Florida, so renowned. Neither his age, now more than fifty years, nor the many hardships that he had undergone, alike in the Indies, in Spain, and in Italy, where in his youth he had triumphed in two remarkable battles, nor his large property, many cattle, and acquisitions by arms, nor the natural desire that men usually have to enjoy them, could deter him. Putting it all aside, he desired to follow the adelantado, for which purpose he offered him his person, life and property.

The governor, seeing such heroic determination and that he was not moved by desire for wealth or honor, but by the natural generosity and warlike spirit this gentleman had always had, accepted his offer, and having thanked him in extravagant terms, which were justified as an expression of the honor such a great deed merited, he named him as lieutenant general of his whole fleet and army. Some days previously he had deposed Nuño Tovar from this position for having married clandestinely Doña Leonor de Bobadilla, the daughter of the count of La Gomera.

Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa y de la Cerda, as a generous and very wealthy man, gave magnificent assistance for the conquest of La Florida, for besides the many Spanish, Indian and Negro servants he took on this expedition, and besides the rest of the equipment and movables of his household, he took thirty-six horses for his personal use and more than fifty others that he presented to private gentlemen in the army.

He provided a large supply of salt beef, fish, maize, cassava, and other things the fleet needed. He was the cause of many of the Spaniards who lived in the island of Cuba being moved, in imitation of him, to go on this expedition. With all these things, in a short time there were made ready those things needed so that the fleet and military forces could leave and set out for La Havana.



## XIII

### THE GOVERNOR GOES TO LA HAVANA, AND THE PREPARATIONS HE MAKES THERE FOR HIS CONQUEST

Toward the end of August of the same year of 1538 the general left the city of Santiago de Cuba with fifty mounted men to go to La Havana, having left orders that the rest of the horses, three hundred in number, should come after him in troops of fifty, each group leaving eight days after the previous one so that they might be better accommodated and provided for. He ordered that the infantry and all his household and family should go by sea, sailing around the island, all of them meeting at La Havana. The governor, having arrived there and having seen the destruction that the corsairs had made in the town, assisted its vecinos and inhabitants from his own resources in order to help rebuild their houses; and he repaired as best he could the temple and the images destroyed by the heretics. As soon as they arrived in La Havana, he gave orders that a gentleman named Juan de Añasco, a native of Sevilla who was acting as accountant of his Majesty's imperial hacienda and was a great mariner, cosmographer and astrologer, should go with the most experienced seamen in the two brigantines to the coast and explore the shores of La Florida, to see and note the ports, creeks, or bays that might be there.

The accountant went, and traveled for two months up and down the coast. At the end of this time he returned with a report of what he had seen and brought with him two Indians whom he had seized. Seeing the good results that Juan de Añasco had obtained, the governor ordered that he go back again and make a very careful examination of the coast so that the fleet could go directly to a suitable anchorage without having to cruise along the coast. Juan de Añasco returned on this errand and traveled along the coast with all care and diligence for three months, at the end of which he came back with a more accurate report of what he had seen and discovered there, and where the ships ought to anchor and make land. From this voyage he brought two other Indians whom he had picked up by dint of industry and persuasion. From this the governor and all his people derived much satisfaction, in having the ports where they were to disembark known and examined. At this point Alonso de Carmona adds that (because of Captain Juan de Añasco and his companions having been lost for two months on an unin-

habited island where they ate nothing except pelicans, which they killed with clubs, and sea snails, and because of the great risk they ran of being drowned when they returned to La Havana) upon disembarking, all who came in the ship went on their knees from the edge of the water to the church where a mass was said for them; and after having fulfilled their promise, he says, they were very well received by the governor and all his people, who had been made very uneasy by the fear that they had perished at sea, etc.

While the adelantado Hernando de Soto was in La Havana preparing and providing what was necessary for his journey, he learned that Don Antonio de Mendoza, then viceroy of México, was making ready forces to send to conquer La Florida. The general, not knowing to what port he was sending them and fearing that the two might encounter and hinder one another, and that trouble might arise between them as had happened in México between the marqués del Valle, Hernando Cortés and Pánphilo de Narváez, who had gone in the name of Governor Diego Velázquez to demand an accounting of the forces and the trust that he had given him, and as had occurred in El Perú between the adelantados Don Diego de Almagro and Don Pedro de Alvarado at the beginning of the conquest of that kingdom—for which reason, and in order to prevent the infamy of selling and buying the men, as they told of those captains, it seemed to Hernando de Soto that it would be well to advise the viceroy of the titles and authority that his Majesty had conceded to him, so that he might be informed of them, and also to request him not to recruit men or hinder his expedition, and if necessary to make requisition and protest with them [i.e., his titles and authority—CS]. He sent to México for this purpose a Galician soldier named San Jurge, an able man capable for any business. He returned within a short time with a reply from the viceroy, who said that the governor might safely make his *entrada* and conquest in the place that he had indicated, without fear that the two would meet, for he was sending the men whom he had recruited to another region far distant from where the governor was going; that the land of La Florida was so large and broad that there was room for all; and that not only would he not attempt to stop him, but on the other hand he was desirous and willing to help and assist him in case of need, and thus he offered his person and property and everything to which his office and administration gave him access. The governor was satisfied with this reply and very grateful for the viceroy's offer.

By this time, which was the middle of April, all the cavalry that had remained behind in Santiago de Cuba had arrived in La Havana, having tra-

versed by very short stages the 250 leagues [actually about 450 miles—CS], more or less, that lay between the two cities.

The adelantado, seeing that all his forces, both cavalry and infantry, were now assembled in La Havana, and that the time when they would be able to sail was drawing near, named Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, his wife and the daughter of Governor Pedro Arias de Avila, a woman of much goodness and discretion, as governor of that great island, and as her lieutenant a noble and virtuous gentleman named Joan de Rojas. In the city of Santiago he left as lieutenant another of his gentlemen, named Francisco de Guzmán. These gentlemen were governing those two cities before the general arrived in the island, and because of the good reports he heard of them, he left them in the same positions that they had before. He bought a very fine ship called the *Santa Ana*, which happened to arrive at the port of La Havana at that time. This vessel had come as flagship for the conquest and discovery of the Río de la Plata with the governor and captain-general Don Pedro de Zuñiga y Mendoza, who was lost on the journey and, returning to Spain, died of sickness at sea. The ship arrived at Sevilla from that voyage and returned on another to México, whence it was coming back when Hernando de Soto purchased it; it was so large and fine that he took eighty horses to La Florida in it.

## XIV

### A SHIP ARRIVES AT LA HAVANA IN WHICH COMES HERNÁN PONCE, COMPANION OF THE GOVERNOR

The governor was now very nearly ready to embark to go on his conquest and was only awaiting favorable weather, when another ship entered the port, coming from Nombre de Dios. It appeared that it entered unwillingly, forced by the foul weather it had encountered, for during four or five days in which it contended with contrary winds they saw it come up to the entrance of the port three times and as often return to the open sea, as if avoiding that port, so as not to enter it. But it could not withstand the high seas caused by the storm, and though its principal passenger had offered great inducements to the mariners not to enter that port, they were forced to make it, however

unwillingly, being unable to do anything else, for there is no resisting the fury of the sea. Wherefore it must be known that when Hernando de Soto left El Perú to come to Spain, as is told in the first chapter, he had made a compact and association with Hernán Ponce to the effect that both should share that which the two of them might gain or lose during their lives, alike in the repartimientos of Indians that his Majesty might grant them and in the other things of honor and profit they might have. For Hernando de Soto's intention, when he left that land, was to return to it to enjoy the reward he had deserved for the services rendered in its conquest, though later, as has been seen, his thoughts were directed elsewhere. This compact was made then and afterward among many other gentlemen and leading persons who took part in the conquest of El Perú; I even came to know some of them who observed it as if they were brothers, enjoying the repartimientos that had been granted them without dividing them.

Hernán Ponce (whose parentage and country I was unable to learn, except that I heard it said that he was from the kingdom of León), after the arrival of Hernando de Soto in Spain, received in El Perú a very rich repartimiento of Indians (a concession which the marqués, Don Francisco Pizarro, made him in his Majesty's name), which gave him much gold and silver and many precious stones. With these things and with what more he could collect as the value of jewels and household furniture, for then everything was sold in exchange for gold [*a peso de oro*: this could also mean "at a very high price"—DB], and with the collection of some debts that Hernando de Soto had left him, he was coming to Spain very well supplied with money. Since he had learned in Nombre de Dios or in Cartagena that Hernando de Soto was in La Havana with such a collection of men and ships to go to La Florida, he desired to pass by at a distance without touching there, in order not to make an accounting between them and share with him things that he was bringing. He even feared that he might take possession of all of it, as a man who was necessitated to do because of heavy expenditures. This was the reason why he had held out for avoiding that port if he could, but it was not possible because fortune and storms at sea have no respect for anyone, and slight or favor whomever they wish.

As soon as the vessel entered the harbor, and the governor learned that Hernán Ponce was aboard, he sent visitors to welcome him and offer him his lodgings and all the rest of his possessions, offices and honors, for as companion and brother he owned the half of what he had and could command. Following this greeting, he went in person to see him and bring him ashore.

Hernán Ponce did not desire so much courtesy and brotherliness, but after they had spoken together with the usual fair and polite words, dissimulating his anxiety, he excused himself as best he could from going ashore, saying that because of his great labor and little sleep during those four or five days of storm at sea they were not ready to disembark; that he requested his lordship to permit that he remain aboard the ship, for that night at least, and that in the morning, if he were better, he would come to kiss his hands and receive and enjoy all the courtesies that he offered him. The governor let him have his own way, to show him that he did not wish to oppose him in anything, but sensing his ill will, he ordered very secretly that guards be posted by sea and by land who should keep a careful watch during the ensuing night and see what Hernán Ponce himself was doing.

The latter, not trusting in his companion's courtesy, nor being able to understand that it could be so great as he later saw it to be, nor taking counsel of anything except avarice (whose counsels always are to the prejudice of him who takes them), prepared to place under cover and conceal on land a large part of the gold and precious stones he was carrying, not considering that in that whole region he could not find a safe place for it, either on sea or on land, where it would be better to trust to the good will of another than to his own care; but the timid and suspicious always chooses a remedy which is a greater evil and injury. Thus did this gentleman, who, leaving the silver in order to make a show with it, ordered all the gold, pearls, and precious stones he was bringing in two small coffers, all of which exceeded 40,000 pesos in value, to be taken from the ship at midnight and carried to the pueblo to the house of a friend, or to be buried on the shore [near the] ship, so as to come back and recover it after the quarrel he feared he would have with Hernando de Soto. But the opposite happened, because the guards and sentries who were watching, concealed in the woods, which are very luxuriant in that port and along the whole coast, seeing the small boat coming toward them, remained quiet until whomever it was carrying should disembark, and when they saw the people on land at a distance from the boat they accosted them. The latter, abandoning the treasure, fled to the boat; some reached it and others jumped into the water in order not to be killed or taken prisoner. Those on shore, gathering up the spoils, took all of it to the governor, which occasioned him sorrow, seeing that his companion had become so suspicious of his friendship and amity as was shown by that act. He ordered it to be kept concealed until he saw how Hernán Ponce would come out of the business.

## XV

### THE THINGS THAT PASSED BETWEEN HERNÁN PONCE DE LEÓN AND HERNANDO DE SOTO, AND HOW THE GOVERNOR EMBARKED FOR LA FLORIDA

When the next day came Hernán Ponce left his ship in such grief and affliction at having lost his treasure when he was thinking to put it in safety, but dissimulating his sorrow, he went to lodge at the governor's inn, and they talked together alone for a long time about things past and present. Coming to the incident of the night before, Hernando de Soto complained to him with much feeling about the lack of confidence that he had shown in his friendship and brotherliness, for not trusting to it, he had attempted to conceal his property, fearing that he would take it away from him, which he was as far from doing as his future actions would show. So saying, he ordered brought before him everything that had been taken on the night before from the people on the boat and gave it to Hernán Ponce, bidding him look to see if anything were missing, and if so he would have it restored. And so that he might see how different his intent had been in not breaking the association and bond he had formed, he made him to understand that everything that he had spent to make that conquest, and his having asked it of his Majesty, had been under this union, so that the honor and profit of the expedition might go to both; and he could confirm this from the witnesses who were there, in whose presence he had executed the instruments and declarations necessary for it. For his further satisfaction, if he [Hernán Ponce] desired to go on that conquest, or not to go, as he liked, he [De Soto] said that whatever he chose to do he would at once renounce in his favor whatever title or titles he might desire to have therein of those his Majesty had granted to him. He said furthermore that he would be much pleased if he would advise him of everything that would be conducive to his desires, honor, and advantage, so that he might accede to his wishes, much to the contrary of what he had feared.

Hernán Ponce was confused by the governor's great generosity and by his own too great suspicion, and omitting explanations, for he found none to excuse him, he replied that he begged his lordship to pardon his past error and to be good enough to continue and confirm the favors that he had done him in calling him companion and brother, in which he held himself to be

very fortunate without pretending to any higher title, because for him there could be none. He desired only that the instruments of their association and friendship be renewed in order to acknowledge it more publicly, that his lordship be attended by very good fortune on the conquest, and that he allow him to go to Spain. God granting them life and health, they would again enjoy their companionship, and afterward, if they wished, they would divide what they had gained. As a sign that he accepted for himself half of that which might be conquered, he begged his lordship to permit that Doña Isabel de Bobadilla his wife receive 10,000 pesos in gold and silver to help defray the expenses of the expedition, for in accordance with the terms of the association there belonged to his lordship half of what he was bringing from El Perú, which was a larger amount. The governor took pleasure in doing what Hernán Ponce asked, and much to the satisfaction of both there were renewed the writings of their association and friendship, and they maintained it during the time they were in La Havana. The governor directed his people secretly and led them by example in public to treat Hernán Ponce as they would [the governor], and this was done; all addressed him as lordship and respected him as the adelantado himself.

The matters we have told being concluded, and it appearing to the governor that the time was now propitious for navigation, he ordered the supplies and other things that were to be taken to be embarked with all haste, and when all were loaded on the ships and ready to go, the horses were embarked. In the ship *Santa Ana* were eighty; in the ship *San Cristóbal*, sixty; in that called *Concepción*, forty; and in the other three smaller vessels, the *San Joan*, *Santa Bárbara*, and *San Antón*, they embarked seventy; in all they took 350 horses on this expedition. When the military forces were embarked, which with those of the island who desired to go on this conquest, not counting the sailors of the eight ships, the caravel, and the brigantines, [they] came to a thousand men, all excellent people, well trained in arms, with equipment for themselves and trappings for their horses, so that neither up to that time nor afterward has there been seen here such a good force of men and horses assembled at one place for any expedition made in the conquest of the Indians.

Concerning the whole matter of ships, men, horses and military equipment, Alonso de Carmona and Juan Coles are in accord in their accounts.

The governor and adelantado Hernando de Soto took this number of ships, horses, and fighting men, exclusive of mariners, from the port of La Havana when he set sail on May 12 of the year 1539 to make the entrada and conquest of La Florida. He took his fleet so well supplied with all kinds of

provisions that one seemed to be rather in a very well-provisioned city than navigating on the sea. There we shall leave him to return to a new disturbance that Hernán Ponce caused in La Havana, where under pretext of obtaining fresh provisions and awaiting a better season for the voyage to Spain, he had remained until the governor's departure.

Thus it is that, eight days after the general sailed, Hernán Ponce presented a writing to Juan de Rojas, the lieutenant governor, saying that he had given Hernando de Soto 10,000 pesos in gold that he did not owe, impelled by the fear that he would take away from him, since he had the power, all of the property he was bringing from El Perú. Therefore he demanded that Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, Hernando de Soto's wife, who had received them, be required to return them; otherwise he protested that he would complain of it before the majesty of the emperor, our lord.

When Doña Isabel de Bobadilla knew of this demand she replied that there were between Hernán Ponce and Hernando de Soto her husband many accounts both old and new that must be settled, as would appear from the instruments of the company and association formed between them. From the same it was apparent that Hernán Ponce owed Hernando de Soto more than 50,000 ducats, which was half of the expenditure he had made for that conquest. She therefore ordered the justice to take Hernán Ponce into custody and keep him well guarded until the accounts might be adjusted, which she offered to do at once in her husband's name. Hernán Ponce learned of this reply before the justice performed his duty (for there are double spies wherever there is money), and in order not to get into more difficulties and dangers like the past ones, he set sail and came to Spain, without awaiting the settlement of accounts, in which he would have been found to owe a large sum of money. Very often the avarice of self-interest blinds men's judgment, though they be rich and noble, causing them to do things that serve only to display and publish the meanness and depravity of their spirits.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK OF LA FLORIDA  
BY THE INCA



FIRST PART  
OF THE SECOND BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*Where it is told how the Governor arrived in La Florida, and found traces of Pánphilo de Narváez, and a Christian captive; the tortures and the cruel life the Indians gave him; the generosity of an Indian lord of vassals; the preparations that were made for the discovery; the events that took place in the first eight provinces they discovered; and the wild ferocity, in words and deeds, of an overbold cacique. It contains thirty chapters.*



THE GOVERNOR ARRIVES IN LA FLORIDA, AND FINDS  
TRACES OF PÁNPHILO DE NARVÁEZ

The governor Hernando de Soto, who as we said was sailing toward La Florida, sighted its shores on the last day of May, having spent nineteen days at sea because of encountering unfavorable weather. The vessels anchored in a deep and good bay, which they named El Espíritu Santo, and because it was late, no one disembarked that day. On the first of June the small boats went to the shore and returned laden with grass for the horses, and they brought also many green grapes from the vines they found growing wild in the woods. The Indians of all this great kingdom of La Florida do not cultivate this plant or regard it as highly as do other nations, though they eat its fruit when it is well ripened or made into raisins. Our people were much pleased with these good specimens they brought from the land, for they were similar to the grapes of Spain, and they had not found them in the lands of México nor in the whole of El Perú. On the second day of June the governor ordered that three hundred infantry go ashore for the act and ceremony of taking possession of the land for the Emperor Charles V, king of Spain. Following the ceremony, the men marched all day along the coast without seeing a single Indian, and they remained that night and slept on land. Toward dawn the Indians fell upon them with such impetuosity and boldness that they retreated to the water's edge, and as they sounded the alarm both infantry and cavalry came out from the ships to their assistance as rapidly as if they had been on land.

The lieutenant general Vasco de Porcallo was in command of the relief party, and he found the infantry who were on the shore as confused and perturbed as raw recruits, getting in one another's way in fighting, and some of them already wounded with arrows. Having brought up the relief and followed the enemy for some distance, they returned to their quarters and had scarcely reached them when the lieutenant general's horse fell dead from an arrow wound near the saddle, which they gave him during the skirmish; the arrow passed through the trappings, saddletree and pads, and penetrated the ribs more than a third [of its length], up to the notch. Vasco Porcallo was much gratified that the first horse employed in the conquest and the first lance thrown against the enemy should have been his.

On this day and the next they continued to disembark the horses, and all



the people went ashore. Having rested for eight or nine days and left orders with regard to the ships, they marched inland a little more than two leagues to the pueblo of a cacique named Hirrihigua [Rangel says that they were in the land of a chief named Oçita—DB], with whom Pánphilo de Narváez had fought when he went to conquer that province. Although afterward the Indian had been induced to become a friend, during that time, it is not known for what reason, Pánphilo de Narváez, angered, had committed certain offenses against him, which as they are so detestable are not recounted.

Because of these injustices and offenses the cacique Hirrihigua was left with such fear and hatred of the Spaniards that when he learned of the coming of Hernando de Soto to his country he went to the forest, abandoning his house and pueblo, and despite the friendly messages, gifts and promises the governor sent him by his Indian subjects whom he seized, he was never willing to come back peaceably nor to hear any of the messages he sent him. On the other hand he was incensed against those who brought them, saying that since they knew how offended and aggrieved he was with that nation they should have known better than to bring him their messages; that if it were their heads, he would receive them with pleasure, but their words and names he had no desire to hear. All this and more can infamy bring about, especially if it was done without blame on the part of the injured. So that the extent of this Indian's fury against the Spaniards may be better seen, it is fitting to tell here some of the cruelties and martyrdoms he imposed upon four Spaniards who must have been of Pánphilo de Narváez's party, which though it will prolong our *History* somewhat is not beside the point, but rather will be very useful for it.

Some days, then, after Pánphilo de Narváez left the country of this cacique, having done what we have told, there came to that bay one of his ships that had remained behind, in search of him. Inasmuch as the cacique suspected that it was one of Narváez's ships and that it was searching for him, he wished to capture all who were in it and burn them alive. In order to secure them, he feigned friendship for Pánphilo de Narváez and sent word to them saying that their captain had been there and had left orders as to what that ship was to do if it should make that port; and to persuade them to believe him, he showed from land two or three sheets of white paper and some old letters he had obtained from past friendship with the Spaniards or in some other manner, and had kept carefully.

In spite of all this, those on the ship were cautious and did not wish to go ashore. Then the cacique sent four of his principal Indians to the ship in a canoe, saying that since they did not trust him he was sending those four

men, nobles and *caballeros* (this term *caballero* does not seem applicable to the Indians, because they had no horses, from which word the name is derived, but since in Spain they are regarded as nobles, and since among the Indians there are nobles of highest rank, they may also be called so), as hostages and security so that the Spaniards who desired word of their captain Pánphilo de Narváez might leave the ship, and if they still were not reassured, he offered to send them further pledges. Seeing this, four Spaniards came out and entered the canoe with the Indians who had brought the hostages. The cacique, who desired all of them, seeing that only four were coming, did not insist further upon asking for more Castilians, in order that these few who were going to him might not be alarmed and return to the ship.

As soon as the Spaniards set foot on the shore, the four Indians who had remained in the ship as hostages, seeing that the Christians were now in the power of their people, threw themselves into the water, and, diving deeply and swimming like fish, they went ashore, thus carrying out the order that their chief had given them. Those on the ship, seeing themselves victims of a hoax, left the bay before something worse should befall them, very sad at having lost their companions through such an indiscretion.

## II

### CONCERNING THE TORTURES THAT A CACIQUE INFLICTED UPON A SPANIARD, HIS SLAVE

The cacique Hirrihigua ordered the four Spaniards to be guarded securely so that on the occasion of their deaths he might hold a solemn festival, which according to his heathen custom he expected to celebrate within a few days. When the time came he ordered them to be brought forth naked to the plaza and to be shot with arrows one at a time like wild beasts, running them from one side to the other; and that too many arrows were not to be shot at the same time, in order that they should die more slowly, and their torment be greater, and the Indians' celebration and enjoyment longer and more festive. Thus they dealt with three of the Spaniards, the cacique deriving great satisfaction and pleasure from seeing them run in all directions, seeking help and

nowhere finding succor, but only death. When they wished to bring out the fourth, who was a youth scarcely eighteen years of age, a native of Sevilla named Juan Ortiz, the cacique's wife came out accompanied by her three young daughters. Facing her husband, she said to him that she begged him to be content with the three Spaniards killed and pardon that youth, because neither he nor his companions had been to blame for the evil their predecessors had done, for they had not come with Pánphilo de Narváez; and that the boy especially deserved to be pardoned, for his youth absolved him of blame and called for mercy; and that it would be enough for him to remain as a slave and not be killed so cruelly without his having committed any crime.

In order to satisfy his wife and daughters, the cacique granted Juan Ortiz his life for the time, though afterward it was so sad and bitter that often he envied his three dead companions, because the continuous and unceasing labor of carrying wood and water was so great and his food and sleep so scanty, the daily cuffings, buffetings and lashes so cruel, besides the other torments that they inflicted upon him at the time of their special festivals, that often, if he had not been a Christian, he would have taken death by his own hands as a remedy. Thus it was that, aside from the daily torment, for his own pastime the cacique ordered on many festival days that Juan Ortiz run all day without stopping (from dawn to dark) in a large plaza that was in the pueblo, where they had shot his companions to death with arrows. The cacique himself would come out to see him run, and with him would come his nobles armed with their bows and arrows in order to shoot him if he ceased running. Juan Ortiz would begin his race at sunrise and would not pause on one side or the other of the plaza until sunset, which was the time that they set for him. And when the cacique would go to eat he would leave his nobles to watch him, so that, if he should cease running, they might kill him. At the end of the day he was left in the sad state that may be imagined, stretched on the ground, more dead than alive. The pity of the wife and daughters of the cacique succored him on these days, because they took him immediately, clothed him, and did him other kindnesses whereby they saved his life. It would have been better to take it away, in order to free him from those excessive hardships. Seeing that so many and such continuous tortures were not sufficient to kill Juan Ortiz, and the hatred that he bore him increasing hourly, the cacique, in order to put an end to him, commanded on one of his feast days that a great fire be built in the middle of the plaza, and when he saw a large bed of coals formed, he ordered it tended and a wooden

framework [*barbacoa*] be placed over it in the form of a gridiron, one vara above the ground, and that they put Juan Ortiz upon it in order to roast him alive.

This was done, and here the poor Spaniard remained for some time stretched on one side, fastened to the frame. At the cries that the poor unfortunate gave in the midst of the fire, the wife and daughters of the cacique came, and begging the husband and even reproaching his cruelty, they took him from the fire, already half roasted, having blisters on that side as large as half-oranges, some of them broken and bleeding freely, so that it was pitiful to see him. The cacique allowed it because they were women for whom he cared so much, and perhaps he did it also in order to have someone upon whom to visit his wrath in the future and to show his desire for vengeance, because he would have someone to excite it, and though [this was] very little in proportion to his desires, still he could amuse himself with that little. Thus he said many times that he regretted having killed the three Spaniards so quickly. The women carried Juan Ortiz to their house, and moved by pity at seeing him in that state, they treated him with juices of herbs (the Indians, both men and women, since they have no physicians, are great herbalists). Time and again they repented having saved him from death on the first occasion, because of seeing how slowly and with what cruel tortures they were killing him day by day. After many days Juan Ortiz was cured, though large scars from the burns still remained.

In order not to see him thus, and to free himself from the bother that his wife and daughters gave him with their entreaties, and so that he [Juan Ortiz] might not become lazy, the cacique directed that he be exercised in another punishment, less severe than the past ones. This was that he guard day and night the dead bodies of the inhabitants of that pueblo, which were deposited in the country in a forest at a distance from the settlements, at a place set apart for them. They were placed above ground in wooden chests that served as sepulchers, without hinges or any other security for the cover than some boards placed over them, with stones or timbers on top. Because of the poor protection these chests afforded for the bodies of the dead, they were carried away by the lions [i.e., panthers], of which there are many in that country, much to the grief and anger of the Indians. The cacique ordered Juan Ortiz to guard this place carefully so that the lions should not carry off any body or part of it, protesting and vowing that, if they did so, he would infallibly be roasted to death. For guarding them he gave him four darts [*dardo*: dart or small lance thrown by hand—DB] to throw at the lions or at other wild beasts that might approach the chests. Juan Ortiz, giving



thanks to God for having rid him of the continued presence of the cacique Hirrihigua, his master, went to guard the dead, hoping to have a better life with them than with the living. He guarded them with all care, chiefly at night, because then there was greater danger. It happened that, on one of the nights when he was thus watching, he fell asleep toward dawn, unable to resist his drowsiness, for at this hour it usually attacks most strongly those who are watching. Just at this time a lion came and, knocking off the covers of one of the chests, dragged out the body of a child, which had been thrown into it two days before, and carried it off. Juan Ortiz heard the noise that the covers made in falling, and as he hurried to the chest and failed to find the child's body therein, he considered himself lost; but with all his anxiety and dismay he did not cease hunting for the lion, so that, if he should find him, he might recover the body or die in the attempt. On the other hand he trusted to our Lord to give him strength to die on the following day, confessing and calling upon His name, for he knew that as soon as daylight came the Indians must visit the chests, and not finding the child's body, they would burn him alive. Walking through the forest from one side to another, in fear of death, he came to a wide path that passed through the center of it, and following it for a time with the intention of fleeing, though it was impossible to escape, he heard in the woods not far from where he was walking a noise as of a dog that is gnawing bones. Listening carefully, he made sure of it, and suspecting that it might be the lion that was eating the child, he felt his way very carefully through the underbrush, approaching the place where he heard the noise. By the light of the moon, which was shining, though not very brightly, he saw near him the lion, which was eating the child at its pleasure. Calling upon God and taking courage, Juan Ortiz threw a dart at it, and though he could not then see the shot that he had made, because of the underbrush, yet he felt that it had not been bad because his hand was left "salty," as the hunters say when they feel that they have made a good shot against wild beasts at night. With this very slender hope, and also because he had not heard the lion leave the place where he had shot at him, he waited for morning, commending himself to our Lord, that he might succor him in that necessity.

### III

#### THE HARD LIFE OF THE CAPTIVE CHRISTIAN CONTINUES, AND HOW HE FLED FROM HIS MASTER

With the light of day Juan Ortiz verified the good shot that he had made by guess that night, for he saw the lion dead, the entrails and the center of the heart transfixed (as was found later when they opened it), a thing that he himself, though he saw it, could not believe. With a satisfaction and joy that may be better imagined than told, he dragged it by one foot, not pulling out the dart, so that his master might see it just as he had found it, having first gathered up and taken back to the chest the fragments of the child's body that he found uneaten. The cacique and all those in his pueblo wondered greatly at this deed, for in that land it is held generally to be a miraculous thing for a man to kill a lion, and thus they treat him who succeeds in killing one with great veneration and respect. And because this is such a fierce animal, he who kills it ought to be esteemed everywhere, especially if he does so without a shot from a crossbow or harquebus, as Juan Ortiz did. Although it is true that the lions of La Florida, México, and El Perú are not so large or so fierce as those of Africa, still they are lions, and the name is enough; and even if the popular proverb may say that they are not as fierce as they are painted, those who have been near them say that they are as much fiercer than their descriptions, as there is difference between the real and the imagined.

With this good fortune on the part of Juan Ortiz, the wife and daughters of the cacique took more spirit and courage to intercede for him, that he might be pardoned entirely and made use of in honorable employments worthy of his strength and valor. For a few days thereafter Hirrihigua treated his slave better, both in the esteem and favor he accorded him in his pueblo and house, and in referring to the heroic deed that they in their vain religion so esteem and honor that they regard it as sacred and more than human. However (and this was the injury that he could not pardon), every time he remembered that they [the Spaniards] had thrown his mother to the dogs and left her to be eaten by them, and when he went to blow his nose and could not find his nostrils, the devil possessed him to avenge himself on Juan Ortiz, as if he had cut them off; and inasmuch as he always carried the offense before his eyes, with the memory of it his ire, rancor, and desire to

take vengeance increased from day to day. Though he restrained these passions for some time, being able to resist them no longer, he said one day to his wife and daughters that it was impossible for him to allow that Christian to remain alive because his life was very odious and abominable to him; that every time he saw him past injuries were revived and he was offended anew. Therefore he commanded them that they were in no manner to intercede for him further unless they desired to participate in the same rage and anger, and that in order to finish finally with that Spaniard he had determined that on a certain feast day (which was soon to be celebrated) he was to be shot to death with arrows as his companions had been, notwithstanding his bravery, for as an enemy he should be rather abhorred than esteemed. The wife and daughters of the cacique, because they saw him enraged and understood that no intercession would be effective, and also because it seemed to them that it was too much to importune and so displease the master for the sake of the slave, did not dare say a word in opposition to him. Rather with feminine astuteness they came to tell him that this would be a good thing to do because it was his pleasure. But the eldest of the daughters, in order to further her plan and make it succeed, a few days before the celebration secretly notified Juan Ortiz of her father's determination against him, and that neither she nor her sisters nor her mother would avail or could do anything with the father, he having imposed silence upon them and threatened them if they should break it.

Desiring to encourage the Spaniard, she added to this sad notice others contrary to it and said to him: "So that you may not distrust me, nor despair of your life, nor fear that I will not do all that I can to save it, if you are a man and have courage to flee, I will favor and help you so that you may escape and reach safety. Tonight at a certain hour and in a certain place you will find an Indian to whom I entrust your safety and my own. He will guide you to a bridge that is two leagues from here; upon reaching it, you will order him not to pass beyond but to return to the pueblo before dawn so that they may not miss him, and my own daring and his may not become known, so that evil may not befall him and me for having done you a good turn. Six leagues beyond the bridge is a pueblo whose lord wishes me well and desires to marry me; his name is Mucoço. Tell him on my behalf that I send you to him so that he may succor and favor you, as he ought to do. I know that he will do all he can for you, as you will see. Commend yourself to your God, for I can do no more for you." Juan Ortiz threw himself at her feet in acknowledgment of the mercy and favor that she was conferring and had always conferred upon him, and he at once made ready to travel on the

following night. At the hour appointed, after the members of the cacique's household were asleep, he set out in search of the promised guide and left the pueblo with him without anyone hearing them. Upon reaching the bridge, he told the Indian to return at once very cautiously to his house, having first learned from him that there was no chance of his losing the road as far as the pueblo of Mucoço.

## IV

### OF THE MAGNANIMITY OF THE CURACA OR CACIQUE MUÇOÇO, TO WHOM THE CAPTIVE COMMENDED HIMSELF

Juan Ortiz, as a man who was fleeing, reached the place before dawn but, for fear of causing a disturbance, did not dare enter it. When it was day he saw two Indians come out from the pueblo along the same road that he was taking. They attempted to shoot him with their bows and arrows, as they always go armed with these weapons. Juan Ortiz, who also had them, put an arrow in his bow to defend himself from them and also to attack them. How potent is a little favor, especially if it be from a lady! For we see that shortly before he did not know where to hide himself, being in fear of death; now he dared give it [death] to others with his own hand, simply because of having been favored by a pretty, discreet and generous girl, whose favor exceeds all other human gifts. With which, having recovered spirit and strength and even pride, he told them that he was not an enemy but that he was coming with a message from a lady for the lord of that place.

Hearing this, the Indians did not shoot him but returned with him to the pueblo and notified the cacique that the slave of Hirrihigua was there with a message for him. Mucoço or Mocoço—for it is the same—informed of this, went out to the plaza to receive the message Juan Ortiz was bringing to him. After having saluted him as best he could after the manner of the Indians themselves, Juan Ortiz told him briefly of the martyrdom his master had imposed upon him, as evidence of which he showed on his body the scars of the burns, blows and wounds they had given him, and how now finally his lord was determined to kill him in order to celebrate and solemnize with his death such and such a feast day, which he expected to hold soon. He told how the wife and daughters of the cacique, his master, though they had often

saved his life, did not now dare to speak in his favor because of the lord's having forbidden it under penalty of his anger; and how the eldest daughter of his lord, desiring that he should not die, as the last and best remedy had ordered and encouraged him to flee and, giving him a guide, had set him on his way to his pueblo and house. In her name he presented himself before him, whom he supplicated by the love that he had for her to receive him under his protection, and as a thing commended by her to favor him, as he ought to do. Mucoço received him affably and heard him with pity at learning of the abuses and torments that he had experienced, which were plainly shown by the scars on his body, for, dressed after the manner of the Indians of the country, he wore only some trousers [*pañete*: thin cloth, perhaps loincloth; also trunks—DB].

Alonso de Carmona tells at this point, in addition to what we have said, that he embraced him and kissed him on the face as a sign of peace.

He [the cacique] replied that he was welcome and told him to try to forget the fears of his past life; that in his company and house he would have a very different and opposite existence; that for the sake of serving the person who had sent him, and for him who had come to his person and house for succor, he would do all he could, as he would see by future actions; and that he might be certain that while he lived no one would be allowed to molest him.

All that this good cacique said in favor of Juan Ortiz he performed, and indeed much more than he promised, for he immediately made him his steward and kept him constantly with him, day and night, doing him much honor, more particularly after he learned that he had killed the lion with the dart. In short, he treated him like a well-beloved brother (for there are brothers who love one another like water and fire), and although Hirrihigua, suspecting that he had gone to Mocoço for protection, asked for him many times, Mucoço always made an excuse for not giving him up, saying finally, among other things, that since he had come to his house to let him be, and that he was so odious that he [Hirrihigua] had lost very little in losing such a slave. He made the same reply to another cacique, his brother-in-law, named Urribarracuxi, through whom Hirrihigua made the request. Seeing that his messages were of no effect, he went personally to ask him, and in his presence Mocoço replied the same as in his absence, adding other angry words, and told him that since he was his brother-in-law it was unjust to order him to do a thing against his reputation and honor; that he would not be doing his duty if he should turn over to his own enemy an unfortunate who had come to him for refuge, so that the Hirrihigua might sacrifice and kill him like a wild beast for his own entertainment and pastime.

Mocoço defended Juan Ortiz from these two caciques, who asked for him so urgently and insistently, with such generosity that he was willing to forgo (as he did) the marriage he affectionately desired to make with the daughter of Hirrihigua, and the relationship and friendship of the father-in-law, rather than return the slave to him who asked for him in order to kill him. He kept the latter constantly with him, much esteemed and well treated, until Governor Hernando de Soto entered La Florida.

Juan Ortiz was among those Indians for ten years, one and a half in the power of Hirrihigua and the rest with the good Mocoço. Though a barbarian, he dealt with this Christian in quite another manner than those most famous men of the Triumvirate who at Layno, a place near Bologna, made that never sufficiently condemned proscription and agreement to give and exchange their relatives, friends, and defenders for enemies and adversaries. And he did much better than other Christian princes who later have committed here other acts as abominable and worse than that one, considering the innocence of those given up, the rank of some of them, and the faith that their betrayers should have had and kept with them; considering also that the former were heathen and the latter prided themselves on the Christian name and religion. These latter, breaking the laws and statutes [*fueros*] of their kingdoms and not respecting their own position and rank, they being kings and great princes, and disregarding their sworn and promised word (a thing unworthy of such names), simply for the purpose of avenging their own anger, delivered up those who had not offended them in order to obtain the offenders, exchanging the innocent for the guilty, as both ancient and modern historians will testify. But we shall leave them, so as not to offend powerful ears and distress the pious.

It suffices to describe the magnanimity of a heathen so that faithful princes may be forced to imitate and excel him if they can, not in his heathenism, as do some who are unworthy of that name [i.e., faithful], but in virtue and similar noble qualities, to which they are more obligated because of their higher estate. Certainly, considering well the circumstances of the courageous action of this Indian, and seeing by whom and against whom it was performed, and the amount that he was willing to put aside and lose, going even against his own affection and desires in refusing the succor and favor demanded and promised by him, it will be seen that it arose from a most generous and heroic mind, which did not deserve to have been born and to live amidst the barbarous heathendom of that country. But God and human nature often produce such spirits in such uncultivated and sterile deserts for the greater humiliation and shame of those who are born and

reared in lands that are fertile and abound in all good doctrine, sciences, and the Christian religion.

## V

### THE GOVERNOR SENDS FOR JUAN ORTIZ

The governor heard this account, which we have given, of the life of Juan Ortiz, although in a confused form, in the pueblo of the cacique Hirrihigua, where we have left him at present; and he had heard it before, more briefly, in La Havana from one of the four Indians whom we said that the accountant, Juan de Añasco, had seized when he was sent to explore the coast of La Florida, and who happened to be a subject of this cacique. When this Indian mentioned Juan Ortiz in the account that he gave in La Havana, leaving off the name Juan, because he did not know it, he said Ortiz, and as to the poor speech of the Indian was added the worse understanding of the good interpreters who stated what he was trying to say, and as all the listeners had for their chief purpose going to seek gold, on hearing the Indian say "Orotiz," without waiting for further statements on his part they thought that he was plainly saying that in his country there was much gold [Spanish, *oro*—DB], and they congratulated themselves and rejoiced merely at hearing it mentioned, although with such a different significance and sense.

But when the governor ascertained that Juan Ortiz was in the power of the cacique Mucoço, he thought it would be well to send for him, alike in order to deliver him from the power of the Indians and because he was in need of a speaker and interpreter upon whom he could depend. He therefore chose a gentleman from Sevilla named Baltasar de Gallegos, who was serving as *alguacil mayor* of the fleet and the army—who because of his great virtue, strength and valor deserved to be general of a greater army than that one—and told him to take sixty lancers with him and go to Mucoço, and tell him on his behalf how gratified were he and all the Spaniards who accompanied him by the honor and favors he had shown to Juan Ortiz, and how much he desired that he might have an opportunity of requiting them. At present he begged that he give him [Juan Ortiz] to him [De Soto], for he needed him for very important matters, and he asked when it would be convenient for him to make him a visit, as it would give him great pleasure to know and have him for a friend. In accordance with the orders given him, Baltasar de Gallegos left the camp with the sixty lancers and an Indian guide.

The cacique Mucoço, on the other hand, having learned of the coming of the governor Hernando de Soto with such a force of men and horses, and that he had landed so near his own country, and fearing that he might do him some harm there, desired very prudently and advisedly to avert the evil that might come to him. In order to do so, he summoned Juan Ortiz and said to him: "You must know, brother, that in the pueblo of your good friend Hirihigua there is a Spanish captain with a thousand fighting men and many horses, who are coming to conquer this country. You well know what I have done for you, and how in order to save your life and not deliver you to him who held you as a slave and desired to kill you, I chose rather to fall into disgrace with all my relatives and neighbors than to do what they asked me against you. Now a time and occasion has come in which you can repay me for the good reception, entertainment and friendship I have accorded you, though I never did it with the expectation of any reward, but since events have happened thus it will be wise not to lose what is offered us.

"Go to the Spanish general and on your behalf and my own beg him that, in return for the service that I have done him and his whole nation through you (since I would do the same for any of them), he be pleased not to do me harm in this small land that I have, and that he deign to receive me into his friendship and service; that from this time forth I offer him my person, house and estate to be placed under his guardianship and protection; and so that you may be escorted as becomes both you and me, I send with you fifty nobles of my household, and you will protect them and me as our friendship obligates you to do."

Juan Ortiz, rejoicing at the good news and inwardly giving thanks to God for it, replied to Mucoço that he was much pleased that a time and occasion had arisen in which to repay the kindness and benefits that he had done him, not only in saving his life, but also in the many favors, and the esteem and honor he had received from his great virtue and courtesy. He would give a very full account and report of all this to the Spanish captain and all his people, so that he might concede to and reward him with that which he asked of them now in his name, and in what might come up in the future. He was very confident that the general on his part would do what he asked, for the Spanish nation prided itself upon being a people grateful for favors received, and thus certainly he could confidently hope to obtain that which he sent to ask of the governor. The fifty Indians whom the cacique had ordered to prepare came at once, and with Juan Ortiz they took the public road that goes from one pueblo to the other; and they set out on the same day that Baltasar de Gallegos left the camp to find him [Ortiz].



It happened that, after the Spaniards had marched more than three leagues along the wide and straight highway that went to the pueblo of Mucoço, the Indian who guided them, thinking that it was not a good thing to behave so loyally toward people who were coming to subjugate them and take away their lands and freedom, and who long before had shown themselves to be declared enemies—though up to the present they had not received injuries of which they could complain from that army—changed his plan in guiding them and took the first footpath he saw that led into the highway. After following it a short distance, he left it, as it was not straight, and thus he led them most of the day without a road and lost, drawing them always in an arc toward the seacoast with the design of coming upon some swamp, creek, or bay in which to drown them, if possible. The Castilians did not discover the deception of the Indian, since they were not acquainted with the country, until one of them saw, through the trees of an open forest through which they were marching, the topsails of the ships they had left and saw that they were very near the coast, of which fact he advised Captain Baltasar de Gallegos. The latter, seeing the guide's iniquity, threatened him with death, making a gesture of throwing a lance at him. Fearing that they would kill him, the Indian indicated with signs and such words as he could that they should return to the highway, but that it was necessary to retrace all their route that lay off the road, and thus they returned by the same way to seek it.

## VI

### WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN JUAN ORTIZ AND THE SPANIARDS WHO WERE COMING FOR HIM

Proceeding along the highway, Juan Ortiz came to the footpath by which the Indian led Baltasar de Gallegos and his Castilians off the road. Suspecting what had happened and fearing that the Castilians would go by another route and inflict some damage on the pueblo of Mucoço, he consulted with the Indians as to what they should do. They all agreed that it would be well to follow the trail of the horses as rapidly as possible until overtaking them, and that they would not take another road for fear of missing them.

Since the Indians followed the trail of the Spaniards, and the latter were returning by the same route that they had gone, they sighted one another on

a large plain on a part of which was a dense growth of thick underbrush. The Indians, seeing the Castilians, said to Juan Ortiz that it would be prudent to safeguard their persons and lives by entering that thicket until the Christians should recognize them as friends, so that they should not fall upon them in the open field, believing them to be enemies. Juan Ortiz was unwilling to accept the good advice of the Indians, confiding in the fact that he was a Spaniard and that his people must recognize him as soon as they should see him, as if he were dressed in the Spanish fashion or were in any way different from the Indians, so that he might be known as a Spaniard. He, like the rest, wore only some trousers for clothing, carried a bow and arrows in his hands, and wore a plume half a fathom high upon his head for display and ornament.

The Castilians—being inexperienced and anxious to fight—on seeing the Indians, fell upon them violently, and as much as their captain shouted at them he could not stop them. Who can stop undisciplined troops when they get out of hand?

When they saw how boldly and recklessly the Castilians were coming at them, all the Indians threw themselves into the thicket, there remaining in the field only Juan Ortiz and an Indian who was not so quick as the others in placing himself in safety. He was wounded by a Spaniard from Sevilla who had been a soldier in Italy, named Francisco de Morales, by a lance-thrust in the loins, he overtaking him at the edge of the woods. Juan Ortiz was assailed by another Spaniard, named Alvaro Nieto, a native of the villa of Albuquerque, one of the stoutest and strongest Spaniards in the whole army, who, engaging Juan Ortiz, vigorously thrust a lance at him. Juan Ortiz had good luck and dexterity, so that, warding off the lance with his bow and jumping sideways, he avoided at the same time the blow of the lance and an encounter with the horse. Seeing that Alvaro Nieto was coming at him again, he shouted in a loud voice, saying “Xivilla, Xivilla” for “Sevilla, Sevilla.”

Juan Coles adds at this point that Juan Ortiz, being unable to speak in Spanish, made the sign of the cross with his hand and the bow so that the Spaniard might see that he was a Christian. For with the little or no use that he had for the Spanish language among the Indians, he had even forgotten how to pronounce the name of his own country, as I can also say for myself. Because of not having had anyone in Spain with whom to speak my native and maternal tongue, which is the one generally spoken throughout El Perú (although the Incas have another special one that they speak among themselves, one to another), I have forgotten it to such an extent that—having

once known how to speak it as well or better, and with more elegance, than the Indians themselves who are not Incas, because I am a son of palla and the nephew of Incas, who are the ones who speak it best and most correctly, because of its having been the language of the court of its princes and they having been the chief courtiers—now I am unable to put six or seven words together in a sentence in order to make clear what I wish to say, and, moreover, many terms have escaped my memory and I do not know what is the word for this or that thing in the Indian tongue. Although it is true that, if I should hear an Inca speak, I would understand all that he said, and, if I should hear the forgotten words, I could tell what they mean, I myself, however I try, cannot say what they are. This I have learned from experience in the use and neglect of languages, which foreigners learn by using them and natives forget in not using them.

Returning to Juan Ortiz, whom we left in great danger of being killed by those who most desired to see him alive, as Alvaro Nieto heard him say “Xivilla,” he asked whether he were Juan Ortiz, and as he replied that he was, he grasped him by one arm and lifted him behind his horse as if he were a child, for this good soldier was stout and strong.

Much elated at having found the one he was seeking, and giving thanks to God for not having killed him, though it seemed to him that he was still in that danger, he took him to Captain Baltasar de Gallegos. The latter received Juan Ortiz with great joy and at once ordered them to recall the other horsemen who were scouring the woods, anxious to kill Indians, as if they were deer, so that all of them might assemble to enjoy the good fortune that had befallen them, and before they should do some injury to their friends because of not recognizing them. Juan Ortiz entered the woods to call the Indians, shouting to them to come out and not be afraid. Many of them did not stop until they reached their pueblo, to advise their cacique of what had happened. Others who had not gone so far returned in groups of three and four as they happened to be found, and together and singly they very angrily and bitterly reproached Juan Ortiz for his rashness and lack of caution. When they saw the Indian, their companion, wounded because of him they became so enraged that they scarcely could refrain from laying hands on him and would have done so had the Spaniards not been present. But they vented their wrath with a thousand insults they heaped upon him, calling him dolt, fool, meddler, and no Spaniard or soldier, and saying that he had learned little or nothing from his past sufferings and misadventures; that they had been inflicted upon him to no purpose, and he deserved much worse. In short, no Indian came out of the woods who was not quarreling with him;

all of them spoke almost the same words and he himself stated them to the other Spaniards, the more to reproach them. Juan Ortiz was well reprimanded for having been too confident, but it was worth it all provided he found himself among Christians. The latter treated the wounded Indian and, putting him on a horse, went with him and Juan Ortiz and the rest of the Indians to the camp, desirous of seeing the governor, in order to bring within so short a time such a good report of what he had ordered them to do. Before they left that place Juan Ortiz sent an Indian to Mucoço with the report of all that had happened, so that he would not be alarmed by what the Indians who fled might have told him.

All that we have said concerning Juan Ortiz, Juan Coles and Alonso de Carmona also tell in their accounts, and one of them says that he had worms in the sores made by the fire when they burned him. The other, who is Juan Coles, says that the governor gave him at once a black velvet suit, and that, because he was accustomed to go about unclothed, he could not tolerate it; that he wore only a shirt and linen trousers, a cap, and shoes, and that he went about thus for more than twenty days until, a little at a time, he was able to wear clothing. These two eyewitnesses say further that, among other benefits and favors that the cacique Mucoço conferred upon Juan Ortiz, one was to make him his captain-general on sea and land.

## VII

### THE CELEBRATION THAT THE WHOLE ARMY HELD FOR JUAN ORTIZ, AND HOW MUÇOÇO CAME TO VISIT THE GOVERNOR

A good part of the night had passed when Baltasar de Gallegos and his companions entered the camp. The governor, who heard them, was alarmed, fearing that since they were returning so quickly, some accident had befallen them, because he had not expected them until the third day. But upon learning of the good report they brought, all his dismay was changed to rejoicing and pleasure. He thanked the captain and his soldiers, who had done so well, and received Juan Ortiz as his own son, with pity and grief at hearing of so many hardships and martyrdoms as he told of and as his own body showed that he had experienced—for the scars of the burns from the time that they had roasted him were so large that one whole side was nothing but

a burn, or a scar of it—from which hardships he thanked God for having delivered him, and also from the peril of that day, which had not been the least of those through which he had passed. He treated kindly the Indians who came with him and ordered that the one who was wounded be treated with great care and attention. At the same hour he dispatched two Indians to the cacique Mucoço with acknowledgments for the kindnesses that he had done Juan Ortiz and for having sent him freely, and for the offer of his person and friendship, which he said he accepted in the name of the emperor and king of Spain, his lord, who was the chief and greatest of all Christendom, in the name of all those captains and gentlemen who were with him, and in his own, in order to acknowledge and repay what he had done for all of them in having rescued Juan Ortiz from death; he said also that all of them begged him to visit them, as they desired to see and know him.

The captains and officials, both of the army and of the real hacienda, and the gentlemen and all the other soldiers in general, entertained Juan Ortiz royally; they refused to accept as comrade anyone who did not come to embrace him and congratulate him on his arrival. So passed the night, in which they did not sleep for general rejoicing.

Then on the following day the general summoned Juan Ortiz so that he might inform him concerning what he knew about that country and might tell him in detail what had happened to him while he was in the power of those two caciques. He replied that he knew little or nothing about the country, although he had been there so long; because while he was in the power of Hirrihigua, his master, when he was not tormenting him with new martyrdoms, did not allow him to go a step beyond the ordinary service that he performed in carrying water and wood for all the households; and while he was in the hands of Mucoço, though he had freedom to go where he liked, he did not make use of it because the vassals of his master, seeing him apart from Mucoço, might kill him, as they had his order and command to do. For these reasons he could not give much information about the nature of the country, but he heard that it was good, and that the farther inland one went, the better and more fertile it became. The life he had led with the two caciques had been of the two extremes of good and evil that could be found in this world; because Mucoço had shown himself as compassionate and humane toward him as the other had been cruel and revengeful, without his being able to extol sufficiently the virtue of the one or the passion of the other, as his lordship had already been informed, as a proof of which he showed the scars on his body, uncovering those that could be seen and amplifying the account of his life, which we have given; and he related anew

many other torments through which he had passed, which aroused the compassion of the listeners and which we shall omit, to avoid prolixity.

On the third day after the message had been sent to him by the Indians, the cacique Mucoço came with a large company of his people. He kissed the governor's hands with all veneration and respect and then spoke to the lieutenant general, the maese de campo, and the rest of the captains and gentlemen who were there, each according to his rank, first asking Juan Ortiz who was this, that and the other person, and although one of those who spoke with him told him that he was not a gentleman or a captain, but a private soldier, he treated him with great respect, but those who were nobles and officials of the army with much more, so that all the Spaniards noticed it. After he had spoken and given opportunity for those present to speak with him, Mucoço went again to salute the governor with new expressions of respect. The latter, having received him with much affability and courtesy, thanked him for what he had done for Juan Ortiz and for having sent him in such a friendly manner; he said that he and his army and the whole Spanish nation were so obligated to him that they would show their gratitude for all time. Mucoço replied that what he had done for Juan Ortiz had been done out of self-respect because—he having come to his person and household for refuge and succor, out of necessity—according to their law, he was obligated to do for him what he had done; and it seemed to him little enough because the virtue, strength and bravery of Juan Ortiz alone, without any other consideration whatever, deserved much more. His having sent him to his lordship was more for his own interest and benefit than to serve his lordship, for it had been in order that he might act as defender and advocate to obtain mercy and favor with his intercession and merits, so that he would not harm him in his country. Therefore his lordship was not obligated to reward or receive into his service either of them except as he might be pleased to do so; but he was gratified, however it might have come about, that he had happened to do a thing at which his lordship and those gentlemen and the whole Spanish nation, whose devoted servant he was, had been pleased and had shown their satisfaction. He begged that his lordship would receive him into his service with the same good will, and he placed his person, household, and estate under his protection and patronage, recognizing the emperor and king of Spain as his principal lord, and secondarily his lordship as his captain-general and governor of that kingdom. He would consider himself better rewarded by being granted this favor than his services rendered to Juan Ortiz deserved, or his having sent him freely, a thing that had so gratified his lordship, concerning which he said that he was more

pleased and content at seeing him as he saw him that day, favored and honored by his lordship and by all those gentlemen, than at all the good that he had done throughout his life; and he protested that he would exert himself thenceforth to perform such actions in the service of the Spaniards, since those had brought him so much good.

This cacique expressed these and many other civilities with all the gracefulness and discretion that might be found in a practiced courtier, at which the governor and those who were with him marveled, no less than at the generosity he had shown to Juan Ortiz, which was borne out by his words.

Because of all this the adelantado Hernando de Soto and the lieutenant general Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa and other private gentlemen, attracted by the virtue and discretion of the cacique Mucoço, were moved to reciprocate on their own part, insofar as they could, in acknowledgment of such graciousness. Thus they gave many presents not only to him but also to the nobles who came with him, with which all of them were very well content.

## VIII

### THE MOTHER OF MUÇO ARRIVES, VERY ANXIOUS ABOUT HER SON

Two days after the events that we have related the mother of Muço arrived, very anxious and harassed because her son was in the power of the Castilians. Because of having been away, she did not know of her son's coming to see the governor, and would not have consented to it; thus the first words that she said to the general were that he give her the son before doing with him what Pánphilo de Narváez had done with Hirrihigua, and that if he intended doing such a thing that he set free her son, who was young, and do as he liked with her, who was old, so that she might bear the punishment for both.

The governor received her very kindly and replied that her son, because of his extreme goodness and discretion, did not deserve ill-treatment, but rather that everyone should serve him, and her as well, for being the mother of such a son; she might dismiss her fears because no harm would be done either to her or to her son or to anyone in his whole country, but on the contrary all the favors and kindnesses possible. The good old woman was

somewhat reassured by these words and remained with the Spaniards three days, but was always so suspicious and fearful that, when eating at the governor's table, she asked Juan Ortiz if she dared eat what they gave her, saying that she feared and suspected that they might give her poison in order to kill her.

The governor and those with him laughed a great deal at this and told her that certainly she might eat, that they did not wish to kill her, but to entertain her; however, not trusting the words of strangers, though they gave her food from the same plate as the governor, she still would not eat or taste it until Juan Ortiz had first tried it. Whereupon a Spanish soldier asked her why she had recently offered her life for her son, since she was so afraid of dying. She replied that she did not abhor living, but loved it like other people, but that for her son she would give her life as often as might be necessary because she loved him more than living; therefore she begged the governor to give him to her, saying that she wished to go and take him with her and that she did not dare trust him to the Christians.

The general replied that she might go whenever she liked, that her son wished to remain for some days among those gentlemen who were young and soldiers and fighting men like himself, and that he would be safe with them; that whenever he desired he might go freely, and no one would molest him. With this promise the old woman left, although not content to have her son remain in the power of the Castilians. At parting she charged Juan Ortiz to free her son from that captain and his soldiers as her son had liberated him from Hirrihigua and his vassals, at which the governor and the other Spaniards laughed a great deal, and Mucoço himself joined in laughing at his mother's anxiety.

Following this time of pleasure and merriment, the good cacique remained with the army for eight days, during which he visited in their lodgings the lieutenant general, the maese de campo, the captains, the officials of the imperial hacienda, and many private gentlemen because they were nobles. He talked with all of them familiarly and with such readiness and courtesy that he seemed to have been brought up among them. He asked particular questions about the court of Castilla and the emperor, and the lords, ladies, and gentlemen in it, and said that he would like very much to see it if he could go there. At the end of the eight days he went to his house. He came later on other occasions to visit the governor, always bringing him presents of the things that were in his country. Mucoço was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, a man of handsome body and face.



## IX

### OF THE PREPARATIONS THAT WERE MADE FOR THE DISCOVERY, AND HOW THE INDIANS CAPTURED A SPANIARD

The governor and adelantado Hernando de Soto was not idle while these things were taking place among his people; rather he was fulfilling his office of captain and commander with all care and diligence, because as soon as the provisions and munitions were disembarked and placed in the pueblo of the cacique Hirrihigua—since it was nearest the Bay of Espíritu Santo—so that they might be close to the sea, he ordered that the seven largest of the eleven ships that he had brought should return to La Havana so that his wife, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, might dispose of them, and that the four smaller ones remain for use in such navigation as they might have occasion to make. The vessels that remained were the ship *San Antón* and the caravel and the two brigantines, of which Captain Pedro Calderón was put in command. He had among other excellent qualifications that of having served when very young under the command and government of the great captain Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. De Soto attempted with all diligence and care to win the cacique Hirrihigua to peace and friendliness, because it seemed to him that, according to the example set by this cacique, he might hope or fear what the other caciques of the region would do. He desired his friendship because he understood that with it he would gain that of all those of that kingdom, for he said that if that one, who had been so offended by the Castilians, should be reconciled and become their friend, would not the rest, who had not been offended, become so that much more quickly? Besides winning the friendship of the caciques, he hoped that his reputation and honor would be enhanced among Indians and Spaniards generally for having placated such a rabid enemy of his nation. Therefore whenever the Christians, in exploring the country, happened to take the vassals of Hirrihigua, he sent them with gifts and friendly messages, making amicable requests and enticing him with offers of satisfaction that he desired to give him for the injury done by Pánphilo de Narváez. The cacique not only refused to come out peaceably, but refused to accept the friendship of the Spaniards or even to reply a single word to any of the messages they sent him. He only said to the messengers that his injury did not admit of giving a favorable response, nor did the courtesy of that captain deserve that they give him an unfavor-

able one; and he never made any other reply to this proposal. But while the diligent efforts that the governor made to win the friendship of Hirrihigua did not suffice to gain the end and purpose that he desired, at least it served to mitigate to some extent the wrath and rancor this cacique felt against the Spaniards, as will be apparent in what we shall say presently.

The people in the service of the camp went out each day after grass for the horses, and there were accustomed to go continuously fifteen or twenty infantrymen and eight or ten cavalrymen to guard and defend them. It happened one day that the Indians who were following these Spaniards in ambush fell upon them so suddenly and with such shouts and cries that they terrified them simply by their clamor, without using their arms. The Spaniards, who were careless and disordered, were thrown into confusion, and before they collected themselves the Indians were able to get into their hands a soldier named Grajales, with whom they went away, very well satisfied with having taken him and not attempting to inflict any further injury on the other Christians.

The Castilians finally got themselves in order, and one of them hastened to the camp on horseback, giving the alarm and news of what had happened. At his story, twenty horsemen, well armed, left the camp with all haste, and finding the trail of the Indians who were going away with the Spaniard, they followed it. At the end of two leagues' travel they reached a large canebrake that the Indians had chosen as a secluded and hidden place where they had their women and children concealed. All of them, large and small, with much festivity and rejoicing at the fine prize they had taken, were eating very contentedly, failing to consider that the Castilians would make such haste to recover one lost Spaniard. They told Grajales to eat and not be uneasy, that they would not give him the wretched life they had given to Juan Ortiz.

The women and children said the same thing to him, each of them offering him the food they had for themselves, begging him to eat it and to console himself, and saying that they would deal with him as a friend and companion.

Hearing the Indians, the Spaniards entered the canebrake, making a noise as of more people than were actually coming, in order to alarm those within it with their clatter so that they would not defend themselves.

Hearing the trampling of the horses, the Indians fled along the lanes they had made in every direction through the canebrake in order to enter and leave it. In the middle of the canebrake they had cleared a large space as a dwelling-place for the women and children, who remained in the power of

the Spaniards as slaves of him who shortly before had been theirs. So variable are the events of war and such is the inconstancy of its fortunes that there is recovered in a moment that which was held to be irretrievably lost, and in another is lost that which we believe to be safest.

Recognizing the voices of his people, Grajales went running out to receive them, giving thanks to God that they had delivered him so soon from his enemies. The Castilians scarcely knew him, because though the time of his imprisonment had been short the Indians had already stripped him and dressed him in no more than some trousers such as they wear. The Spaniards rejoiced with him, and gathering up all the people who were in the canebrake, who were women and children, went with them to the army where the governor received them with joy at their having recovered the Spaniard and, in freeing him, having captured so many of the enemy.

Grajales recounted immediately all that had happened to him and told how the Indians, when they came out of their ambuscade, had not desired to harm the Christians, because the arrows they had discharged had been more to intimidate them than to kill or wound them; that inasmuch as they had found them careless and off their guard, they could, if they liked, have killed most of them. And he said that as soon as they took him they were content and went without doing any other damage, leaving the rest of the Castilians; and that on the way and in the lodging in the canebrake they had treated him well, as had their women and children, speaking consoling words to him, and each of them offering him what they had to eat. The governor, learning of this, ordered brought before him the women, boys and children whom they had brought as prisoners and told them that he was much pleased at the good treatment they had accorded to the Spaniard, and at the friendly words that they had spoken to him, as a reward for which he was giving them their freedom so that they might go to their houses. And he charged them that thenceforth they should not flee from the Spaniards or stand in fear of them, but should communicate and deal with them as if they were all of the same nation; that he had not come there to mistreat the natives of the country, but to have them for friends and brothers; and that they were to tell this to their cacique and to their husbands, relatives and neighbors. Besides this cajolery, they gave them gifts and sent them away very contented with the kindness with which the general and all his people had treated them.

On two other occasions these same Indians later took two other Spaniards; one, named Hernando Vintimilla, was an expert seaman, and the other, Diego Muñoz, was a boy who was a page of Captain Pedro Calderón. They did not kill them or give them a miserable life as they had done with

Juan Ortiz, but allowed them to go about as freely as any Indian among them, so that later these two Christians, aided by their own cleverness, were able to escape from the power of the Indians in a ship that happened to be driven by a storm to that Bay of Espiritu Santo, as we shall tell below. In this way, with the fair words that the governor sent to say to the cacique Hirrihigua and with the good deeds that he did to his vassals, he forced him to mitigate and extinguish the fire of the anger and wrath against the Spaniards that he had in his heart. Kindness has such power that it even makes the fiercest of wild beasts change their original and natural savagery.

## X

### HOW THE DISCOVERY AND ENTRY OF THE SPANIARDS INTO THE INTERIOR COUNTRY IS BEGUN

Following these events, which took place in a little more than three weeks, the governor ordered Captain Baltasar de Gallegos to go with sixty lancers and as many more infantry, including harquebusiers, crossbowmen, and soldiers armed with shields [*rodeleros*], to explore the interior country, and they were to go as far as the chief pueblo of the cacique Urribarracuxi, which was the province nearest the two of Muçoço and Hirrihigua. The names of these provinces are not set down here because it is not known whether they were called by the name of the caciques or whether the caciques were called by the name of their lands, for we shall see below that in many parts of this great kingdom the lord and his province and its principal pueblo are called by the same name.

Captain Baltasar de Gallegos chose the same sixty lancers who had gone with him when he went in search of Juan Ortiz, and sixty more infantry. Juan Ortiz himself was among them, so that he might be their guide on the road and their interpreter among the Indians. Thus they went as far as the pueblo of Muçoço, who came out on the road to meet them, and he entertained and regaled them that night with much festivity and rejoicing at seeing them in his country. On the next day the captain asked him for an Indian to guide them to the pueblo of Urribarracuxi. Muçoço declined, saying that he begged him not to order him to do a thing against his own reputation and honor; that it would ill become him to furnish a guide to strangers against his own brother-in-law and brother. These would complain of him, with

much reason, for having sent enemies to their land and house; now that he was a friend and servant of the Spaniards, he wished to be so without prejudice to another or to his honor. He said further that even if Urribarracuxi were not his brother-in-law, as he was, but an entire stranger, he would do the same thing for him; and certainly he would do so, since he was so nearly related by marriage and proximity. He also begged him very earnestly that they should not attribute that opposition to lack of love for and unwillingness to serve the Spaniards, for he certainly would not refuse except in order to avoid doing an unworthy thing by which he would become known as a traitor to his country, relatives, neighbors and friends; and that it would seem bad to the Castilians themselves if in that case or another like it he should do what they asked him, though it might be in their service, because, in short, it was ill done. Therefore he said that he would sooner choose death than to do a thing unbecoming to him.

Juan Ortiz replied by order of Captain Baltasar de Gallegos, and said that they had no need of a guide to show them the road, as it was well known that the one they had followed thus far was the public highway, which passed beyond to the pueblo of his brother-in-law. They requested the Indian for a messenger who would go ahead to notify the cacique Urribarracuxi of the coming of the Spaniards, so that he might not be alarmed, fearing that they had the intention of doing him evil and harm; and so that his brother-in-law might believe the messenger, who as a friend would not deceive him, they desired that he might be one of his vassals and not a stranger, so that he would be more readily believed. He was to say to Urribarracuxi on behalf of the governor that he and all his people desired not to offend anyone, and on behalf of Captain Baltasar de Gallegos, who was the one who was going to his country, he was to advise him that he carried orders and express commands from the general that, even if Urribarracuxi did not desire peace and friendship with him and his soldiers, they were to maintain it with the cacique, not out of respect for him, whom they did not know and to whom they owed nothing, but out of love for Mucoço, whom the Spaniards and their captain-general desired to please, and through him all his relatives, friends, and neighbors, as they had done in the case of Hirrihigua, who though he had been and was very rebellious, had not received nor would he receive any injury.

Much gratified, Mucoço replied that he kissed the hands of the governor, as a son of the Sun and Moon, and of all his captains and soldiers, his fellows, many times, for the grace and kindness he did him with those words, which obligated him anew to die for them; that now that he knew why they

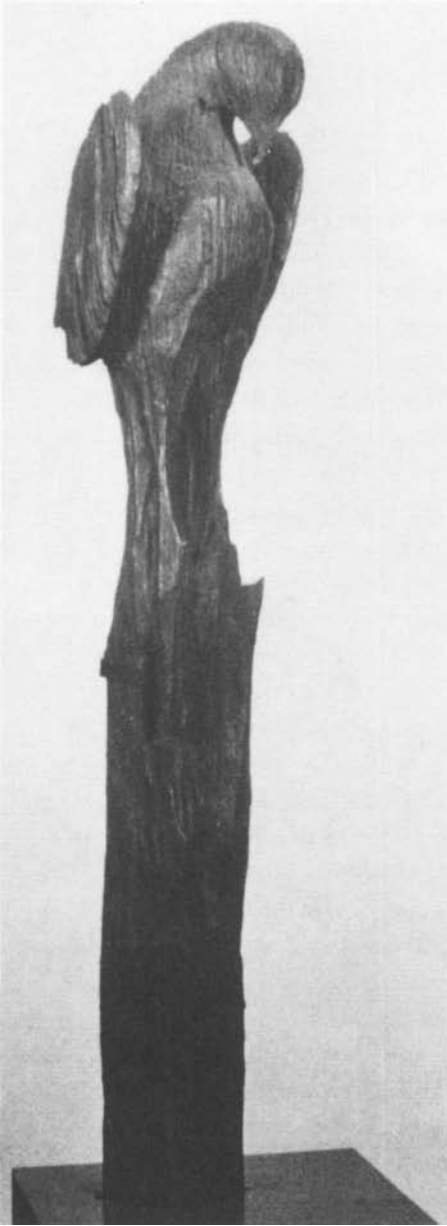
desired the guide he took great pleasure in giving one, and because it was fitting for both parties, he ordered that an Indian noble go who had been a great friend of Juan Ortiz in his past life. With him the Spaniards set out from the pueblo of Mucoço very happy and content, and still marveling to see that a barbarian should show such punctiliousness on all occasions.

In four days they went from the pueblo of Mucoço to that of his brother-in-law Urribarracuxi. From one pueblo to the other it was probably sixteen or seventeen leagues. They found it abandoned, for the cacique and all his vassals had gone to the forest in spite of the fact that the Indian friend of Juan Ortiz carried them the most affectionate message that it was possible to send them; and although after the Spaniards arrived in the pueblo he went back twice with the same message, the curaca neither wished to come out peaceably, nor to make war upon the Castilians, nor to give them an unfriendly reply. He excused himself with courteous words and with reasons that, though frivolous and vain, served his purpose.

This name *curaca* in the general language of the Indians of El Perú has the same meaning as cacique in the language of the island of Española and the neighboring ones, that is, lord of vassals. And while I am an Indian of El Perú and not of Santo Domingo or its environs, let me be permitted to introduce some words from my language in this, my work, so that it may be seen that I am a native of that land and of no other.

Throughout the twenty-five leagues that Baltasar de Gallegos and his companions marched from the pueblo of Hirrihigua to that of Urribarracuxi, they found many trees like those of Spain, there being wild grapevines, as we said above, walnuts, live oaks, mulberries, plums, pines and oaks. It was a pleasant and delightful country, which was divided between woodland and plain. There were some swamps, but they became fewer as one proceeded inland and left the seacoast.

Captain Baltasar de Gallegos sent four mounted men, among them being Gonzalo Silvestre, so that they might give this report of what they had seen to the governor, and state that there was food in that pueblo and its environs to sustain the army for some days. The four horsemen covered the twenty-five leagues that we mentioned in two days, without encountering anything worth recording on the journey. There we shall leave them in order to tell what happened in the camp meanwhile.



*A Carved Wooden Bird on a Pedestal. Florida's wetlands preserve many kinds of native artifacts that are ordinarily lost to decay. This carving probably served in a religious context. Similar items would have been encountered by De Soto's men as they advanced from town to town after the landing. (From the Fort Center Site, Glades County, Florida, courtesy of the Florida State Museum)*

## XI

### WHAT HAPPENED TO THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL ON GOING TO SEIZE A CURACA

One day while the governor was in the pueblo of Hirrihigua he received notice and certain information that the cacique had taken refuge in a forest not far from the army. The lieutenant general Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, being a man so warlike and desirous of honor, wished to go for him in order to enjoy the glory of having brought him in, willingly or otherwise; and it was of no avail for the governor to attempt to prevent his journey, saying that he would send another captain. He desired to go himself, and thus he named the cavalry and infantry that he thought well to take with him and set out from the camp with great ostentation and greater hopes of bringing as a prisoner or making a friend of the curaca Hirrihigua. The latter, since he knew through his spies that the lieutenant general and many Castilians were coming to the place where he was, sent them a messenger saying that he begged them not to proceed farther, for he was in a secure place where they could not reach him however much they might try because of the many bad crossings of streams, swamps and forests that intervened. He therefore enjoined and begged them to return before some misfortune occur if they should enter some place from which they could not get out. He gave them this warning not out of fear that they would take him, but as a recompense and service for the kindness and favor they had done him in not having inflicted the harm and damage they could have done to his country and vassals.

The cacique Hirrihigua sent this message so many times that the messengers almost overtook one another, but the faster they came the more the lieutenant general desired to pass on, believing the contrary and persuaded that it was fear on the part of the curaca and not courtesy or any manner of friendship, and that he was so persistent with the messages because he could not escape him. These ideas hurried the march, serving as a spur to all who were with him, until they reached a large and dangerous swamp. Everyone raised difficulties about crossing it, yet Vasco Porcallo insisted that they enter it; and in order to inspire them by his example—for as an experienced soldier, which he was, he knew that there was no better way for a captain to be obeyed in difficulties than to go ahead of his soldiers (though this was rashness)—he spurred his horse and entered the swamp with a rush, and



many others came in after him. But after the lieutenant general had taken a few steps, his horse fell with him, and both were about to drown, for those on foot could not swim out to reach him quickly and aid him because of the slime and mud, and they would have sunk in the mire if they had walked; and those on horseback could not come to his assistance for the same reason, for all were equally in danger, except that Vasco Porcallo's was much greater, he being weighted down with arms and enveloped in the mud with one leg pinned beneath his horse, and so he was drowning without being able to help himself.

Vasco Porcallo escaped from this danger more through Divine mercy than through human assistance, and seeing himself covered with mud, and with his hopes of taking the cacique gone, and that the Indian, without coming out to fight with him in an armed encounter, had overcome him simply with messages sent through friendship (being beaten and ashamed of himself and full of grief and melancholy), he ordered his men to return. Inasmuch as to his anger at this misfortune was added the memory of his large possessions and the ease and pleasure he had left behind in his house, and the fact that he was no longer young and the larger part of his life was now past, that all or most of the hardships of that conquest were yet to come, such as those of that day, or even worse, and that he was under no obligation to incur them of his own accord, for those that he had passed through were sufficient, he thought it well to return to his house and leave that expedition to the young men who were taking part in it.

These ideas went with him all the way; sometimes he spoke of them to himself and sometimes aloud, repeating the names of the two curacas Hirrihigua and Urribarracuxi continually, separating them into syllables and changing some of their letters so that what he wished to deduce from them would come out more clearly. He would say: "Hurri Harri, Hurri Higa. Burra coja [literally, a lame she-ass; an insult of some impact—DB], Hurri Harri; I consign to the devil the country where the first names that I heard in it, and all the rest, are so vile and infamous; I hereby aver ["Voto a tal," literally, "I swear to such"; a euphemism—DB] that from such princes there cannot be expected good middles or ends, nor from such omens favorable events. Let him work who must in order to live or to gain honor; I have more than enough property and honor for my lifetime and even after it."

With these words and other similar ones, repeated many times, he reached the army and at once asked the governor's permission to return to the island of Cuba. The governor granted it with the same liberality and graciousness with which he had received his offer for the conquest, and

along with the permission he gave him the little galleon *San Antón*, in which he left.

Vasco Porcallo divided among the gentlemen and soldiers, as he saw fit, the arms and horses and other equipment and household service of very fine and excellent quality that he had brought, being such a wealthy and noble personage. He ordered left for the use of the army all the provisions and ship-stores he had brought from his house for himself and his family. He gave orders that a natural son of his, named Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, whom he had by an Indian woman in Cuba, should remain to accompany the governor on the expedition; he left him two horses and arms and the other things needed for the conquest. The latter conducted himself throughout as a very excellent gentleman and soldier, a worthy son of such a father, serving very readily on all the occasions that offered, and after the Indians killed his horses he always went on foot, not wishing to accept from the general or any other personage the loan or gift of a horse or any other present or favor, although he might be wounded and in great need. It seemed to him that all the gifts that they made and offered were not sufficient return for the services and benefits conferred by his father upon the whole army in general and upon individuals, whereupon the governor was distressed and desirous of pleasing and gratifying this gentleman, but his nature was so strange and distant that he was never willing to accept anything from anyone.

## XII

### THE REPORT THAT BALTASAR DE GALLEGOS SENT OF WHAT HE HAD DISCOVERED

The things that we have told being concluded in a very brief time, Vasco de Porcallo embarked and took with him all the Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes whom he had brought for his own service. The impression that he left with the whole army was not of cowardice, for it did not enter into his nature, but of his inconstancy, just as when he offered himself for the conquest in the island of Cuba he had left the impression of excessive ambition, through abandoning his house, property, and ease for new things, without any necessity for them. Always in serious matters, the decisions made imprudently and without consultation with friends are apt to give rise to des-

perate repentance, with evil and injury and much dishonor for him who acts so. If this gentleman had reflected before he left his house upon that which he reflected when he was returning to it, he would not have been censured as he was, nor he himself troubled by the belittling and loss of his reputation and waste of his property, which he could have employed in this expedition with more prudence and better counsel and with more credit and honor to himself. But who can subdue a wild beast or give counsel to the free and powerful, confident of themselves and persuaded that in proportion to worldly treasures they have those of the spirit, and that the same advantage that fortune gave them over other men in the property that the latter do not gain, it bestows upon them in discretion and wisdom, which they do not learn? Therefore they neither ask advice nor wish to receive it, nor can they heed those who are ready to give it.

On the day following the departure of Vasco Porcallo there arrived at the army the four horsemen whom Baltasar de Gallegos sent with a report of what he had seen and heard of the lands they had traversed. They reported very fully and much to the satisfaction of the Spaniards, because everything they said was favorable to their pretension and conquest, with one exception. They said that in front of the pueblo of Urribarracuxi there was an extremely large swamp, very difficult to pass. Everyone was joyful at the good news, and with regard to the swamp they replied that God had given man ingenuity and skill to overcome and pass through the difficulties that arose before him.

With this report the governor ordered a proclamation issued to the effect that preparations be made to march at the end of three days. He also ordered that Gonzalo Silvestre, with twenty more cavalry, return to advise Baltasar de Gallegos that the army would follow him on the fourth day.

Since the governor had to go away from the pueblo of Hirrihigua, it was necessary to leave a presidio and garrison to defend and guard the arms, provisions and munitions belonging to the army, for he had brought large quantities of all these things, and also in order that the caravel and the two brigantines that were in the bay should not be abandoned. He therefore named Captain Pedro Calderón to remain as land and sea commander, in charge of everything pertaining to both that remained. For their defense and protection, he left forty lancers and eighty infantrymen (exclusive of the sailors on the three vessels), with orders that they remain in that place, not moving to any other, until he should send them new orders, and that they should always endeavor to keep peace with the Indians of the vicinity and on no account to commit hostilities, even though they might suffer many af-

fronts from them; and in particular they were to regale and maintain all friendly relations with Mucoço.

This order given, which Captain Pedro Calderón observed like a good captain and soldier, the governor left the Bay of Espíritu Santo and the pueblo of Hirrihigua and marched toward that of Mucoço, which he sighted on the morning of the third day of his march. Mucoço, who knew of his coming, went out to receive him with many tears and regrets at his departure, and begged him to remain that day in his pueblo. Not desiring to bother him with so many people, the governor told him that it was more convenient for him to go on, because he had each day's march set; he commended him to God and assigned to him as vassals the captain and soldiers who remained in the pueblo of Hirrihigua, thanking him anew for what he had done for him, his army, and Juan Ortiz. He embraced him with much tenderness and signs of great affection, which the goodness of this famous Indian merited. The latter kissed the governor's hands, with many tears, though he tried to keep them back, and among other expressions he used to show his grief at his absence he said that he could not tell which had been greater, his satisfaction at having known him and acknowledged him as lord, or his sorrow at seeing him leave without being able to follow his lordship, whom he begged, as a last favor, to remember him. Having taken leave of the general, he spoke to the rest of the captains and principal gentlemen and told them in fitting terms of the sorrow and solitude in which they were leaving him, and desired that the Sun direct and prosper them in all their actions. With this, the good Mucoço stopped, and the governor proceeded on his journey to the pueblo of Urribarracuxi without anything worthy of note occurring on the road.

From the Bay of Espíritu Santo to the pueblo of Urribarracuxi they traveled always to the northeast, that is, toward the north, bearing a little in the direction of the sunrise. With regard to this direction and all the rest that are stated in this *History*, it is to be noted that they are not to be taken as literally correct, in order that I may not be blamed if something else should prove to be true in the future when that country shall be won, God willing. Although I made every possible effort to set them down with certainty, I was unable to do so, because as the chief purpose of these Castilians was to conquer the land and seek gold and silver, they gave no attention to anything except gold and silver. Therefore they failed to do other things more important to them than marking out the confines of the land, and this is sufficient to excuse me for not having written with the certainty that I have wished and that was necessary.

## XIII

### THEY FAIL TWICE TO CROSS THE GREAT SWAMP, AND THE GOVERNOR GOES TO SEEK A PASSAGE, AND FINDS IT

Having arrived at the pueblo of Urribarracuxi, where Captain Baltasar de Gallegos was awaiting him, the governor sent messengers to the cacique, who was concealed in the woods, offering him friendship, but no effort was sufficient to make him come out peaceably. Seeing this, the governor left the Indian alone and busied himself in sending scouts in three directions, who went to find a passage through the swamp, which was three leagues from the pueblo and was large and very difficult to cross, for it was a league in breadth and contained a great deal of very deep mud (for which reason they call it a swamp), up to the very edge. Two-thirds of the swamp, on either side, were of mud, and the other third, in the center, was of water so deep that it could not be forded; but with all these difficulties the explorers found a crossing. They returned eight days after they had left, with news of having found it, and a very good one. With this report the governor and all his men set out from the pueblo and in two days reached the crossing of the swamp and passed over it easily, for the crossing was good; but because the swamp was so wide, they spent a whole day in passing through it. Half a league beyond the swamp they stationed themselves on a fine plain, and on the following day the same scouts, having gone out to see which way they must travel, returned saying that it was entirely impossible to go farther because of the many swamps along the streams that led out of the great swamp and inundated the flat country. This was the reason why the swamp was easily passed at the crossing of which we have told, because a great deal of water flowed out of the main body above the crossing, which facilitated the safe passage of the great swamp and made it very difficult to travel through the country. For this reason the governor wished to discover the road for himself, because if he himself could not find a way in the dangerous and difficult passes, he would not be satisfied with [sending] another. With this determination he again crossed to the other side of the swamp, and choosing a hundred cavalry and a hundred infantry to go with him, he left the rest of the army where it was with the *maese de campo* and marched three days up the swamp along one side of it, sending out scouts at intervals to see if some crossing could be found.

In all these three days there was no lack of Indians who, coming out of the woods along the edge of the swamp, assailed the Spaniards with arrows and then retreated to the woods; but some remained trapped, dead, or captured. In order to free themselves from the importunity and molestation of the Spaniards in questioning them about the road and crossing of the swamp, the prisoners offered to guide them, and as they were enemies, they led and put them into difficult passes and places where there were Indians in ambush, who came out to discharge arrows at the Christians. As soon as the Spanish perceived their malice they took four of them and threw them to the dogs, who killed them. Therefore one of the captured Indians, fearing death, offered to guide them faithfully, and taking them out of the bad passes through which they were traveling, he put them on a clear, plain and wide road, apart from the swamp. Having marched along it for four leagues, they turned back toward the swamp where they found a crossing that was free of mud at the entrance and exit, and the waters of which could be forded about breast-deep for the distance of a league except in the middle of the channel, which for a space of a hundred paces could not be forded because of its great depth. Here the Indians had made a poor sort of bridge of two large trees that had fallen into the water, and the space they did not cover was bridged over with large timbers fastened together and other smaller stakes laid athwart in the form of a balustrade. Pánphilo de Narváez had made this same crossing ten years before with his unhappy army.

Much pleased at having found this crossing, Governor Hernando de Soto summoned two soldiers, natives of the island of Cuba and mestizos, for thus throughout the West Indies they call us who are children of a Spaniard and an Indian woman or of an Indian and a Spanish woman. The children of a Negro and an Indian woman or of an Indian and a Negro woman they call *mulatos*, as in Spain. The Negroes give the name *criollos* to the children of Spanish men and women and to the children of Negro men and women who are born in the Indies, to signify that they are born there, as distinguished from those who go from here, Spain. The Spaniards have now introduced this word *criollo* into their language, giving it the same meaning as the Negroes. In the same way they call *cuarterón* or *cuatratuo* him who is one-fourth part Indian, as the son of a Spaniard and a mestiza or of a mestizo and a Spanish woman. The native of Guinea they call simply a Negro, and the Spaniard by what he is. They have all these names in the Indies to apply to the intrusive nations who are not natives.

As we were saying, the governor ordered the two islanders, whose names were Pedro Morón and Diego de Oliva, both very expert swimmers, to take

axes and cut some branches to be placed crosswise on the bridge, and to do everything that they thought would contribute to the convenience of those who had to cross over it. The two soldiers carried out their orders with all promptness, and while they were most busily engaged therein they saw some canoes emerge with Indians who had been concealed among the many reeds and rushes that are along the margins of that swamp; they were coming at top speed to shoot arrows at them. The mestizos dived headlong from the bridge and stayed under water until they came up where their companions were, slightly wounded, for because they had been under water, the arrows had not penetrated very far. After making this assault, the Indians withdrew from the pass and went where they did not see them again. The Spaniards repaired the bridge without being troubled further, and three harquebus-shots above that crossing they found another very good one for the horses.

Having found the passes he desired for crossing the swamp, the governor thought it well to give information of them immediately to Luis de Moscoso, his *maese de campo*, so that he might march after him with the army, and also in order that as soon as he should receive the news he might send him a supply of biscuit and cheese, because the people whom he had with him were in need of food, as they had brought few provisions, not having intended going so far. The governor therefore called Gonzalo Silvestre and in the presence of everyone said to him: "There fell to your lot by chance the best horse in our whole army, and it means greater toil for you, because we have to entrust [to you] the most difficult tasks that present themselves to us. Therefore have patience and mark that our lives and our conquest require that you return tonight to the camp and tell Luis de Moscoso what you have seen, and how we have found a passage through the swamp. He is to march at once after us with all the men, and as soon as you arrive he is to send you back with two loads of biscuits and cheese upon which we can subsist until we find food, for we are feeling the need of it. And so that you may return more safely than you go, you are to order him to assign thirty lancers to guard you on the road. I will wait for you in this same place until tomorrow night, when you are to return here, and although the road may seem long and difficult to you, and the time short, I know to whom I am entrusting this affair. In order that you may not go alone, take anyone you choose for a companion and go immediately, as it will be well for you to arrive in the camp by dawn so that the Indians may not kill you if daylight should overtake you before you are through the swamp."

Gonzalo Silvestre, without replying a word, left the governor and mounted his horse. On the road as he went he met one Juan López Cacho

from Sevilla, a page of the governor who had a good horse, and he said to him: "The general orders that you and I go with a message from him to the camp, by dawn; therefore follow me at once, for I am on my way." Juan López replied, saying: "By your life, take someone else! For I am tired and cannot go there." Gonzalo Silvestre answered: "The governor ordered me to choose a companion and I choose you; if you want to come, come and welcome, and if you want to stay, well and good. Our going together does not lessen the danger, nor does my going alone increase the hardship." So saying, he spurred his horse and continued on his way. Juan López, in spite of himself, mounted his horse and went after him. They left the place where the governor was at sunset, both youths, scarcely more than twenty years old.

## XIV

### WHAT THE TWO SPANIARDS EXPERIENCED ON THEIR JOURNEY UNTIL THEY ARRIVED AT THE CAMP

These two valiant and spirited Spaniards not only did not flee from hardship, though they found it quite excessive, nor fear danger, though it was so imminent, but with all readiness and promptness, as we have seen, they exposed themselves to both, and thus they traveled the first four or five leagues without any trouble whatever because the road was clear, without woods, swamps or streams, and in this distance they heard no Indians. But as soon as they had passed over it, they encountered the difficulties and bad passes they had found on going in, with deep miry places, woods, and streams that issued from the great swamp and turned to re-enter it. They could not avoid these difficult places because, as there was no open road and as they did not know the country, in order not to lose their way they were forced to return following the same trail that they had made three days before on their way in. They traveled only by the landmarks that they recognized as having seen and noted on going in.

The risk these two companions ran of being killed by the Indians was so evident that no effort they could make would have sufficed to save them from it if God in His mercy had not succored them, by means of the natural instincts of the horses. They, as if they had understanding, began at once to follow the trail they had taken on going in, putting their noses to ground like



hounds or setters in order to find and follow the road; and although at first their masters pulled at the reins, not understanding the intention of the horses, they would not raise their heads, still seeking the trail. And when they lost it, in order to find it they gave some loud sniffs and snorts that greatly alarmed their masters, who feared that the Indians would hear them. Gonzalo Silvestre's horse was better at following the trail and at finding it when they lost it. But we should not wonder at this excellence nor at many others that this horse exhibited, because he was marked out naturally by signs and color as extremely good for both peace and war. He was dark chestnut, pitch-colored, with a white left foot and a matching mark on the forehead, signs that in horses of all colors promise more goodness and loyalty than any others, whether they be jades or hacks; and the chestnut, especially pitch-colored, is good above all others for work and sport, for mud and dust. Juan López Cacho's horse was a toast-colored bay, which they call *zorruno*, with black mane and tail, extremely good but not equal in excellence to the chestnut, who guided his master and his companion. Having recognized the intention and goodness of his horse when he lowered his head to find and follow the road, Gonzalo Silvestre gladly left him alone without opposing him in any way, for they got on better thus. With these difficulties and others that can be better imagined than written, these two brave Spaniards traveled without a road all night, perishing from hunger, since for two days past they had not eaten anything except stalks of maize that the Indians had planted. They were also overcome with sleep and fatigued with labor, as were the horses, they not having been unsaddled for three days and barely having had their bridles taken off so that they could eat a little. But seeing death before their eyes if they did not overcome these hardships gave them strength to go on. On either side as they traveled they left behind large bands of Indians, who by the light of the many fires they had built seemed to be dancing, leaping and singing, eating and drinking, with much joy and merriment and a great deal of talking and shouting among themselves, which kept up all night. Whether they were celebrating some of their heathen festivals or talking of the people newly arrived in their country is not known, but the cries and shouts the Indians gave in their rejoicing meant safety and life to the two Spaniards who were passing among them, because in the midst of their great confusion and hilarity they did not hear the horses pass nor pay attention to the loud barking of their dogs, which, hearing them go by, were raising a frantic hue and cry. All of which was a Divine providence, for if it had not been for this noise on the part of

the Indians and the trailing of the horses, it would have been impossible to travel one league, much less twelve, among all those dangers without their being heard and killed.

Having traveled more than ten leagues with the difficulty that we have seen, Juan López said to his companion: "Either let me sleep awhile, or kill me with a lance-thrust on this road; I cannot go farther or stay on my horse, for I am dying for sleep." Gonzalo Silvestre, who had already twice refused him the same request, overcome by his importunity, said to him: "Get down and sleep if you like, but just because you cannot stay awake an hour longer you will have the Indians kill us. Considering the distance we have come, the crossing of the swamp cannot be far away, and it would be well for us to pass through it before daylight, for if day overtakes us here it will be impossible to escape death."

Without waiting for any more argument, Juan López Cacho fell on the ground like a dead man, and his companion took his lance and his horse's reins. At that hour a great darkness overspread everything, and with it came so much water from the sky that it seemed to be a deluge, but however much it rained on Juan López it did not wake him, for the power that sleep has over the human body is extremely great, and as such a necessary ailment it cannot be denied.

The rain ceased, the clouds passed away, and clear daylight appeared all in a moment, so much so that Gonzalo Silvestre blamed himself for not having seen the day dawn, but it might be that he had slept on horseback also, as did his comrade on the ground. I knew one gentleman (among others) who in traveling went three or four leagues while asleep, without waking or paying attention when they spoke to him, and at times he was thereby in great danger of being dragged on the ground by his pack animal. As soon as Gonzalo Silvestre saw the daylight so clearly, he hurriedly called Juan López, and because the hoarse, low, and quiet calls that he gave were not sufficient to awaken him, he made use of the butt-end of the lance and roused him with several good strokes, saying to him: "See what your sleepiness has caused us; look at the full daylight, which we feared, and which has caught us where we cannot escape death at the hands of our enemies."

Juan López mounted his horse, and they traveled with all haste at a faster gait than pacing, going at a canter, the horses being so good that they could stand both the past work and the present. By daylight the two horsemen could not avoid being seen by the Indians, and in a moment an alarm and outcry was raised, warning being sent from one side of the swamp to the other with such a buzz and clamor and resounding of conch shells,

trumpets, drums, and other rude instruments that it seemed they wished to kill them with the noise alone.

At the same moment so many canoes appeared on the water, coming out from between the reeds and rushes, that these Spaniards, in imitation of the poetic fables, said that they looked like nothing so much as the leaves of the trees, which on falling into the water were converted into canoes. The Indians assembled so rapidly and swiftly at the crossing of the swamp that when the Christians reached it they were already waiting for them on the high ground.

The two companions, though they saw the imminent peril that after so much hardship undergone on land, was awaiting them in the water, considering that fear would make it greater and more certain than would daring, threw themselves at it with great force and boldness, without heeding anything except making haste to pass over that league that, as we have said, was the breadth of this bad swamp. It was God's will that, since the horses were covered with water and the riders well armed, all came out safely without wounds, which was no small miracle in view of the infinite number of arrows that they had shot at them. One of them, telling later of the mercy the Lord had shown them, particularly at this place, in that they had not killed or wounded them, said that, after coming out of the water, he had turned around to see what remained there and saw it as thickly covered with arrows as a street would be with rushes on some great and solemn festival day.

In the little that we have told about these two Spaniards, and in other similar cases we shall note later, may be seen the bravery of the Spanish nation, which, undergoing so many and such great hardships and others even more severe, which through their negligence have not been recorded, won the New World for their prince—a fortunate acquisition for both Indians and Spaniards, for the latter gained temporal wealth and the former spiritual.

The Spaniards who were with the army, hearing such a strange shouting and uproar among the Indians and suspecting what it might be, assembled with all haste, and more than thirty horsemen went out to the relief of the passage of the swamp.

Nuño Tovar was well in the lead of all of them, running full speed on a most handsome horse, a bright dappled gray, with such wildness and dash on the part of the horse and such an expression of intrepidity on the face of the rider that simply by the gallantry and nobility of his person, as such a fine figure of a horseman, he could reassure the two companions who were in such danger.

Although in disfavor with his captain-general, this good gentleman did not fail to show on all occasions his personal prowess and courageous spirit, always doing his duty in order to comply with the obligation and debt he owed to his own nobility. Disdain with all its power could never subdue him and make him do otherwise; generosity of spirit never permits depravity in those who truly possess it. To this the princes and the powerful who are tyrants, when, with or without reason, they become offended, rarely or never respond with the reconciliation and pardon such persons deserve. It seems rather that they become more and more offended as they dwell on their virtue; therefore he who finds himself in such a case, in my opinion and poor judgment, if he has nothing to eat should go beg it for the love of God rather than persist in their service, because whatever miracles he may perform in it will not suffice to restore him to their favor.

## XV

### THIRTY LANCERS GO OUT AFTER THE GOVERNOR WITH THE SUPPLY OF BISCUITS

Although they saw the two Spaniards come out of the water, the Indians did not cease pursuing them by land, shooting many arrows at them in the great anger they felt at their having traveled so many leagues without their people hearing them; but as soon as they saw Nuño Tovar and the rest of the horsemen who were coming to their aid, they left them and returned to the woods and the swamp in order not to be run down by the horses, as they could not sustain an engagement with them in the open field.

The two companions were received by their people with great pleasure and rejoicing, and much more so when they saw that they had not been wounded. The maese de campo Luis de Moscoso, learning of the general's order, prepared the thirty horsemen to return immediately with Gonzalo Silvestre, who scarcely took time to breakfast on two mouthfuls of half-matured maize cooked on the ear and a little cheese they gave him, as there was nothing else, for the whole camp was suffering from hunger. They took two pack mules laden with biscuits and cheese, a scanty enough provision for so many people if God had not provided another source, as we shall see later. Gonzalo Silvestre set out with these supplies and his thirty companions within an hour after he arrived at the camp. Juan López remained there, saying that the general had not ordered him either to return or to come.

The thirty mounted men crossed the swamp without opposition from the Indians, and although they brought men from the army to help them in the crossing, there was no necessity for it. They marched all that day without seeing the enemy, and notwithstanding the haste that they made they were unable to reach the place where the governor told them he would await them until two hours after dark. They found that the general had crossed the swamp and pressed forward, at which they were much disturbed, finding themselves thirty men alone in the midst of so many enemies as they feared were surrounding them. Because they did not know where the governor had gone, they did not follow him. They agreed to remain in the same camp that he had made on the previous night, adopting among themselves the plan that ten of them would make the rounds on horseback the first third of the night, another ten would stand watch with their horses saddled and bridled, with the reins in their hands in order to be able to go quickly wherever it might be necessary to fight, and the remaining ten would have their horses saddled but not bridled, and allow them to eat, so that in this manner, working and resting by turns, they could undergo their nocturnal toil. Thus the whole night passed, without any sign of the enemy.

As soon as daylight came, seeing the trail that the governor had left through the swamp, they passed on, experiencing good fortune in that the Indians had not occupied it in order to oppose their passage. It would have been a great hardship for them to have made it fighting in water breast-deep, without being able to attack or flee and having no missile weapons with which to keep the enemy at a distance; they, on the other hand, having great facility for going and coming in their canoes against our people and shooting arrows at them from a distance or at close range. Certainly on this occasion and on other similar ones the *History* will recount, one is moved to consider what might be the reason why the same Indians, in the same places and circumstances, on some days should fight with such eagerness and desire to kill the Castilians and on others pay no attention to them. I can give no other reason except that in fighting or not fighting they would be obliged to observe some of their heathen superstitions, as some nations did in the time of the great Julius Caesar, or that, seeing that the Spaniards were passing on and did not stop in their country, they let them alone. However it might be, the thirty horsemen accepted it as a piece of good luck and followed the governor's trail. Having marched six leagues, they found him encamped in some very beautiful valleys having large maize fields, so productive that each stalk had three or four ears, some of which they gathered while mounted on their horses, in order to appease their hunger. They ate them raw, giving thanks to

God, our Lord, for having succored them with such abundance, for to the needy anything seems a great deal.

The governor received them very well, and with generous words and much praise he commended the good work that Gonzalo Silvestre had done and the great danger and insupportable hardships that he had undergone. He said finally that he could not humanly have done more; he offered to reward such merit in the future, and on the other hand he asked his pardon for not having waited for him, as he had failed to do, saying by way of excuse that he had passed on, first, because the hunger they were experiencing could not be endured, and second, because he had little hope of his returning in view of the great risk that he ran, and that he had feared the Indians might have killed him.

This very fertile province where the thirty horsemen found the governor was called Acuera, and its lord had that same name.<sup>1</sup> The latter, learning of the arrival of the Castilians in his country, fled to the woods with all his people. From the province of Uribarracuxi to that of Acuera it is about twenty leagues, on a north-south line.

Having received the general's order, the maese de campo Luis de Moscoso immediately, on that same day, set the army in motion. They crossed the swamp easily, finding no opposition from the enemy, and continued their march. In three days they reached the other crossing of the same swamp, and as that ford was wider and carried more water than the other, they spent three days in crossing it, during which time, and in the twelve leagues they marched along the edge of the swamp, they did not see a single Indian. This was no small favor that they [the Indians] did them, for the crossings being so difficult in themselves, however little opposition they might have given them, it would have greatly increased their troubles.

While Luis de Moscoso was crossing the swamp, the governor, because his people were suffering from hunger, sent him a great deal of Indian corn

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<sup>1</sup>In Rangel's account, Acuera was bypassed on the way to Ocale. Further, between Garcilaso's Acuera and Apalache it is difficult to reconcile the Inca's account with those of the other chroniclers. There is some disagreement on how best to correlate the conflicting itineraries. John R. Swanton believed that the Inca's misplaced Acuera equates with the Ocale (or Cale) of Rangel and Elvas, and that the Inca transplanted the name *Ocali* to the next province, Potano. John H. Hann, in contrast, prefers to stand by Garcilaso's *Ocali* as identical to the Ocale of the others. By Hann's reconstruction, the Potano province is altogether omitted in *La Florida*. John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington: U.S.G.P.O., 1939 [76th Cong., 1st sess., House. Doc. 71]), 144; John H. Hann, "De Soto, Dobyms, and Demography in Western Timucua," *The Florida Anthropologist* 43 (1990):3-4.

or maize, with which they satisfied themselves and arrived at the place where the governor was.

## XVI

### THE INSOLENT REPLY OF THE LORD OF THE PROVINCE OF ACUERA

The whole army having assembled in Acuera, while the men and horses were recovering from the hunger they had suffered in the days past, which was no small thing, the governor with his accustomed clemency sent messages to the cacique Acuera with some of his Indians whom he had captured, saying that he begged him to come out peaceably and to consent to have Spaniards for friends and brothers; that the latter were a warlike people and brave, who, if their friendship was not accepted, could do much harm and damage to his lands and vassals. At the same time he was to understand and be convinced that they did not have the intention of injuring anyone, as they had not done in the provinces they had left behind them, but on the contrary felt a strong friendship for those who had been willing to receive it. Their chief intention was to reduce through peace and friendship all the provinces and nations of that great kingdom to the obedience and service of the most powerful emperor and king of Castilla, their lord, whose servants they were; and the governor desired to see and speak with him in order to tell him these things more fully and to give him an account of the order that his king and lord had given him to deal and communicate with the lords of that land.

The cacique replied haughtily, saying that he had already had much information from other Castilians who had come to that country years before as to who they were, and he knew very well about their lives and customs, which consisted in occupying themselves like vagabonds in going from one land to another, living from robbing, pillaging, and murdering those who had not offended them in any way. He by no means desired friendship or peace with such people, but rather mortal and perpetual warfare, and even though they might be as brave as they boasted of being, he had no fear of them because he and his vassals considered themselves no less valiant, as proof of which he promised to wage war against them during all the time that they might see fit to remain in his province, not in the open nor in a pitched battle, although he could do so, but by waylaying and ambushes,

taking them off guard. Therefore he warned and admonished them to watch and be on their guard against him and his people, whom he had ordered to bring him every week two heads of Christians, and no more; that this would satisfy him because by beheading two of them every eight days, he thought to put an end to all of them within a few years, for although they might settle and make establishments they could not perpetuate themselves because they brought no women to have children and carry the next generation onward. To what they said about giving obedience to the king of Spain, he replied that he himself was king in his own country and there was no necessity for becoming the vassal of another who had as many as he. Those who put themselves under a foreign yoke when they could live free he regarded as very mean-spirited and cowardly. He and all his people protested that they would die a thousand deaths to maintain their liberty and that of their country; and he gave that reply once and for all. With regard to their vassalage and their statement that they were servants of the emperor and king of Castilla, and that they were going about conquering new lands for his empire, he said that it was well and good that they were all of this; that now he held them in less esteem, since they admitted being servants of another and that they were laboring and gaining kingdoms so that others might rule them and enjoy the fruits of their labors. Inasmuch as they were undergoing hunger, fatigue, and other hardships in such an enterprise, and risking their lives, it would be better and more honorable and profitable for them to win and acquire these things for themselves and their descendants than for strangers; and since they were so mean-spirited that, being so far away, they did not abjure the name of servants, they need not hope for [his] friendship at any time, for he could not bestow it in such a mean way, nor did he wish to know the order of their king. He knew what he might do in his own country and the manner in which he must treat them; therefore they should leave as quickly as they could if they did not all wish to die at his hands.

On hearing the Indian's reply, the governor was amazed to see with what arrogance and pride of spirit a barbarian was able to say such things, for which reason from that time forward he attempted more insistently to win his friendship, sending him many messages couched in affectionate and courteous terms. But the curaca said to all the Indians who went to him that he had sent his reply the first time and that he intended to give no other response, nor did he.

The army was in this province twenty days, resting from the hardship and hunger of their past march and collecting the things necessary for passing on. During these days the governor was engaged in obtaining information



and reports concerning the province. He sent runners in every direction to observe carefully and diligently and note the good parts of it, and they brought favorable news.

In those twenty days the Indians were not sleeping; on the other hand they did not fail to carry out the threats and menaces their curaca had made against the Castilians, and so that the latter might see that they had not been empty ones, they were so watchful and astute in their stratagems that no Spaniard wandered a hundred paces from the camp that they did not shoot him with arrows and immediately behead him, and as quickly as his people went to his assistance they found themselves without their heads, which the Indians carried off to present to their cacique, as he had ordered them to do.

The Christians interred the bodies of the dead where they found them. The Indians returned the following night, disinterred them, cut them in pieces, and hung them from the trees where the Spaniards could see them. By such acts they complied well with what their cacique had ordered them, namely, that they bring him two heads of Christians every week, for in two days they brought him four, two at a time, and fourteen during the whole space of time the Spaniards were in his country, not counting those whom they wounded, who were many more. They came out to make these assaults so safely and so near their haunts, which were the woods, that they could return to them very easily, having done as much damage as possible, without losing a single opportunity that was offered them. From this the Castilians came to verify the truth of the words that the Indians whom they found all along the road through the great swamp had shouted to them: "Go on, thieves, traitors; in Acuera and farther on in Apalache they will treat you as you deserve; they will cut you all in quarters and pieces and hang you from the highest trees along the road."

The Spaniards, however they might try, did not kill fifty Indians in that whole time, because they were very cautious and vigilant in their stratagems.

## XVII

### THE GOVERNOR ARRIVES IN THE PROVINCE OF OCALI, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE THERE

At the end of the twenty days the governor left the province of Acuera without doing any damage in the pueblos or the cultivated fields, so that

they would not regard them [the Spaniards] as cruel and inhuman. He went in search of another province, called Ocali.<sup>2</sup> There are about twenty leagues from the one to the other. They directed their march toward the north, bearing a little to the northeast. They passed an uninhabited region ten or twelve leagues in extent, which lies between the two provinces, in which there were large forests of walnuts, pines, and other trees unknown in Spain. They all appeared to have been set out by hand, there being so much space from one to another that horses could even run between them. It was a very open and pleasant forest.

In this province there were no longer found so many swamps and difficult passes at miry places as were in the former ones, because, as it was farther removed from the coast, the salt marshes and bays that entered the others from the sea did not reach to them. In the former region the land is so low and flat that the sea extends into it in some places thirty leagues, in others forty, fifty or sixty, and in some more than a hundred, forming great swamps and morasses that make it difficult and even impossible to cross them. These Castilians found some so bad that upon placing the foot on them the earth trembled for twenty or thirty paces round about. On top it looked as if horses could pass over it, for the surface was dry, without a sign that there was water or mud underneath. On breaking through that surface the horses and the men as well sank and were drowned, unable to help themselves. They were put to much trouble in going around these places. They also found this province of Ocali more abundant in supplies than the others we have mentioned, both because there were more people in it who cultivated the soil and because it was more fertile in itself. The Spaniards noticed the same in all the provinces they traversed throughout this great kingdom, that is, the farther inland the country was and the more removed from the sea, the more populous it was and the more fertile and productive in itself.

In the four provinces referred to, and in the others we shall mention later, and generally throughout the land of La Florida that these Spaniards discovered, they experienced a great scarcity of provisions of meat, because they found none in all the region that they passed through, nor did the Indians have any domesticated cattle. There are many common deer and fallow deer throughout that country, which the Indians kill with their bows and arrows. The fallow deer are so large that they are little smaller than the red deer of Spain, and the red deer are like large bulls. There are also very large bears and panthers, as we said above.

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<sup>2</sup>See note 1 concerning the identity of Garcilaso's Ocali in light of the other chronicles.



*A Palmetto. From their landing site in Florida the expedition entered the flat, sandy, pine barrens of the southeastern coastal plain. Here they marched through seemingly endless forests of longleaf pine trees, broad swamps, and vast thickets of saw palmetto. The berries of the saw palmetto are edible, and the natives used the leaves to thatch their houses. (Courtesy of the University of Alabama Museum of Natural History)*

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Having passed over the twelve leagues of uninhabited country, they marched another seven through inhabited lands having a few homes scattered through the fields, not in the form of a pueblo. Throughout the seven leagues there was this form of habitation. At the end of them was the principal pueblo, called Ocali, like the province itself and its cacique. He and all his people, carrying what they had in their houses, fled to the woods.

The Spaniards entered the pueblo, which had six hundred houses. They lodged themselves in them, finding there much food in the form of maize and other grains, vegetables, and various fruits, such as plums, nuts, raisins, and acorns. The governor at once sent Indians to the chief curaca, offering him peace and the friendship of the Castilians. The Indian excused himself on that occasion with courteous words, saying that he could not come out so soon. After six days he came out peaceably, though still suspicious, because in all the time that he was with the Spaniards he never acted honestly. The governor and his people, having received him very affectionately, pretended not to see the ill will they perceived in him, so that he might not be more disturbed than he was already with his own evil plans, as we shall soon see.

Near the pueblo there was a large river, carrying much water, that even then, it being summer, could not be forded. There were precipices on either side as high as the length of two pikes and as perpendicular as walls. Throughout La Florida, because of the almost total absence of stone in the country, the rivers cut very deeply and have very steep banks. This river is described more fully than the others because further mention will be made of a notable feat that thirty Spaniards performed on it.

In order to cross this river it was necessary to construct a wooden bridge, and the governor having made an agreement with the curaca to have his Indians build it, they went out one day to see the site where it was to be placed. While they were walking about planning the bridge, more than five hundred Indian archers rushed out of some underbrush that was on the other side of the river and shouted loudly: "You want a bridge, do you, thieves, vagabonds, foreigners? Well, you will not see it made by our hands!" Whereupon they sent a shower of arrows toward the place where the cacique and the governor were. The latter asked, "How is it that you permit this impudence, when you have represented yourself as a friend?" The cacique replied that it was not in his power to remedy it because many of his vassals, seeing him inclined to the friendship and service of the Spaniards, had refused him obedience and lost respect for him, as was shown on that occasion, for which he was not to blame.

At the shout the Indians raised on shooting their arrows, a greyhound,

which one of the governor's pages was leading by the collar, jumped and knocked down the page, dragging him on the ground. He gave a leap and threw himself into the water, and however much the Spaniards might call to him, he would not come back. Seeing the dog swimming, the Indians shot at him so skillfully that they placed more than fifty arrows in his head and shoulders, which were exposed. With all this the dog was able to come out on the bank, but on leaving the water he at once fell dead. This grieved the governor and all his people very much, because he was an extremely fine animal and much needed in the conquest, during which, in the short time that it had lasted, he had made forays that caused no little wonder against the Indian enemies, both by day and by night, only one of which we shall recount, in order to show his prowess.

## XVIII

### CONCERNING OTHER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE PROVINCE OF OCALI

During the six days that the cacique Ocali was in hiding in the woods, before he came out peaceably, the governor took care to send him three or four messengers every day with friendly messages, so that the Indian might see that they were not forgetting him. They returned with the reply that the curaca gave them. With one of these messengers there came four young Indian nobles with a great many plumes on their heads, which are the principal adornment that they wear. They came for no reason except to see the Spanish army and to note what kind of people the new arrivals were, how they looked, what kind of clothing and arms they wore, what sort of animals the horses were, with which they had so frightened them. In short, they came to confirm or undeceive themselves regarding the great things that they had heard said of the Spaniards.

Having received them affably, because he knew that they were nobles, and curious, and that they came only to see this army, the governor, having given them presents of things from Spain to make friends with them and through them with the cacique, ordered that they be taken to another part of his lodgings and served with food.

The Indians were eating very quietly when, at a moment when they felt that the Castilians were off their guard, all four jumped up together and ran

at full speed toward the woods, so swiftly that the Christians were doubtful of being able to overtake them on foot, for they did not follow them, nor did they pursue them on their horses, as they did not have them at hand.

The greyhound, which happened to be nearby, hearing the shout the Indians gave and seeing them run, followed them. As if he had human understanding, he passed by the first whom he overtook and also the second and the third, until reaching the fourth, who was running ahead. Seizing him by the shoulder, he threw him down and held him on the ground. Meanwhile the Indian who was nearest came up; as the dog saw that he was passing by he loosed the first one and caught the one who was passing, and having thrown him down, he grasped the third, who was now passing by, and having done the same with him as with the first two, he went at the fourth, who now came up. Throwing him to the ground, he returned to the others and ran between them with such dexterity and skill, leaping at the one who was down and grasping and pulling down him who raised up, and threatening them with loud barks at the same time that he seized them, that he confused and held them until the Spaniards came up to their assistance. They took the four Indians and returned with them to the camp. Taking each one separately, they questioned them as to why they had fled, so without occasion, fearing that this might be a countersign for some treachery that they had plotted. All four replied as one person that they had done it for no reason at all except a vain fancy that seized them, it appearing to them that it would be a great exploit and proof of gallantry and agility if they should escape from the midst of the Castilians in that manner. They thought to boast of this brave exploit later among the Indians, because of its being in their opinion a great victory, of which they had been deprived by the hound Bruto, for so the dog was named.

At this point Juan Coles, having recounted some of the things that we have told, tells another particular exploit of the hound Bruto. He says that on another river, before coming to Ocali, some Indians and Spaniards being on its bank talking together peacefully, one daring Indian, there being many such, gave a Castilian a hard blow with his bow, for no reason whatever, and then jumped into the water, and all his people followed him. He says that the hound, which was nearby, seeing what happened, jumped in after them, and although he overtook other Indians, he says that he did not seize any of them until he came to the one who had struck the blow, and grasping him, he tore him to pieces in the water.

For these attacks and for others that Bruto had made upon them while guarding the army at night, so that no enemy Indian approached it whom he



*Spanish Cavalier with War Dog, ca. 1500–1540. An armored horseman with shield and lance was a formidable foe to the Native American warriors of the Southeast. During the conquest the Spaniards used greyhounds trained as attack dogs to assist them. (Courtesy of Osprey Publishing, London)*

did not immediately destroy, the Indians avenged themselves by killing him as has been told. Knowing about him from these stories, they shot him very willingly, at the same time showing their skill with their bows and arrows.

Greyhounds have performed wonderful feats in the conquests in the New World, as did Becerrillo on the island of San Juan de Puerto Rico, where the Spaniards gave to the dog from the profits that they made, or through him to his master, who was an harquebusier, the part and share of an harquebusier. To Leoncillo, as son of this hound, there fell 500 pesos in gold at one distribution of the riches won by the famous Vasco Núñez de Balboa, after having discovered the South Sea.

## XIX

### THE SPANIARDS BUILD A BRIDGE AND CROSS THE RÍO DE OCALI, AND ARRIVE AT OCHILE

The governor, seeing the little respect and less obedience that the Indians had for their cacique Ocali, and that keeping him with him would be of little or no use in the building of the bridge or for any other purpose, decided to release him so that he could return to his people, and so that the other lords of that region should not become alarmed, believing that they were detaining him against his will. Thus he called him one day and said that he had always given him his liberty and treated him as a friend, but that he did not desire that for the sake of this friendship he should lose the confidence of his vassals, nor that they, thinking that he was being held a prisoner, should become more rebellious than they were already. Therefore he begged that he go to them whenever he liked and return when he saw fit, or not, just as he pleased; that he gave him liberty to do anything.

The curaca gladly received it, saying that he wished to return to his vassals solely for the purpose of reducing them to obedience to the governor so that all of them might come to serve him, and if he could not win them over he would come alone, to show the love he had for his lordship's service. Along with this promise he made many others, but carried out none of them, nor did he return as he had promised; of the prisoners who have left prison under their own word of honor, few have done as did Atilius Regulus.

The cacique having gone, the Spaniards, through the efforts of a Genoese engineer named Maese Francisco, laid out the bridge by geometry and built



it of large thick planks thrown out over the water and fastened together with heavy ropes (which had been brought along for such uses). The planks were joined and connected with large and thick stakes that were laid across the tops of them. As there was all the timber in that country that one could desire, they used as much as they liked, and with it the work on the bridge was finished in a few days. It came out so well that men and horses crossed on it at their pleasure.

Before crossing the river, the governor directed his men to set some ambushes in order to capture such Indians as they could to take along as guides, because the few who had come to serve the Castilians fled at the departure of the cacique. They captured thirty Indians, large and small, whom, with flattery, gifts, and promises, and on the other hand with many threats of cruel death if they refused, they induced to guide them to another province that is sixteen leagues from that of Ocali.<sup>3</sup> This distance, though uninhabited, was a pleasant country full of many forests and streams that flowed through it, and very level and fertile if it should be cultivated.

The army marched the first eight leagues in two days, and after covering half of the third day's march, the governor went ahead with a hundred cavalry and hundred infantry, and marching the rest of the day and all the following night he came at dawn to a pueblo called Ochile,<sup>4</sup> which was the first one of a large province named Vitachuco. This province was very extensive, and the route of the Spaniards lay through it for more than fifty leagues. Three brothers had divided it among them;<sup>5</sup> the eldest of them was named Vitachuco, as was the province itself and its chief pueblo, as we shall see below. He ruled over half of it as of five parts out of ten. The second, whose name is

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<sup>3</sup>From this point Garcilaso's text diverges substantially from the other chroniclers, collapsing the itinerary by apparently deleting the province of Potano, and misidentifying the next several place-names. See the discussion in Hann, "De Soto, Dobyns, and Demography," 3–6.

<sup>4</sup>Both the names Ochile and Vitachuco are misplaced in Garcilaso's narrative. They properly belong in the Apalache province, but are here confused with places and events in Timucuan territory passed through before the army entered Apalache. Garcilaso's Ochile, equivalent in name to Rangel's Agile and Elvas's Axille, appears to be the same place as Aguacaleyquen or Caliquen of the other accounts. Similarly Vitachuco is here transposed and applied to the Napituca of Rangel and Elvas. Note that the Varners' translation of this passage erroneously has Ochile as "the principal village of Vitachuco." Swanton, *Final Report*, 145–46; Hann, "De Soto, Dobyns, and Demography," 5–6; John G. Varner and Jeanette J. Varner, trans. and eds., *The Florida of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), 129.

<sup>5</sup>The installation of brothers as district chiefs within a paramount or complex chiefdom was apparently a common political strategy among late Mississippian societies.

not given here because it has been forgotten, owned three of the other five parts, and the youngest, who was lord of this pueblo of Ochile, and of the same name, had the two [remaining] parts. For what reason or how such a division was made is not known, because in the rest of the provinces through which these Castilians traveled the firstborn inherited, in the manner in which entailed estates are inherited, without any part being given to the second sons. It might be that these parts had been joined through marriages that had been made with the provision that they would again be divided among the sons, or that relatives who had died without legal heirs had left them to the parents of these three brothers with the same condition that they be divided among their successors so that there might be some memory of them. The desire for immortality preserved in fame, since it is natural to men, is found in all nations, however barbarous they may be.

As we have said, then the adelantado arrived at dawn at the pueblo Ochile, which had fifty large and strong houses, because it was a frontier and defense against the neighboring province that he had left behind, which was an enemy, as almost all are in that kingdom to one another. He came upon the pueblo unawares and ordered the military musical instruments to be played, such as trumpets, fifes, and drums, so as to cause greater astonishment with their noise. They seized many Indians who, at the novelty of this clamor, came out of their houses terrified to see what was that thing they had never before heard. They assaulted the house of the curaca, which was a very fine one, consisting of a single chamber more than 120 paces in length and forty in width. It had four doors facing the four cardinal directions. Surrounding the principal chamber and joining it, on the outside, were many apartments that communicated with the interior of a large chamber, as its offices.<sup>6</sup>

In this house was the cacique with many warriors whom he was accustomed to keep with him constantly, as a man who had many enemies, and at the unexpected attack many more men came up from the pueblo. The curaca ordered the call to arms sounded and attempted to go out to fight with the Castilians, but for all the haste with which he and his Indians had taken up their arms to leave the house, the Christians already had gained the four doors and prevented their leaving, threatening to burn them alive if they did

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<sup>6</sup>John H. Hann provides an alternative translation of this passage having potential ethnographic significance, thus: "Round about the great room, joined to it, there were many lodgings (*Aposentos*) on the outside, which opened into the inside of the room, like workshops of it . . . (*como oficinas de ella*)." Hann, "De Soto, Dobyns, and Demography," 4.

not surrender. On the other hand they offered them peace, friendship and all good treatment. But the curaca was unwilling to submit either as the result of threats or of rewards [promised] until, after the sun was up, they brought him many of his people whom they had taken. These Indians assured him that the Spaniards were very numerous and that they could not overcome them with arms, but that they could depend upon them and their friendship because they had treated none of the prisoners badly; that he would have to submit to the present necessity, for there was nothing else to do.

The cacique submitted to these persuasions; the governor received him kindly, ordered that the Spaniards treat the Indians in a very friendly manner, and keeping the curaca with him he caused all the rest of the Indians to be released, at which the lord and the vassals were very well pleased.

This victory being won, seeing that in a very beautiful valley on the other side of the pueblo there was a large settlement of houses scattered in groups of four or five, more or less, where there were many Indians, it seemed to the general that it would not be safe to pass the following night in that pueblo, because the Indians, joining together and seeing how few the Castilians were, might attempt to take the curaca away from them and instigate an uprising of all the lords of that district. Therefore he left the pueblo and went to the place where his men were, taking the curaca with him. He found his people camped three leagues from the pueblo; they had been anxious because of his absence, but rejoiced greatly at his coming and at the fine capture he had made. With the cacique went his servants and many other Indian warriors who wished voluntarily to go with him.

## XX

### THE BROTHER OF THE CURACA OCHILE COMES ON A FRIENDLY VISIT, AND THEY SEND AMBASSADORS TO VITACHUCO

On the following day the army entered Ochile in battle array, the infantry and cavalry formed in squadrons, sounding the trumpets, fifes, and drums, so that the Indians might see that they were not a people to be trifled with. The army being encamped, the governor agreed with the curaca Ochile to send messengers to his two brothers with overtures of peace and friendship, so that, the messages being from him, they would receive them better and

give more credit to their statements. The cacique sent them to each of the two brothers separately with the most favorable words and arguments that he could form, telling them how those Spaniards had come to their country and that they had the desire and intention of having all the Indians for friends and brothers, and that they were traversing other provinces and did no damage where they passed, especially to those who came out to receive them peacefully; that they contented themselves simply with the necessary food; and that if they did not come out to serve them, they ravaged the pueblos, burned the wood of the houses in the place of firewood, so as not to go to the forest for it, consumed wastefully the provisions that they found, taking at discretion more than they needed, and acted otherwise as if they were in an enemy country. All of this was averted by receiving the peace they offered and showing themselves to be friends, if only for their own interests.

The second brother, who was nearest, and whose name we do not know, replied immediately, thanking his brother for the advice that he sent him and saying that he was much pleased at the arrival of the Castilians in his country, that he desired to see and know them, and that he did not come at once with the messengers because he was attending to the things necessary in order to serve them better and to receive them with the finest possible celebration and entertainment; that within three or four days he would go to kiss the governor's hands and give him obedience. Meanwhile he begged his brother to accept and confirm the peace and friendship with the Spaniards, as he regarded them as lords and friends from that time forth.

At the end of the three days Ochile's brother arrived, accompanied by many and very resplendent nobles. He kissed the governor's hands and talked with much familiarity to the captains, officials, and private gentlemen of the army, asking who each of them was, behaving as freely as if he had been brought up among them. The Spaniards made much of the cacique and all his attendants, for the general and his officers entertained with much care and attention the curacas and Indians who came out peacefully, nor did they harm those who were rebellious or damage their pueblos and lands, unless it were unavoidable in taking the necessary food.

The third brother, who was the eldest and the most powerful politically, was unwilling to reply to the message that his brother Ochile sent him; on the other hand he detained the messengers, not allowing them to return. Therefore the two brothers, persuaded and urged by the governor, again sent other messengers on the same errand, adding very favorable words in praise of the Spaniards, saying that he should not fail to accept the peace and

friendship these Christians offered him, for they warned him that they were not people whom he could presume to conquer in war; that personally they were exceedingly brave and were regarded as invincible, and by their lineage, quality and nature they were children of the Sun and the Moon, their gods, and as such they had come from out there where the sun rises. They brought some animals they called horses, so swift, brave, and strong that it was impossible to escape them by flight, nor could they be resisted with arms and force.

Therefore, as brothers concerned for his life and safety, they begged him not to refuse to accept that which was conducive thereto, because to do otherwise would be simply to seek evil and harm for himself and his vassals and lands.

Vitachuco responded most extraordinarily, with a greatness of mind never before heard or imagined in an Indian, so that certainly, if the extravagant threats that he made and the arrogant words that he spoke could be written as the messengers reported them, none of the bravest gentlemen whom the divine Ariosto and the most illustrious and enamored Count Matheo María Boyardo, his predecessor, and other celebrated poets introduce in their works would equal those of this Indian. In the long interval that has passed meanwhile, many of them have been forgotten, and also the order in which they were spoken has been lost, but those who would remember them say explicitly that those words written in the following chapter indisputably and certainly are his, which he sent to say to his two brothers in reply to the embassy they sent to him.

## XXI

### CONCERNING THE ARROGANT AND PRESUMPTUOUS REPLY OF VITACHUCO, AND HOW HIS BROTHERS GO TO PERSUADE HIM TO PEACE

“It is very clear that you are young and lacking in judgment and experience to say what you do concerning these Spaniards; you praise them highly as virtuous men who do no harm or injury to anyone, and say that they are very brave and are children of the Sun, and deserve whatever service is done them. The confinement in which they have placed you, and the vile and

cowardly spirit that has overcome you there in the short time since you have submitted to serve and become slaves, causes you to speak like women, praising what ought to be condemned and abhorred. Do you not see that these Christians cannot be better than the former ones who committed so many cruelties in this land, since they are of the same nation and laws? Are you not warned of their treachery and perfidy? If you were men of good judgment, you would see that their very lives and actions show them to be children of the devil and not of the Sun and Moon, our gods, because they go from one land to another, killing, robbing, and sacking whatever they find, taking the wives and daughters of others without bringing their own; and in order to settle and make establishments, they are not content with any country of all those that they see and traverse, for it delights them to go about like vagabonds, supporting themselves by the labor and sweat of others. If they were virtuous, as you say, they would not leave their own country, for they could make use of their virtue there, sowing, planting, and breeding in order to sustain life, without prejudice to others and infamy on their own part; but they go about as highwaymen, adulterers, and murderers, without shame before men or fear of any God.

“Tell them not to enter my territory; I promise them, however valiant they may be, that if they set foot in it they shall not leave, for I will consume and put an end to all of them; half of them will be roasted to death and the others boiled.”

This was the first reply that the messengers brought from Vitachuco. Following it, he sent many other messages, so that two or three Indians came every day, always blowing a trumpet, and they uttered new threats and other menaces greater than the previous ones. Vitachuco thought to frighten them with various kinds of deaths he said he would visit upon the Castilians, imagined in his fierce mind. Sometimes he sent to say that when they should come to his province it would happen that the earth would open and swallow them all up; other times that he would order that wherever the Spaniards marched the hills that were there would close together and trap them in their midst, burying them alive; or that when the Spaniards should pass through a forest of pines and other very tall and thick trees that were along the road, he would order that such violent and furious winds should blow that they would throw the trees down upon them and crush all of them. At other times he said that he would order a great multitude of birds to pass over them with venom in their beaks that they would let fall upon the Spaniards, with which they would become putrid and corrupt, without any way of escaping it; or that he would poison the waters, grasses, trees, the fields, and

even the air, in such manner that neither men nor horse among the Christians could escape with their lives, so that all of this may serve as a warning to those who might afterward have the boldness to go to his country against his will.

These wild messages and other similar ones Vitachuco sent to say to his brothers and the Spaniards together, with which he showed the ferocity of his spirit; and although at the time the Castilians laughed and joked about his words because they seemed to them absurd and foolish, as they were, because of what this Indian did afterward, as we shall see below, they understood that they had not been simply words, but most ardent desires of a heart as brave and arrogant as his was, and that they were not born of foolishness or simplemindedness, but of an excess of temerity and ferocity.

With these and other such messages that he sent the Spaniards anew every day, this curaca amused them during the eight days they spent in traveling through the states of the two brothers, who served and entertained the Castilians with all their resources and good will, giving them to understand that they desired to please them. On the other hand, they labored with all energy and solicitude to win the eldest brother to the general's obedience and service. Seeing that the messages and persuasions they sent to him availed little or nothing, they agreed to act as messengers themselves. Telling the governor of their decision, they asked permission to carry it out, which he granted, along with many gifts and offers of friendship for them to take to Vitachuco.

With the presence of his brothers and with all that they told him on the governor's behalf and on their own, and learning that the Spaniards were already within his territory and could do him harm if they liked, it seemed well to Vitachuco to put aside the ill will and hatred he felt toward the Castilians, saving it for a better time and occasion, which he expected to find in the carelessness and confidence the Spaniards would feel in his pretended friendship. Then, under guise of it, he would kill them all more easily and with less danger than in open war. With this sinister intention he changed the harsh words that he had used hitherto to others of much suavity and gentleness, saying to his brothers that he had not believed that the Castilians were people of such good parts and qualities as they told him; that now that he was convinced of it he would be very glad to have peace and friendship with them, but that first he wished to know how many days they would be in his country, what quantity of provisions he would have to give them when they went, and what other things they would need for their journey.

The two brothers sent a courier to the governor with this message, and he replied that they would not stay longer in his territory than Vitachuco de-

sired to have them, nor did they want more supplies than he saw fit to give them, or need anything else except his friendship, with which they would have all that was necessary.

## XXII

### VITACHUCO COMES OUT PEACEFULLY, PLOTS TREASON AGAINST THE SPANIARDS, AND COMMUNICATES IT TO THE INTERPRETERS

Vitachuco indicated that he was satisfied with the affable reply the governor sent and, in order further to dissimulate his evil intentions, he let it be understood and said publicly that his inclination and desire to see the Spaniards in order to serve them increased from day to day, as they themselves would see. He ordered the nobles among his people to get ready to go out to receive the governor, and he ordered that there be on hand in the pueblo a large supply of water, wood, and food for the people, and grass for the horses, and that many provisions be brought from the other pueblos in his state, and all collected in that one where they were, so that there would be no lack of anything for the service and entertainment of the Castilians.

Juan Coles says in his *Relation* that the Indians affirmed that this province of the three brothers was two hundred leagues in length.

These things being provided for, Vitachuco went out from his pueblo accompanied by his two brothers and by five hundred Indian nobles handsomely adorned with plumes of various colors, with their bows in their hands and some of the finest and most elegant of the arrows they make for use on state occasions. After having marched two leagues, they found the governor encamped with his army in a beautiful valley. The general had marched there by very short stages because he knew that Vitachuco would wish to come out on the road to greet him, and so he did kiss his hands with a great show of peace and friendship. He begged the governor to pardon him for the disordered words that he had spoken concerning the Spaniards, through misunderstanding, saying that now since he was set right he would show by his actions how much he desired to serve his lordship and all his people, and by means of them he would make restitution for the offense committed against them by his words; and in order to do so with better



right, he said that for himself and in the name of all his vassals he gave obedience to his lordship and acknowledged him as lord.

The governor received and embraced him with much punctiliousness and told him that he did not remember the past words because he had not heard them with the idea of keeping them in mind; that he derived much satisfaction from the present friendship and he would also be greatly pleased to learn his desires in order to comply with them and not go against his wishes.

The *maese de campo* and the other military officers, the ministers of his Majesty's hacienda, and all the Spaniards in general spoke to Vitachuco with signs of pleasure at his coming. He was about thirty-five years of age, of very good stature, as are all the Indians of La Florida generally; his aspect showed clearly the gallantry of his spirit.

On the following day the Spaniards entered in war formation into the principal pueblo of Vitachuco, called by the same name, which contained two hundred large and strong houses besides many other, small ones that were on their outskirts like suburbs. The Christians were lodged in the one and the other, and the governor and the men of his guard and in his service, and the three brother curacas were lodged in Vitachuco's house, which as it was large had room for all of them.

The Spaniards and the three caciques spent two days together with much celebration and rejoicing. On the third day the two younger curacas asked permission of the governor and of Vitachuco to return to their lands. Having received it and the gifts the general gave them, they went in peace, very well satisfied with the good treatment the Spaniards had accorded them.

For four days after his brothers had left, Vitachuco continued to make a great show of serving the Christians, so as to render them careless in order to be able to carry out his desires and plans against them more safely, because his purpose and intention was to kill all of them, without one escaping. This desire in him was so ardent and passionate that it blinded him, so that he did not weigh and consider the means he adopted to that end, or discuss them with his captains and servants, or obtain any counsel of relatives or friends who would tell him dispassionately what would be best. It seemed to him, on the other hand, that they would hinder rather than aid in his good work and that it was enough for him to desire it and plan it alone for everything to come out successfully. The counsel that he sought and took was from him who gave it in accordance with his own wishes and desires, without regard for obstacles, errors of judgment, or prudence, and he avoided those who could give sound advice—a condition peculiar to self-confident people, on

whom their own actions inflict punishment for their imprudence, as happened to this cacique, poor of understanding and lacking in judgment.

Unable to endure longer the stimulus and fires of the passion and desire he had to kill the Castilians, on the fifth day after his brothers had gone Vitachuco secretly summoned four Indians whom the governor had brought as interpreters, for since the provinces had different languages, an interpreter was needed for almost every one of them, so that they could pass on from one to another what the first speaker had said. He told them about his fine plans, saying to them that he had determined to kill the Spaniards, who, through their great confidence in his friendship, it seemed to him, were now very much off their guard and trusted him and his vassals. He said that from the latter he had prepared more than ten thousand chosen warriors and had ordered them that, having hidden their arms in a forest that was nearby, they come in and out of the pueblo with water, firewood and grass, and the other things necessary for the service of the Christians, so that the latter, seeing them unarmed and in the guise of servants, would think nothing of it and trust them fully. After two or three more days had passed he would invite the governor to go out to the field to see his vassals, whom he wished to show him drawn up in war formation so that he could see his great power and the number of soldiers with whom he could serve him in the conquests that he might make in the future. To these arguments he added others, and said: "The governor, since we are friends, will go out unsuspectingly, and I shall order that a dozen strong and courageous Indians go near him. On approaching my squadron, they will carry him off by violence however he may come, on foot or mounted, and take him into the midst of the Indians, who will then assail the rest of the Spaniards, who will be off their guard and disturbed by the sudden seizure of their captain and so may be taken and killed very easily. Upon those who are captured I expect to visit all the forms of death I have sent to threaten them with, so that they may see that those were not follies and absurdities, as they thought when they ridiculed them as such, but real menaces." He said that he intended to roast some of them alive, boil others alive, and bury others alive with their heads outside; and that still others would be poisoned with poison from the yew tree so that they could see themselves become corrupt and rot away. Some would be suspended by the feet from the highest trees available, to become food for the birds. In short, there would be no manner of cruel death that he would not inflict upon them. He charged them [the interpreters] to give him their opinion and keep the secret; he promised them that when the affair was over, if they desired to remain in his country, he would give them honorable em-

poyments and offices, noble and beautiful women, and other privileges, honors and liberties that the highest nobles of his state enjoyed; and if they wished to return to their own country, he would send them well escorted and safeguarded along the roads they traveled, until they reached their houses. See how those Christians were taking them by force and making slaves of them, carrying them so far from their country that, although they might liberate them later, they could never return to it. Note, besides the particular injury to them, the general and universal hurt to all that great kingdom; the Castilians did not come to do them any good whatever, but to deprive them of their ancient liberty and make them their vassals and tributaries, and to take away their most beautiful wives and daughters and the finest of their lands and possessions, every day imposing on them new taxes and tributes. All this was not to be borne, but should be remedied in time, before they settled and established themselves among them. He begged and charged them, since the action was for the common good, to assist him with their efforts and counsel, to aid his attempt as just, his determination as courageous, and the scheme and plan as certain to succeed.

The four Indian interpreters replied to him that the enterprise and exploit were worthy of his spirit and valor, that all his plans seemed good to them, and that, in following such an excellent scheme, he could not fail to attain the end desired; that the whole kingdom was much indebted and obligated to him for having protected and defended the life, property, honor, and liberty of all its inhabitants; and that they would do what he ordered them, keep the secret, and supplicate the Sun and the Moon to promote and favor that project as he had planned and ordered it. They themselves could not serve him except in the will and spirit, but if they had the means in proportion to their desires, his lordship would need no other servants than themselves to execute that grand and notable project.

## XXIII

### VITACHUCO ORDERS HIS CAPTAINS TO CONSUMMATE THE TREASON, AND REQUESTS THE GOVERNOR TO COME OUT AND SEE HIS MEN

The arrogant Vitachuco and the four Indian interpreters separated after their consultation with great inward satisfaction, the latter expecting to see

themselves soon free, enjoying important employments and offices and the possessors of noble and beautiful women, and the former already imagining himself successful in the project, which was poorly conceived and worse planned. It seemed to him already that he could see himself adored by the surrounding nations and by all that great kingdom for having freed them and preserved their lives and property; he imagined that he could already hear the praises and commendations the Indians must give him with great acclamation for such a notable deed. He heard in fancy the songs the women and children would sing in chorus, dancing before him, composed in praise and commemoration of his prowess, a thing very customary among those Indians.

Vitachuco became more arrogant hourly with these imaginings and others like them, which the imprudent and deranged are accustomed to conceive, to their greater harm and perdition. He summoned his captains and telling them of his vain thoughts and follies—not so that they might object, or advise what he ought to do, but so that they might obey unquestioningly and comply with his will—he said to them that they must make haste to carry out what he had ordered them so many days before for the purpose of killing those Christians, and not delay the honor and glory he would earn for that deed by means of their strength and valor, which glory he told them he was already enjoying in his imagination. He therefore charged them to release him from those cares that were oppressing him and fulfill the hopes he regarded as so certain.

The captains replied that they were ready and prepared to obey and serve him as a lord whom they loved so much, and said that they had the Indian warriors ready for the day they all looked forward to; that they were waiting only for the hour to be set to carry out their orders. Vitachuco was well satisfied with this reply and dismissed the captains, telling them that he would notify them in time of what they must do.

When the four interpreters again considered with better judgment what the cacique had said and communicated to them, the enterprise seemed to them difficult and its success impossible, alike because of the strength of the Spaniards who had shown themselves invincible, and because they had never considered them so unprepared and careless that they could be surprised by treason, nor were they so simple that they would allow themselves to be taken and carried off as Vitachuco had planned and ordered. Therefore, the immediate and certain fear overcoming the distant and doubtful hope—for it seemed to them that they would also have to die as parties to the treason if the Castilians learned of it before they revealed it—they decided to go over to the other side, and breaking their promise of secrecy, they told Juan Ortiz

of the treason plotted, so that with a long account of everything that Vitachuco had communicated to them he could tell it to the governor.

When the adelantado learned of the curaca's wickedness and perfidy, and had consulted with his captains about it, it seemed to them advisable to dissemble to the Indian, allowing him to believe that they were ignorant of the affair. Thus they ordered the rest of the Spaniards to be on their guard and watchful, but to appear careless so that the Indians might not take alarm. They were also of the opinion that the best and surest method of capturing Vitachuco was the same one that he had planned for taking the governor, so that he might fall into his own trap. For this purpose they ordered a dozen very stout soldiers to prepare to go with the general so as to seize the cacique on the day on which he should invite the governor to go out to inspect his army. Having made these preparations secretly, the Castilians were on the watch to see what Vitachuco would do.

The latter, when the day he so desired had come, having prepared everything that seemed to him sufficient and necessary for carrying out his evil intentions, went early in the morning to the governor and with much humility and respect said to him that he begged his lordship to be pleased to do him and all his vassals the great kindness and favor of coming out to the field where they were awaiting him, so that he could see them drawn up in squadrons in battle array. Favored by his appearance and presence, all of them would feel obligated to serve him with greater spirit and readiness on the occasions that might arise in the future for his lordship's service, and he [Vitachuco] would be pleased to have him see them thus in battle array so that he might know the men and see the numbers with which he was able to serve him, and also in order to see whether the Indians of that country knew how to form squadrons like the other nations that he had heard were skilled in the military arts.

The governor, feigning ignorance and carelessness, replied that he would be very much pleased to see them as he said, and that in order to add to the display of the field and so that the Indians might also have something to see, he would order the Spanish cavalry and infantry to march out formed in squadrons, so that they could have friendly skirmishes with each other, exercising themselves in sport rather than in earnest.

The curaca did not desire so much ceremony and ostentation, but with the obstinate and blind determination he had in his mind to go on with that affair, he did not refuse the contest, believing that his own strength and bravery and that of his vassals would be enough to overcome and rout the Castilians, however well prepared they might be.

## XXIV

### HOW THEY TOOK VITACHUCO, AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE BATTLE THAT OCCURRED BETWEEN THE INDIANS AND THE SPANIARDS

The men of both sides having been ordered out, then, as has been said, the Spaniards advanced handsomely equipped, armed, and in battle array, formed in squadrons, the cavalry and the infantry separate. In order to pretend more convincingly that he did not know of the Indians' treason, the governor decided to go out on foot with the curaca.

Near the pueblo was a large plain. On one side was a high and dense forest that covered a large tract of land, and on the other were two lakes. The first was small, and would measure about a league in circumference; it was clear of growth and mud, but so deep that three or four steps from the shore one could not touch bottom. The second, which was farther away from the pueblo, was very large, more than half a league in breadth and so long that it looked like a large river, its extent being unknown. The Indians stationed their squadron between the forest and these two lakes, the lakes being on their right and the forest on their left. They would number almost ten thousand warriors, chosen men, brave and of fine appearance. On their heads were long plumes, their chief adornment, placed and arranged so that they extended up half a fathom high; with them the Indians appear taller than they really are.

They had their bows and arrows on the ground covered with grass, in order to make it appear that as friends they were unarmed. The squadron was drawn up with all military precision, not square but elongated, the files straight and somewhat open with two projecting wings at the sides, arranged in such good order that certainly it was a fine thing to see.<sup>7</sup> The Indians waited for Vitachuco, their lord, and Hernando de Soto to come out to see them. They came on foot, each accompanied by twelve of his men, both

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<sup>7</sup>A cross-shaped military squadron formation, i.e., oblong and with "wings," was also described and illustrated by Jacques Le Moyne in the 1560s. A similar native formation is documented for the interior Mississippian chiefdom of Coosa. Stefan Lorant, *The New World: The First Pictures of America* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 63; Charles Hudson, "A Spanish-Coosa Alliance in Sixteenth-Century North Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (1988):612-15.

with the same purpose and desire, one against the other. At the governor's right hand came the Spanish squadrons, the infantry adjoining the forest, and the cavalry in the middle of the plain.

The governor and the cacique having reached the spot where Vitachuco had said he would give the signal for the Indians to seize the general, the general gave it first, so that his adversary who was playing the same game should not win the first hand, by which he would gain this contest that was in progress between them. He had an harquebus fired, which was the signal for his men. Alonso de Carmona says that the signal was the sounding of a trumpet; it might have been both.

The twelve Spaniards who were near Vitachuco seized him, and though the Indians who came between them wished to defend him and attempted to do so, they could not release him from his captivity.

Hernando de Soto, who was secretly armed and had near him two horses led by the reins, mounted one of them, a dappled gray that they had named Azeituno because Mateo de Azeituno (who we said above had gone to rebuild La Havana and had remained there as alcalde of the fortress he was to found, the one that the city and port now has, which this gentleman founded, though not with its present grandeur and magnificence) had given it to him, and it was a most brave and handsome animal, worthy of having had such masters. The governor mounting, then, he charged the squadron of Indians and reached it ahead of all the other Castilians, both because he was nearer the squadron and because this brave captain in all the battles and encounters that occurred, by day or by night, in this conquest and in that of El Perú, always managed to be among the first. He was one of the four best lances that have passed to or are now in the West Indies, and although his captains often complained to him for exposing his person to too much danger and risk, because the safety of the whole army lay in the preservation of his life and health, as its head, and though he saw that they were right, he could not restrain his warlike spirit nor did he enjoy victories unless he were the first in winning them. Leaders ought not to be so bold.

The Indians, who now already had their arms in their hands, received the governor with the same spirit and gallantry he showed, and they did not allow him to break many of the files of the squadron, because on reaching the first ones, of the many arrows they shot at him eight reached the mark, all of them striking the horse. As we shall see in the course of this *History*, these Indians always attempted to kill the horses first, rather than the riders, because of the advantage they gave them. They pierced him with four arrows

in the breast and four in the knees, two on each side, with such skill and savagery that without his moving a foot, as if they had shot him in the forehead with a piece of artillery, they struck him down dead.

Hearing the arquebus-shot, the Spaniards attacked the Indian squadron, following their captain-general. The horses came so near him that they were able to succor him before the enemy did him any further harm. One of his pages, one Viota, a native of Zamora and an hidalgo, dismounted from his horse and gave it to him, helping him to mount. The governor charged again against the Indians, who, unable to resist the impetus of three hundred horses together, as they had no pikes, turned and ran, without giving much proof of their strength and bravery, quite contrary to the opinion their cacique and they themselves had held shortly before, it appearing impossible to them that so few Spaniards could overcome so many and such brave Indians as they thought themselves to be.

Their squadron routed, the Indians fled to the nearest cover they could find. One large band of them entered the woods, thereby saving their lives. Many others threw themselves into the large lake where they escaped death. Others, who were the rear guard and were far from shelter, ran forward across the plain where more than three hundred were killed by lances, and some, though few, were taken prisoners.

Those in the vanguard, who were the best and as such always bear the brunt of battle, were more unfortunate because they received the first attack and the greatest impetus of the horses, and unable to reach the woods or the large lake, which were the best shelters, more than nine hundred of them threw themselves into the small lake. Such was the first outcome of Vitachuco's boasting. The encounter took place at nine or ten o'clock in the morning.

The Spaniards followed close after them in all directions until they entered the woods and the large lake, but seeing that however they tried they could not capture a single Indian, they all came back and gathered at the small lake where, as we said, more than nine hundred Indians had taken refuge. They fought them all day in order to induce them to surrender, more with threats and intimidation than with arms, shooting crossbows and arquebuses to frighten them but not to kill them, because, as people almost overcome and unable to flee, they did not wish to harm them.

Throughout the day the Indians did not stop shooting arrows at the Castilians, until they exhausted their supply, and to enable them to shoot from the water, as they could not get a foothold, one Indian would climb up on three or four others who would swim close together and support him until



he used up the arrows of his whole party. In this manner they kept up all day, not one of them surrendering.

When night came the Spaniards surrounded the lake, stationing themselves at intervals in groups of two on horseback and of six infantry, near one another, so that the Indians would not escape in the darkness. Thus they continued to harass them, not allowing them to set foot on the bank, and when they heard them approach it they shot at them to force them back so that, tired of swimming, they would surrender more easily. On one hand they threatened them with death if they did not give themselves up, and on the other they promised pardon, peace and friendship to those who were willing to receive it.

## XXV

### OF THE SLOW SURRENDER OF THE CONQUERED INDIANS, AND THE CONSTANCY OF SEVEN OF THEM

As much as the Castilians persecuted the Indians who were in the lake, they could not prevent them from showing their spirit and strength. Although they recognized the difficulty and danger in which they were, without hope of assistance, they chose death as a lesser evil than showing weakness in that adversity.

They persisted in this obstinacy until midnight, not one of them being willing to give up, and they had passed fourteen hours in the water. From that time on, by means of the many persuasions of Juan Ortiz and of the four Indian interpreters who were with him, and by means of the promises and oaths they made them that their lives would be safe, the weakest ones began to come out and give themselves up, one by one, then two by two, so reluctantly that by daylight not fifty Indians had surrendered. At the persuasion of these latter, those in the water, seeing that they had not killed or otherwise harmed them but on the other hand, as they said, had treated them well, gave themselves up in larger numbers, though so slowly and unwillingly that many returned to the middle of the lake from near the banks, but the love of life drew them back again.

In this manner they continued to come out and surrender, distrustfully, until ten o'clock in the morning; then all who remained submitted at once,

about two hundred men, having passed twenty-four hours' time swimming in the water. It was very distressing to see them half-drowned, swollen with the large amount of water they had swallowed, and afflicted by the hardship, hunger, fatigue, and lack of sleep that they had suffered.

Only seven Indians remained in the lake, so pertinacious and obstinate that neither the entreaties of the interpreters nor the promises of the governor nor the example of those who had surrendered were sufficient to make them do the same. It seemed instead that they had recovered the spirit that the others had lost, and wished to die rather than be conquered. Forced to do so, they replied to what was said to them, and said that they neither wanted their promises nor feared their threats, nor death.

They continued in this constancy and fortitude until three o'clock in the afternoon and were about to expire when, at that hour, it seeming to the governor inhuman to allow men of such fortitude and virtue—qualities that we admire even in enemies—to perish, he ordered twelve Spaniards who were expert swimmers to enter the lake carrying their swords in their mouths—in imitation of Julius Caesar at Alexandria in Egypt, and of the few Spaniards who, performing this same feat in the River Elbe, overcame the duke of Saxony and all his League—and bring out the seven valiant Indians who were in it. The swimmers entered the water and, seizing them by the leg, arm, or hair, as the case might be, pulled them out until they dragged them on shore, so nearly drowned that they were almost unconscious. They lay stretched out on the sand in a state that may well be imagined of men who for nearly thirty hours, without setting foot on the ground (as apparently they did not) or receiving any other relief, had been contending against the water. Certainly it was an incredible exploit, which I would not dare write down if it were not certified to me on the authority of so many gentlemen and great men, in speaking in the Indies and in Spain of this and of other [exploits] that they saw in the course of this discovery; and there is besides the authority and truthfulness of him who gave me the account of this *History*, which is trustworthy in all respects.

And since we have mentioned the River Elbe it gives occasion for not passing on without referring to a very Catholic saying that the *maese de campo* Alonso Vivas (a brother of the good Doctor Luis Vivas), who was charged with guarding the duke of Saxony, said after that defeat. It was that, talking one day in the presence of the most gross and fierce Saxon of the miracles the images of Our Lady have performed in various parts of the world, the duke (as a man tainted by the heresies of Martin Luther) spoke these words: "In one of my towns there was an image of Mary, and they said

that it performed miracles; I had it thrown into the River Elbe but it did not work a single miracle." The maese de campo, offended by such evil words, came back very readily and said: "What greater miracle do you desire, Duke, than to have lost at this same river in the manner in which you did lose, so contrary to your hopes and to those of all your League?" The duke's head bowed until his beard rested on his chest and he did not raise it again all that day, nor did he come out of his lodgings for three days thereafter, from dismay and shame at that Catholic Spaniard's having convinced him of his infidelity and heresy by proving that that image of Our Lady had worked a miracle on his own person, which he had experienced to his own hurt. This story and many others of these times and of others still earlier, and later, were told to me by my uncle Don Alonso de Vargas, who was present and served throughout that expedition to Germany with the rank of *sargento mayor* in a Spanish regiment, calling himself Francisco de Plasencia, and afterward he was captain of cavalry.

The Spaniards, moved by pity and compassion for the hardships the seven Indians had suffered in the water, and admiring the fortitude and constancy of spirit they showed, took them to their lodgings and gave them every attention possible to bring them back to this life, with which, and with their good spirit, they were entirely restored by the following night, for all this time was needed to recover from their injuries.

When morning came the governor ordered them summoned and with a show of anger had them questioned as to the reason for their pertinacity and stubbornness; why, seeing themselves, as they were, without hope of succor, they had not been willing to surrender as the rest of their companions had done. Four of them were men about thirty-five years of age. They replied, first one and then another speaking, the last taking up the story where the other left it, being perturbed and not certain of how to go on. Again one of the silent ones would help with a word the speaker could not call to mind, which is the style of the Indians, who assist one another in discourses that they carry on with important persons before whom they are afraid of becoming confused.

Speaking after this fashion, then, the Indians replied to the governor, giving many and lengthy reasons, from which, in substance, it was understood that they had said the following: that they had seen very well the risk they ran of losing their lives and the little hope they had of being succored, but with all this it had seemed to them, and they regarded it as quite certain, that by surrendering they could in no way comply with the obligation of the offices and military rank they held; because, having been chosen in prosper-

ity by their prince and lord, honored and distinguished with the name and insignia of captains, since he regarded them as men of fortitude, spirit, and constancy, it was just that in adversity they should fulfill the obligations of their offices and show that they had not been unworthy of them, and prove to their curaca and lord that he had not been mistaken in choosing them.

Besides complying with their military obligations and with what they owed to their lord, they wished also to leave an example to their sons and successors and to all soldiers and warriors of how they ought to behave in such cases, particularly to those stationed and appointed as captains and superiors of the others, whose deeds of spirit and fortitude or of weakness and cowardice were more noticed, to be honored or condemned, than those of the common people, the base, and the humble, who had no honor or charge to fulfill.

For all these reasons and because it had come about that their lives were saved, as his lordship had seen, they were not satisfied that they had done their duty or complied with their obligations as captain and commander; therefore it would be a greater mercy and honor to have allowed them to die in the lake than to have spared their lives. Thus, not overlooking the kindness that he had done them, they begged his lordship to order their lives taken, because they would live in the world in great shame and dishonor and would never dare to appear before their lord, Vitachuco, who had so honored and esteemed them, if they did not die for him.

## XXVI

### WHAT THE GOVERNOR DISCUSSED WITH THE THREE INDIAN LORDS OF VASSALS AND WITH THE CURACA VITACHUCO

The four Indian captains having made the reply that has been described in the last chapter, the governor, not without admiration at hearing their reasons, turned his eyes to the other three, who had been silent. They were youths, none of them being over eighteen years old, and were sons of lords of vassals of Vitachuco's district and vicinity, heirs to their fathers' estates. In order to hear what they would say, he asked them why they, not being captains and having the obligations of the other four, had persisted in the same obstinacy and pertinacity. With a fortitude strange in prisoners and

with an aspect as composed as if they were free, assisting one another in their statements, the youths replied in their language the following words, which interpreted into Spanish run thus:

“The chief purpose that took us from the houses of our fathers, whose eldest sons we are, and future inheritors of their estates and seignories, was not directly the desire for your death nor the destruction of your captains and army, although our intention could not be carried out without injury to you and to all of them. Neither were we impelled by the interest that those who engage in wars usually have in profiting from the sacking of pueblos and of conquered armies that generally takes place in the course of them, nor did we go out to serve our princes, so that gratified and obligated by our services they would afterward grant us favors in accordance with our merits. All these motives we lacked, for we needed none of these things.

“We left our homes with the desire to take part in the battle just passed solely through eagerness and ambition for honor and fame, because (as our fathers and teachers have taught us) that which is won in war is more valued and esteemed than anything else in this world. In this we were encouraged and incited by our neighbors and friends and for it we underwent the danger and fatigue in which you saw us yesterday, from which you rescued us through your clemency and pity. By the same token we are today your slaves.

“However, since fortune deprived us of the victory in which we thought to win the glory that we desired and gave it to you as one who better deserved it, and subjected us, on the contrary, to the misfortunes and hardships the conquered always suffer, it seems to us that we can gain from these same adversities, enduring them with the same spirit and strength that we felt in prosperity because, as our elders have told us, he who is loyal, though conquered, and who puts his life second to the honor of preserving the liberty of his country and his own, is no less deserving than the victorious conqueror who makes good use of his victory.

“We have been instructed by our fathers and relatives in all these things and many others. Therefore, though we hold no offices or military rank, it seemed to us that we were no less obligated than these four captains; rather we were more so, for fortune had chosen us for greater preeminence and rank, as we were to be lords of vassals. We wished to let the latter understand that we would endeavor to succeed to the estate of our fathers and predecessors by the same steps by which they arose to become lords, which were those of fortitude, constancy, and the other virtues that they possessed, with which they sustained their estates and seignories. We also wished by our

deaths to console our parents and relatives, dying in order to do our duty as their kinsmen and sons.

“These were the reasons, invincible captain, why we took part in this enterprise and also the causes of the obstinacy and pertinacity you say we have shown, if the desire for honor and fame and the fulfillment of our obligation and natural duty can be so called. The latter is greater in princes, lords, and gentlemen, in accordance with their higher quality and rank, than in the common people.

“If this is sufficient for our acquittal, pardon us, Child of the Sun, for our obstinacy did not arise from disrespect toward you, but from what you have heard. If we do not deserve pardon, here you see our throats; do what most pleases you with our lives, which are yours, and nothing is prohibited to the conqueror.”

Many of the Spaniards present, on hearing the last words and seeing youths so noble and so young placed in such affliction and able to speak in that manner, could not refrain from showing their compassion and tenderness to the point of revealing it in their eyes. The governor, who likewise had a merciful disposition, was also moved, and raising them up as if they were his own sons, he embraced all three together and then each one separately, and among many other fond words he said to them that in the fortitude they had in war and in the discretion they had shown besides they proved very clearly what they were, and that such men deserved to be lords of great states. He was much gratified at having known them and saved their lives, and it also gave him great pleasure to set them at liberty at once, so that they might be comforted and freed of the depression caused by their misfortune.

The governor kept them with him two days after this conversation, entertaining and caressing them constantly and seating them at his own table to eat, in order to win their fathers to his friendship and devotion, which honor the youths esteemed very highly. At the end of two days he sent them to their homes with presents of linen, cloth, silk, mirrors, and other things from Spain that he gave them for their fathers and mothers, and accompanied by some Indians of theirs who were found among the prisoners. He ordered them to tell their fathers what a good friend of theirs he had been, and would be to them also if they desired his friendship.

The young men, after thanking the governor for having spared their lives and for the favors he was doing them at present, went to their countries well satisfied, having many favorable things to tell there. The governor ordered the four captains to be kept in confinement so as to reprimand them, together with their cacique. Thus on the day after the departure of the young men

he had all five of them summoned, and he told them with serious words how ill they had done in having attempted to kill the Castilians under guise of peace and friendship, without the latter having harmed them in any way, for which they were deserving of an exemplary death that would be known throughout the world. But in order to show the natives of all that great kingdom that he did not wish to avenge himself for his injuries but to have peace and friendship with everyone, he would pardon them for their past crime so that they might be friends in the future, and since he on his part was showing himself to be such, he begged and charged them that, forgetting the past, they busy themselves with preserving their lives and property and not attempt to do anything else, for if they should make such an attempt it would succeed no better than the last one. He said many other things to the curaca privately in very friendly terms intended to mitigate the hatred and rancor that he felt toward the Christians, and he directed that he again eat at his table from which he had removed him hitherto as a punishment, ordering that he eat elsewhere.

But the arguments, caresses, presents, and many other things that the governor gave and said to Vitachuco not only did not have a good effect, such was the obstinacy and blindness of his passion, but they seemed rather to incite him to greater madness and wildness, for, dominated by fury and temerity, he was now incapable of all reasoning and of receiving advice, ungrateful and scornful of the pardon and the benefits conferred by the governor. Like a man doomed, governed by his passion, he did not stop short of his own destruction and death and that of his vassals, as we shall see presently.

## XXVII

### WHERE AN OBJECTION IS ANSWERED

Before going on with our *History*, it will be well to reply to an objection that could be made to us to the effect that in other histories of the West Indies there are not found actions and sayings of the Indians such as these we write here, for generally they are regarded as a simple people without reasoning power or understanding, and in peace and in war as little better than beasts; and accordingly it is thought that they could not say or do anything worthy of being remembered and praised, as some of them appear to have said hitherto and as will be told below, God willing. It might be supposed

also that we do this in an attempt to extol or praise our nation, for although the regions and countries are so far apart, it seems that all are the Indies.

To this is replied first that the opinion held of the Indians is inaccurate and entirely contrary to that which ought to be believed, as is noted, argued, and proved very well by the very venerable Father Joseph de Acosta in the first chapter of Book 6 of the *Historia natural y moral del Nuevo Orbe*, which I submit, in confirmation of the present work, to all who may wish to see, where there will be found the admirable things written by this very noted master. And in what concerns particularly our Indians and the accuracy of our *History*, as I said at the beginning, I write from the account of another who saw and took part in these things personally. He endeavored to be so faithful in his account that he corrected it chapter by chapter, as it was written, taking away what was excessive or adding what was missing in that which he had said. He did not consent to a word that was not his own, so that I did nothing more than hold the pen as clerk. I thus can deny truthfully that any of it is an invention of my own, for all my life I have been an enemy of fiction (with the exception of good poetry), such as books of knight errantry and other similar ones. For this I am indebted to that illustrious gentleman, Pedro Mexía of Sevilla, because with a reproof he drew from the heroic work of the Caesars of those who employ themselves in reading and composing such books, he took away the love that I might have had for them as a boy and made me abhor them for all time.

To say, then, that I write with exaggeration in order to praise my own nation because I am an Indian certainly is a mistake, for I confess with shame to the truth, namely, that I found myself lacking in the necessary words to recount and set down in order the facts of history that presented themselves, rather than with an abundance of them to invent things that did not happen. This want was due to the unhappy circumstances of my childhood, when there was a lack of schools of learning and a superabundance of schools of arms for both foot soldiers and cavalry, particularly horsemanship. In this last, because of our country's having been won with the saddle, my fellow students and I drilled ourselves from a very early age, to such an extent that many or all of them became famous horsemen. Thus we learned little more than the rudiments, which today I regard as most unfortunate, though the fault was not ours nor our parents', but it was simply that fortune had then nothing more to offer us, because the country was so recently won and because of the civil wars that at once arose between the Pizarros and the Almagros, down to those of Francisco Hernández Girón. Under these circumstances teachers of the sciences were lacking, and of those of arms there



were more than enough. Now in these days, through the mercy of God, the contrary is true, for the fathers of the holy Company of Jesus are founding so many schools of all the sciences that the universities of Spain are not needed.

Returning to our first purpose, which is to certify on the word of a Christian that in all the above we wrote the truth, and that with the aid of the Consummate Truth we shall write it in the future, I shall say that what took place was passed on to me by him who gave the account, and if I had not regarded him as an *hidalgo* and trustworthy, as he is, and as we shall tell afterward in other places with regard to his reputation, I would not presume to write all these truths as I do, certifying them to be such. I say, then, that coming to the reply that we have said the four Indian captains made to the governor, and then to that of the three young men, sons of lords of vassals, it appearing to me that the arguments (according to the common opinion that is held of the Indians) were too elaborate for barbarous Indians, I said to him: "According to the universal opinion concerning the Indians, it will not be believed that these arguments are theirs." He replied to me: "You know very well that the opinion is false and that it is not necessary to consider it; on the other hand it will be just to disprove it by telling the truth with regard to the matter, because as you yourself have seen and know there are Indians of very good understanding who in peace and in war and in times of adversity and of prosperity know how to speak as well as any other very cultivated nation.

"The Indians replied substantially what I have told you and used besides many other well-turned phrases that I do not recall—or, if I did, I could not remember how to say them as they themselves did—so that the governor and we who were with him wondered at their words and arguments more than at their feat of having continued swimming in the water for almost thirty hours. Many Spaniards, well read in history, said when they heard them that the captains appeared to have fought among the most famous ones of Rome when she dominated the world with her arms, and that the young lords of vassals seemed to have studied in Athens during her flourishing period of moral letters. Therefore as soon as they had made their replies and the governor had embraced them, there was no captain or soldier of note who did not embrace them most gladly, rejoicing at having heard them.

"For the same reason write what I have told you as fully as possible, and I promise you that however you may sharpen and consume your pen in praising the generosity and excellences of Muscoço, and the strength, constancy, and discretion of these seven Indian captains and lords of vassals, and how-

ever you may dwell upon the gallantry and ferocity of Vitachuco and of other chieftains whom we shall encounter later, you will not do justice to their nobility and exploits.

“Because of all this you may write without any scruples what I tell you, whether or not it may be believed; we comply with our obligation with having told the truth as to the things that took place, and doing otherwise would be to injure the parties concerned.” All this passed between me and my author just as I have told it, and I include it here so that it may be understood and believed that we were attempting to write the truth rather with the lack of the elegance and rhetoric needful to place the events in their proper setting than with an excess of embellishment, because I was incapable of it. Since it will be necessary further on to reinforce our reputation and credit in other things as important, and more so, as we shall see, I shall say no more at present but shall return to our story.

## XXVIII

### CONCERNING THE RECKLESS ACTION THAT VITACHUCO ORDERED FOR THE PURPOSE OF KILLING THE SPANIARDS, AND THAT CAUSED HIS OWN DEATH

The Indians who came out of the small lake to surrender, more than nine hundred in number, had been kept prisoners by the governor's order and were distributed among the Castilians to act as their servants and to be held as such, as a penalty and punishment for the treason they had committed. This was done solely to intimidate and hold in check the Indians of the vicinity where the news of the recent action would circulate, so that they would not dare to make another such attempt. The intention, however, was to free and liberate them as soon as they [the Spaniards] should leave their province.

But since Vitachuco, who was held in his house as a prisoner, knew this—and since the poor unfortunate was blind in his passion and thought of nothing else, night and day, except how he could kill the Spaniards—already engulfed in his obstinacy and blindness, it seemed to him that since those nine hundred Indians (according to the story of four little pages who served him, and as was true) were among the noblest, bravest, and chosen men of

all his people, they alone would be enough to do what all of them together had been unable to do, and that each one of them could kill a Castilian, as he himself thought to kill one, for the Indians and the Christians were about equal in numbers. He persuaded himself that at the time the act would be attempted the Indians would have an advantage over the Christians because it would be when all of them were eating and off their guard, and also because they would not be suspicious of men who had surrendered and become slaves, and were unarmed. And as he imagined this mad action, so he precipitated himself into it, without considering whether the Indians were prisoners or free, or whether they had arms or not, it appearing to him that as he himself had no lack of weapons, consisting of his own strong arms, so would all his men have them.

Vitachuco communicated this precipitate and mad determination through his four pages to the leaders among the nine hundred Indians, ordering that on the third day thereafter, precisely at noon, each one of them be ready to kill the Spaniard who had fallen to his lot as master; at the same hour he himself would kill the governor. They were to keep this a secret, passing the word from one to another, and as a signal to begin, at the moment he killed the general he would give a shout so loud that it would be heard throughout the pueblo. Vitachuco gave this command on the same day that the governor had reproved him and restored him to his friendship and favor, from which is seen the manner in which the ungrateful and unappreciative return benefits that are conferred upon them.

Although they saw the hopelessness of the thing their cacique sent them orders to do, the poor Indians obeyed and replied, saying that they would do what they were ordered with all their strength or die in the attempt.

The Indians of the New World have so much veneration, love and respect for their kings and lords that they obey and adore them not as men but as gods; if they so command, they throw themselves into the fire as readily as into the water, because they have no regard for life or death except in compliance with the precepts of their lord, in which their happiness consists. Because of this religion, for they regard it as such, they obeyed Vitachuco so implicitly that they did not reply a word.

Seven days after the recent skirmish and defeat, at the moment when the governor and the cacique had finished eating—for in order to win his friendship the general did him all the favors possible—Vitachuco rose from the chair in which he had been seated and, turning his body from one side to the other, he extended his arms to either side with the fists closed, and then brought them together until the fists were on the shoulders; from there he

shook them once and twice with such force and violence that the bones and joints crackled like broken reeds. This he did to call up and summon his strength for what he intended to do, which is an ordinary thing and almost second nature to the Indians of La Florida when they wish to perform some feat of strength.

Having done this, then, Vitachuco got on his feet with all the bravado and fury that could be imagined and in an instant closed with the adelantado, at whose right hand he had been eating, and, grasping him by the collar with his left hand, he struck him such a hard blow with his right fist over the eyes, nose and mouth that he knocked him senseless on his back, overturning his chair, as if he had been a child. In order to finish killing him, he fell upon him with such a loud roar that it could be heard for a quarter of a league round about. The gentlemen and soldiers who happened to be at the general's table, seeing him so mistreated and his life in such danger through so strange and unexpected an action, grasped their swords and fell upon Vitachuco, and ten or twelve of them transfixed his body at the same moment, with which the Indian fell dead, blaspheming the heavens and the earth for not having succeeded in his evil purpose.

These gentlemen succored their captain in such good time and to such good effect that if they had not been present to defend him or had delayed a moment with their aid, allowing the Indian to strike him another blow, he would have succeeded in killing him, for the one that he did give was so severe that the governor did not regain consciousness for more than half an hour, and he was bleeding at the eyes, nose, mouth, gums, and upper and lower lips as if he had been struck with a large club. His teeth and jaws were so injured that the former were about to come out, and for more than twenty days he could not eat anything that had to be chewed, but only soft food. His face, especially the nose and lips, were so swollen that he had to apply plasters to them continuously during the twenty days. As we have said, Vitachuco showed himself so terrible and so strong in the manner of his death that it is clear that the strange threats and menaces he made from the beginning had arisen from this bravado and fierceness of spirit, which was so excessive that it did not admit the consideration, prudence, and counsel that great actions require.

Juan Coles adds, besides what we have said about the blow, that the governor lost two teeth on account of it.

## XXIX

### OF THE STRANGE BATTLE THE CAPTIVE INDIANS HAD WITH THEIR MASTERS

At the sound of the cacique's voice, which as we said he had given his vassals as the signal for the desperate act that caused his death, and theirs, there took place in the camp between the Indians and the Spaniards encounters no less cruel and horrible than laughable. Hearing the cacique's shout, each Indian fell upon his master to kill or wound him, carrying as weapons blazing sticks or other things that came to hand, for in the absence of those [arms] that they wished for, they converted into offensive arms whatever they found before them.

Many of them threw in their master's faces the pots containing their food, which, as they were boiling, burned some of them. Others fell upon them with plates, porringers, jugs and pitchers; others with benches, chairs and tables where they had them, and with anything else that came to hand, although it served only to show their desire to kill them, so that everyone can imagine what would happen under such circumstances.

They did more damage with the burning sticks than with other weapons, and it may be that they had prepared them for the purpose, because most of the Indians carried them. One Indian gave his master a blow on the head with a firebrand and laid him at his feet, and then knocked him senseless with two or three other blows. Many Spaniards had their eyebrows burned and their noses and arms injured by blows from firebrands; others received hard fist-cuffs and buffets and blows from rocks or sticks, according to what fell to their lot in such an unseemly brawl as they found confronting them unexpectedly in their own houses.

One Indian, after mistreating his master with blows from a stick and fist-cuffs in his face, on fleeing from the other Spaniards who came to his rescue, went up a ladder to an upper apartment, taking with him a lance he found leaning against the wall, and he defended the door with it so that no one could enter.

At this shout a gentleman, who was a relative of the governor, named Diego de Soto, came up carrying a crossbow ready to shoot and stationed himself in the patio to fire it. The Indian, who did not attempt to save his life but to sell it as dearly as possible, did not try to avoid the shot though he saw the Spaniard aim the crossbow at him. On the contrary, in order to make a

good throw with his lance, he placed himself in front of the door and cast it at the moment that Diego de Soto fired the crossbow. The Indian did not hit him with the lance, but it passed so near his left shoulder that the haft gave him a hard blow, which knocked him to his knees on the ground and drove the lance into it half a fathom, where it remained trembling in the earth. Diego de Soto made a better shot than the Indian, whom he struck in the breast and killed.

Seeing the effrontery and boldness of the Indians and what bad condition the governor was in as a result of the blow given him, the Spaniards lost patience and began to kill and wreak vengeance upon them, especially those who had been hurt with sticks or affronted by blows; these latter in their anger killed the Indians who chanced to be in front of them.

Other Spaniards who had not been assaulted, thinking that it was a thing unworthy of their persons and quality to kill men who had surrendered and were held in the condition and name of slaves, took them to the plaza and turned them over to the halberdiers of the governor's guard who were there, to be executed; they killed them with their halberds and partisans. In order that the Indian interpreters and others who were serving the army, who had been taken from the provinces already left behind, should be hostages and become the enemies of the rest of the Indians of that country and not dare run away from the Spaniards in the future, they ordered that they shoot arrows at them [the other Indians] and help to kill them, which they did.

A Castilian named Francisco de Saldaña, of small stature and very neat in his person, so that he would not have to kill the Indian who had fallen to his lot when they gave them out as slaves, took him along behind him with a cord fastened around his neck to turn him over to the executioners. When he caught sight of the plaza and saw what was happening there, the Indian had such an excess of courage that he seized his master from behind as he was going along, by the collar with one hand and by the crotch with the other, and raising him up like a child, the Castilian being helpless, he threw him headlong on the ground with such force that he was stupefied, and then jumped on him with both feet in such anger and wrath that he would have torn him to pieces with kicks and blows.

The Spaniards who saw it ran to the rescue with their swords in their hands. The Indian, taking from his master the one [sword] that he was wearing, came out to meet them so fiercely and boldly that though there were more than fifty of them he held them off in a wide circle, using the sword with both hands with such agility of body and desperation of spirit that he showed well his desire and eagerness to kill someone before they should kill

him. The Castilians drew away from him, not wishing to receive injury in killing a desperate man. Thus the Indian kept circling around in every direction attacking everyone, none of them being willing to attack him until they brought weapons with handles with which to kill him.

These and many other similar incidents occurred in this worse than irregular conflict, where four Spaniards were killed and many were badly wounded. And it was fortunate that most of the Indians were in chains and otherwise confined, for if they had been free they would have done still more damage, such was their bravery and spirit. But with all this, though prisoners, they tried to do as much as they could, and therefore they [the Spaniards] killed them all, not leaving one alive, which was a great pity.

Such was the result of the temerity and arrogance of Vitachuco, arising from his spirit that was more fierce than prudent, exceedingly presumptuous and disdainful of advice, which to no purpose whatever caused his own death and that of thirteen hundred of his vassals, the best and noblest in his state. All this was because he had not conferred with some of them as to what to do about the strangers, who, being such, later became his enemies.

He also caused the death of the four good captains who had escaped from the small lake, who were killed along with the other Indians, for the prudent who are subjected to and obliged to obey a madman and do what he orders are in an unfortunate situation, which is one of the greatest calamities that can be suffered in this life.

### XXX

#### THE GOVERNOR GOES TO OSACHILE. AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE INDIANS OF LA FLORIDA ESTABLISH THEIR PUEBLOS

After the battle we have described, which was laughable, although bloody and cruel for the poor Indians, the governor remained four days in the pueblo of Vitachuco recovering from the injuries he and his men had received. On the fifth day they set out in search of another province, which was near that one, called Osachile.<sup>8</sup> On the first day they marched four leagues and

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<sup>8</sup>In the other chronicles the chief of the province of Uçachile was paramount over the entire territory between Aguacaleyquen and Apalache, that is, over the Timucuan territory misnamed "Ochile" and "Vitachuco" by Garcilaso. Hann, "De Soto, Dobyns, and Demography," 6. See note 4.

camped on the bank of a large river that forms the boundary line of these two provinces. In order to cross it, it was necessary to build another bridge like that which was built on the Río de Ochile, because it could not be forded.

The Castilians having made the board platform to be put over the water, the Indians assembled on the opposite bank to oppose the work and the crossing. Stopping their work on the bridge, the Christians made six large rafts on which a hundred men crossed, including crossbowmen, harquebusiers, and fifty armed cavalymen, who carried the saddles of their horses on the rafts.

When these had reached the opposite bank, the governor (who, though his face was bandaged, took part in everything) ordered fifty horses driven into the river, and they swam across.

The Spaniards who were on the other side, having received and saddled them, went out on the plain as quickly as possible. Seeing horses in a place clear of timber, the Indians abandoned their post and left the Christians free to build their bridge, which they put out on the water, and with their accustomed diligence they finished it in a day and a half.

The army crossed the river, marched two leagues through a country without timber, and at the end of the march found large fields of maize, beans, and calabashes of the kind called in Spain *romana*. With the fields began the settlement of scattered houses, separated from one another without the order of a pueblo, and these continued for a space of four leagues as far as the chief pueblo, called *Osachile*. It contained two hundred large and good houses and was the seat and court of the curaca and lord of that land, who had the same name of *Osachile*.

The Indians, who throughout the two leagues of open and level country had not dared to wait for the Spaniards, as soon as they saw them among the cultivated fields turned upon them, and from the cover of the maize fields they shot many arrows at them, attacking from all sides and losing no time, place, or occasion that presented itself where they could do them damage. They wounded many Castilians by this means, but neither did the Indians have reason for rejoicing, because the Christians, recognizing the bold and rabid courage the Indians showed for killing or wounding them and opposing their explorations, speared them without sparing anyone; they took very few prisoners. Thus this desperate game continued throughout the four leagues of the cultivated fields, with losses now on one side and now on the other, as always happens in war. From the pueblo of *Vitachuco* to that of *Osachile* there are six leagues of level and pleasant country.

The Spaniards found the pueblo of *Osachile* abandoned, for the curaca



and his Indians had gone to the woods. The governor immediately sent messengers to him from among the few Indians they had captured in his country, offering him peace and friendship. But the curaca Osachile neither came out nor replied to the messages, nor did any of the Indians whom they had sent return. It might have been because of the short time that the Christians were in their pueblo, which was only two days. During this time, by placing themselves in ambush, the Spaniards captured many Indians to use as servants. After they gave themselves up they were domestic and gave good service, though with arms in their hands they had shown themselves to be fierce enough.

Because of the short time that the Spaniards were in this province and because it was small, though well populated with people and supplied with food, few things occurred worthy of recounting other than those already mentioned. Therefore it will be appropriate, in order not to leave it so soon, for us to describe the site, plan, and appearance of this pueblo Osachile so that from it may be seen the plan and form of the rest of the pueblos of this great kingdom called La Florida; because since the whole country is of almost the same plan and quality—flat, with many rivers flowing through it—so all its natives live, dress, eat, and drink in about the same way. Even in their heathenism, in their idolatries, rites, and ceremonies (of which they have few), and in their arms, condition, and ferocity, they differ little or none from one another. Thus having seen one pueblo we have seen almost all, and it will not be necessary to describe them separately unless one appears so different that it requires an account of its own.

Therefore it is to be noted that the Indians of La Florida always endeavor to live on a high point, at least in the case of the houses of the caciques and lords when the whole pueblo cannot do so. And because the whole country is very flat, and an elevated site is seldom found that has the other conveniences useful and necessary for a settlement, they make it by their own labor.<sup>9</sup> Amassing a very large quantity of earth, they pack it down by tread-

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<sup>9</sup>This remarkable passage describing general Mississippian mound construction and the ideal village layout is not duplicated in the other De Soto narratives and is the earliest on record. Moreover, its essential accuracy, except for the apparently exaggerated number of buildings claimed for the mound's summit, is confirmed many times over in archaeological investigations throughout the Southeast. For an archaeological example conforming to this plan, see Richard R. Polhemus, *The Toqua Site: A Late Mississippian Dallas Phase Town*, Report of Investigations No. 41 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology, 1987). For a defense of Garcilaso on this and other ethnographic particulars, see John R. Swanton, "Ethnological Value of the De Soto Narratives," *American Anthropologist* 34, no. 4 (1932):576–77.

ing on it, raising it up in the form of a hill two or three pike-lengths in height. On top they make a level space large enough for ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty houses for the dwellings of the lord and his family and the people in his service, in accordance with his ability and the grandeur of his state. On the plain at the foot of the hill, natural or artificial, they make a square plaza corresponding to the size of the pueblo that is to be settled, surrounding which the nobles and chief men build their houses. Then the rest of the common people build theirs, endeavoring not to be too far from the hill where the lord's house is; they try rather to surround his with their own.

In order to go up to the curaca's house they make streets straight up the hill, two, three, or more as are needed, fifteen or twenty feet wide. For walls of these streets they drive thick logs into the ground, one after the other, which are sunk into the earth more than an *estado* deep. [An *estado* is a unit of measure about the height of an average man.—CS] For stairways they place other logs no less thick at right angles to those that form the walls, and join them together. These logs that form the stairs are planed on all four sides so that the ascent will be smoother. The risers are four, six, or eight feet from one another, according to the incline and steepness of the hill and its height. The horses could ascend and descend them easily because they were broad. All the rest of the hill, besides the stairs, they cut off in the form of a wall so that it is not possible to ascend it, and in this way the lord's house is better fortified. In this form and plan Osachile had his pueblo and house, which he abandoned because the forest seemed safer to him. There he remained without being willing to accept the friendship of the Spaniards or to reply to their messages.

SECOND PART  
OF THE SECOND BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*Where will be seen the many and severe combats that Indians and Spaniards had in difficult passes in the great Province of Apalache; the hardships through which they passed in discovering the Sea; the events and the incredible fatigues that the thirty horsemen who went back for Pedro Calderón experienced in going and returning; the ferocity of the people of Apalache; the imprisonment of their cacique; his strange flight, and the fertility of that great province. It contains twenty-five chapters.*



# I

## THE SPANIARDS REACH THE FAMOUS PROVINCE OF APALACHE, AND THE RESISTANCE OF ITS INDIANS

The governor and his captains having learned in the pueblo of Osachile that the province of Apalache was nearby—concerning which they had heard so many amazing and great things, both as to the abundance and fertility of the land and the deeds of arms and bravery of the people, with whose ferocity and valor the Indians had threatened them so often along the road, saying that those of Apalache would surely attack them with arrows, and quarter, burn and destroy them—desiring now to see it and to winter in it if it were so fertile as they said, were unwilling to stop in Osachile more than two days. At the end of that time they left the pueblo, and in the next three days they marched without any opposition through twelve leagues of uninhabited country that lies between the two provinces. At noon on the fourth day they came to a swamp that was very large and difficult to cross, because the water alone, without the woods that were on either side, was half a league wide and as long as a river. At the edges of the swamp beyond the water was a forest with a great deal of thick and tall timber and much underbrush consisting of blackberry vines and other small growth, which, being interwoven with the large trees, so thickened and closed up the forest that it had the appearance of a stout wall. Therefore there was no passage for crossing the woods and the swamp except by a path the Indians had made, so narrow that two men abreast could scarcely go along it.

Before reaching the forest, the camp was made on a fine plain, and because it was early the governor ordered that a hundred infantry, including crossbowmen, arquebusiers, and men armed with shields [rodeleros], and thirty cavalry, with twelve swimmers appointed to find out the depth of the water, should go to reconnoiter the crossing of the swamp. They were to take special note of the difficult places they found in it so that they might be prepared for them on the following day.

These Spaniards set out, and a few steps after they entered the path through the woods they found Indians ready to oppose their passage, but, since the path was so narrow, neither the faithful nor the infidels were able to fight, with the exception of the two leaders of each party. Therefore, placing two of the best-armed Spaniards in the lead with their swords and shields,

and two more crossbowmen and arquebusiers behind them, they drove the Indians before them all the way through the woods, until they came out on the water. There, since both parties could separate and scatter out, there was a lively combat with many and very good shots from one side to the other, and deaths and wounds on both sides.

Because of the strong resistance the Indians made in the water, the Christians were unable to ascertain just then how deep it was, and so reported to the general, who went in person to their assistance, taking with him the best infantry in the army. The enemy on their part also received reinforcements, making many more than they had formerly during the fight, with which they were strengthened, and the battle became more cruel and bloody. Both continued fighting in water halfway up their thighs, or waist-deep, moving with much difficulty because of the uneven ground caused by the undergrowth of blackberries and shrubs, and the fallen trees under the water. But with all these obstacles the Spaniards, knowing that they ought not to withdraw without having reconnoitered the crossing, made a great effort against the enemy and drove them to the other side of the water. They found that all of it could be forded waist- and thigh-deep except in midchannel, where for a distance of forty paces, because of the great depth, it was crossed by a bridge made of two fallen trees and other timbers fastened together. They saw also that under the water was a path just as there was through the woods, clear of the brush and vines that were on either side, off the path. Across the swamp on the other side, beyond the water, there was another forest as dense and thick as we have said was on this side, which also could not be traversed except along another narrow path or trail, made by hand. Each of these two forests and the swamp was half a league across, so that in all it was a league and a half.

Having examined the crossing well and considered the difficulties found in it, the governor returned with his men to his camp, to plan what must be done on the following day in accordance with what he had seen and learned. Having consulted with the captains regarding the inconvenience and dangers that the passage presented, he ordered a hundred cavalry made ready. These men being better armed than the infantry, they always suffered less injury from arrows. Taking shields and proceeding ahead on foot (because the horses were not needed), they protected a hundred more infantry, including crossbowmen and arquebusiers, who were to follow after them.

The governor also ordered that all of them be provided with axes, hatchets, and other tools with which to cut down a small tract of timber on the farther side of the swamp where the army could make camp, because the

Spaniards, having to cross one at a time, since the road was narrow, and having to dispute the pass with the enemy who had shown himself so fierce that day, it seemed to the governor impossible that his men could cross entirely in one day the two forests on the [sides of the] swamp. He therefore wished to prepare a camping place made thus laboriously in the second forest, for none was available otherwise.

## II

### THE SPANIARDS GAIN THE CROSSING OF THE SWAMP, AND THE MUCH AND BRAVE FIGHTING THAT TOOK PLACE THERE

With the preparations and orders that have been mentioned, each soldier carrying in his stomach the ration for that day, which was a little parched or boiled maize, and nothing else, two hundred Spaniards left the camp, from among the most chosen men there. Two hours before daylight they entered the path through the woods and proceeded along it as silently as possible until they came to the water where, finding the passage beneath it that was free of obstructions, they followed it to the bridge made of fallen trees and timbers fastened together, which was across the deepest part of the channel of the swamp. They crossed the bridge without a single Indian coming out to defend it, because they had thought the Spaniards would not dare enter at night into the thick woods and deep water with the undergrowth that was in it; therefore they had neglected to rise early in order to defend the crossing. But when daylight came and they perceived that the Christians had crossed the bridge, they gathered with furious shouts and clamor to defend the rest of the distance by water and swamp that was still to be passed, which was some quarter of a league. Angry at themselves for having been careless and slept so long, they charged upon the Castilians with great ferocity and violence. But the latter were well prepared, and being desirous that that fight should not last long, they pressed the Indians hard. Both were walking in water waist-deep. They drove them [the Indians] out of it, enclosing them in the passageway through the second forest, which was so close and thick that the Indians could not run through it in scattered formation, but only single file constrained by the narrow path. The Indians once enclosed in this path through the woods—since because of its narrowness few Spaniards were

needed to defend it—they agreed that 150 of them busy themselves in clearing a site for establishing the camp, and the other fifty guard and defend the pass in case the Indians should attempt to come and stop the work; because, since there was no other way of reaching those who were clearing the timber except by way of the path or trail, the few Christians who were there were sufficient to defend it.

They continued thus all that day, the Indians shouting and clamoring in order to alarm their enemies with their noise, now that they could not do so with arms; and some of the Castilians laboring to defend the passage, others in cutting the trees, and still others in burning those [trees] already cut so that they would not obstruct the site. When night came each one of our men stayed where he was, without sleeping any part of it because of the sudden assaults and the shouting of the Indians.

At daylight the army began to cross over, and although they had no opposition from the enemy, they had it from the road itself, which was very narrow, and from the obstructions in the water that prevented their passing as they would have liked to do; therefore they were forced to go one by one. Because of this excessive delay the whole camp was barely able to reach the clearing on the other side in the course of the day. There, because of the clamor and the sudden attacks the enemy made upon them, they slept as little that night as they had the night before. Those who were defending the crossing were given food by passing it from hand to hand, until it reached the ones in front.

As soon as day came the Spaniards marched along the path through the woods, driving the Indians before them, who continued to shoot arrows at them, retiring a little at a time, unwilling to yield to them anything that they could not win by the sword.

Thus they traversed the half-league through that dense and thick forest. Coming out of the thicket, they entered another woodland, clearer and more open, in which the Indians could scatter and go and come through the undergrowth. They harried the Castilians greatly, attacking from both sides of the road and discharging many arrows. They observed some order and plan, however, so that when those on one side were attacking, the others did not do so until the first had withdrawn, so as not to wound one another with stray arrows. The arrows were so numerous that they looked like a rain falling from the skies.

The forest where the Indians and the Spaniards were now fighting, which we said was more open, was not enough so to permit the horses to run through it. For this reason the Indians were going in and out among the



Christians so boldly that they paid no attention to them, and though the crossbowmen and arquebusiers made a stand against them, it had no effect, for while a Spaniard was firing one shot and making ready for another, an Indian would shoot six or seven arrows. They are so skillful and ready that they scarcely have discharged one before they have another in the bow.

The spots of clear ground between the trees by which the horses could pass, the Indians had surrounded and obstructed with large logs fastened to trees at either end in order to protect themselves against the horses; and in the thick woods through which the Indians could not travel they had made clearings at intervals with entrances and exits by which they could attack the Christians without being harmed by them.

They made these preparations ahead of time, because they knew that inasmuch as the woods and the swamp were so dense they would not be able to attack the Castilians as they desired and could do if the forest were more open and clearer, as was that in which they now were. Seeing, then, the advantages they had over the Spaniards because of the site, they did not cease attempting and carrying out whatever action, stratagem, or deceit they could against the Christians, eager to wound or kill them.

In these woods the Castilians were engaged in defending themselves from the enemy rather than in attacking him, because they could not make use of their horses, because of the obstruction of the woods; thus they were fatigued by their own courage rather than by their adversaries' arms. Seeing that their enemies were thus burdened, the Indians pressed them more and more on all sides, eager and anxious to rout and destroy them. Some of them took new courage and strength from the memory and recollection of having defeated and destroyed Pánphilo de Narváez ten or twelve years before in this same swamp, though not at this pass. They recalled this exploit to the Spaniards and to their general, saying to them, among other taunts and insults, that they would do the same thing to them and to him.

With these difficulties from the road and injuries from the enemy, the Spaniards traveled through the two leagues of forest until they emerged on open and level ground. Reaching it and giving thanks to God for having brought them out of that prison, they gave rein to their horses and showed well the anger they felt against the Indians, because in the more than two leagues of open country that intervened before they came to the maize fields they did not meet a single Indian whom they failed to capture or kill, especially those who made a show of resistance, not one of whom escaped. Thus they killed many Indians and took few prisoners, and the mortality of that day was large. With this these Castilians avenged the offense and injury the

Apalaches did to Pánphilo de Narváez, and undeceived them regarding their opinion of themselves and their boast that they would kill and destroy these Castilians as they had the others.

### III

#### OF THE CONTINUOUS FIGHTING THAT TOOK PLACE UNTIL THE ARRIVAL AT THE CHIEF PUEBLO OF APALACHE

It seemed to Governor Hernando de Soto that they had done enough for that day in having got out of the forest where they had encountered such difficulties, and in having partially punished the Indians. Thus he did not wish to go farther but encamped his army on that plain, it being a place clear of timber. The camp was pitched near a small pueblo where the settlements and cultivated fields of the province of Apalache began, so renowned and famous throughout that country.

The Indians were unwilling to repose on the following night, nor did they allow the Christians to rest from the bad days and nights that they had given them after their arrival at the swamp. Throughout the night they never ceased their shouts, alarms, and sudden attacks at all hours, shooting many arrows into the camp. The whole night passed with this uneasiness on both sides, without their coming to blows.

When daylight came the Spaniards marched through some large fields of maize, beans, calabashes, and other vegetables, the fields on both sides of the road extending across the plain out of sight, and it was two leagues through them. Among the fields were scattered a large number of separate houses at a distance from one another and not in the form of a pueblo.<sup>10</sup> The Indians came very hastily out of the houses and fields to shoot arrows at the Castilians, persisting in their desire and eagerness to kill or wound them. The latter, offended by such pertinacity and angered by the obstinacy and rancor they perceived in them, lost patience and speared them without mercy all through the maize fields, to see whether they could overcome or punish them by force of arms. But it was all in vain, because the anger and wrath

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<sup>10</sup>Ordinary households among the early Apalache and many other Mississippian societies were dispersed across the landscape. These farmsteads, or household farming settlements, were tied to a nearby political center.



*An Ear of Modern Corn. Corn was originally domesticated by the Native Americans, and it was the staple crop grown by the Mississippian cultures of the Southeast in De Soto's time. After landing in present Florida, De Soto's men did not see corn being grown until they reached the town of Paracoxi. Thereafter, when their food supplies brought from Cuba ran out, the Spaniards were forced to subsist mainly on corn taken from Indian stores. De Soto and Moscoso sought out well-populated places as they traveled, as much to ensure themselves of corn as to search for wealth. (Courtesy of the University of Alabama Museum of Natural History)*

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the Indians felt toward the Christians seemed to increase with the latter's desire for revenge.

Having passed over two leagues of cultivated fields, they came to a deep stream carrying much water and having thick timber on either side. It was a very difficult crossing, and the enemy had reconnoitered it well and prepared to attack the Castilians there. The latter seeing the obstacles and the defenses at the pass, the best-armed horsemen dismounted, and armed with swords and shields, and some with axes, they gained the pass and knocked down the palisades and barriers that had been built to prevent the horses from crossing, and their masters from attacking. The Indians charged here with greatest impetus and fury, placing their last hope of overcoming the Christians at this bad crossing because it was so difficult. Here the fighting was furious, and many Spaniards were wounded and some killed, because the enemy fought rashly, making the last stand of desperate men. But they could not succeed in their evil intent, for the Castilians won the victory through the spirit and strength that they showed and the great efforts that they made so that the injury might not be so great as they had feared to receive in such a dangerous place.

Leaving the stream, the Castilians marched two leagues more through a country without cultivated fields or settlements. The Indians did not oppose them there because in the field [*campo raso*] they could not stand against the horses. The Christians made camp in that place, which was clear of timber, so that the Indians with their fear of the horses, seeing them away from the woods, would allow them to sleep. After the past four days and three nights of watching and labor they were in need of rest. But that night they slept as little as before because the enemy, depending on the darkness, though in an open country, did not cease all night to give alarms and make sudden attacks on all sides of the camp. They disturbed the Castilians' rest so as not to lose the name and reputation the people of this province of Apalache had gained among all their neighbors and friends of being the bravest and most warlike.

On the next day, which was the fifth after they crossed the swamp, as soon as the army began to march the governor went ahead with two hundred cavalry and a hundred infantry, because he had learned from the Indian prisoners that two leagues from there was the pueblo of Apalache and in it its cacique with a large number of his bravest Indians, awaiting the Castilians to kill and quarter all of them. These words are precisely those that the prisoners said to the governor; although captives and in the power of their enemies they did not lose their bravado and their pride at being natives of Apalache.

The general and his men traveled the two leagues, spearing as many Indians as they met on either side of the road. They reached the pueblo and found that the curaca and his Indians had abandoned it. Knowing that they had not gone far, the Spaniards followed and traveled two leagues more on the other side of the pueblo, but though they killed and captured many Indians they could not come up with Capafi, for so the cacique was named. This is the first that we have found with a name different from his province. The adelantado returned to the pueblo, which consisted of 250 large and substantial houses, in which he found all his army lodged. He settled himself in those belonging to the cacique, which were on one side of the pueblo and, as the ruler's dwellings, were superior to all the others.

Besides this principal pueblo, there were many others throughout that district, half a league, one, one and a half, two, and three leagues away. Some had fifty or sixty houses, others a hundred or more, or less, not counting many other houses scattered about and not arranged in pueblos. The site of the whole province is pleasing, the soil fertile with a great abundance of food, and there are large quantities of fish, which the natives catch throughout the year for their subsistence and keep prepared for eating.

The governor and his captains and the officials of the real hacienda were all very pleased with what they saw of the good quality of that country and its fertility, and though all the provinces they had left behind them were good, this one had an advantage, inasmuch as its natives were indomitable and exceedingly bellicose, as has been seen and as we shall see later in some notable instances that occurred in this province between the Spaniards and Indians, individually and generally. To avoid prolixity, however, we shall not recount all of them, but from those that are told the ferocity of these Indians of Apalache will be seen clearly.

## IV

### THREE CAPTAINS GO TO DISCOVER THE BOUNDARIES OF APALACHE, AND THE REPORT THEY BRING

After the army had rested for several days and recovered somewhat from their recent great hardships, though during this time the constant alarms and sudden attacks of the enemy did not cease, night or day, the governor sent

bands of men on foot and on horseback with specially selected captains to penetrate fifteen or twenty leagues into the interior, to see and discover what might be on the boundaries and in the environs of that province.

Two captains went by different routes toward the north, one of them being Arias Tinoco and the other Andrés de Vasconcelos, who returned without anything of importance having happened to them, one eight days and the other nine after leaving the camp. They reported almost in the same words that they had found many pueblos having many people, and that the land abounded in food and was free of swamps and dense forests. Captain Juan de Añasco, who went toward the south, reported on the contrary that he had found a very rough and difficult country, almost impassable because of the obstacles he had encountered in the form of woods and swamps, which became worse as he proceeded south. On noting this difference between the very good and very poor country, I do not wish to go on without mentioning that Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca writes in his *Commentarios* concerning this province of Apalache. He describes it there as being rough, uneven, full of woods and swamps, with rivers and difficult passes, thinly populated and sterile, all of which is contrary to what we are writing. Therefore, with due regard for what that gentleman writes, for it is trustworthy, we understand that his journey was not so far into the interior as was that which Governor Hernando de Soto made, but was nearer the seacoast, and thus the land was found to be so rough and full of woods and bad swamps as he says. As we shall soon see, the same thing was found and discovered by Captain Juan de Añasco, who went from the chief pueblo of Apalache to find the sea, and he had great good luck in not losing himself time and again because of the bad country that he found. The pueblo that Cabeza de Vaca calls Apalache, to which he says Pánphilo de Narváez came, I believe was not this principal one that Hernando de Soto discovered, but another one of the many that are in this province that would be nearer the sea and, because of being in its jurisdiction, would be called Apalache like the province itself; for in the pueblo we have said was its capital there was found what we have seen. It is also to be noted that much of the account that Alvar Núñez wrote of that country is that which the Indians gave him, as he himself says. Those Castilians did not see it because, as they were few and most or all of them were captives, it was impossible for them to travel through it and see it with their own eyes, and even to seek food, and thus most of them were left to die of hunger. In the account that the Indians gave him it is to be believed that they would speak ill rather than well of their country, to discredit it so that

the Spaniards would lose their desire to go there, and thus our *History* does not contradict the account of that gentleman.

## V

### OF THE HARDSHIPS THAT JUAN DE AÑASCO EXPERIENCED IN DISCOVERING THE SEACOAST

We said that one of the captains who went to explore the region of Apalache was Juan de Añasco. So that the hardships he experienced may be better known, then, it must be said that he took forty cavalry and fifty foot soldiers, and there was also with him a gentleman named Gómez Arias, who was a relative of the governor's wife, a great soldier and very useful wherever he was because along with his military skill, great industry, and good counsel, he was a very expert swimmer (a useful and necessary thing for conquests), and overcame difficulties that arose in the water and on land. He had been a slave in Barbary where he learned the Moorish language, and he spoke it so well that he came out from the interior many leagues away on a Christian frontier without the Moors whom he happened to meet discovering that he was a slave. This gentleman and the men whom we have mentioned went with Juan de Añasco to the south to discover the sea, as they had news that it was less than thirty leagues from Apalache. They took an Indian to guide them who offered to do so, making a great show of loyalty and friendship toward the Christians.

In two days' journey of six leagues each, which they traveled over a very good road, wide and smooth, they came to a pueblo called Aute; they found it without people but full of food. On this road they passed two small rivers, easy to cross.

From the pueblo of Aute they went on with their search, taking food for four days. On the second day that they traveled by this same wide and good road, the Indian who was guiding them began to deceive them, it appearing to him that it was a bad thing to be a faithful guide to his enemies. Thereupon he led them out of the wide and good road that they had followed up to that time and set them among some thick and dense woods, very hard to travel through, with many fallen trees and without a road or path. Some

small plots of ground that they found, about the size of kitchen gardens, without timber, were themselves so miry that horses and foot soldiers sank into them. On top they were covered with grass and looked like solid ground on which one could walk safely. They found on this road—or in this forest, to speak correctly—a species of bramble with long and thick branches that extended over the ground and covered a large area. They had long straight thorns that hurt the horses and foot soldiers cruelly, and though they tried to guard against these vicious brambles, they could not, because there were a great many of them and they were spread between two layers of earth, covered with mud or sand, or with water. With these difficulties and others that can be imagined, these Castilians traveled off the road for five days, turning this way and that as the Indian wished to take them according to his whim, to deceive them or place them where they could not get out.

When the food that they took from the pueblo of Aute was exhausted, they decided to go back there to get more provisions and then continue their search. On turning back toward Aute, they suffered more hardships on the way than in going out, because they were forced to retrace their steps along the same route in order not to become lost; and, as they found the earth already trampled by their former passage, the horses and even the infantry sank in the mud more than when the trail was fresh.

In the midst of these fatigues and hardships the Castilians understood well enough that the Indian had lost the road purposely, because three times they found themselves in the midst of the woods so close to the sea that they could hear the surf. But as soon as he would hear it the Indian again would lead them into the interior, hoping to entrap them where they could not get out and would perish of hunger; and though he should die with them, he was satisfied if by so doing he could kill them. The Christians knew all this, but they did not dare confront him with it for fear of offending him more than he was already, and also because they had brought no other guide.

Having returned to Aute, where they arrived dying of hunger—as men who for four days had eaten nothing except herbs and roots—they took provisions for five or six days more, as there was a great abundance of them in the pueblo, and went back to their exploration, not by better roads than the past ones but by other, worse ones—if worse there could be, or if the diligence and malice of the guide could find them, as he desired to do.

One night when they were sleeping in the forest, the Indian, unable to put off longer the time of killing the Christians, seized a stick from the fire and struck and injured one of them in the face. The other soldiers wished to



kill him for his shamelessness and boldness, but the captain prevented it, saying that they must tolerate him because he was the guide and they had no other. They went back to rest, and an hour later he did the same thing to another Castilian. Then they gave him many blows, kicks, and cuffs by way of punishment, but this did not prevent the Indian's beating still another soldier with another firebrand before morning.

The Spaniards now did not know what to do with him. For the time being they contented themselves with beating him and putting him in chains, by which he was attached to one of their number so that he could keep special watch over him.

As soon as morning came they resumed their march, suffering much from the hardships of their past route and the present one, and angered by the bad behavior of the guide. After they had traveled a short distance the latter, seeing himself in the power of his enemies and being unable to kill them or to escape from them, despairing of his life, attacked the soldier to whom he was chained and, grasping him from behind, raised him up and threw him full length on the ground; and before he could get up he jumped on him with both feet and kicked him. The Castilians and their captain, unable to endure such outrages any longer, stabbed and speared him until they left him for dead. A strange thing was noted, however, and this was that the swords and spearheads entered into and cut his body so little that he seemed to be enchanted; the many gashes he received wounded him no more than blows from a wand made of shoots from the quince or wild olive tree. Angered by this, Juan de Añasco raised himself in the stirrups and, grasping his spear with both hands, struck him with all his strength; and though he was a strong and robust man, the spearhead did not go halfway in. When the Spaniards saw this they wondered at it, and they loosed a greyhound to finish killing him by grasping and tearing him. So ended this treacherous and malicious Indian, as he deserved.

## VI

### CAPTAIN JUAN DE AÑASCO REACHES THE BAY OF AUTE, AND WHAT HE FOUND THERE

The Castilians had not gone fifty paces from the Indian, whom they believed to be dead and eaten by the dog, when they heard the hound giving

great howls, clamoring as if they were killing him. Our men ran to see what it was and found that the Indian, with his little remaining strength, had placed his thumbs on either side of the dog's mouth and was tearing his jaws apart, the dog being unable to help himself. Seeing this, one of the Spaniards stabbed him repeatedly, finally killing him; and another cut off his hands with a hunter's cutlass that he carried, and after they were severed he could not loosen them from the dog's mouth, so desperately had he grasped it.

After this event the Spaniards resumed their march, marveling that a single Indian should have been the means of giving them so much trouble, but as they did not know in which direction to go, they were confused, uncertain what to do. In this dilemma they were helped by an Indian whom they had happened to take on their past route when they were returning to the pueblo of Aute, and they had kept him with them continuously. Though it is true that before the death of the Indian guide the Spaniards had questioned him many times as to whether he knew the route to the sea, he never answered a word, remaining silent because the other had threatened him with death if he talked. Seeing, then, that the obstacle was removed and that he was rid of his companion, and fearing that they might kill him as they had the other, he spoke and replied to what they were then asking him. By means of signs and a few words that he knew, he said that he would take them to the sea at the same place where Pánphilo de Narváez had built his boats and had embarked, but that it was necessary to go back to the pueblo of Aute because the direct route to the sea began there. Although the Spaniards told him that it must be nearby, because from where they were they could hear the sound of the waves and surf, he replied that they would never in their lives reach the sea by the way that they thought to go, and that the other Indian was taking them, because of the many swamps and the impassable woods that lay between; therefore they must return to the pueblo of Aute. Thereupon the Castilians returned to the pueblo, having spent five days on this second journey and ten on the first, at the cost of much personal hardship and with the loss of fifteen days, which was what they most regretted, because of the anxiety that the governor would feel at their delay.

Returning to the pueblo, then, Gómez Arias and Gonzalo Silvestre, who were going on ahead exploring the country, seized two Indians whom they found near the pueblo. Being questioned as to whether they knew how to guide them to the sea, they replied that they did and confirmed everything that the Indian whom they were bringing as a prisoner had told them. With these hopes the Spaniards rested that night somewhat more easily than on the fifteen nights past.

The next day the three Indians guided the Christians along a smooth, clear, and pleasant road between two large and good fields of stubble. Leaving them behind, the road became wider and more open, and they found no bad crossings throughout its length, except one narrow swamp that was easily passed, the horses sinking only to the pastern. Having marched a little more than two leagues, they reached a very wide and spacious bay, and, proceeding along its shore, they came to the site where Pánphilo de Narváez had camped. There they saw where he had the forge on which he made the nails for vessels; they found much charcoal around it. They saw also some thick beams hollowed like troughs, which had served as mangers for the horses.

The three Indians showed the Spaniards the site where the enemy had killed ten Christians of Narváez's party, as Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca also tells in his history. They took them step by step all along the route followed by Pánphilo de Narváez, pointing out the spots where such and such things had occurred. Finally, they omitted none of the notable things that Pánphilo de Narváez did on that bay, recounting them by signs and with words well or ill understood, some spoken in Spanish, for the Indians of all that coast pride themselves greatly on knowing the Spanish language and try diligently to learn a few odd words, which they repeat over and over.

Captain Juan de Añasco and his soldiers went about very carefully looking to see whether they might have placed some letters in hollow trees or cut some words on the bark that would tell some of the things that these others had seen and noted—because it has been a very usual and customary thing for the first discoverers of new lands to leave such messages for their successors, and these messages often have been of great importance—but they could find nothing of the sort for which they were looking.

After doing this, they followed the shore of the bay to the sea, which was three leagues away, and at ebb tide ten or twelve swimmers embarked in some old abandoned canoes they found, and sounded the depth of the bay in midchannel.

They found it deep enough for large ships. Then they put signs on the highest trees thereabout so that those who came coasting by sea could recognize that site, which was the same one where Pánphilo de Narváez embarked in his five vessels, so unfortunate that none of them survived.

Having taken the precautions described and set them down in writing so that those who might come to it should not miss the place, they returned to the camp and reported to the governor everything that had happened and what they had done. The general was much relieved to see them because he

had been concerned at their delay, and he was glad to know that there was a port for the ships.

## VII

### THIRTY LANCERS ARE MADE READY TO RETURN TO THE BAY OF ESPÍRITU SANTO

While the three exploring captains went out and returned with the reports of what each of them had seen and discovered, Governor Hernando de Soto did not rest or remain idle, but on the other hand, he was considering in his own mind and preparing with all care and vigilance the things most advantageous for his army. Therefore seeing that winter was approaching (it was then October), he thought it best not to continue his discoveries that year but to winter in that province of Apalache where there were plenty of provisions. He planned to send for Captain Pedro Calderón and the other Spaniards who had remained with him in the province of Hirrihigua to come and join him, because they were not doing anything of importance where they were.

To this end he ordered as many supplies collected as possible. He had many houses built besides those in the pueblo so that there would be comfortable lodgings for all his soldiers. He had a site fortified that seemed suitable, for the safety of his men. During this time he did not cease to send messengers to Capafi, the lord of that province, with gifts and friendly messages, begging him to come out peaceably and be his friend. The latter was unwilling to accept any of these terms but instead fortified himself in a very wild forest full of swamps and difficult passes, which he chose for the defense and protection of his person.

The things stated being arranged and provided for, the governor ordered the accountant Juan de Añasco to prepare to return to the province of Hirrihigua, because it seemed to him that this gentleman was the most successful captain and had had better fortune from the beginning of his expedition than any of his others, and that such a man who had also his other good qualities as a soldier was needed to surmount the dangers and difficulties he would encounter. In consideration of these things he ordered him to take twenty-nine other lancers who were ready, he himself making thirty, and return with them to the pueblo of Hirrihigua by the same road that the army had taken,

so that Captain Pedro Calderón and the other soldiers who were with him might be advised of what the general ordered them to do.

The task was a very severe one because those [who went] would have to go back over almost 150 leagues of country inhabited by brave and cruel enemies, filled with large rivers, forests, swamps, and difficult passes, a crossing in which the whole army had been in great danger. This would be even greater now that only thirty lancers were going, and they would necessarily find the Indians better prepared than when the governor passed, and because of the injuries received, more angry and desirous of avenging them.

But all this did not suffice to make the thirty gentlemen now prepared refuse to go on the expedition; rather they obeyed readily and with all promptness. Because they were men of such spirit and courage, who went through so many hardships, dangers, and difficulties, as we shall see, it will be fitting to set down their names, and we are including those whose names are remembered. Those who are missing will forgive me and accept my respects, for I would like to have information not only of them but of all those who went to conquer and win the New World, and I wish also that I could attain the historical eloquence of the most illustrious Caesar in order to spend my life recounting and celebrating their great exploits. To the extent that these have been greater than those of the Greeks, the Romans, and other nations, so much more unfortunate have the Spaniards been in lacking someone to write of them, and it is no small misfortune to these gentlemen that [the story of] their deeds came into the hands of an Indian, whence they will emerge impaired and defaced rather than written as they deserve to be and as they occurred. In having done what I could, however, I have complied with this obligation, though I have a greater fund of good will to serve them than of power or ability.

The gentlemen chosen were the accountant and captain Juan de Añasco, a native of Sevilla; Gómez Arias, a native of Segovia; Juan Cordero and Alvaro Fernández, natives of Yelves; Antonio Garillo, a native of Yllescas (he was one of the thirteen who revolted in Cuzco with Francisco Hernández Girón in the year 1553); Francisco de Villalobos and Juan López Cacho, citizens of Sevilla; Gonzalo Silvestre, a native of Herrera de Alcántara; Juan de Espinosa, a native of Ubeda; Hernando Athanasio, a native of Badajoz; Juan de Abadía, a Biscayan; Antonio de la Cadena and Francisco Segredo, natives of Medellín; Bartolomé de Argote and Pedro Sánchez from Astorga; Juan García Pechudo, a native of Albuquerque; and Pedro Morón, mestizo, a native of the city of Bayamo in the island of Cuba. This soldier had a most unusual gift in that he scented and picked up a trail better than a pointer dog.

It often happened in the island of Cuba that when he and others went out to hunt for rebellious or runaway Indians he could follow their trails to the underbrush or hollow trees or eaves where they were hidden. He also could detect fire from the odor more than a league away, and many times in this exploration of La Florida, without flame or smoke having been seen, he said to his companions, "Look out, there is a fire near us," and they would find it half a league or a league away. He was a most expert swimmer, as we have said already. With him went his comrade and compatriot, Diego de Oliva, a mestizo and a native of the island of Cuba.

## VIII

### WHAT THE THIRTY HORSEMEN DID UNTIL THEIR ARRIVAL AT VITACHUCO, AND WHAT THEY FOUND THERE

These twenty [*sic*] horsemen and ten others whose names are lacking to make up the number of thirty, left the pueblo of Apalache on October 20 of the year 1539 to go to the province of Hirrihigua where Pedro de Calderón was. They carried orders that will be told later as to what they were to do on sea and on land.

All traveled very lightly, with only helmets and coats of mail over their clothing, their lances in their hands, and a pair of knapsacks on their saddles containing some horseshoes and nails and the food that they could put into them for horses and riders.

They left the camp a good while before daylight, and so that the news of their coming should not precede them and the Indians thus be warned to go out and take the passes, they traveled at a good speed, running where it was possible to do so. That day they speared two Indians whom they met on the road, killing them so that they might not give an alarm and warn those who were scattered about the country. They always traveled with this precaution against the news [of their coming] going ahead of them. Thus on that day they marched the eleven leagues between Apalache and the swamp, which they crossed without opposition from the enemy; no small advantage, because however few Indians might have come they would have been enough to shoot arrows at the horses in such a narrow road as that through the woods and the water.

The Spaniards slept on the plain entirely beyond the woods, having traveled and marched that day more than thirteen leagues. While resting they kept watch by thirds, in groups of ten, as we have told above.

They continued their march before daybreak and covered the twelve leagues of uninhabited country that lies between the swamp of Apalache and the pueblo of Osachile. They went with the fear that the Indians would know of their approach and would come out to oppose their passage, so they advanced slowly, waiting for nightfall, and about midnight they passed through the pueblo, going at a canter. A league beyond the pueblo they left the road and rested the remainder of the night, a third of them keeping watch, as we have said. That day they traveled more than thirteen leagues farther.

At dawn they continued their journey, going at a canter because there were people in the fields. They always did this when they were passing through inhabited country so that the news of their coming should not go ahead of them, which was what they most feared. Thus they traveled the five leagues from the place where they slept to the Río de Osachile at the expense of the horses, and they were so good that they endured everything. On approaching the river, Gonzalo Silvestre, who, because he had urged his horse more than the others, was riding ahead, went to look at it with much misgiving, fearing to find it higher than when the army had crossed it, but God willed that it now carried less water than before. In his satisfaction at seeing it thus he plunged into it and swam across and came out on the plain on the opposite side. When his companions saw him on the farther bank they were very pleased because all of them had had the same fear of finding the river swollen; they crossed without any mishaps and by way of celebration and rejoicing for having crossed the river they ate lunch. Then they traveled at a moderate pace the four leagues from this Río de Osachile to the pueblo of Vitachuco, the scene of the cacique Vitachuco's temerity.

The Castilians proceeded with the uneasy expectation of finding the pueblo of Vitachuco as they had left it, and they feared that they would have to fight with its inhabitants and gain passage by force, where it might happen that they [the Indians] would kill or wound some man or horse, a misfortune that would double the labors and difficulties of the road. They therefore agreed among themselves that none of them would remain to fight, but all would endeavor to pass on without stopping. With this determination they came to the pueblo, where they lost all their anxiety because they found it entirely burned and destroyed and the walls leveled to the ground; and the bodies of the Indians who died on the day of the battle and those whom they

killed on the day that the cacique Vitachuco struck the governor were all heaped together in the fields, no one having desired to bury them. The Indians said later that they abandoned and destroyed the pueblo because it was founded on an unlucky and unfortunate site; and the dead Indians, as ill-fated men who had not carried out their pretensions, they left unburied as food for birds and wild beasts, for among them this was a very infamous punishment and was given to those who were unlucky and unfortunate in arms, as to people who were accursed and excommunicated, after their heathen custom. They so regarded this pueblo and those who died in it because it seemed to them that the disaster that happened there had been caused more by the unluckiness of the place and the ill-fortune of the dead than by the strength and bravery of the Spaniards, for their numbers were so small against so many and such brave Indians.

## IX

### THE JOURNEY OF THE THIRTY LANCERS CONTINUES, UNTIL REACHING THE RÍO DE OCHILE [OCALI]

Wondering at what they had seen, the Spaniards passed through the pueblo and had scarcely left it when they found two Indian nobles who, armed with their bows and arrows, were hunting, not expecting to see Christians that day; but when they saw them appear they took refuge under a very large walnut tree that was close by. One of them, not trusting much in the safety of his position, ran away from the tree and went to take shelter in the woods that were on one side of the road. Two of the Castilians, much against their captain's wishes, went to head him off, and before the Indian reached the woods they overtook him, a small enough accomplishment for two horsemen. The other Indian, who had more courage and waited under the tree, was luckier, because fortune favors the daring, as people who deserve it. Putting an arrow in his bow, he faced all the Spaniards—who came up at a canter, one after another—and made a gesture of shooting it if they should come nearer to him. Some of them, angered by the Indian's audacity and boldness, or envious at seeing a spirit and courage so unusual and strange, wished to dismount and attack him on foot with their lances in their hands. But Juan de Añasco would not consent to it, saying that it was not valor or prudence to kill a rash and desperate man with the risk that the Indian would kill or wound one of them or one of their horses at a time when they needed



them so much, and where they were so ill prepared for treating the wounded.

Saying these words, as he was leading the rest, he made a wide circle, going away from the Indian and from the road that passed near the tree where he was so that the enemy might not shoot at them in passing and wound a horse, which was what he most feared. As the Spaniard went by, the Indian, with an arrow in his bow, pointed it at his face, threatening to shoot him. The first one having passed, and likewise the second and third and all the rest, as they went by in their order, the Indian remained in the same attitude until all had passed, and when he saw that they had not attacked him, but rather had left and fled from him, he began to shout insulting words at them, saying: "Cowards, bastards, cravens; thirty of you on horseback have not dared attack one on foot!" With these boasts he remained under his tree with more honor than all these famous [soldiers] had gained; so said the Castilians in their excessive envy of him, as they passed on shamed by the shouts that he sent after them. At this point they heard a great outcry and alarm that the Indians who were in the fields on either side gave, calling to one another to block their road.

The Spaniards escaped this danger and other similar ones by the swiftness of their horses, always hastening and leaving the enemy behind. On this day, which was the third of their march, well after dark, they reached a fine plain clear of timber where they rested, having traveled and marched seventeen leagues that day, the last eight through the province of Vitachuco.

On the fourth day they marched eighteen more leagues, all through the province of Vitachuco. Its natives being injured and offended from the past battle, and seeing them [the Spaniards] now marching through their country, and that they were few in number, wished to take revenge by killing them. Therefore they made up relays in order to pass the word on from one to another to give the news of the Spaniards' coming and assemble men to occupy some difficult pass and cut them off. Surmising the Indians' intention, our men followed them so closely that none who attempted to carry the message escaped them, and thus on that day they speared seven Indians. At nightfall they reached a plain having no timber, where they thought they might rest because they heard no sounds of Indians in the surrounding country.

A little after midnight they left their beds, and by sunrise they had marched five leagues, reaching the Río de Ocali where we said the Indians had shot the hound Bruto. The Castilians went with some hope of finding the river with less water than when they had crossed it [before], as they had

found the Osachile, but the contrary was true, because for some time before they came to it they saw the banks, which as we said were two pike-lengths high, entirely covered with water that overflowed beyond them on the plain. The river ran so rapidly, turbidly and strongly, with so many whirlpools in every part of it, that simply looking at it inspired fear, much less having to swim across it. To this difficulty and danger was added another, greater one, which was the alarm and outcry that the Indians raised on both sides of the river when they saw the Christians appear, shouting to one another to kill them as they crossed.

The Spaniards, seeing that the safety of their lives lay in their good spirit, strength, and speed, immediately discussed what they ought to do in that danger, and as if by prearrangement—and as if all of them were captains—calling one another by their names, they ordered that twelve of them who were the best swimmers, wearing only their helmets and coats of mail over their shirts (without any other clothing, so as not to hinder the horses in swimming), and carrying lances in their hands, go into the river to gain the other bank before the Indians should reach it. As there were more of them on that side and as the whole pueblo could assemble there, it was more dangerous and it was necessary to keep it unobstructed and free, so that as the Spaniards swam across the Indians might not shoot arrows at them at their pleasure. The twelve men appointed, then, seeing the imminent danger in which they were, all said with one accord, reassuring one another, that whoever might get out or whoever might die it was impossible for them to do otherwise. They ordered also that fourteen of them cut as quickly as possible five or six thick timbers from the dead trees that had fallen on the riverbank and make a raft from them in which they could take over the saddles, clothing and knapsacks, and the Spaniards who did not know how to swim. The four remaining men were to endeavor to hold back the Indians who were coming at full speed from upstream and down on this side to prevent their crossing.

They had no sooner made this plan than they put it into operation. The twelve men named to cross the river, taking off their clothes, at once plunged into the water, and eleven of them succeeded in coming out on the opposite bank at a large gap in the bluff. The twelfth, who was Juan López Cacho, was unable to make the shore because his horse went a little downstream from the opening, and being unable to resist the velocity of the water to come out at this landing, he went on down the river to see if there were another opening by which he could come out. Although he attempted many times to ascend the bluff in order to land, he could not do so, for the bluff

was as steep as a wall and the horse could not get a foothold. Therefore he had to go back to the other bank, and as the horse had been swimming for so long without resting, he was much fatigued. Juan López asked for help from his companions who were cutting the timber for the raft, and four of them who were expert swimmers, seeing his danger, jumped into the water and brought him and his horse safely to shore, which was no small feat because they were fatigued from their labors. Here we shall leave them to tell what the governor was doing meanwhile in Apalache.

## X

### THE GOVERNOR CAPTURES THE CURACA OF APALACHE

The adelantado Hernando de Soto was not idle while the accountant and captain Juan de Añasco and the thirty horsemen who went with him were making the expedition of which we have told. On the contrary, finding the Indians of the province of Apalache, where he was, with the eagerness and solicitude that we have seen to kill or wound the Spaniards, and that they were losing no occasion that presented itself to them on which they might do it, by day or by night, it seemed to him that, if he could get the cacique into his hands, the stratagems and treasonable acts of his Indians would cease at once. He secretly took great trouble to find out where the curaca was, and within a few days they brought him definite information that he was concealed in some high and very rough mountains where, though he was no more than eight leagues from the camp, the cacique believed himself to be safe, likewise because of the strength of his position and because of the many and good men whom he had with him for his defense.

With this certain news the general desired to make the journey himself, and taking the necessary cavalry and infantry and guided by the same spies, he set out for the place where the cacique was. Having traveled eight leagues in three days and experienced many hardships because of the difficulties of the road, he reached the place. The Indians had fortified it in the following manner. In the middle of a very large and dense forest they had cleared a space where the curaca and his Indians had their lodgings. As an entrance to this plaza they had opened through the same woods a narrow alley more than half a league in length. All along this alley at intervals of a hundred paces they had made strong palisades with thick logs, which commanded the

passage. Men were designated for the defense of each palisade. They had not made an exit by which to escape at any other part of this fort because they believed that even though the Spaniards should reach it the site was so strong in itself and the men who were defending it were so numerous and so brave that it was impossible for them to gain it. Within it was the cacique Capafi, well supported by his people, all determined to die rather than see their lord in the power of his enemies.

Upon his arrival at the entrance of the alley, the governor found the men there well prepared to defend it. The Castilians fought bravely, but since the alley was narrow, only those in the lead could fight. With this labor, solely by dint of the sword, and receiving many arrow wounds, they gained the first palisade and the second, but inasmuch as it was necessary to cut the ropes made of willows and the other cords with which the Indians had fastened the cross-timbers, while they were cutting them they received much damage from the enemy. With all these difficulties, however, they gained the third palisade and all the rest up to the last one, though the Indians fought so obstinately that against their strong resistance the Spaniards gained the alley foot by foot, until they reached the clearing where the curaca was.

There the battle was hotly contested because the Indians, seeing their lord in danger of being killed or captured, fought like desperate men and thrust themselves among the swords and lances of the Spaniards in order to wound or kill them when they could not do so in any other way. On the other hand, the Christians, seeing so near the capture they desired to make, in order not to lose the result of their labor fought as hard as possible to prevent the cacique's escaping them. The struggle and combat between Indians and Spaniards continued for a long time, both showing their fortitude of spirit, though the Indians for lack of defensive weapons got the worst of it. The governor himself, desiring to have the cacique in his power and knowing him to be so near, fought like a very brave soldier, which he was, and like a good captain he encouraged his men, calling to them loudly by name. With this the Spaniards made a very great effort and fell upon the enemy with such ferocity and cruelty that they killed almost all of them.

Having done more than would have been thought possible for men not having defensive armor, these few Indians that remained, seeing that they could not now defend their cacique, laid down their arms and surrendered in order that the Spaniards might not kill him after killing them, and also because the curaca himself commanded them in a loud voice to do so. Falling on their knees before the governor, they all as one man begged him to spare their lord Capafi and to kill them instead. The general received the Indians

mercifully and told them that he pardoned their lord and all of them for their past disobedience, and that in the future they would all be good friends.

The cacique arrived, carried in the arms of his Indians because he could not walk, and came to kiss the governor's hands; the latter received him very kindly, well satisfied to see him in his power. Capafi was a man with an extremely large body; so much so that because of being excessively fat and because of the indispositions and impediments that this always caused him, he was so helpless that he could not take a single step or stand on his feet. His Indians carried him on a litter, and wherever he wished to go in his house he went on all fours. This was the reason Capafi had not gone farther away from the Spaniards' camp than he did, believing that the place was sufficiently distant and strong enough and the road sufficiently rough to safeguard him from them, but his confidence was misplaced.

## XI

### THE CACIQUE OF APALACHE GOES BY THE GOVERNOR'S ORDER TO REDUCE HIS INDIANS

With the capture of the cacique, the general returned to the pueblo of Apalache very satisfied, for it seemed to him that with the imprisonment of the lord the impudences and boldnesses of the vassals would cease. These latter, after the Castilians had entered that pueblo, had not ceased day or night to make continuous attacks and sudden sallies and alarms, being so astute and diligent in their stratagems that they at once assaulted or wounded any Spaniard who strayed even a little distance from the camp. The general thought that all this would be ended by having the curaca in his power, but his hopes turned out to be in vain because the Indians, after the loss of their cacique, were more free and bold and molested the Christians more continuously, since as they had no lord in whose protection and service to occupy themselves, all turned more obstinately than before to molesting and injuring the Castilians. Angered by this, the adelantado talked one day with Capafi and told him of his displeasure at the great insolence and ingratitude his vassals showed at the good treatment he had accorded to their curaca and to them, in not having done the harm and damage that he might have done to their persons and property in punishment of their rebelliousness. On the contrary, he had treated them like friends, and unless it was provoked by

themselves, they [the Spaniards] had not killed or wounded a single Indian nor moved to damage their pueblos or fields, when they were able to desolate and burn their whole province as lands and houses of enemies as perverse as they were. [He desired the cacique] to order them to cease their treasonable and shameless actions if he did not wish him to make war on them with fire and blood; he was to observe that he was in the power of the Spaniards, who were honoring and treating him with much respect and ceremony, and it could happen that the disrespect and excessive arrogance of his vassals would cause his death and the total destruction of his country.

The curaca replied with much humility and signs of great regret, saying that he was extremely grieved that his vassals did not comply with the obligation that the mercy his lordship had shown them had placed upon them, nor were serving as he himself desired and had attempted to [have them do] after he was in his [De Soto's] power, through the messengers that he had sent them, ordering them to cease angering and giving offense to the Castilians. But his messages had no effect because the Indians were unwilling to believe that they were from their cacique, but [thought they were] from strangers; nor could they bring themselves to believe in the clemency and respect his lordship had shown toward him, or that he was free. On the other hand they suspected that he had been very ill treated, kept in irons and in prison, and this was the reason they were now more persistent and obstinate in their stratagems than before. He therefore begged his lordship to order his captains and men that, taking him under strong guard, they go with him to a place five or six leagues from the camp to which he would guide them; there in a large forest were concealed the noblest and most important of his vassals. There, by day or night, he would shout to them in a loud voice, calling them by their names, and on hearing the voice of their lord they would all come at his summons. He having undeceived them of their evil suspicions, they would be appeased and would do what he ordered them, as the event would prove; and this was the most certain and quickest way to reduce the Indians to his service, because of the respect and veneration they naturally have for their curacas. Nothing would be gained by means of messengers nor could he negotiate through them, because they would reply that the messages were false and counterfeit, sent by the enemies themselves and not by their cacique.

With these words and a very chastened countenance, Capafi persuaded Hernando de Soto to send him where he asked, and thus it was ordered and carried out. Two companies went with him, one of cavalry and the other of infantry, and they went with strict orders to guard and watch the curaca

closely lest he escape them. So cautioned, they left the camp before dawn, traveled six leagues toward the south, and arrived about nightfall at the place where the cacique said his people were in some woods nearby.

As soon as Capafi reached the appointed site, three or four of the Indians who had gone with him entered the woods, and in a short time ten or twelve others of those who had been in the woods came out. The curaca ordered them to notify that night all the principal Indians who were in the woods to assemble and appear before him on the following day; that he wished to tell them personally of things that were very important to the honor, safety and welfare of all of them. The Indians returned to the woods with this message, and the Castilians, having posted their sentries and a strong guard around the person of the cacique, rested that night well satisfied with what was arranged, it appearing to them that their business was so progressing that they would be able to return from their journey with honor and glory. They did not consider that the greatest hopes that men promise themselves often turn out most vain, as happened to these Spaniards.

## XII

### THE CACIQUE OF APALACHE, BEING CRIPPLED, ESCAPES FROM THE SPANIARDS ON ALL FOURS

Our Castilians, captains and soldiers, had retired to rest with great satisfaction and common rejoicing, believing that on the next day they would return to their captain-general with the victory and triumph of bringing him all the principal Indians of that province, reduced to his friendship and service, with which they all expected to be left in peace and quiet. But they found that their imaginings had deceived them, for as soon as daylight came they saw themselves without the cacique and without a single one of the few Indians who had come with him. Amazed by this, they asked one another what had happened, and all of them replied that it was impossible unless the Indians had conjured up demons who had carried them away through the air, because the sentries affirmed that there had not been any carelessness whatsoever through which the cacique might have made his escape.

But the truth of the matter was that the Castilians, both on account of their weariness from the long journey of the previous day and because of the

confidence they felt in the friendliness and fair words of Capafi and the impediment and helplessness of his person, were careless and slept, the sentries as well as the rest. Seeing their sleep and the good opportunity, the curaca dared to escape from them, and did so by passing on all fours through the sentries. His Indians—who were not sleeping but were plotting to waylay the Spaniards—encountering him, had raised him on their shoulders, and it was a mercy God granted to the Christians that the heathen did not come back to cut their throats, because their own savagery and our men's drowsiness would have permitted them to do so entirely at their pleasure. But they contented themselves at seeing their lord out of the power of the Castilians, and so that he would not again fall into their hands they endeavored to put him in a more secure place than he had been formerly, and thus they took him where he was never seen again, then or later.

The two captains, whose names we omit to protect their reputation, and their good soldiers as well, made diligent search throughout these woods, hunting Capafi like a wild beast; but despite their efforts all through the day they found no trace of him, for the bird that escapes from the snare is seldom caught.

Having put the curaca in safety, the Indians came out to the Christians and uttered a thousand affronts and insults, ridiculing and mocking them, and without further provocation, since they did not want to fight with them, they left them to return to their camp. They arrived there much abashed and ashamed that an Indian, whom they had been so strictly charged to guard, had fled from them and escaped on all fours. They told the general and the other captains a thousand fabulous tales by way of excuse for their carelessness and to redeem their reputations, all affirming that they had heard very strange things that night, and that the thing was impossible unless he had been carried through the air by demons; they swore that in any other way it was not possible, in view of the strong guard that they had placed over him.

When he saw the poor precautions taken and that there was now no help for it, in order not to affront these captains and soldiers the governor pretended to believe what they said and helped them by stating that the Indians were such great sorcerers that they could do even more than that. He did not fail, however, to perceive their carelessness.

Returning to the thirty horsemen whom we left laboring to cross the swollen Río de Ocali, we said that those who were engaged in cutting logs in a short time had made the raft, because they had come prepared for such necessities with axes and ropes. They launched it on the water with two long ropes with which they drew it back and forth from one side of the river to



the other, two good swimmers carrying one of the ropes to the opposite bank. The Spaniards had done all this when the Indians of Ocali approached the river with a great rush and clamor, with the desire and intention of killing the Christians.

The eleven horsemen who had gained the opposite bank of the river advanced to the encounter and engaged them with such determination and courage, spearing the first ones whom they met, that the Indians did not dare wait for them, because the land was free of both small and large timber and the horsemen were masters of the field. They therefore withdrew, retiring slowly and contenting themselves with shooting many arrows at them from a distance.

The four horsemen who were on this side of the river, where there were fewer enemies, divided in pairs, two going upstream and two down, for there were Indians coming from both directions, detaining them with their assaults so that they would not come to the place where the raft was. It made five voyages while the riders defended it on either side of the stream. On the first it carried the cloaks of the eleven horsemen who were on the other side of the river, who shouted to ask for them because a north wind had come up, striking them while they were damp and had no other clothing except their shirts with coats of mail over them, and they were chilled with the cold.

In four other voyages they took over the saddles, bridles, and knapsacks, and the men who did not know how to swim, who were few in number. Those who could, swam across in order not to lose time by making more voyages with the raft than were absolutely necessary. As they crossed they went out on the plain to assist those who were making a stand against the enemy there, whose numbers increased hourly. Finally, only two Spaniards remained to unload the raft and receive what was brought in it.

For the last voyage there remained on this side of the river only two men, one being Hernando Athanasio and the other Gonzalo Silvestre. The latter, while his companion drove his horse into the water and boarded the raft, went out to detain the enemy, and having driven them back with a good charge on horseback, he returned at full speed to get aboard the raft where his companion was awaiting him. Without removing the saddle or bridle from the horse, he drove him into the water and got on the raft, having unfastened the rope by which it was tied to the shore.

For all the speed with which the Indians came to discharge arrows at the Castilians, the latter were already in midstream, out of danger, because of the great diligence with which their companions on the other side had applied themselves to pulling the raft across. As the horses plunged into the

water they crossed very willingly without anyone driving or guiding them, for they seemed to sense the harm that the enemy wished to do them, and, as if they were rational beings, they promptly obeyed what they told them to do, not refusing to enter and come out at the places their masters wished. For the Spaniards this was no small relief, and they even took an example from them for setting to work more promptly, seeing that the beasts did not refuse to do so.

## XIII

### THE EVENTS OF THE JOURNEY OF THE THIRTY HORSEMEN UNTIL THEY REACHED THE GREAT SWAMP

With the difficulties and hardships we have told, and many more that have been omitted because it is impossible to recount all of those that are experienced on such expeditions, the thirty brave and courageous horsemen crossed the Río de Ocali, God, our Lord, having favored them so mercifully that none of them or none of their horses were wounded. It was two o'clock in the afternoon when they finished crossing the river. They went to the pueblo because it was necessary to stop there, because Juan López Cacho, as a result of his struggle in the water and with the intense cold that came, had frozen and remained like a wooden statue, unable to move hand or foot.

Seeing the Spaniards coming to their pueblo, the Indians stationed themselves to oppose their passage in order to detain them while their women and children fled to the woods, and not to hinder their entrance and the stay they might wish to make in the pueblo. When they thought that their people would have reached safety they withdrew and abandoned the place. The Castilians entered it and camped in the middle of the plaza, not daring to go into the houses because the enemy, finding them divided, might surround them and take them while they were inside.

They built four large fires in the form of a square and put Juan López in the heat between them, well wrapped in all his companions' cloaks; one of them gave him a clean shirt that he was bringing for himself. It seemed to them a miracle that at such a time there should be found among them any shirts other than the ones they were wearing. It was the best present that could have been given him.

They remained in the pueblo all the rest of that day with great anxiety and fear about Juan López, wondering whether he would be able to travel that night or whether he would detain them so long that the Indians would send word to one another and join together to stop them and cut off the road. But whatever might happen, they determined to place the welfare of their companion above all the evils and dangers that could befall them. With this determination they gave the horses plenty of maize as preparation for their watch, fifteen of them eating while the others made the rounds; they dried the saddles and clothing that were wet, filled their saddlebags with food they found in the pueblo; and although there was an abundance of raisins, dried plums, and other fruits and vegetables, they did not attempt to carry anything except Indian corn because the first care that these Spaniards took was to see that they would not lack maize for the horses, and it also furnished subsistence for the riders.

When night came they stationed mounted sentries in pairs with orders to make the rounds on the outskirts of the pueblo, apart and at some distance from it, so that there would be time and opportunity to give warning if the enemy should come.

About midnight two of those who were thus making the rounds heard a murmuring as of people who were approaching. One of them went to warn their companions and the other remained to better identify and ascertain what it was. The night being clear, he saw a large and dark group of people who were coming toward the pueblo with a fierce and hoarse murmuring; looking again, he ascertained that it was an organized squadron of the enemy. He carried this news immediately to the other Spaniards, who, seeing Juan López somewhat improved, put him on his horse well wrapped up and tied him in the saddle, because he could not hold himself up. He was like the Cid Ruy Díaz when he went out of Valencia dead and won that famous battle.

One of his companions took the reins of his horse to guide him because Juan López was unable to do even this. In this manner, as secretly as possible, the thirty Spaniards left the pueblo of Ocali before the enemy reached it and marched at such a good pace that at daylight they found themselves six leagues from the pueblo.

They continued their journey always with this same swiftness, traveling with all speed through the inhabited country so that the news of their coming would not precede them; and they speared the Indians whom they encountered near the roads so that they might not give warning of them. Through the uninhabited country, where there were no Indians, they slowed

their pace to allow the horses to rest and take breath in order to be ready to run where it might be necessary. Thus this day passed, which was the sixth of their journey, they having traveled and marched almost twenty leagues, part of them through the province of Acuera, a country inhabited by most warlike people.

On the seventh day after they had left the camp, one of the men, named Pedro de Atienza, became ill, and a few hours after he felt the illness, while they were on the march, he died on his horse. His companions buried him with much grief at such a death, for in order not to lose time on the road, they had not paid attention to the complaints that he made of his sudden illness. They made the grave with axes they carried for cutting firewood, which served even for this purpose. They passed on with regret that at such a time and from so small a number one should be missing.

At sunset they reached the crossing of the great swamp, having traveled and marched that day, as on the previous one, another twenty leagues. It is impossible for those who have not taken part in the conquest of the New World or in the civil wars of El Perú to believe that there are horses or men who can make such long daily journeys. But on the word of an hidalgo we affirm truthfully that in seven days these Castilians traveled the 107 leagues, more or less, of the route by which they went from the principal pueblo of Apalache to the great swamp. They found that it had become a sea of water with many branches that entered and flowed out of it, so rapid and swift that any one of them would be enough to impede their passage, much less all of them, and particularly the main stream. The reason the horses are able to withstand the excessive labor they have undergone and now undergo in the conquests in the New World, I believe—and I have the confirmation of all the Spaniards of the Indies whom I have heard speak about this matter—to be chiefly the good nourishment they have from the maize that they eat, because it has a great deal of substance and is much liked by them and by all animals. A proof of this is that the Indians of El Perú feed maize to the sheep [i.e., llamas] that serve them as beasts of burden, so that they can endure the excessive load that they ordinarily carry, which is equal to the weight of a man; the rest, although they carry burdens according to their ability, they sustain only by the pasturage that is found in the fields.

That night they slept, or rather they kept watch, on the borders of the swamp in the extreme cold that came with the rising north wind, which in all that region is most frigid. They built great fires and with their heat were able to endure the cold, though with the fear that the Indians would be attracted by the light of the fire; and if twenty of them should come, it would be

enough to block their way and even to kill them all, because from their canoes in the water the Indians could attack the Spaniards entirely at their pleasure, and the latter could not make use of their horses to oppose the enemy, nor did they have harquebuses or crossbows with which to keep them at a distance. With this uneasiness and fear they kept watch and rested by thirds, preparing for the labors of the next day.

## XIV

### OF THE INSUPPORTABLE HARDSHIPS THE THIRTY HORSEMEN EXPERIENCED IN CROSSING THE GREAT SWAMP

Our Spaniards rested only a few hours when a sudden surprise occurred, though it was not caused by the enemy but by the excessive hardships they had suffered on the road. This was that about midnight, one of them, named Juan de Soto, who was a comrade of Pedro Atienza, whom we left behind in his grave, died almost as suddenly. One man in the party fled from them, running at full speed and shouting: "I swear that a pestilence has fallen upon us, because two Spaniards have died in such a short time and so suddenly." Gómez Arias, who was a sensible and prudent man, said to the one who was fleeing: "You are carrying enough pestilence in your flight, from which you cannot escape, however you may try. If you run from us, where do you think you will go? You are not on the sandy soil of Sevilla nor in its Ajarafe." Whereupon the fugitive came back and assisted in reciting the prayers that were said for the dead, but he did not dare attend the burial of the body, still insisting that he had died of the plague.

With such assistance in their hardships the night passed. When daylight came they made plans for crossing the swamp, which they saw had less water than on the previous day, no small relief in view of the labor that they expected to undergo. Eight Spaniards who did not know how to swim repaired the balustrade of the bridge across the deepest part of the swamp, which had been made of fallen trees, and carried over it the saddles of the horses and the clothing of all their companions. The other twenty Spaniards, naked as the day they were born, labored to get the horses into the water, but because the water was so cold the horses would not enter the deepest part where they had to swim. The Castilians fastened long ropes to the halters, and four or

five of them would swim out to the middle of the current to pull the horses, and others would beat them with long rods to drive them in, but the horses planted their feet together and refused to move, and would allow themselves to be beaten almost to death rather than go into the water. Some of the horses thus driven and forced went in and swam for a little, but unable to endure the cold they fled back to land, dragging along the swimmers, who could not hold them; nor could those on the bank stop them, and though we said that they were on land, they were walking in water breast-deep.

Thus these twenty Spaniards continued to labor for more than three hours by the clock, and despite all their efforts they were unable to get a single horse to cross to the other side, though they changed them around, taking one and leaving the others, to see if any of them would go across.

At the end of three hours, as the result of many efforts two horses passed over, one belonging to Juan de Añasco and the other to Gonzalo Silvestre, and though these crossed, the others refused to do so because of their fear of the cold water. The masters who did not know how to swim saddled their horses and mounted them to be ready to do what they could if the enemy should appear.

Gómez Arias was the commander of the nineteen men who were swimming in the water, and it was he who labored hardest of all of them. These men, having been in the water for more than four hours enduring the cold the horses could not suffer, were numbed with the cold and their bodies were so livid that they looked like Negroes. As they saw that all the efforts they were making and the hardships they were enduring (each one may imagine what they would be) were not gaining them anything in getting the horses to the other side, they were ready to give up their lives in despair. At this moment Juan de Añasco arrived, who as we said had his horse saddled, and he went through the part of the water that could be forded, up to the deep part of the channel. Vexed because no more horses had been taken across—not considering that this had not been due to lack of effort on the part of those who were working in the water, disregarding their sad condition, and urged on by a choler he possessed that occasioned a loss of the respect that should have been accorded this gentleman as commander—he said in a loud voice: “Gómez Arias, why don’t you finish crossing those horses, confound you?” Seeing the state in which he and his companions were, who looked more like dead men than living, and already could not support the torment they felt, both of mind and body, and seeing that their captain rewarded so poorly the unendurable hardships that he and his companions were suffering—for certainly it would be impossible to exaggerate

or tell fully what these twenty-eight companions passed through that day, especially those who were in the water; exasperated by the ingratitude Juan de Añasco showed for all his toil, Gómez Arias replied to him, saying: "Confound you and the evil bitch that gave birth to you! You are on your horse, fully dressed and wrapped in your coat, and you don't consider that we have been in the water for more than four hours, stiff with cold and doing all we can. Get down and come in, and we shall see if you can do better." To these words he added others no more polite, for wrath when it is ignited does not know when to stop.

Juan de Añasco made no answer because of what the others who came up to Gómez Arias told him, and also because he saw that he had been wrong in what he had said, and that his [Gómez Arias's] desperate condition had caused that outburst and its attendant disrespect for his person.

On many other occasions in this journey and in others that he made, the same thing happened, and because he did not consider first what he ought to say in such cases, he was often confused and his reputation suffered. Thus all men, and especially those who are appointed for commanders and superior officers in war, ought to note that at all times it is well for them to be gentle and affable toward their men, and that their orders to them in their work ought to be given rather by example than by words, and when they make use of the latter they should be good ones. It is difficult to say how much these gain and how much hard words lose, one being no more costly than the other.

## XV

### WHICH RECOUNTS THE JOURNEY OF THE THIRTY HORSEMEN UNTIL THEY ARRIVED WITHIN HALF A LEAGUE OF THE PUEBLO OF HIRRIHIGUA

As soon as the dispute was calmed the Spaniards went back to their work, and as it was now nearly noon, with the benefit of the sun's heat that tempered somewhat the coldness of the water, the horses began to cross over more easily than before, but not so rapidly as necessary, for it was more than three o'clock in the afternoon when they finished crossing.

It was a great shame and a pity to see how the Spaniards came out of the

water, fatigued and exhausted by the long labor they performed, consumed by the cold they had suffered almost all day, and so broken and weary that they could scarcely stand. And with all this it is to be remembered that they had practically no comforts for restoring themselves in such an unfortunate situation; but they considered the time well spent in having crossed that bad swamp they so feared. They gave thanks to God that the enemy had not come up to oppose their passage; which was a particular Divine mercy, because if to the hardships we have said they endured there had been added the necessity of fighting and defending themselves from even fifty Indians, what would have happened to them? The reason the Indians did not come might have been because that swamp was some distance from the inhabited country and it was now winter, when, because they wore no clothing, the Indians were accustomed to leave their houses very little.

The Spaniards decided to spend the night on a large plain that was beyond the swamp, because they and their horses left it in such condition that they were unable to travel a step. They kindled great fires to warm themselves, consoled by the fact that from there on as far as Hirrihigua, where they were going, there were no bad crossings to pass over.

When night came they slept with the same precautions as formerly, and before dawn they were on their way. They speared five Indians whom they met so that they might not carry news of their coming ahead of them. The horses of the men who died traveled loose, saddled and bridled, following the others; often they went ahead, for they did not need their masters to guide them. That day they marched thirteen leagues. They halted on a fine plain where they slept that night in the usual way. At daylight they were traveling, and a little after sunrise they passed by the pueblo of Urribaracuxi, leaving it to one side, for they did not wish to enter it, in order not to have any quarrel with its inhabitants. On this day, which was the tenth of their journey, they marched fifteen leagues and stopped for the night three leagues before reaching the pueblo of Mucoço.

A little after midnight they left their beds, and having marched two leagues, they saw a fire in some woods near the road. The mestizo Pedro Morón had given warning of it more than a league back, saying, "Watch out, I can tell that there is a fire not far from where we are going." A league farther on he said again, "We are now very near the fire," and after they had gone a little distance they discovered it.

Wondering at such a strange thing, his companions went up to the fire and found many Indians with their wives and children, who were roasting skates for their breakfast. The Spaniards decided to capture as many as they



could, although they might be vassals of Mucoço, until learning whether he had maintained peace with Pedro Calderón; because if he had not done so, they would try to send those that they took to La Havana, in order that they might be included among the other proofs and trophies of their victories. With this intention they advanced upon the fire. The young men among the Indians, terrified by the noise and trampling of the horses, fled into the woods beyond. Of the women and children they seized about eighteen or twenty persons whom they were able to stop, many others escaping because of the darkness of the night and the undergrowth in the woods. The prisoners clamored and wept in loud voices, calling the name of Ortiz and saying no other word except that, repeated many times, as if they were trying to recall to the Spaniards' memory the kindness their cacique and they themselves had done him. It did nothing toward freeing them from their captivity and restraint, for very few people remember to acknowledge favors already received. The Spaniards, still on horseback, breakfasted on the skates just as they were, and though the commotion of the Indians and the horses had filled them with sand they did not bother to get it off, for they said that it was like sugar and cinnamon to them because of their ravenous hunger.

They took an oblique route far from the pueblo of Mucoço, and having marched five leagues that morning, Juan López Cacho's horse gave out. We have forgotten him since they brought him out of the pueblo of Ocali bound [on his horse]; well, with the great excitement that they had that night from the coming of the enemy, and because of the vigor of his robust age, which was a little more than twenty years, he regained consciousness, became warm, and recovered from the illness that had overcome him because of that day's excessive cold and hardship, and all along the way thereafter he worked as well as any of his companions. As a result of laboring so hard to cross the Río de Ocali, his horse gave out so close to the pueblo where they were going to stop that they had only six more leagues to march. In spite of all their efforts it was impossible to get him to go farther, so they left him in a fine meadow with plenty of grass for him to eat, taking off the bridle and saddle and putting it in a tree so that any Indian who wished to use him could take him with all his equipment. They feared, however, and were grieved to think that as soon as they found him they would shoot him with arrows. Thus regretful, they marched nearly five leagues, until in the expectation of another, greater trouble they forgot that one. This was that as they came within a little more than a league of the pueblo of Hirrihigua where Captain Pedro Calderón had remained with the forty cavalry and eighty infantry, they examined the ground as they went, hoping to see some sign of

the horses, for since they were so near the pueblo and the country was clear of timber, it seemed to them that it would be strange if they had not been riding and passing back and forth up to that point or even beyond. Inasmuch as they were unable to find footprints or any other signs of horses, they were much grieved and saddened, fearing lest the Indians had killed them [the other Spaniards] or they had left the country in the brigantines and the caravel that remained there, for they said that, if they were still there, it was impossible that there should be no signs of horses so near the pueblo.

With this suspicion and in their confusion as to what they would do if one thing or the other occurred, they decided on their future actions. They found themselves isolated in such a manner that in order to leave the country and go by sea they had no vessel nor any means for building one, and to return to where the governor had remained [at first] seemed to them impossible, in view of what they had experienced in coming from there. From these fears and misgivings, all of them came unanimously to the same opinion and decision, and said that, if they did not find their companions in Hirrihigua, they would go into some secret place in the woods that were close by where they would find grass for the horses, and while the latter were resting, they would kill the extra one and prepare dried meat from it for the journey. Having allowed the horses to rest for three or four days, they would attempt to go back to where the governor was; if they [the Indians] killed them on the road, they would have met death like good soldiers, performing the duty that their captain-general had entrusted to them; and if they came out safely, they would have done what he commanded them to do. All the twenty-eight Spaniards agreed to this as their final decision of what they would do in the future if they did not find Pedro Calderón in Hirrihigua.

## XVI

### THE THIRTY HORSEMEN REACH THE PLACE WHERE CAPTAIN PEDRO CALDERÓN IS, AND HOW THEY WERE RECEIVED

Having made this heroic decision, they continued their march, and the farther they went the more they were confirmed in the suspicion and fear that they felt, because they found no sign whatsoever of horses or any other indication by which they could ascertain that Spaniards had passed that way.

Thus they marched until they came to a small lake that was less than half a league from the pueblo of Hirrihigua, where they found fresh tracks of horses and signs that lye had been made and clothes washed there.

The Spaniards rejoiced greatly at these indications, and their horses, scenting the tracks of the others, were animated and took on new mettle in such manner that it seemed as if they were just going out of their stables after a twenty days' rest. With the satisfaction that can be imagined and with the new spirit of the horses, they traveled more rapidly. The horses went spurning the dust, with leaps and bounds their masters could not restrain; they were so good that, when it was thought they were too tired to stand, they could do this. They came in sight of the pueblo of Hirrihigua at sunset, having traveled that day, without hurrying, eleven leagues, and it was the shortest day's journey that they made on that whole trip. The mounted patrol was coming out from the pueblo two by two, with their lances and leather shields, to watch and guard their dwelling.

Juan de Añasco and his companions also formed in twos; and as if it were the opening of a tournament with reed spears, running their horses, with loud shouts and cries and much merriment and rejoicing, they came full speed toward the pueblo in such good order that when the first ones were coming to a stop the second were in the middle of the course and the third were leaving the post. Thus they all came in, making a fine show in the order they maintained; it was a glad and joyous festival, the end of a journey so laborious as we have seen.

At the shout given by the riders, Captain Pedro Calderón came out with all his men, and they were much pleased to see the fine entrance made by those who were arriving. They received them with many embraces and common rejoicing by all, and it was to be noted that in the first words spoken by those who were there—without having inquired after the welfare of the army or of the governor or of any particular friend—they asked almost with one voice, very anxious to know about it, whether there was much gold in that country. The hunger and craving for this metal often alienates and denies relatives and friends.

After passing through many more hardships and dangers than we have told, these twenty-eight horsemen ended their journey, though it did not see the end of their labors, for they were on the point of undertaking other, greater and more protracted toils, as we shall see below. They had spent eleven days on the road; one of these they spent in crossing the Río de Ocali, and the great swamp took another, so that in nine days they traveled 150 leagues or a little more, the distance from Apalache to the bay they call

Espíritu Santo and the pueblo of Hirrihigua. From the little that we have told of what they experienced on this brief journey, it may be understood and seen what the other Spaniards have passed through in conquering and winning the New World, so vast and forbidding in itself, without the ferocity of its inhabitants; and from the finger of the giant may be judged the magnitude of his body. In these days, however, those who have not seen this, as they enjoy with folded hands the fruits of the labors of those who won it, make sport of them, believing that the conquistadores gained it with the ease in which they now enjoy it.

As soon as he arrived at the pueblo of Hirrihigua, Captain Juan de Añasco asked Captain Pedro Calderón whether the Indians of that province and those of Mucoço had kept the peace and been friendly to him. Learning that they had, he ordered the immediate release of the Indian women and children whom he had brought as captives, and sent them to their own country with gifts, ordering them to tell their curaca Mucoço to come to see them [the Spaniards] and bring people to carry to their houses the ship's stores and many other things that the Spaniards intended to leave with them at their departure, and to say that he was turning over to him the horse that had been left in their country, tired out.

The women and children departed, very satisfied with such fine presents, and on the third day the good Mucoço came accompanied by his gentlemen and nobles. He brought the horse with him, and the Indians carried the saddle and bridle on their shoulders, not knowing how to put them on him. The cacique Mucoço embraced Captain Juan de Añasco and all those who came with him with much pleasure and affection, inquiring after the health of each one of them separately, and how they had left his lord the governor and the rest of the captains, gentlemen, and soldiers. After having informed himself about the army's health, he wished to know very particularly how they had fared on the road, going and coming; what battles, skirmishes, hunger, labor, and necessities they had experienced. At the end of his questions, the conversation having been very long and enjoyable, he said that it would give him great pleasure to be able to impose his own opinion and will upon all the curacas and lords of that great kingdom, so that they would all serve the governor and his Spaniards as they deserved and as he desired.

The accountant and captain Juan de Añasco, having noted how differently this curaca had received and spoken to them as compared with their own companions, who had asked about nothing but gold, thanked him in the name of all for the affection that he had for them, and on behalf of the general he praised him and all his people highly in acknowledgment of the

peace and friendship they had maintained with Captain Pedro Calderón and his soldiers, and for the affection he had always shown for them. Besides these exchanges there were many other words of commendation and love on both sides, and the Spaniards wondered at those of the Indian, spoken so fittingly and aptly, for certainly he was endowed with all the good parts that a gentleman who had been brought up in the most polished court in the world could have. In addition to the corporal gifts of a well-formed body and handsome face, those of the spirit, such as virtue and discretion in deeds as well as in words, were such that our Spaniards had reason for marveling at him, seeing that he was born and bred in that wilderness. They were justified in loving him for his good understanding and many excellences, and thus it was a great pity that they did not invite him [to accept] the water of baptism, for in view of his good judgment few persuasions would have been needed to take him out of his heathenism and convert him to our Catholic faith, and it would have been an auspicious beginning for hoping that such seed would produce much grain and a bountiful harvest. But they are not to be blamed, because these Christians had decided to preach and administer the sacraments of our Law of Grace after having conquered and made an establishment in the land, and this delayed them, so that they would not administer them [the sacraments] immediately. This statement has been made here so that it may serve to exonerate and excuse these Castilians from having been guilty of the same carelessness in other similar instances we shall note below. Certainly they lost many very favorable opportunities for the gospel to be preached and received, and it is not surprising that they did so.

## XVII

### OF THE THINGS THAT CAPTAINS JUAN DE AÑASCO AND PEDRO CALDERÓN ARRANGED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHAT THE GENERAL HAD ORDERED THEM

The curaca Mucoço amused himself with Juan de Añasco and the other Spaniards for four days, during which, and in the rest of the time that our men were in the pueblo of Hirrihigua, his Indians, going and coming like ants, did not cease to carry to his country everything that the Spaniards had to leave in that pueblo because they were unable to take it with them. There were large quantities of these things, because of cassava alone, which is the

bread of that island of Santo Domingo, of Cuba, and the surrounding ones, they had left more than five hundred quintels, besides large numbers of cloaks, coats, doublets, breeches, stockings, and footwear of all kinds—shoes, half boots, and sandals. Among the arms were many cuirasses, shields, pikes, lances, and steel helmets, of all of which the governor had brought a great abundance, as he was rich. There were also other things needed for the ships, such as sails, rigging, pitch, tow, tallow, ropes, baskets, crates, anchors, and cables; also much iron and steel. Although the governor had taken with him as many of these things as he could carry, a large quantity remained, and since Mucoço was a friend, the Spaniards were glad for them to take them, and his Indians did so and thereby became rich and very pleased.

Juan de Añasco had orders from the governor to go in the two brigantines that had remained at the Bay of Espíritu Santo, and coast along the shore to the west as far as the Bay of Aute, which Juan de Añasco himself had discovered with so much trouble, as we saw, and had left signs there so that it could be recognized when they should come along that coast by sea. In order to fulfill his commission he visited the brigantines that were near the pueblo, repaired them, provisioned them with food, and made the people ready who were to go with him; in doing this he spent seven days. He notified Captain Pedro Calderón of the order the governor sent him to set out on his march by land. Having taken leave of his other companions, he set sail for the Bay of Aute, where we shall leave him for the present.

That good gentleman, Gómez Arias, also had orders from the governor to go to La Havana in the caravel to visit Doña Isabel de Bobadilla and the city of La Havana and all the island of Santiago de Cuba, and to give them an account of everything that had happened to them up to that time and of the advantages and good qualities that they had seen and noted in La Florida. In addition he had to attend to other matters of importance of which no account is given because they do not belong to our *History*. Gómez Arias therefore sent to order the caravel to be careened and provided with men and supplies, and he set sail and in a few days reached La Havana safely. There he was well received by Doña Isabel and all the people of the island of Cuba, who celebrated with much festivity and rejoicing the news of the successful progress of the discovery and conquest of La Florida and the good health of the governor, whom all of them, individually and collectively, loved and wished all success, as if he were the father of each of them and had deserved it of them all.

Above in the First Book we mentioned that the Indians of this province of

Hirrihigua on two different occasions had captured two Spaniards, which was more the fault of the captured Spaniards themselves than from the desire of the Indians to harm them. Because these were things that happened during the time that Captain Pedro Calderón was in this province after the governor left it, though they are of little importance, and also because nothing else of more moment occurred, it will be well to recount them here. It is to be noted, then, that the Indians of that province had constructed on the Bay of Espíritu Santo large enclosures of rough stone in order to obtain skates and many other fish that came into them at high tide, and when it receded they were trapped there almost on dry land. The Indians killed a great many fish in this manner, and the Castilians who were with Captain Pedro Calderón also enjoyed them. It happened that one day two of these Spaniards, one named Pedro López and the other Antón Galván, natives of Valverde, decided to go and fish without the captain's order. They went in a small canoe and took with them a boy from Badajoz fourteen or fifteen years old, named Diego Muñoz, one of the captain's pages.

While the two Spaniards were fishing in one of the large enclosures twenty Indians came up in two canoes, besides many others who stayed on shore. They entered the enclosure with friendly words to the Spaniards, speaking half in Spanish and half in the Indian tongue, and said to them: "Friends, friends, we will all enjoy the fishing." Pedro López, who was an arrogant rustic, said: "Get out, you dogs; we don't want to be friends with dogs." So saying, he drew his sword and wounded an Indian who had approached him. The rest of them, seeing the Spaniards' injustice, surrounded them on all sides, and with arrows and blows from their bows and the canoe paddles they killed Pedro López, who had caused the dispute, and they left Galván for dead with his head opened up and his whole face battered from blows. They took Diego Muñoz prisoner, not harming him otherwise because he was so young.

The Castilians who were in the camp, on hearing the outcries, hastened in canoes to help their men, but they arrived too late, because they found the two companions dead and the other a captive in the hands of the Indians. They buried Pedro López and, seeing that Antón Galván was still breathing, they gave him treatment so that he was restored to this life, but his wounds were more than thirty days to heal, and for many months (although his body was cured) he remained like an idiot, his brain stupefied by the blows that they had given him. And he, [who] when in good health was not the most discreet of his countrymen, when he was telling what had happened that day always said, among other rustic words: "When the Indians killed me and my

companion Pedro López, we did thus and so." His comrades, making sport of him, said: "They didn't kill you, but Pedro López; why do you say that they killed you when you are alive?" Antón Galván replied: "They killed me too, and if I am alive God restored me to life." To hear his rustic and clownish words they made him tell the story many times; and persisting in his polished language and always telling it in the same way, Galván entertained and amused his companions.

On another similar occasion the Indians of the province of Hirrihigua captured another Spaniard, named Hernando Vintimilla, an experienced sailor. He went out inadvertently one evening gathering shellfish and catching shrimp along the shore of the lower bay, at ebb tide, and thus carelessly he went on until he was out of sight behind some woods that were between the bay and the pueblo, in which some Indians were hidden. Seeing him alone, they came out to him and spoke in a friendly manner, asking that he divide his catch with them. Vintimilla replied haughtily, attempting to intimidate the Indians with words so that they would see that he was not afraid of them and would not dare do him any harm. The Indians, angry and offended that a single Spaniard should speak so arrogantly to ten or twelve of them, surrounded him and took him prisoner but did not do him any harm.

The Indians of this province kept these two Spaniards with them for ten years and allowed them to go about freely, as if they were one of themselves, until the year 1549, when there made port in this Bay of Espíritu Santo during a storm the ship of Father Fray Luis Cáncer de Balbestro, Dominican, who went to preach to the Indians of La Florida. The Indians had killed him and two of his companions, and those who remained on the ship took refuge on the open sea. As they were fleeing, they encountered a storm and were forced to enter that bay to save themselves from the fury of the sea. When the storm was over the Indians of Hirrihigua came out in many canoes to fight the ship, which, as it did not carry any fighting men, again went out to sea. The Indians still persisted in following it, and the two Spaniards, Diego Muñoz and Vintimilla, went with them by themselves in a discarded canoe, with the intention of escaping from the Indians and going to the ship if it would wait for them. As all of them were thus pursuing the ship a north wind came up. Fearing that the wind would increase in fury, as it is accustomed to do in that region, and blow them out to sea where they would be in great danger, the Indians thought it best to return to land. The two Spaniards very astutely stayed where they were, letting it be understood that the two of them alone could not row against the wind, and when they saw that



the Indians were somewhat apart from them they turned the prow of their canoe toward the ship and rowed as hard as they could, as men who desired liberty, for which they put themselves in danger of losing their lives there, and shouted loudly to the others to wait for them. Seeing a single canoe coming toward them, those on the ship understood at once that they were people who needed them, and they lowered the sails and waited for the canoe. When it came up they received those two Spaniards in exchange for and in the place of those whom they had lost. In this manner Diego Muñoz and Vintimilla returned to the hands of Christians at the end of ten years they had spent in the power of the Indians of the province of Hirrihigua and the Bay of Espíritu Santo.

## XVIII

### PEDRO CALDERÓN LEAVES WITH HIS MEN, AND THE EVENTS OF HIS MARCH UNTIL REACHING THE GREAT SWAMP

As soon as Juan de Añasco and Gómez Arias set sail, one for the Bay of Aute and the other for the island of La Havana, Captain Pedro Calderón prepared the men who remained with him, who were seventy lancers and fifty infantry, because Juan de Añasco and Gómez Arias took the other thirty Spaniards in the brigantines and the caravel in order not to go with only the mariners. He set out from the pueblo of Hirrihigua, leaving the growing gardens the Castilians had planted for their use with much lettuce and with radishes and other garden stuff, having brought the seeds with them in case they should make a settlement.

On the second day of their march they reached the pueblo of the good Mucoço, who came out to receive them and that night offered them very good entertainment. On the next day he accompanied them to the borders of his territory and took leave of them with much affection and regret, saying: "Gentlemen, I now entirely lose the hope of ever seeing again my lord the governor, or any of his people; for hitherto, with having you in that presidio, I hoped to see his lordship, and I rejoiced, thinking to serve him as I have always desired, but now I shall mourn his absence all my life, without consolation. Therefore I pray that you give him this message and say that I

beg him to receive it as it is sent." With these words and with many tears by which he showed his love for the Spaniards, he took leave of them and returned to his house.

Captain Pedro Calderón and his 120 companions made their daily marches until they came to the great swamp, without anything noteworthy happening to them, except that one night before they reached the swamp, when the Castilians had camped on a plain near some woods, many Indians came out to make sudden attacks and sallies against them at all hours, until they came into the camp itself and fought hand to hand. When the Spaniards pressed them they ran back to the woods, and then came out again to molest them. In one of those engagements one of the riders assailed an Indian who showed himself to be more daring than the others. He ran from the rider, but when he felt that he was overtaking him, he turned to receive him with an arrow in his bow, and he shot it at such short range that at the same moment the Indian loosed the arrow the Spaniard gave him a lance thrust from which he fell dead. But he did not avenge his death badly, because the arrow he shot entered the horse's breast, and though he was so close, the shot was so true that the horse fell dead at his feet, with all four legs outspread and without making another step or movement. Thus the Indian and the horse and its master all three fell at once, one on top of the other. This horse was the famous one belonging to Gonzalo Silvestre, and all his excellence was not enough to make the Indian respect him.

The Spaniards, wondering how an animal so spirited, fierce and brave as a horse could have died so suddenly from the wound of only one arrow, shot at such close range, as soon as it was light desired to see what kind of shot had been made. They opened the horse and found that the arrow had entered the breast and passed through the middle of the heart, stomach, and intestines, stopping finally in the latter; so bold, strong, and skillful in shooting arrows are the natives of this great kingdom of La Florida generally. But this is not to be wondered at if it is remembered that they exercise themselves continuously in this at all ages, for the boys of three years or less, as soon as they can walk alone, impelled by their natural inclination and by what they constantly see their fathers do, ask them for bows and arrows. If they are not given to them, they themselves make them from such small sticks as they can find, and proudly stalk the vermin in their houses. If they can catch sight of a mouse or lizard entering its hole, they will wait three, four, or six hours with an arrow in their bow, watching with the greatest attention that can be imagined for it to come out, in order to kill it, and they

do not rest until they have accomplished their purpose. When they can find nothing else at which to shoot they go about killing the flies that are crawling on the walls and the floor. With such continual practice and the habit formed therein, they are thus skillful and cruel in discharging arrows, with which they make most wonderful shots, as we shall see and note in the course of this *History*. Because it fits in here it will be well to tell of an event that took place in Apalache, where the governor had remained, for when we come to that province we shall not lack things to tell about the bravery of its natives. Thus it was that in one of the first skirmishes the Spaniards had with the Indians of Apalache the maese de campo Luis de Moscoso received an arrow wound in the right side, which passed through a buckskin jacket and a coat of mail that he wore beneath it, which because it was so highly burnished had cost 150 ducats in Spain. The rich men had brought many of these, because they were so highly regarded. The arrow also passed through a quilted doublet and wounded him in such a manner that, entering obliquely, it did not kill him. Amazed at such an unusual shot, the Spaniards wished to see just what their highly burnished coats of mail, upon which they had depended so much, could withstand. On arriving at the pueblo, they set up in the plaza one of the baskets the Indians make of reeds, resembling vintage-baskets, and having chosen the best coat of mail that they had, they put it over the basket, which was very firmly woven. Taking off the chains of one of the Apalache Indians, they gave him a bow and arrow and ordered him to shoot at the coat of mail, which was fifty paces away.

The Indian, having shaken his arms with his fists closed in order to call up his strength, shot the arrow, which passed through the coat of mail and the basket so clean and with such force that if a man had been on the other side it would have passed through him also. Seeing the little or no protection that one coat of mail gave against an arrow, the Spaniards wished to see what two would do. Thus they ordered another, very fine one to be put on over the one on the basket, and giving the Indian another arrow, they told him to shoot it as he had the first one, to see if he were man enough to shoot through both of them.

The Indian, again shaking his arms as if he were gathering new strength, for the defense against him was now doubled, discharged the arrow. He struck the coats of mail and the basket through the center, and the arrow passed through the four thicknesses of steel and lodged there, halfway through. When the Indian saw that it had not come out clean on the other side, he showed great annoyance and said to the Spaniards: "Let me shoot

another, and if it does not pass clear through both sides as the first one did, hang me here and now. The second arrow did not leave the bow as I wished it to and therefore did not pass through the coats of mail like the first one.”

The Spaniards were unwilling to grant the Indian's request because they did not want their coats of mail further mistreated, and thenceforth they were undeceived with regard to the little defense that their much-esteemed coats of mail afforded against arrows. Thus the owners themselves made fun of them, calling them linen from Flanders, and in place of them they made loose quilted jackets, three or four finger-breadths in thickness, with long skirts that would cover the breasts and haunches of the horses. These jackets made from blankets would resist the arrows better than any other defensive armament; and the thick and unpolished coats of mail, which were not highly valued, with some other protection they put under them, were a better defense against arrows than the very elegant and highly burnished ones. Thus the cheaper ones came to be more valued and the expensive ones laid aside.

Other very notable shots that were made in the course of this discovery we shall mention below in the places where they occurred, and certainly they are amazing. But after all, considering that these Indians are born and bred in the midst of bows and arrows and brought up and nourished on what they kill with them, and are so expert in their use, there is no reason for our marveling at it so much.

## XIX

### PEDRO CALDERON CROSSES THE GREAT SWAMP AND REACHES THAT OF APALACHE

Taking up again the thread of our story we said that the Indians who came out of the woods to harass the Spaniards in their camp contented themselves with having killed Gonzalo Silvestre's horse and with having lost the Indian whom he killed, who must have been one of their principal men, for when they saw him killed they retired immediately and did not come back.

On the day after this occurrence the Castilians arrived at the crossing of the great swamp where they passed that night, and early on the following day they crossed it, with no opposition from the enemy and no trouble, except that which the swamp itself gave, which was quite enough. They

continued their march through the whole province of Acuera, making each day's journey as long as possible. In order to save the infantry the labor of going [always] on foot, the cavalymen dismounted and gave them the horses to ride from time to time. They did not take them up behind the saddles, in order not to fatigue the horses, saving them for time of need. With this diligence and care they marched until they came to the pueblo of Ocali, with no more opposition from the enemy than if they were going through an uninhabited country. The Indians abandoned the pueblo and went to the woods. The Spaniards took the food that they needed and arrived at the river. They crossed it in rafts that they made, without an Indian so much as shouting at them on either side.

Having crossed the Río de Ocali, they entered the pueblo of Ochile and traversed all the province of Vitachuco, and arrived at the pueblo where the proud Vitachuco and his people had died; the Castilians called it La Matanza. Passing the province of Vitachuco, they arrived at the Río de Osachile and crossed it in rafts, without an Indian appearing to say a word to them. From the river they went to the pueblo called Osachile, whose inhabitants abandoned it, as they had all the others that they [the Spaniards] had passed through.

The Spaniards, having taken supplies in Osachile, marched through the uninhabited country that lies before the swamp of Apalache. They reached the swamp after having marched almost 135 leagues in all the peace and quiet in the world. Except on the night when they [the Indians] killed Gonzalo Silvestre's horse, they gave them no trouble throughout this long road; we can find no reason to give for it, nor can one be found.

The Indians of the province of Apalache, being more bellicose than the former ones, were willing to supply the fault and negligence that the others showed in molesting and injuring the Spaniards, as we shall soon see. Our men having arrived at the dense forest that is on the edge of the swamp, they slept beyond it on an open plain, and when morning came they marched along the narrow road through the forest, which we said was half a league in length, entered the water, and came to the bridge with the small balustrade. They repaired three or four logs that they found fallen down, the infantry crossed over it, and those on horseback swam across the deepest part of the channel.

Captain Pedro Calderón, seeing that they had crossed the deepest and most dangerous part of the water, ordered, for the greater speed and safety of those who still had to cross, that ten horsemen, taking five crossbowmen and five rodeleros behind their saddles, go to occupy the narrow trail

through the woods on the other bank. They proceeded to carry out these orders and went as quickly as possible through the water toward the opposite bank. At this moment many Indians emerged from various parts of the woods, where they had hitherto been in ambush behind the undergrowth and large trees. With a great shout and outcry they fell upon the ten horsemen who were carrying the infantrymen behind them, and shot many arrows at them. They killed the horse of Alvaro Fernández, a Portuguese from Yelves, and wounded five other horses that, as they assaulted them so suddenly, and as they were traveling so heavily laden and in water breast-deep, turned and fled, their masters being unable to hold them. The ten infantrymen who were riding behind were thrown off in water, almost all badly wounded, for when the horses turned around the Indians took them from behind, and could shoot arrows at them at their pleasure. Seeing them fallen in the water, the Indians rushed out fiercely to behead them, with a great shout to the other Indians to advise them of their victory so that they would come more swiftly and joyously to profit by it.

The sudden assault with which the Indians fell upon the Castilians, the foot soldiers falling into the water, the flight of the horses, and the many enemies who came up to combat them caused great confusion and alarm among them, and even fear of being routed and defeated, because the fighting was in the water where the swiftness of the horses could have no effect in succoring friends and attacking enemies.

On the other hand, the Indians, seeing how well their first assault had succeeded, took new spirit and courage, and came up with greater impetus to kill the infantry who had fallen into the water. The valiant Spaniards who were nearest came to their assistance, and the first to arrive were Antonio Carrillo, Pedro Morón, Francisco de Villalobos, and Diego de Oliva, who had crossed the bridge and stationed themselves in front of the Indians, preventing their going to kill the infantry. To the left of the Castilians there came up a large band of Indians who were gathering for the victory of which the first had shouted. More than twenty paces in front of all of them walked an Indian with a great plume on his head, with all the boldness and courage imaginable. He was coming to take a large tree that lay between the two forces, from which the Indians, if they gained it, could inflict much damage on the Spaniards and even keep them away from the crossing. As Gonzalo Silvestre, who was nearest the tree, saw this, he called loudly to Antón Galván, whom we mentioned above, and he, although he was wounded and was one of those who had fallen from the horses, had not lost his crossbow (like a good soldier). Putting a dart in it, he went after Gonzalo Silvestre, who

went holding half of a packsaddle cover that he found in the water as a shield, and he persuaded him [Galván] not to fire at anyone except the Indian who was coming in front, who seemed to be their captain-general. This was true, though he said it as a surmise only. In this manner they reached the tree, and the Indian who was coming ahead, when he saw that the Spaniards had gained it because they had been nearer, shot three arrows at them in the winking of an eye. Gonzalo Silvestre received them on the shield that he was carrying, which resisted them because it was wet.

Antón Galván, who had waited until the enemy should come nearer so as not to miss his shot, seeing him in a good position, fired with such sure aim that he struck him in the center of the breast, and as the poor unfortunate wore no defense except his own skin, the dart went in all the way. The Indian, turning completely around but not falling from the shot, shouted to his men, saying: "These traitors have killed me." The Indians rushed to him, raised him up in their arms with a great murmuring and, passing him from one to another, carried him back by the same road that they had come.

## XX

### PEDRO CALDERON PROCEEDS ON HIS WAY. THE CONTINUOUS FIGHTING OF THE ENEMY WITH HIM

The fighting in other places was no less cruel and bloody, because to the right of the battle a large band of Indians came up against the Christians with much impetus and fury. A brave soldier from Almendralejo, named Andrés de Meneses, went out to oppose them, and with him went ten or twelve other Spaniards. The Indians charged on them so fiercely and bravely that they knocked Andrés de Meneses into the water with four arrow wounds that they gave him in the region of the genitals and thighs, for, as they saw that most of his body was covered by an oblong shield he carried, they shot at the unprotected part. They also wounded five of those who were with him.

The fight between Indians and Spaniards went on with this fury and cruelty wherever they could lay hands on one another. The Indians redoubled their efforts and courage to finish their conquest, as men who considered the victory theirs and were made arrogant by the good strokes that they had delivered. The Spaniards with their stout spirit urged themselves on to save

their lives, as now they fought with no other purpose, and were getting the worst of the battle because their defense now consisted only of the fifty foot soldiers; for since the fighting was in the water, those who were on horseback were of no use to their own side nor of any damage to the enemy.

At this point the unhappy news spread among all the Indians that their captain-general was mortally wounded, whereupon they mitigated somewhat the fire and wrath with which they had fought hitherto. They began to retreat a little at a time, but always shooting arrows at their adversaries. The Castilians rallied and followed the Indians in the best order they could until they pushed them entirely out of the water and the swamp and put them on the trail through the dense woods that were on the opposite side of the swamp. They gained the site that we said the Spaniards had cleared for their camp when the governor passed there with his army.

The Indians had fortified that site and had their own camp there; they abandoned it to go to their captain-general. The Spaniards stayed there that night because it was a strong enclosed place where the enemy could not harm them unless it were by way of the trail; and since they guarded it, they were safe. They treated the wounded as well as they could, nearly all of them being wounded, and badly. They passed the night watching, the shouts and alarms of the Indians not allowing them to rest.

With the good shot that Antón Galván succeeded in making that day Our Lord succored these Spaniards; and certainly, if it had not been made, and on the person of the captain-general, it was to be feared that the Indians would have made great destruction among them or would have beheaded them all, since they were powerful, victorious, and very numerous, and the Spaniards few and most of them mounted. Inasmuch as the fight was in the water, the mounted men were not masters of themselves or of their horses in order to attack the enemy or defend themselves from him; therefore, the infantry fighting alone, they were all on the point of being lost. Thus many times in discussing afterward in the governor's presence the perils of that day, they always gave Antón Galván the honor of being the means of saving them from defeat and death.

As soon as it was light the Spaniards marched along the narrow road through the dense woods, driving the enemy before them until they emerged into another, more clear and open forest two leagues in extent. Here on either side of the road the heathen had built large palisades, or they were the same ones that they had made when Governor Hernando de Soto passed on this road, and had remained in place until this time. The enemy would come out from the palisades and shoot innumerable arrows, with the order and



precaution of not attacking from both sides at the same time so as not to wound themselves with their own arms. In this manner they marched through the two leagues of forest where the Indians wounded more than twenty Castilians, and the latter could do no injury whatsoever to their enemies because they had enough to do in protecting themselves from the arrows.

Having passed through the woods, they came out on a level plain, where the Indians from fear of the horses did not dare attack the Spaniards or even wait for them. Thus they allowed them to march with less difficulty.

After marching five leagues, the Christians halted to make camp on that plain, because the wounded of that day and the previous one were fatigued with the continuous fighting they had undergone. As soon as it was dark the Indians came in large numbers and attacked at the same time from all sides, with much shouting and clamor. Those on horseback went out to oppose them, not keeping in regular order but each one going where he heard the Indians nearest to him. On seeing the horses, the Indians withdrew to a distance, always shooting arrows, with one of which they wounded badly a horse belonging to Luis de Moscoso. All through the night the heathen [did not] cease shouting at the Christians, saying to them: "Where are you going, luckless ones? Your captain and all his soldiers are already dead, and we have quartered them and hung them in the trees, and we shall do the same with you before you get there. What do you want? Why do you come to this land? Do you think that we who are in it are so despicable that you will make us abandon it and be your vassals and servants and slaves? Know that we are men, that we will kill all of you and the rest who are in Castilla." The Indians shouted these and other similar things, always discharging arrows, until daylight.

## XXI

### PEDRO CALDERÓN, WITH HIS PERSISTENT FIGHTING, ARRIVES WHERE THE GOVERNOR IS

With the day, our men continued their march and arrived at a stream that was deep and very difficult to cross, and the Indians had blocked it with strong palisades and ditches placed at intervals. Reconnoitering the crossing and what had been erected there, and with the experience of those who had

passed it on the other occasion, the Spaniards ordered that those on horseback who were best armed dismount, and that thirty of them, taking shields, swords, and axes, go ahead to gain and break down the palisades and opposing defenses. Those more poorly armed were to mount the horses, as the latter were of no use at that pass, and go in the middle with the clothing and the serving-people. Twenty more of the well-armed men were to make up the rear guard so that, if the enemy should attack from behind, he would encounter a defense. In this order they entered the woods bordering the stream. Seeing the Castilians where they could not make use of their horses, which was what they most feared, the Indians charged with the greatest impetus, ferocity, and clamor to shoot arrows at them, attempting to kill all of them, as they were few and the crossing very difficult. The Christians, trying to defend themselves now that they could not attack because of the narrow place in which they were, reached the palisades, where the fighting was very bitter and obstinate, on the one side in order to force a passage and on the other to prevent it. They wounded one another cruelly. At last the Spaniards, some resisting the Indians with their swords and the others cutting with axes the ropes and fastenings made of reeds, which are like long vines and serve to fasten anything desired, gained the first palisade and the second, and all the rest. But it cost them many bad wounds, which most of them received, and in addition the Indians killed with an arrow wound in the breast a horse belonging to Alvaro Fernández, a Portuguese from Yelves, so that this fidalgo lost two good horses in this arroyo and in the swamp they had passed through. With these evils and injuries, the Spaniards passed over that bad crossing and marched with less trouble through the plains where there was no undergrowth, for wherever there was none the Indians withdrew from the Christians from fear of the horses. But wherever there were clumps of timber near the road there were always Indians in ambush who would come out suddenly to assault and shoot arrows at our men, shouting at them and repeating over and over these words: "Where are you going, thieves? We have already killed your captain and all his soldiers." They persisted so in this statement that the Castilians were almost ready to believe it because, being now so near the pueblo of Apalache that their shouts could be heard there, no one had come out to their assistance, nor had they seen men or horses or any other sign from which they could be sure that they were there. In this manner these 120 Spaniards marched, skirmishing and fighting all day with the Indians, and they arrived at Apalache at sunset. Although this day's journey had not been as long as the past ones, they had marched slowly because of the many wounded they had with them, ten or twelve of

whom died afterward, among them Andrés de Meneses, who was a brave soldier.

Arrived in the presence of their captain-general, which they had so desired, and of their beloved companions, they were received with the gladness and rejoicing that may be imagined, as men who had been thought dead and passed from this life, according to what the Indians had told the governor and his men many times in order to grieve and depress them, saying that they had beheaded them on the road. And this story was very probable, because the governor had found himself in great danger and extremity, having more than eight hundred fighting men with him when he passed through those provinces and difficult passes, and it was very likely that those who were then on the way, numbering only 120, should have perished. Therefore they were received and welcomed generally and individually by their comrades as if they had come back from the dead, all giving thanks to God for having saved them from so many dangers.

The governor received his captain and soldiers like an affectionate father, very joyfully embracing and asking each one separately about his health and how he had fared on the way. He ordered the wounded to be treated and attended to carefully. Finally, he praised and thanked them with extravagant words for the hardships and dangers that both parties had passed through in going and returning, because when the occasion arose, this gentleman and good captain knew how to do this with much goodness, discretion, and prudence.

## XXII

### JUAN DE AÑASCO REACHES APALACHE, AND WHAT THE GOVERNOR PROVIDED FOR DISCOVERING A PORT ON THE COAST

It is to be noted that when Captain Pedro Calderón arrived at the pueblo of Apalache it had been six days since the accountant Juan de Añasco, who set out from the Bay of Espíritu Santo with the two brigantines for the Bay of Aute, had reached there, without anything noteworthy having happened to him at sea. He disembarked at Aute without opposition from the enemy because the governor, calculating more or less the time that he would spend on the voyage, two days before he reached the port sent a company of caval-

ry and another of infantry to safeguard the port and the road to the camp. They were relieved every four days, one group withdrawing from the bay when the others arrived. While they were in the port they put up flags on the highest trees so that they could be seen from the sea. Juan de Añasco saw them and went to the camp with the two companies, leaving the brigantines, which remained in the bay well guarded. Since these two captains, Juan de Añasco and Pedro Calderón, now found themselves together with the governor and the rest of the captains and soldiers, there was much satisfaction and rejoicing, for it seemed to them that in bearing their hardships together, however great these might be, they would become easy, because the company of friends is a comfort and relief in toil. In this mutual contentment the Spaniards passed the winter in the pueblo and province of Apalache, where some things occurred of which it will be well to give an account without observing the order in which they took place except to say that they happened in this camp.

A few days after the events just described, as the governor was never lazy but was contriving and planning in his own mind what seemed to him to be conducive to the discovery and conquest and later to the settlement of the country, he ordered a gentleman from Salamanca named Diego Maldonado (who was a captain of infantry and had served to the great satisfaction of the whole army in everything that had occurred up to that time) to turn his company over to another gentleman, named Juan de Guzmán, a native of Talavera de la Reyna and a great friend and comrade of his, and go to the Bay of Aute. Taking the two brigantines that the accountant Juan de Añasco had left there, he was to go along the coast toward the west for a distance of a hundred leagues and observe and reconnoiter with all care and diligence the ports, inlets, coves, bays, creeks, and rivers that he might find, and the shoals along the coast, and of all this he was to bring a satisfactory report. He [the governor] said that he thought it well to have all this information for future use, and he gave him two months' time to go and return.

Captain Diego Maldonado went to the Bay of Aute and from there he set sail on his mission, and having spent the two months in sailing along the coast, he came back at the end of them with a long report of what he had seen and discovered. Among other things he said that sixty leagues from the Bay of Aute he had discovered a very fine port called Achusi, sheltered from all winds and large enough for many ships, and with such a good depth up to the shore that it was possible to bring the ships up to land and disembark without building up breakwaters. He brought with him from this voyage two Indians who were natives of this same port and province of Achusi, one

of them being a lord of vassals. He had seized them with a craftiness and cunning unworthy of a gentleman, for when he arrived at the port of Achusi the Indians received him peaceably, and with many kind expressions they invited him to come ashore and take whatever he needed as if he were in his own country. Diego Maldonado did not dare accept the invitation because he did not trust unknown friends. As the Indians sensed this, they began to traffic with the Spaniards freely to remove the fear and suspicion they might have of them. Thus they came to the brigantines in groups of three or four to visit Diego Maldonado and his companions, bringing them what they asked. The Indians being so friendly, the Spaniards now dared to sound and explore in their small boats all parts of the port, and as they had seen and purchased what they needed for continuing their voyage, they set sail and went away, taking the two Indians as prisoners; they happened to be the curaca and a relative of his. Confiding in the good friendship that heathen and faithful alike (though to them they were not so) had shown, and impelled by the story that the other Indians had told them of the brigantines and desiring to see what they had never seen before, they had dared to enter them and visit the captain and his soldiers. The latter, as they knew that one of them was the cacique, were glad to carry him off.

## XXIII

### THE GOVERNOR SENDS A REPORT OF HIS DISCOVERY TO LA HAVANA. THE STORY OF THE TEMERITY OF AN INDIAN

They were very pleased with the report that Captain Diego Maldonado brought of the whole coast and of the good port he had discovered in Achusi, because, according to the plans that the governor had made, it seemed to them that their conquest had begun and progressed auspiciously to accomplish the ends they desired for it, of settling and making an establishment in that kingdom; because the chief thing that the governor and his people wished for making a settlement was to discover a port such as had been found, where they might go to anchor the ships that would bring the people, horses, cattle, seeds, and other things necessary for new settlements. A few days after the arrival of Diego Maldonado, the governor ordered him to go to La Havana with the two brigantines of which he was in charge, and

visit Doña Isabel de Bobadilla and tell her what they had done and seen up to that time, by sea and by land. He was to send the same report to all the other cities and villas of the island, and in the coming October (it was then the end of February of the year 1540) he was to return to the port of Achusi with the two brigantines and the caravel that Gómez Arias had taken, and with one or more other ships if he could find them to buy. He was to bring in them all the crossbows, harquebuses, lead, and powder available, and much footwear, such as shoes and sandals, and other things that the army needed. He gave him a written memorandum of these things with instructions of what he would have to do, because the governor expected to be in the port of Achusi at that time, after having made a large circle through the interior country and discovered the provinces that might lie in that region, in order to lay the foundations for a settlement. But it was well to settle at the port first, a step necessary for affairs at sea as well as on land. He also ordered him to tell Gómez Arias to come with him at the appointed time, for because of his great prudence in matters of government and his industry and long experience in those of war he wished to have him with him.

With this order and commission Captain Diego Maldonado left the Bay of Aute and went to La Havana, where because of the good news that he brought of the governor and of his army and of the successful progress made up to that time, and that which they expected to make in the future, he was very well received by Doña Isabel de Bobadilla and by all the city of La Havana. From there he at once sent the report to the other cities of the island, which celebrated the governor's success with great rejoicing. They made great preparations to send him at the appointed time the succor of men, horses, arms, and the other things needed for a settlement. The cities prepared all these things together, and the rich men in particular, each one endeavoring according to his ability to send or bring the most and the best that he could, to show the love that they had for their governor and captain-general and for the sake of the rewards that they expected. We shall leave them in the midst of these preparations and return to tell some incidents that were taking place in the province of Apalache, by which can be seen the ferocity of the Indians of that province, as well as their temerity, because certainly they showed by their actions that they knew how to dare and did not know fear, as will be seen in the following instance and in others that will be told, though not all of those that happened [will be mentioned], for in order to avoid prolixity, we shall omit most of them.

Thus it happened that one day in the month of January of the year 1540 the accountant Juan de Añasco and six other gentlemen were going along

talking through the streets of Apalache, on horseback. Having traversed all of them, they were pleased to go out into the country surrounding the pueblo, without getting very far away from it, for the country was not safe because of the sudden attacks of the Indians who lay in ambush behind every shrub. Since they did not intend leaving the pueblo, it seemed to them that they could go without arms, at least defensive ones, and thus they went out wearing only their swords, except one of them named Estevan Pegado, a native of Yelves, who happened to be armed and wore a helmet on his head and carried a lance in his hand. Going along thus in conversation, they saw an Indian man and woman who were walking in a clearing in the woods near the pueblo gathering beans, which had been sown the year before. They must have been gathering them more to amuse themselves by seeing whether any Castilian would come out of the pueblo than for any need they might have for the beans, because as we have said the province was full of all kinds of foodstuff. When the Spaniards saw the Indians they went toward them to capture them. Seeing the horses, the woman stopped short, being unable to run. The husband took her up in his arms and ran with her to the woods that were close by, and having placed her in the first of the undergrowth, he gave her two or three pushes and told her to go into the inner part of the forest. Having done this, he could have gone with the woman and escaped, but he did not wish to do so. On the contrary he came back running to where he had left his bow and arrows, and recovering them, he went out to meet the Spaniards with as much determination and boldness as if they had been another lone Indian like himself. He made the attack in such a manner that he obliged the Spaniards to say to one another they would not kill him but would take him alive, for it seemed to them an unbecoming thing for seven mounted Spaniards to kill one lone Indian on foot, and they also thought that a spirit so gallant as the heathen showed did not justify their killing him, but on the contrary showing him all mercy and favor. All of them advancing with this determination, they reached the Indian, who, because the distance was short, had not yet been able to shoot an arrow, and rode him down and attempted to get him to surrender without allowing him to rise from the ground, first one and then another coming at him every time he tried to get up, and all shouting to him to surrender.

The more they pressed him the fiercer the Indian became, and fallen though he was, several times by putting the arrow in his bow and shooting it, and other times by pricking the bellies and thighs of the horses with it, he wounded all seven of them, although slightly, because he was not in a position to inflict more-serious wounds. Escaping from among the horses' feet,

he stood up, took his bow in both hands, and gave Estevan Pegado, who was the one who had harassed him most with his lance, such a blow on the forehead with it that the blood flowed from above his eyebrows and covered his face, and he was half stunned. The Portuguese Spaniard, seeing himself so attacked and mistreated, was inflamed with anger and said: "In God's name, are we going to wait until this one Indian kills all seven of us?" So saying, he gave him a lance-thrust through the chest that came out on the other side and brought him down dead. Having performed this feat, they examined their horses and found them all wounded, though the wounds were slight. They returned to the camp, admiring the temerity and courage of the barbarian and shamed and abashed to tell that one Indian alone had withstood seven mounted men.

## XXIV

### TWO INDIANS OFFER TO GUIDE THE SPANIARDS WHERE THEY MAY FIND MUCH GOLD

Throughout the time that Governor Hernando de Soto was wintering in the camp and pueblo of Apalache, he always took care to inquire and learn what lands and provinces were beyond toward the west in the region that he had thought and planned to enter in the following summer, in order to see and discover that kingdom. With this desire he was always gathering information from the Indians who had been serving for some time as domestics in his army, and from those newly captured, importuning them to tell what they knew about that land or any part of it. Since the general and all his captains and soldiers were careful and diligent in doing this, it happened that, among the other Indians whom they took, those who were scouring the country captured a young Indian sixteen or seventeen years of age. Some of the Indians who were servants of the Spaniards and were attached to their masters knew him. They told them, so that they might tell the governor, that that youth had been a servant of some Indian merchants who were accustomed to enter with their merchandise, selling and buying, many leagues into the interior country, and that he had seen and knew what the governor was trying so hard to learn. It is not to be understood that the merchants went to seek gold or silver but to exchange some articles for others, which was the traffic of the Indians, because they did not make use of money. With



this information they asked the youth what he knew. He replied that it was true that he knew about some provinces that he had visited with his masters, the merchants, and he would venture to guide the Spaniards twelve or thirteen days' journey, which was as much as he had seen. The governor turned the Indian over to a Spaniard, charging him to take particular care of him so that he would not escape from them, but the youth relieved them of this anxiety, for in a short time he became so friendly and familiar with the Spaniards that he appeared to have been born and bred among them.

A few days after the capture of this Indian they took another almost the same age, or a little older, and, as the first one knew him, he said to the governor: "Sir, this young man has seen the same lands and provinces as I, and others beyond, which he has traveled through with other, richer and more prosperous merchants than my masters."

The newly captured Indian confirmed what the first had said and very willingly offered to take and guide them through the provinces that he had traversed, which he said were many and large. Asked about the things that he had seen in them, and whether they had gold or silver or precious stones, which was what they most desired to know, and being shown gold jewelry and pieces of silver and fine stones set in rings that were found among some of the captains and principal soldiers, so that he might better understand the things that they were asking him about, he replied that in a province called Cofachiqui, which was the most distant one that he had visited, there was a great deal of metal like the yellow and the white, and that the chief traffic of the merchants, his masters, was to buy those metals and sell them in other provinces. He said that besides the metals they had a very large quantity of pearls, and to tell this he indicated a pearl in a setting he saw among the rings that they showed him. Our Spaniards were very pleased and rejoiced at this news, desiring to see themselves at once in Cofachiqui in order to be masters of so much gold and silver and so many precious pearls. But to return to the particular events that took place between the Indians and the Spaniards in Apalache: thus it was already at the beginning of March when it happened that twenty cavalry and fifty infantry left the camp and went one league from the chief pueblo to another in that jurisdiction to get maize, which abounded in all the little villages in that district, in such quantities that the Spaniards in all the time they were in Apalache never went a league and a half from the chief pueblo to provide themselves with Indian corn and the other grains and vegetables they ate. After they had gathered the maize that they were to carry, then, they concealed themselves in the pueblo itself, desiring to capture some Indians if they should come. They stationed a watchman on the

highest part of a house that was very different from the others and seemed to be a temple. After some time had passed the watchman gave notice that there was an Indian in the plaza, which was very large, looking to see if there was anything there.

A gentleman named Diego de Soto, the governor's nephew, who was one of the best soldiers in the army and a very good horseman, rode out to capture the Indian, more to show his skill and courage than from any need he had for him. When he saw the rider the Indian ran with extreme swiftness to race with the horse to see whether he could escape by flight, for the natives of this great kingdom of La Florida are swift and famous runners, and pride themselves on it. But seeing that the horse was gaining on him, he got under a tree close by, which is a cover that foot soldiers, lacking pikes, are always accustomed to take as a protection against horses. Placing an arrow in his bow—for as we have already said, they always go armed with these weapons—he waited until the Spaniard should come within range. The latter, being unable to go under the tree, passed by on one side at a run and made a thrust at the enemy, the lance passing over the left arm, to see if he could reach him. Guarding himself from the blow of the lance, the Indian shot an arrow at the horse at the moment that he came abreast and struck him between the girth and the stirrup with such strength and skill that the horse stumbled on for fifteen or twenty paces and fell dead, not moving again. At this moment there came up at a canter another gentleman, named Diego Velázquez, the governor's groom, no less brave and skillful in horsemanship than the first one. He followed Diego de Soto to aid him if he should need it. Seeing, then, the shot that the Indian had made at his companion, he urged his horse and, not being able to go under the tree, he passed to one side, throwing another lance as Diego de Soto had done. The Indian did the same as in the first case, for as the horse came abreast he gave him an arrow wound behind the stirrup, and as before the horse stumbled along until he fell dead at his companion's feet. The two Spanish comrades rose hastily with their lances in their hands and assailed the Indian to avenge the death of their horses, but the latter, content with two good shots he had made in such a short time and with such good fortune, went running to the woods, ridiculing and jeering at them, and turning around to make wry faces and gestures. Keeping pace with them, not running as fast as he could, he said to them: "Let us all fight on foot and we shall see who are the better." With these words and others that he said in vituperation of the Castilians he got away safely, leaving them sorely grieved at such a loss as that of the horses, for since these Indians felt the advantage the Spaniards had over them

on horseback, they endeavored and were more pleased to kill one horse than four Christians, and thus they carefully and diligently shot at the horse rather than at the rider.

## XXV

### CONCERNING SOME DANGEROUS FEATS OF ARMS THAT TOOK PLACE IN APALACHE, AND THE FERTILITY OF THAT PROVINCE

A few days after the misadventure of Diego de Soto and Diego Velázquez, another, no more fortunate [event] took place. This was that two Portuguese, one named Simón Rodríguez, from Villa de Maruán, and the other Roque de Yelves, a native of Yelves, went out beyond the pueblo on their horses to gather green fruit that grew in the woods near the pueblo. Having been able to gather that on the lower branches from their horses, they still wished to dismount and climb the trees to gather it from the higher branches, for it seemed to them that it was better. The Indians, who lost no opportunity that offered itself to them to kill or wound the Castilians, seeing the two Portuguese Spaniards up in the trees, advanced upon them. Roque de Yelves, who saw them before his companion did, gave the alarm and jumped down from the tree, running toward his horse. One of the Indians who was coming behind him shot at him with an arrow having a flint barb, and struck him between the shoulders, and a quarter of the arrow came out at his breast. He fell to the ground, unable to raise himself up. They did not allow Simón Rodríguez to come down from the tree but shot at him while he was in it as if he were some climbing wild beast. They brought him down dead, pierced from one side to the other with three arrows, and he had scarcely fallen when they cut off his head. I mean the whole scalp, all the way around (it is not known with what skillful trick they can take it off so easily), and they took it away as testimony of their exploit.<sup>11</sup> They left Roque de Yelves on the ground without scalping him because the relief of mounted Spaniards was coming so close, the distance being so short, that the Indians did not have time to take it. He told in a few words what had happened, and asking for confession, soon expired. At the noise and attack of

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<sup>11</sup>This is one of the earliest accounts of scalping in the Southeastern ethnographic literature.

the Indians, the two horses of the Portuguese ran toward the camp. The Spaniards who were coming to their relief recovered them and found that one of them had a drop of blood on his thigh. They took him to a veterinarian to be treated, and having examined him, he said that the wound was only a scratch and did not require treatment. The next morning they found the horse dead.

Suspecting that it was an arrow wound, the Castilians opened the horse at the wound, and following the mark of it the length of the body, they found an arrow that had passed through the whole thigh, the stomach and the intestines, and had stopped in the hollow of the chest, lacking only four finger-breadths of flesh from coming out through the breast-leather. The Spaniards were amazed, it seeming to them that a ball from an harquebus could not have gone so far. These particulars are told, though they are of little importance, because they happened in this camp, because of their ferocity, which is notable, and because it is now time that we conclude [the account of] things that took place in the chief pueblo of Apalache by saying, in brief (because to tell all of them would be a very long task), that the natives of this province, during all the time that the Spaniards were wintering in their country, showed themselves to be very bellicose and solicitous, and used all care and diligence to attack the Castilians, losing no occasion or opportunity, however small it might be, when they could wound or kill those who strayed from the camp even for a very short distance.

Alonso de Carmona, in his *Peregrination*, notes particularly the ferocity of the Indians of the province of Apalache, of which he says the following, which is copied literally:

These Indians of Apalache are of large stature and are very brave and spirited, because just as they saw and fought with the other [soldiers] of Pánphilo de Narváez and made them leave the country, in spite of all they could do, so we encountered them every day, and every day had skirmishes with them. As they could not gain any advantage over us because our governor was very brave, strong, and experienced in Indian warfare, they resorted to wandering through the woods in armed bands, and when the Spaniards went out for firewood, cutting it in the forest, the Indians came up at the sound of the axe and killed the Spaniards, took off the chains of the Indians whom they brought along to carry the wood on their shoulders, and scalped the Spaniards, for scalps were what they most prized to display at the end of the bow with which they fought. At the cries and the alarm they gave, we ran immediately and found the evil already done. In this manner they killed more than twenty of our soldiers, and this was on many different occasions. I remember that one day seven men

left the camp on horseback on a foray to get feed and to kill some little dogs to eat, for in that country all of us made use of them and we considered ourselves lucky on the day when a part of one fell to our share, and even pheasants tasted no better to us. Going about seeking these things, they encountered five Indians who were waiting for them with their bows and arrows, and who drew a line on the ground and told them not to pass beyond it or they would all die. The Spaniards, refusing to notice such mockery, fell upon them, and the Indians unslung their bows from their arms and killed two horses and wounded two others. They also wounded a Spaniard badly, and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians. The others escaped by flight, for they are truly very swift and are not hindered by elaborate clothing; on the other hand going about without clothing is a great help to them.

Up to here is from Alonso de Carmona.

Besides their watchfulness against those who strayed [from the pueblo], they also exercised it against the whole army, harassing it with alarms and sudden attacks they made by day and by night, not wishing to give battle with the men drawn up in the form of squadrons, but with ambushes concealed in the underbrush and small clumps of timber that were thereabout, and where they were least expected. From these they would come out suddenly to do as much damage as they could. This is sufficient concerning the bravery and ferocity of the natives of the province of Apalache. We have also spoken of its fertility, which is great, for there is an abundance of Indian corn or maize and many other grains, of beans, calabashes (which in the language of El Perú they call *zapallu*), and other vegetables of various kinds, besides the fruits, which there are like those of Spain, such as all kinds of plums, three varieties of nuts, one of which is very oily, and acorns of live oaks and other oaks in such quantities that they remain on the ground at the foot of the trees from one year to the next, because, as these Indians have no tame cattle to eat them, they have no use for them and allow them to go to waste.

In conclusion, so that the abundance and fertility of the province of Apalache may be seen, we say that the whole Spanish army with the Indians whom they carried as servants, numbering in all more than fifteen hundred persons, and more than three hundred horses, in the five months and more that they wintered in this camp maintained themselves on the food that they collected at the beginning, and when they needed it they found it in the small pueblos in the vicinity in such quantities that they never went farther than a league and a half from the principal pueblo to bring it. In addition to this fertility in crops, the land is very well fitted for the breeding of all kinds of

cattle because it has good forests and pasture-grounds with fine water, and swamps and lakes with many reeds and rushes for hogs, which do very well on them and, by eating them, do not need grain. This suffices for an account of what is in this province and of its good qualities, one of which is that it is capable of producing a great deal of silk because of the abundance of mulberries. It has also many and good fish.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK

THIRD BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*It tells of the departure of the Spaniards from Apalache; the good reception they gave them in four provinces; the hunger they suffered in some uninhabited regions; the infinite number of pearls and the other grandeur and riches that they found in a temple; the generosity of the Lady of Cofachiqui and of other Caciques, lords of vassals; a very bloody battle the Indians gave them after promising friendship; a mutiny certain Castilians attempted; the laws of the Indians against adulteresses; and another very fierce battle that took place at night. It contains thirty-nine chapters.*





# I

## THE GOVERNOR LEAVES APALACHE, AND A BATTLE TAKES PLACE WITH SEVEN ON EACH SIDE

The governor and adelantado Hernando de Soto, having dispatched Captain Diego Maldonado, who went to La Havana for the purposes told above, and having ordered the provisions and other things necessary, prepared for leaving Apalache. The time now having come, he took his army from that camp at the end of March of the year 1540. He traveled three days' journey toward the north through the same province without meeting enemies who gave him trouble, though those of that country were very vexatious and warlike. On the last of the three days the Castilians lodged in a small pueblo, which was made into a peninsula by being almost entirely surrounded by a swamp more than a hundred paces wide, and having a great deal of mud, which came halfway up the thigh. They had wooden bridges at intervals by which one could leave the place in any direction. The pueblo was situated on a high point from which a large extent of country was visible, and many other small pueblos were seen, scattered about a beautiful valley. The army remained three days in this pueblo, which was the principal one of those in that valley, all of them being in the province of Apalache. On the second day it happened that there went out of the camp at noon five halberdiers of the general's guard and two other soldiers, natives of Badajoz. One of these was named Francisco de Aguilera and the other Andrés Moreno, whom they also called Angel Moreno because, being a merry and lively man, he was always putting into all his speech, without rhyme or reason, this word: "angels, angels."

These seven Spaniards left the principal pueblo without orders from the officials of our army, simply for recreation and to see what was in the other little pueblos. The five men of the guard carried their halberds. Andrés Moreno wore his sword and carried a lance in his hands, and Francisco de Aguilera had a sword and shield. They left the pueblo with these arms, not recalling the great vigilance and care that the Indians of that province always exercised in killing those who strayed away. They passed the swamp and a fringe of woods that was not more than twenty paces across. On the other side was open country with many maize fields.

These seven Spaniards had gone scarcely two hundred paces from the camp when the Indians fell upon them, for as we have seen they never ceased

their stratagems against those who strayed. At the shout and outcry both sides gave while fighting, giving the alarm and asking for help, many Spaniards came out from the pueblo to defend their men and, so as not to lose time in searching for a crossing of the swamp, they passed over it at the nearest point, in water and mud waist- and breast-deep. But for all the haste they made they found the five halberdiers dead, each with his body pierced with ten or twelve arrows, and Andrés Moreno alive but with a barbed flint arrow, besides others in his body, that passed through him from breast to shoulders, and as soon as they took it out to treat him he died. Francisco de Aguilar, who was a stronger and more robust man than the others, and being such had defended himself better than the rest, was still alive though he had two arrow wounds, which passed through both thighs, and many blows over the head and the whole body, which they had given him with bows, because when he closed with the Indians they had used all their arrows, and seeing him alone, they grasped their bows with both hands and gave him such hard blows that they knocked his shield to pieces, only the handles being left. They gave him a glancing blow on the forehead that took off all the skin down to the eyebrows and left the skull exposed.

The seven Spaniards were left in this state and the Indians had taken cover before help arrived, because they had heard them coming. The Christians were unable to see the number of the enemy, and Francisco de Aguilar told them that they were more than fifty, and that because there were so many against so few, they had killed them so quickly. But afterward, from day to day, he continued to reveal things favorable to the Indians that had taken place in the fight, and more than twenty days after it, he being newly recovered from his wounds though still weak and convalescent, when other soldiers were joking with him about the blows that the Indians had given him and asking if he had counted them, if they hurt him much, if he would try to avenge them, if he thought he would challenge the enemy on condition that they come out one at a time so that they would not have the advantage of numbers over one man, and other such facetious things that soldiers are accustomed to joke about among themselves, Francisco de Aguilar replied, saying: "I didn't count the blows because they gave me no chance, nor were they delivered so slowly that they could be counted. Whether they hurt me a lot or a little you will know when they give you some like them, and that day will come, I promise you. Because we are speaking frankly and so that you can see what the Indians of this province are like, I wish to tell you seriously, without suppressing or adding anything to the facts (though what I shall say

will be against myself), of a courtesy and bravery of spirit that they showed to me that day.

“You must know, then, that, as I told you at the time, more than fifty Indians came out to watch us, but as soon as they saw us and realized that we were only seven and that no horses were coming to support us, another seven Indians separated themselves from the squadron that they had formed, and the rest withdrew to a distance and did not attempt to fight. Only the seven attacked us, and as we did not carry crossbows or harquebuses with which we could hold them off, and as they were lighter and swifter than we, they walked in front of us, leaping about and making fun of us and shooting arrows at their pleasure as if we were captive wild beasts, without our being able to wound them. They killed my companions in this manner, and seeing me alone, to prevent my escaping them all seven set upon me and, holding their bows with both hands, they put me in the state in which you found me. Since they spared my life I forgive them the blows and have no thought of challenging them, for [my wrongs] do not demand that I make use of a challenge so that they can again put me in the state in which they left me before. I have been silent about all this for the sake of my honor and have said nothing about it until now, but this is what really happened, and God keep you from wandering about, so that the same thing may not happen to you.” The companions and friends of Francisco de Aguilar were amazed at hearing him because they had never imagined that the Indians were capable of such a chivalrous action as to desire to fight on equal terms with the Castilians when they could attack them with the advantage [of numbers]. But all the Indians of this great kingdom presume so much upon their spirit, strength, and swiftness that, on not seeing horses, they would not admit that the Spaniards had any advantage, but assumed rather that they themselves had it, especially when the Christians were going about as lacking in defensive arms as the Indians themselves.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>In the other chronicles these events took place in the province of Capachequi. Garcilaso fails to mention the arduous crossing of the river of Capachequi. Swanton, *Final Report*, 166–67.

## II

### THE SPANIARDS REACH ALTAPAHA, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY WERE ENTERTAINED

With this misfortune of the loss of the six Spaniards, the governor left the peninsular pueblo of the province of Apalache, and having marched two more days, making five in all that they traveled to get out of this province, they entered the territory of another called Altapaha.<sup>13</sup> The adelantado desired to be the first to see it, in order to learn whether the natives of that province were as rough and warlike as those of Apalache, and also because it was a constantly observed custom of his that he must go himself to any new discovery of provinces because he was not satisfied with the reports of others, but wished to see with his own eyes. Therefore he chose forty cavalry and sixty infantry, [consisting of] twenty rodeleros, twenty harquebusiers, and twenty crossbowmen, for whenever they went on any expedition the infantry were always selected in this manner.

The governor marched with them for two days, and at dawn of the third day he entered the first pueblo of the province of Altapaha and found that the Indians had retired to the woods, taking their women, children, and possessions with them. The Castilians went through the whole pueblo and captured six Indians, two of whom were nobles and were captains who had remained in the pueblo to get the common people out of it. They took all six of them before the governor so that he might learn from them what was in the province.

Before the adelantado asked them a single question the principal Indians said: "What is it that you desire in our houses? Do you wish peace or war?" They said this without any sign that they felt uneasy at finding themselves captives in the hands of strangers; on the other hand they bore themselves in a lordly manner, as if they enjoyed full liberty and were talking with some of their Indian neighbors.

The general replied through his interpreter Juan Ortiz, saying that he desired war with no one, but peace and friendship with all; that they were going in search of certain provinces that were beyond and that they were in need of provisions for their march, because they must eat, and they would

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<sup>13</sup>The events described by Garcilaso as taking place in the province of Altapaha actually refer to Ichisi. Altapaha, evidently the namesake of Altamaha, is yet another instance among many wherein Garcilaso confuses and transposes place-names.

make this exaction and no other on the road. This was what they desired, and nothing else.

The principal Indians said: "Well, it was not necessary for you to capture us for this purpose; we will give you here all the supplies that you need for your journey, and we will treat you better than they treated you in Apalache, for we know very well how you fared there." So saying, they ordered two of the four Indians who had been captured with them to go as quickly as possible to give the news to their curaca and principal lord, and tell him what they had seen and heard regarding the Castilians; on the road they were to notify all the Indians whom they should meet, telling them to pass the word along for all of them to come to serve the Christians who were in their country, because they were friends and did not come to harm them. On hearing the reasonable replies of the Indians, the governor, confiding in them and seeing that he could deal with them better by kindness than by force, ordered that they be released immediately and entertained and treated like friends.

The Indians left with the message, and the other four remained with the general. They asked if his lordship thought it well to go back to another better pueblo than the one where they were, saying that they would take him by an easier road than that by which he had come. The governor was glad to do what the Indians suggested because it would bring him nearer his army, and he ordered one of them to take word to the *maese de campo* to go directly to that pueblo and not go around by the route that he had come. When the Castilians arrived at the pueblo to which the Indians took them they were received with demonstrations of much affection, and as soon as he had news of the friendly compact made with the Spaniards the *cacique* came to kiss the governor's hands, and courteous and affable expressions were exchanged between the two. With the curaca came all his vassals and the women and children who had withdrawn to the fields, and they settled down in their pueblos.

Meanwhile the army arrived and encamped inside and outside of the pueblo. During all the time the Spaniards were in this province their relations with the Indians were entirely peaceful and friendly, which was no small satisfaction to our men after the many hostilities that those of Apalache had carried on against them.

After resting three days in the pueblo of Altapaha, the Castilians left it and marched for ten days along the bank of a river, upstream. They saw that that whole country appeared to be as fertile or more so than Apalache, and the people domestic and peaceful. They maintained the peace that they had made with them at the beginning in such a manner that the Indians received

no molestation unless it was in regard to the food that they consumed, and the Spaniards took this very sparingly in order not to make the natives uneasy. They found extremely large mulberry trees in this province of Altapaha, and though they had been in the others also, they were as nothing compared with these.

At the end of the ten days' journey that our men traveled due north up the river, they passed out of the province of Altapaha, leaving the curaca and his Indians very satisfied with the friendship that they had contracted with them. They entered another province, called Achalaque,<sup>14</sup> which was poor and lacking in food. There were very few young Indians in it, almost all of its inhabitants being old; usually they were nearsighted, and many of them were blind. Inasmuch as the presence in a pueblo or a province of many old people is usually an indication that there will be many more young ones, the Spaniards wondered at not finding them in this country and even suspected that they might be in rebellion and concealed somewhere in order to perpetrate some mischief against the Christians; but on asking questions, they learned that there was nothing concealed, there was only what appeared in public. But they did not inquire into the reason why there were so many old people and so few young ones. The Spaniards traveled through this province of Achalaque making long daily marches, in order to leave it quickly both because it was poor in food and because they desired to reach that of Cofachiqui as soon as they could. There, because of the news that they had of there being much gold and silver in that province, they thought to load themselves down with rich treasure and return to Spain.

Whereupon they doubled their daily marches, and they could do it easily because the country was flat, without woods, mountains, or rivers to impede their swift pace. They crossed the province of Achalaque in five days' march and left its curaca and natives very peaceably inclined and friendly toward the Castilians. So that they would remember them, the governor

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<sup>14</sup>In another possible instance of Garcilaso's tendency to transpose place-names, here he uses Achalaque for Altamaha. Achalaque is therefore duplicated, for it appears again as Chalalake in the territory beyond Cofitachequi. The name in the latter instance probably refers to speakers of the Cherokee language. It should be noted, however, that the name Chalalake (*Tsiloki* in the Muskogean language) merely means "people of different speech" and was commonly used at a later time by Muskogees to refer to people who spoke languages such as Hitchiti. John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," in *Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928), 157.

gave them, among other presents, two swine, male and female, for breeding. He had done the same for the cacique of Altapaha and the lords of the other provinces who had come out peacefully and made friends with the Spaniards. Though hitherto we have not mentioned that the adelantado had taken these animals to La Florida, it is true that he took more than three hundred head, male and female, which multiplied greatly and were exceedingly useful in the great necessities that our Castilians suffered in this discovery. If the Indians (abhorring more the memory of those who brought these animals than esteeming their usefulness) have not destroyed them, it is probable that, in consideration of the advantages that great kingdom has for breeding them, there are many of them there today, for besides those the governor gave to the friendly curacas, many others were lost along the roads, though they were well and carefully guarded. While on the march one of the companies of cavalry was assigned especially to herd and guard them.

### III

#### CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF COFA AND ITS CACIQUE, AND A PIECE OF ARTILLERY THAT THEY LEFT IN HIS KEEPING

The adelantado was always accustomed whenever he left one province and went on to another to send messengers on ahead to notify the cacique of his coming. He did this on the one hand to request peace and allay the fear that they might feel at seeing strange people in their country, and on the other to find out from the reply that the Indians gave him their favorable or hostile attitude toward them. When the Indians did not dare go from one province to another because of the enmity that existed between them, or when an uninhabited region intervened, then the governor himself made the discovery, as we have seen above, in the best way that he could. Observing this procedure, then, before he left the province of Achalaque he sent messengers to the curaca of the other province, called Cofa, which bordered upon it, letting him understand that he was coming to his country to recognize him as a friend and to treat him as a brother, as he had done with all the other lords of vassals who had received him peaceably.

Besides this message he ordered the Indians who carried it to take care to

tell the cacique Cofa of the good treatment that the Spaniards had accorded to their curaca Achalague and to all the natives of that province because they had received them in peace and had always maintained it.

The cacique Cofa and all his vassals showed much pleasure at the message, and thus with one accord and with much gladness and rejoicing they replied, saying that his lordship and all his army were very welcome to their house and state, where they were waiting with great desire to see and know them in order to serve them to the best of their ability. Therefore they begged that they hasten their journey.

The general and all his soldiers were satisfied with this favorable reply and hastened their march. On the fourth day after they had left the province of Achalague they arrived at the first pueblo of the province of Cofa, where the cacique was awaiting them with all the rest of the people whom he had summoned to show the grandeur of his court, and with the common people whom he had ordered to be assembled to serve the Spaniards. When he knew that the Castilians were approaching his pueblo he went a third of a league beyond it to receive them, and kissing the governor's hands, he repeated the same words that he had sent to say to him in his reply. The governor embraced him, showing him much affection, and thus the Spaniards entered the pueblo, both foot soldiers and cavalry formed in squadrons.

The curaca lodged the governor in his own house and quartered the army in the pueblo, he himself designating the sections and districts for this and that company, accommodating them all in their order as if he were the maese de campo, which pleased the officials of the army very much because he showed himself to be a military man. Having assigned the lodgings, the cacique went with the governor's permission to another pueblo that was about two harquebus-shots distant from the first one.

This province of Cofa is fertile and abounds in the food that land affords, and it has all the other advantages of woodlands and open plains that we have described in the rest of the country for raising [cattle] and cultivating the soil. It is inhabited by numerous and very good people, gentle and affable, and there the governor and his men were entertained and rested in the first pueblo for five days, because the curaca would not consent to their leaving sooner, and the general agreed, in order to show his friendship.

We have not mentioned hitherto a piece of artillery the governor brought along with his army, and the reason has been that no occasion has arisen throughout the expedition to speak of it, until now. Thus it is that the adelantado, having seen that it served for nothing except a burden and annoyance, requiring men to care for it and pack mules to transport it, decided to



leave it with the curaca Cofa to keep for him. So that he might see what he was leaving for him, the governor ordered the piece aimed from the house of the cacique himself at a large and very beautiful live-oak tree that was outside the pueblo, and he knocked it down entirely with two shots, at which the curaca and his Indians were amazed.

The governor told them that, as a proof of the love he had for them and in recompense for the good friendship and hospitality they had shown him, he wished to leave them that piece of which he thought a great deal, so that they might keep and guard it carefully until he should come back there or send to ask for it.

The cacique and all the principal Indians who were with him valued greatly the confidence he placed in them in leaving with them such an important object as a pledge. Thus having thanked him in the best terms that they could command (principally for the confidence and then for the piece of artillery), they ordered it to be guarded very carefully, and it may be believed that they have it still, regarding it with great veneration and esteem.

The army having rested five days, it left Cofa to go to another province named Cofaqui, which belonged to an elder brother of the cacique Cofa, richer and more powerful than he.<sup>15</sup> The curaca Cofa went out with the Indians, both warriors and servants, to accompany the governor one day's journey, and he would have gone with him all the way that he had to travel through his territory, but the general would not consent to it, desiring that he return to his house and not go farther. Seeing the governor's wish, the cacique kissed his hands with much affection and regret at parting from him and said that he begged his lordship to remember the love and good will that he felt for him, to make use of it in his service; that he was his very affectionate servant. The governor thanked him with very friendly words and thus they took leave of one another.

The curaca was careful to take leave of the *maese de campo* and of the other captains and the officials of the imperial hacienda, to all of whom he spoke as if he had known them for a long time. As soon as he had taken leave of the Spaniards, he summoned his captains and told them to go with all the Indian warriors and servants whom he had brought with him to serve and entertain the governor and all his army, and that they were to consider themselves fortunate in that the Castilians had received them into their friendship and service. He also ordered that one of the principal Indians go on ahead and notify his brother Cofaqui of the Spaniards' coming to his country,

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<sup>15</sup>See note 5.

saying that he begged him to receive them peaceably and serve them as he had done, because they deserved it. The general sent another message to the curaca Cofaqui along with this one from the cacique Cofa, offering him peace and friendship. Having made these arrangements, the cacique returned to his house, and the adelantado proceeded with his discovery. After six more days of marching he left the province of Cofa, a country, as we have said, fertile, abundant, and inhabited by a docile and industrious people, more so than any other that the Spaniards had seen up to that time.

## IV

### IT DEALS WITH THE CURACA COFAQUI, AND OF THE GREAT HOSPITALITY THAT HE SHOWED THE SPANIARDS IN HIS COUNTRY

As soon as the curaca Cofaqui received the messages from his brother and from the governor, he ordered everything necessary made ready, both the nobles for displaying the grandeur of his house, and provisions and servants for the use and entertainment of the Spaniards. Before the governor should enter it [the province], he sent four of the chief nobles accompanied by many people to offer him welcome and congratulations on his arrival, and the obedience due him, and to tell him how they were awaiting him in all peace and friendship with the desire to serve and entertain him to the best of their ability and power.

The general was pleased with this embassy, as were all his men, for they did not desire forced friendship but that which was freely given. So they marched until they reached the limits of Cofaqui where they gave permission to the Indians who had come with them from the province of Cofa, both warriors and servants, to return to their houses. Those of Cofaqui brought others to replace them in carrying the baggage.

The governor arrived at the first pueblo of Cofaqui, where the cacique was. Knowing from his lookouts that the general was approaching, he went to receive him outside the pueblo, accompanied by many nobles handsomely equipped with bows and arrows and great plumes, with rich mantles of marten-skins and various other small skins as finely dressed as the best ones from Germany. Many friendly words passed between the governor and the curaca and also between the principal Indians and the gentlemen and cap-

tains of the army, they making themselves understood partly by words and partly by signs, and thus they entered the pueblo amid great festivity and rejoicing on the part of the Indians. The cacique assigned quarters to the Spaniards personally, and he himself went with the governor's permission to another pueblo that was close by to which he had moved his household in order to make room in that one for the Spaniards' lodgings. Early in the morning of the next day he came to visit the governor and, after talking at length about things concerning that province, the Indian said: "Sir, I desire to know your lordship's will; whether it is to remain here where we wish to serve you, or to pass on, so that in accordance with it there may be provided in time that which is conducive to your service." The governor said that he was going in search of other provinces that they had told him were beyond, one of which was called Cofachiqui, and that he could not make an establishment or remain anywhere until he had seen and traversed them all.

The curaca replied that that province bordered upon his own and that there was a large uninhabited region between them that could be passed over in seven days' march. He offered his lordship the Indian warriors and servants necessary for the journey to serve and accompany him as far as his lordship wished to take them. He offered as well all the provisions needed for the journey, begging him to request and order prepared that which he desired to take as if he were in his own country. All of that land was at his command and very desirous to serve him.

The governor thanked him for the offer and said that—inasmuch as he, as an experienced captain and as lord of that land, knew the road he would have to take and the supplies that would be needed—he asked him to provide them as if for his own use, saying that the Spaniards needed nothing except food, and that, in leaving everything to his will and judgment, he would see that they desired to give him as little trouble as possible.

This confidence that the governor placed in the cacique obliged the latter to do more than he would have done if he had asked specifically for what he needed, and he [the cacique] said as much. He ordered at once that the provisions be carefully and quickly assembled, and also the Indian carriers who were to transport them. This order was obeyed and carried out so promptly that in four days, while the Spaniards were resting in the pueblo of Cofaqui, four thousand Indian servants were assembled to carry the food and clothing of the Christians, and another four thousand warriors to accompany and guide the army.

The chief provisions that the Castilians procured, wherever they might be, was maize, which throughout the Indies of the New World is what

wheat is in Spain. Along with the maize the Indians provided much dried fruit, which as we have told already the land produces by itself, without being cultivated, such as dried plums and raisins, two or three kinds of nuts, and acorns from the live oak and other oaks. There was no provision of meat because, as we have already said, they had no domesticated cattle, but only that which they killed while hunting in the woods.

Seeing such a gathering of people, though they were assembled to serve him, the governor and his men were cautious and kept watch night and day, more than ordinarily, so that the Indians, seeing them careful, would not dare attempt anything against them under cover of friendship. But the Indians themselves were heedless enough and had no thought of offending the Spaniards; rather with all their strength and will they busied themselves in serving and gratifying them, so that with their favor and protection they might avenge the injuries and damage that they had received from their enemies of Cofachiqui, as we shall soon see.

One day before the time appointed for the Spaniards' departure, the curaca being in the plaza of the pueblo with the general and other captains and principal gentlemen of the army, he ordered an Indian summoned whom he had named captain-general for all the affairs of war that might come up, and on the present occasion he was to go with the governor. When he appeared before him the curaca said to him: "You know well the war and perpetual enmity that our fathers and grandfathers and ancestors have always had and that we ourselves now have with the Indians of the province of Cofachiqui, where you are now going in the service of our governor and of these gentlemen; and also the many and notable offenses, evils and injuries that the natives of that country have continually committed and are now committing against us are well known. Therefore, since fortune offers us such a good opportunity as the present one to avenge ourselves, it will be a good thing to take advantage of it.

"As we have agreed, you, my captain-general, are to go in the company and in the service of the governor and of his invincible army, with whose favor and protection you are to do everything that you can think of against our enemies, in satisfaction for our injuries and wrongs. And because I know that there is no need to waste words in telling you what you must do, I confide in your spirit and good will, which I know will conform with my desires and with what is conducive to our honor in this case."

## V

### PATOF A PROMISES HIS CURACA TO TAKE VENGEANCE, AND A STRANGE THING THAT HAPPENED TO AN INDIAN GUIDE IS TOLD

The Indian *apu*, which in the language of El Perú signifies captain-general or he who is supreme in any office—whose own name was Patofa and who showed such nobility in his person and face that his appearance and aspect certified that the office of captain-general had been well bestowed upon him, and gave promise of all good conduct in peace and in war—rising to his feet and throwing off a mantle of cat-skins he wore like a cape, took a broadsword made of palm wood, which one of his servants carried behind him as a captain's insignia, and made many fine salutes with it before his cacique and governor, leaping from one side to the other with such dexterity and gracefulness and rhythm that a famous fencing-master could not have done better, so that our Spaniards wondered at it greatly. Having performed for a long time, he stopped, and with the broadsword in his hands went to his curaca and, making him a deep reverence after their custom, which differs little from ours, he said, according to the interpreters: "Our prince and lord, as your servant and the captain-general of your armies, I pledge my faith and word to your lordship to do in compliance with what you order me all that my strength and industry can accomplish, and I promise with the aid of these valiant Spaniards to avenge all the injuries, deaths, damages and losses that our ancestors and ourselves have received from the natives of Cofachiqui. And the vengeance will be such that with great satisfaction to your reputation and grandeur you can blot out from memory what now offends you therein, being unavenged. The surest sign that you can have of my having fulfilled that which you order me will be that, having done it satisfactorily, I shall dare to return to present myself before your honor. If fortune should run contrary to my hopes, your eyes will never see me again, nor will those of the Sun. I myself will inflict the punishment that my cowardice or my ill-luck may deserve, which will be death in case the enemy is unwilling to give it to me with his own hand." The curaca Cofaqui stood up and, embracing the general Patofa, said to him: "Your promises I consider as certain as if they were already fulfilled, and thus I reward them as services done, which I so desire to receive." So saying, he took off a cape of most handsome marten-skins that he wore and covered Patofa with it with his

own hands, in payment for services not yet rendered. The marten-skins in the cape were so fine that the Spaniards estimated that in Spain its value would be 2,000 ducats.

The favor of a lord giving to a servant the cape or plume or any other article of personal adornment, especially if he took it off in the servant's presence to present it, was among all the Indians of this great kingdom of La Florida a thing of such great honor and esteem that no other reward could equal it, and it seems reasonable that this should be so among all nations.

Everything now being provided for the Spaniards' march, a strange thing happened on the night before their departure, at which they wondered. This was that, as we mentioned above, our men captured in the province of Apalache two young Indians who had offered to guide the Castilians. One of them, whom the Christians named Marcos, without having baptized him, had now guided them over all the road that he knew. The other, whom they had named Pedro, also without baptizing him, was the one who was to guide them from there on as far as the province of Cofachiqui, where he had said they would find much gold and silver and many valuable pearls. This youth went about with the Spaniards as familiarly as if he had been born among them. It happened that about midnight of the night before the departure he shouted loudly for help, saying that they were killing him. The whole army was aroused, believing that it was some treason of the Indians, and thus they sounded the alarm and very quickly got under arms, the cavalry and infantry drawn up in squadrons. But as they heard no enemies, they went out to see where the alarm had come from, and they found that the Indian Pedro had caused it with his shouts. He was trembling with fear, terrified and half dead. Being asked what he had seen or heard that caused him to call for help with such extraordinary cries, he said that the devil, with a horrible visage and accompanied by many servants, had come to him and told him not to guide the Spaniards where he had promised to guide them or he would kill him. As he said these words, he [the devil] had hissed at him and dragged him through the room, giving him many blows all over the body, flogging and pounding him so that he was unable to move. According to the way the devil was mistreating him, he knew he would have ended by killing him if two Spaniards had not been able to come so quickly to his assistance. As the big devil saw them come through the door of his room he had left him immediately and fled, and all his servants had gone after him. He knew from this that the demons fear the Christians, and therefore he wished to be a Christian. He begged them for the love of God to baptize him at once so that the devil would not come back to kill him; being baptized like the other

Christians, it was certain that he would not touch him because he had seen him flee from them.

The Indian Pedro, the Christian convert, said all this before the governor and the other Spaniards who were present, who wondered at having heard him and saw that it was not pretense, because the marks of lashes, the bruises, and the swelling that they found on his face and all over his body were testimonies of the blows that they had given him. The general ordered the priests, clerics, and friars to be summoned and told them to do what they considered best after inquiring into the case. Having heard the Indian, they baptized him immediately and remained with him all that night and the following day, confirming him in the faith and restoring his body, which he said was beaten and buffeted by the blows that had been given him. Because of his indisposition, the camp did not move that day, but the next, and for two days they carried him on horseback because he could not stand up.

From what we have said about the Indian Pedro it can be seen how easily these Indians and all those of the New World can be converted to the Catholic faith, and as a native personally acquainted with those of El Perú, I dare affirm that the example of this Indian alone, with what he had seen, would suffice for the conversion of all those in his province and for their requesting baptism, as he did. But our people, who had the intention of preaching the gospel after having won and pacified the land, at that time did nothing more than what has been told.

The army left the pueblo of Cofaqui, and the curaca accompanied it for two leagues, and would have gone farther if the governor had not begged him to return to his house. On taking leave, he showed the regret of a friend at parting with the governor and the Spaniards, and having kissed the hands of the chief men among them, he again charged his captain-general Patofa to take care to serve the adelantado and all his army. He replied that his actions would show how much he had taken all his commands to heart. Thereupon the cacique returned to his house, and the Spaniards continued their march toward the province of Cofachiqui, so desired by them.

## VI

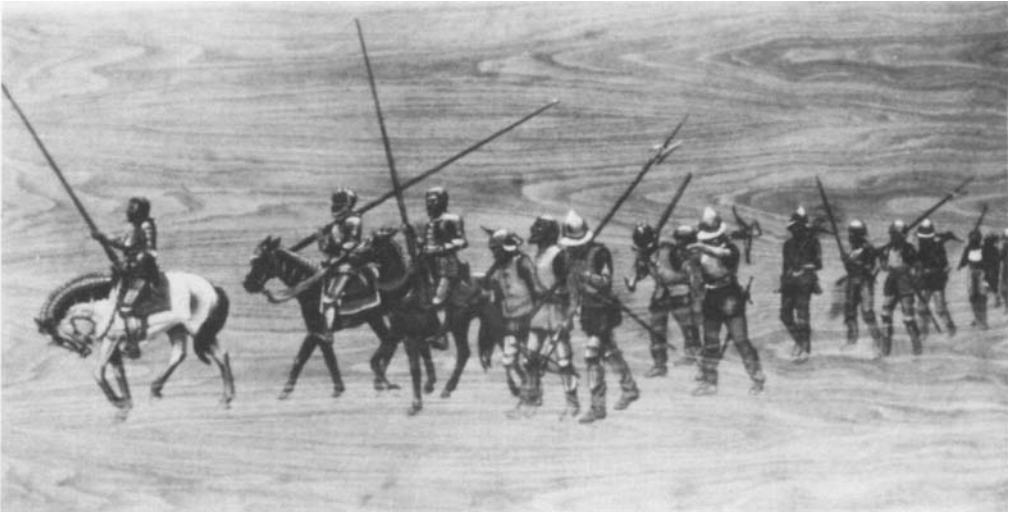
### THE GOVERNOR AND HIS ARMY ARE VERY CONFUSED AT SEEING THEMSELVES LOST IN A WILDERNESS WITHOUT FOOD

The army of the Christians marched with the cavalry and infantry formed in squadrons. The captain-general Patofa, who as we have said had four thousand select warriors, also marched separately with his squadron, with vanguard and rear guard, and the servants and carriers in between. In this manner marched the two nations, so different from one another, though not in military organization, because it was a very fine thing to see the good order and arrangement that each of them maintained, competing with one another. The Indians were not willing to admit that the Spaniards had the advantage in anything pertaining to the art and science of war.

They also camped separately at night, for as soon as the four thousand Indian carriers delivered the provisions to our men they went to sleep with their own. The Indians as well as the Spaniards posted their sentries and kept watch and guard over one another as if they were declared enemies. The Christians in particular did this, because on seeing such order and regularity on the part of the heathen, they were cautious with regard to them, but the Indians proceeded openly enough and entirely without malice; on the other hand they showed their desire to please the Spaniards in everything. Their posting sentries and standing guard, and the other regulations that they observed, were done more to show themselves to be warriors than from suspicion of the Spaniards. They proceeded with this vigilance and care all the time that they were together. By the way that they were going, which proved to be the narrowest point of the province of Cofaqui, they left it in two daily journeys, and on the second night they slept at the beginning of the large uninhabited region that lies between the two provinces of Cofaqui and Cofachiqui.

They marched another six days through the deserted country and saw that the land was all pleasant, and the mountains and woods they found were not rough or dense, but they could pass through them easily. During these six days, among other smaller streams they crossed two large and swift rivers carrying much water, but because it was spread over a wide area they were able to ford them, making use of the horses with which they formed a wall from one side of the river to the other so that it would break the fury of the





*On the Trail. This painting shows a portion of De Soto's entrada on the march. It was painted by Dan Feaser, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Interpretive Design Center, and was commissioned by the National Park Service. The original 4' x 8' oil on wood mural completed in 1969 is on display at the visitors center, De Soto National Memorial, Bradenton, Florida. It is said to be the only piece of artwork in the United States that accurately portrays the arms and armor used by the De Soto expedition. The expedition generally followed Indian trails from one town to the next. (Courtesy of the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service)*

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water. It was so rapid that the infantrymen, on going into it waist-deep, could not stand up; but with the help of the horses, by taking hold of them, all those on foot crossed without danger, Indians and Spaniards alike.

In the midst of the seventh day's march Indians and Spaniards found themselves in great confusion, because the road that they had been following up to that time, which appeared to be a very wide public highway, came to an end, and many narrow paths that led through the woods in every direction were lost after they had followed them for a short distance, and they were without a path. Thus after making many efforts, they found themselves closed up in that wilderness without knowing how to get out of it, and the woods were different from the former ones because they were taller and denser, and they could travel through them only with difficulty.

The Indians whom the governor brought with him as domestics, as well as those who came with the general Patofa, were lost, there not being among them all a single one who knew the road or could say what direction they must take in order to get out of that forest and wilderness more quickly. The governor summoned Captain Patofa and asked him why he had led them into those deserts under pretense of friendship, where no road could be found anywhere by which to get out of them, and how it was possible or believable that there was not one among the eight thousand Indians whom he brought with him who would know where they were or how they could get to the province of Cofachiqui, even though it meant cutting a way through the forest by hand. He said that it was not credible that, having had perpetual warfare with one another, they would not know the public and secret roads that passed from one province to the other.

Captain Patofa replied that neither he nor any of his Indians had ever been where they were at present and that the wars these two provinces had waged had never been in open battle between two forces, one taking an army to the territory of the other, but only at the fisheries on those two rivers and the other streams that they had left behind them and at the hunting grounds, between the parties that both sent out through those woods and uninhabited districts that they had passed. Meeting at these hunting grounds and fisheries, they killed and captured one another as enemies, and because those of Cofachiqui had been superior to his and had always gained many advantages over them in the fights that they had thus had, his Indians were intimidated and submissive, not daring to go any distance or leave their own boundaries. This was why they did not know where they were or how they could get out of that wilderness; and if his lordship suspected that he had led them into those deserts with cunning and deceit so that he might perish there with his

army, he could undeceive himself, because neither his lord Cofaqui nor he, who prided themselves on being truthful men, having received them as friends, would have imagined, much less done, such a thing. In order to prove that what he said was true, he [the governor] might take any hostages that he wished, and if his own head was enough to satisfy him, he was very willing to give himself up immediately so that he could order it cut off, and not only his own but also those of all the Indians who came with him. They were all at his orders and disposal both because of the law of war, since he was their captain-general, and by the particular order his curaca and lord had given them, saying that they were to obey him in everything, even to the death.

Hearing the honest words of Patofa and seeing the passionate earnestness with which he was saying them, the governor told him, to prevent him from doing some desperate act, that he believed him and was satisfied of his friendship. He at once called the Indian Pedro, whom we said the devil had mistreated in Cofaqui. He had guided the Spaniards from the province of Apalache until that day with such thorough knowledge of the country that the night before he could tell everything they would find on the road on the following day. Like the rest of the Indians, this youth also lost the skill that he had shown up to that time and said that, as it had been four or five years since he had stopped going by way of that road, he had forgotten it in such manner that he found himself totally lost. He neither knew the road nor was he able to say definitely how they could get out to the province of Cofachiqui. Many of the Spaniards, seeing him silent and uncertain about the road, said that from fear of the devil who had mistreated and threatened him he was unwilling to guide them or to say how they must go to get out of that wilderness.

In this confusion and not knowing how to get out, our Spaniards traveled the rest of that day without any road, simply going where they found the forest more open and clear. Going on thus, lost, at sunset they reached a great river, larger than the two that they had crossed, which could not be forded on account of the large volume of water. The sight of it caused them even greater dismay because they had neither rafts nor canoes in which to cross it nor food to eat while they made them. This was what concerned them most, because the provisions that they had brought from Cofaqui had been apportioned for seven days, which they had said would be spent in passing through the uninhabited region, and although they had brought four thousand Indian carriers, their loads had been so light that they were not half of the usual ones, and an Indian can carry at most only half a *fanega* of

Indian corn or maize. Though they were thus laden, these Indians also carried their weapons like the rest who went as soldiers; for as all of them had left their country with the intention of revenging themselves on those of Cofachiqui, they went prepared with their arms. They carried them also in order not to return empty-handed through strange lands that belonged to the enemy. Therefore, because there were nearly ten thousand men and about 350 horses to eat maize, on the seventh day of their march they had nothing more to eat. And though on the day before an order had been issued to conserve the food and use it sparingly for fear that they would not find their way at once, it was already too late, for there was now no more to conserve. Thus our Spaniards found themselves without a guide, without a road, and without provisions, lost in a wilderness, cut off in front by a large river and behind by the extensive uninhabited region that they had passed through, and on all sides was the confusion of not knowing when or how they could get out of those brambles. Above all else was the lack of food, which was what caused the most uneasiness.

## VII

### FOUR CAPTAINS GO TO EXPLORE THE COUNTRY, AND A STRANGE PUNISHMENT THAT PATOFA IMPOSED UPON AN INDIAN

The governor having considered the difficulties and troubles in which his army found itself, it seemed to him best and even necessary for the camp not to move until a road had been found and a way out of that wilderness. Thus at dawn of the following day he ordered that four parties go out, two of cavalry and two of infantry. Two were to go upstream and the other two down, with orders and directions that two of them were to follow the riverbank without leaving it, and the other two were to follow the same route one league inland, to see whether by one way or the other they could come upon some road or discover inhabited country. He ordered each one of the captains to return within four or five days with [a report of] what he had found. These captains were the accountant Juan de Añasco, Andrés de Vasconcelos, Juan de Guzmán and Arias Tinoco.

General Patofa went with Captain Juan de Añasco, not wishing to remain in the camp, and they happened to be the ones who went along the river-

bank, upstream. With them went the Indian Pedro, who was disgruntled at having lost his way, and it seemed to him that by going on that expedition he would succeed in his undertaking and put the Spaniards into the province of Cofachiqui, as he had promised to do. A thousand Indian warriors went with each one of the Spanish companies so that they could scatter through the woods and search for a road.

The governor stayed on the riverbank waiting for the news that his men should bring, and there he and his people suffered extreme scarcity of food, for they ate only the tendrils of wild vines that grew in the woods and along the streams. The four thousand Indian servants who remained with the governor went out early in the morning to hunt for food in the fields, and at night they came back with edible herbs and roots and with some birds and small animals that they had killed with their bows. Others brought fish they had caught, and they left nothing undone that they could possibly do to find food. All that they thus found they took without touching it or concealing any part of it to the Spaniards to whose company they were assigned, and such was the Indians' fidelity and respect toward them in this regard that although they were perishing of hunger they would not take anything until they had presented it to the Spaniards. The latter, overcome by such kindness, gave the Indians the greater part of what they thus brought, but all of it was nothing for so many people.

After being three days in that camp, the governor, seeing that such hunger could not be endured—and certainly its pangs could not be exaggerated—ordered that some of the swine they were bringing for breeding should be killed, and eight ounces of the meat given for the subsistence of each Spaniard, a succor that rather increased hunger than allayed it. The Spaniards also divided the meat with their Indians so that they might see that they did not wish to take advantage of them in any way, but to suffer their hardships along with them.

It was a source of extreme satisfaction to the soldiers to see the fine attitude the general showed toward his men in this affliction, to encourage them and help them endure their hunger, for he enjoyed no advantages of any kind, [acting] as if he were the least among them all. The soldiers conducted themselves in the same way toward their captain, concealing their pangs of hunger in order to mitigate the grief that he felt in the capacity of a good father at seeing his men in such want, and pretending that this was less than it really was. They showed in their faces the happiness and contentment of men who were enjoying all abundance and prosperity.

We neglected to tell above, in its place, of an exemplary punishment that

Patofa imposed upon one of his Indians. Because it is so strange, it ought not to be forgotten, and it will fit in well enough wherever it is included. Thus it was that, on the fifth day of their march through the uninhabited region, one of the Indian carriers (whom they called *tameme* in the language of the island of Española), without having received any injury, and impelled by cowardice or the desire to see his wife and children, or because the devil had told him about the hunger that they were going to suffer, or for some other reason that he alone knew, decided to run away. The Spaniard in whose charge he was missed him, and told General Patofa about it. The latter ordered four young Indian nobles to go back for that Indian as quickly as possible and not to stop until they overtook him and brought him back handcuffed. The Indians went so swiftly that in a short time they overtook him and came back to the camp, bringing him before their captain.

After censuring him in the presence of the soldiers for his cowardice and pusillanimity, his disrespect for his prince and curaca, his disobedience to his captain-general, and the treason and perfidy that he had shown toward his companions and his whole nation, the captain said to him: "Your crime and wrongdoing shall not go unpunished, so that others may not take a bad example from you." So saying, he ordered that they take him to a small stream that flowed near the camp, and in Patofa's presence they took off the few clothes that he was wearing, leaving only the trousers. Then at the captain's orders they brought a number of shoots from trees more than a fathom long, and he said to the Indian: "Lie down on your chest at this stream and drink all this water, and do not stop until you have drunk it up." He ordered four of the young men that whenever he raised his head from the water they were to beat him with the shoots until he drank again, and they were to stir up the water so it would be harder for him to drink. Put to this torture, the Indian drank until he could drink no more, but when he stopped they gave him cruel strokes with the shoots from head to foot, and they did not cease until he began to drink again. Seeing such a severe punishment and knowing that it would not stop short of killing him, some of his relatives went running to the governor and, throwing themselves at his feet, they begged him to take pity on their poor kinsman. The general sent a message to Captain Patofa asking that he please stop this punishment, though it was so justified, and not allow his anger to go further. Thereupon they left the Indian alone, now half dead, having drunk so much water without being thirsty.

## VIII

### OF A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE HUNGER THE SPANIARDS SUFFERED, AND OF HOW THEY FOUND FOOD

Returning to the hunger and necessity that the governor and his army suffered during those days, it seems fitting to tell of a particular case that occurred among some of the best soldiers who were in the camp, so that from it there may be seen and understood what they were all suffering, because if each special incident were told there would be no end and it would make our *History* very tedious. Thus on one of the days when they were suffering greatest hunger, four of the principal and most courageous soldiers—who, being such, were making light of and laughing (although falsely) about the hardships and necessities they were suffering—because they belonged to the same group, decided to see what provisions they had among them. They found that they had scarcely a handful of Indian corn. Before making a division they cooked it, in order to increase it somewhat, and it came to exactly eighteen grains apiece, without anyone being slighted. Three of them, who were Antonio Carrillo, Pedro Morón, and Francisco Pechudo, ate their share at once. The fourth, who was Gonzalo Silvestre, tied up his eighteen grains in a handkerchief and put them inside his shirt. A little later he met a Castilian soldier named Francisco de Troche, a native of Burgos, who said to him, “Have you got anything to eat?” Gonzalo Silvestre replied facetiously, “Yes, they just brought me some very good sweetmeats from Sevilla, recently made.” Instead of becoming angry, Francisco de Troche laughed at the nonsense. At this point another soldier from Badajoz, named Pedro de Torres, came up and asked his question of those who were talking about sweetmeats, saying, “Have you two anything to eat?” (There was no other subject of conversation in those days.) Gonzalo Silvestre replied, “I have a very good and tender veal loaf just out of the oven; if you want some of it I will divide with you generously.” They laughed at the second joke as they had at the first. Then Gonzalo Silvestre said to them: “Well, so that you may see that I have not lied to either of you, I will give you something that one of you can consider sweetmeats if you like them, and the other veal loaf if you care for it.” So saying, he took out the handkerchief with the eighteen grains of maize and gave each of them six grains and took the other six for himself. All three ate it at once before some of

their other comrades should come up, making the share of each one still smaller. Having eaten, they went to a stream that flowed close by and filled themselves up with water, since they could not do so with food. Thus that day passed without their eating any more, because there was nothing to eat. With these hardships and other similar ones, and not with eating sweetmeats and veal loaf, the New World was won, from which they bring to Spain every year 12 or 13 million in gold, silver, and precious stones. Therefore, I pride myself very much on being the son of a conquistador of El Perú, whose weapons and labors have won such honor and advantage for Spain.

Returning to the four captains who we said went to discover roads, they marched six days, suffering the same hunger and necessities that the governor and his army were experiencing. Three of the captains found nothing worth noting, only hunger and more hunger. The accountant Juan de Añasco alone had better luck, for after traveling continuously for three days upstream, without leaving it, at the end of that time he found a pueblo situated on the riverbank, on the same side as he was. He found few people in it but much food for such a small pueblo, for in one storehouse alone there were five hundred fanegas of meal made of parched maize, besides much more that was unground. Thereupon the Indians and Spaniards rejoiced, as may be imagined; and after having seen what was in the houses, they went up into the higher ones and discovered that, from there on up the river, the land was dotted with many pueblos, large and small, with many cultivated fields on all sides. For this our people gave thanks to God, and they and the Indians satisfied their hunger. After midnight they dispatched four mounted men to return as quickly as possible to notify the governor of what they had seen and discovered. The four Spaniards went back with the good news, and as proof of it they carried many ears of Indian corn and some horns of cattle [buffalo]. They were unable to learn where the Indians could have gotten these, because in all the places these Spaniards went in La Florida they never found cattle, and though it is true that in some places they found fresh beef, they never saw the cattle, nor were they able by cajolery or threats to get the Indians to tell them where they were.

During the night that they slept in the pueblo, General Patofa and his Indians sacked it and robbed the temple as secretly as they could, without the Spaniards knowing anything about their action. The temple served only as a burial place, where (as we shall tell below concerning other, more famous ones) they kept the finest and richest of their possessions. They killed all the Indians they could find, in and out of the pueblo, without sparing sex or age, and they took off the scalps of those whom they so killed, from the



ears up, with wonderful dexterity and skill. They carried off these scalps so that their curaca and lord Cofaqui could see with his own eyes the revenge they had taken on their enemies for injuries received, because, as it was learned later, this pueblo belonged to the province of Cofachiqui, which had been so desired by the Spaniards and whose discovery had cost them so much hunger.

At noon the next day Juan de Añasco left the pueblo with all his Spaniards and Indians, not daring to wait there for the governor for fear that the people of that country would summon one another and gather together large numbers—for in view of the large population on the upper river they could assemble a great many—and attack and kill them all. They [the Spaniards] were not powerful enough to resist them, and thus it seemed safer to go back to meet the governor.

## IX

### THE ARMY REACHES THE PLACE WHERE THERE ARE SUPPLIES. PATOFA RETURNS TO HIS HOUSE, AND JUAN DE AÑASCO GOES TO EXPLORE THE COUNTRY

The four horsemen, whom we left on the way with the report and good news of having found food and an inhabited country, reached the place where the governor was, having returned in one day over the route that they had taken three days in going, which was more than twelve leagues. They reported to him what they had discovered.

As soon as day came the governor ordered his people to march where the four horsemen would guide them. The soldiers were so hungry and so anxious to go where they would find food that they traveled full speed, it being impossible to put them in order or have them march in squadrons as they usually did, but he who was best able to do so went ahead. They marched so swiftly that before noon of the next day all of them were in the pueblo.

The governor saw fit to remain there several days, both in order to allow the men to rest and recover from their past hardships and to wait for the three captains who had gone to explore the land in other directions. These latter—having followed for three days the route that each of them had taken, and all three of them having found almost the same sort of roads and paths

that crossed the land in all directions, on which they found signs of Indians, but not having succeeded in finding one from whom to get information, nor having been able to discover a settlement—in order not to get farther away and because they had no other errand, they returned to the post at the end of the fifth day after they had left the governor. Not finding him there, they followed the trail that the army had left; and in two more days, having suffered the hunger and hardships that may be imagined of men who had eaten nothing but herbs and roots for more than eight days, and not very many of those, they reached the pueblo where the governor was. In his presence and in the company of all their comrades they rested and tried to recover themselves, telling one another about the hardships and hunger that they had experienced.

Alonso de Carmona in his account tells at great length about all the famine and necessity that we have described, which these Spaniards passed through in the uninhabited country, and he says that four hogs were killed to succor the people, and that they were very large ones, “on which (he says) we dined better than usual.” He must have said this in irony, it being such a small thing for so many people.

The governor stayed seven days in this first pueblo of the province of Cofachiqui, where the whole army was assembled, so that the men could recover from their past fatigues. During this time Captain Patofa and his eight thousand Indians did all the harm and injury they could to their enemies, as secretly as possible. They scoured the country for four leagues in every direction, wherever they could do damage. They killed the Indians whom they could find, men and women, and took off their scalps to carry away as evidence of their exploits. They sacked the pueblos and temples whenever they could, but did not burn them, as they wished to do, so that the governor would not see or know about it. In short, they left nothing undone that they could think of to harm their enemies and avenge themselves. The cruelty would have continued if on the fifth day of this state of affairs the things that Patofa and his Indians had done and were doing had not come to the governor’s attention. Considering that it was not just that one party should harm the other while under his favor or protection, and that it would not be a good thing to make enemies for the future because of the harm that another did without his consent, since he was proceeding with the intention of making peace with the Indians rather than of waging war against them, he decided to dismiss Patofa so that he might take all his men and return at once to his own country. This he did, and having thanked him for the friendliness and good companionship that he had shown him, and

having given him pieces of cloth, silk, and linen, knives, scissors, mirrors, and other things from Spain that they value very much, for himself and for his curaca, he sent him away very well satisfied and happy at the kindness and favor that he had shown him. But he [Patofa] was much more so because he had complied fully with the charge that his lord had given him to take revenge against his enemies and aggressors.

After Patofa and his Indians left, the governor stayed in the same pueblo for two more days, resting; but now that he saw his people recovering he thought it well to go on and march along the riverbank, upstream, toward the settlements. The army went in this direction for three days without meeting a single live Indian, but coming upon many dead ones with their scalps gone. The Castilians saw here the butchery that Patofa had committed, for which reason the natives had withdrawn into the interior where they could not be reached. They found food in the pueblos, which was what they needed.

At the end of three days the army halted at a very beautiful site in a verdant country having many mulberries and other fruit trees, laden with fruit. The governor did not wish to go on until he knew what country that was, and having had all his men make camp, he summoned the accountant Juan de Añasco and ordered him to take thirty infantrymen and follow the same road that they had traveled up to that point (which, though narrow, passed on from there). He was to endeavor to capture an Indian that night, in order to find out what was in that country and what was the name of its lord, and the other things that it would be worthwhile for them to know. If he should be unable to take an Indian, he was to obtain a reliable account in some other way that would enable the army to go on without proceeding so blindly as they had done hitherto. After the governor had given him his orders he told him that, inasmuch as he had always been successful on all the special expeditions that he had made, he thus entrusted them to him rather than to another, and he was to endeavor to do as well on this one, which was so important to them.

Juan de Anasco and his thirty companions left the camp before dawn, on foot and as silently as possible, like people who are going on a foray. They followed the road indicated to them, and the farther they went the wider it became, turning into a public highway. Having marched along it thus for two leagues, they heard in the silence of the night a murmuring like that of a pueblo nearby, and going on a little farther to get out of a fringe of woods in front of them that cut off their view, they saw lights and heard dogs barking and children crying and men and women talking, so that they realized it was

a pueblo. Our Spaniards therefore prepared to capture some Indian quietly on the outskirts, without being heard. Each one of them desired to be the first to lay hands on one, so as to enjoy the honor of having been more diligent. All of them were thus proceeding very cautiously when they found all their hopes dashed because the river, which hitherto had been to one side of them, cut across in front and passed between them and the pueblo. The Christians remained for some time on the banks of the river at a large beach and landing-place for canoes. After having supper and resting, it now being two o'clock in the morning, they went back to the camp, arriving there a little before dawn, and reported to the governor what they had seen and heard.

As soon as daylight came the governor left with a hundred infantry and a hundred cavalry and went to see the pueblo, and to reconnoiter and learn what was there favorable or unfavorable to their discovery. Reaching the canoe landing, Juan Ortiz and the Indian Pedro shouted to the Indians on the other side, telling them to come and hear what they had to say, and return with an embassy that they wished to send to the lord of that land. Seeing things so new to them as Spaniards and horses, the Indians hurried back to the pueblo and told what they had said to them.

## X

### THE LADY OF COFACHIQUI COMES OUT TO TALK WITH THE GOVERNOR, AND OFFERS FOOD AND PASSAGE FOR THE ARMY

Soon after the Indians gave the news in the pueblo, six of the principal Indians, who were understood to have been magistrates [*regidores*], came out. They were of good presence and about the same age, between forty and fifty years. They embarked in a large canoe, and other Indian servants came with them to propel and manage it.

When the six Indians came into the governor's presence they all made together three separate and deep reverences, the first to the Sun, all turning to the east; the second to the Moon, turning their faces to the west; and the third to the governor, facing the place where he was. He was seated in an easy chair that he always took wherever he went, in which he sat when he received the curacas and ambassadors, with the gravity and ceremony that

befitted the importance of his charge and office. After paying their respects, the first words that the six principal Indians spoke were to say to the governor, "Sir, do you wish peace or war?" Because this was a general custom, it must be known that, in all the provinces that the governor discovered, as soon as he entered them they asked him this question with the first words that they spoke. The general replied that he desired peace and not war, and he asked of them only passage and provisions to enable him to go on to certain provinces that he was seeking. Since they knew that food was a thing that could not be dispensed with, they would forgive him for the inconvenience that they might have in giving it to him. He begged them also to provide him with rafts and canoes for crossing that river, and that they would treat him in a friendly manner while he was passing through their lands, for he would endeavor to give them as little trouble as possible.

The Indians replied that they accepted his offer of peace, and that as for food, they had very little because there had been a great pestilence throughout their province in the previous year, with a heavy mortality, from which only that pueblo had escaped. For that reason the inhabitants of the other pueblos in the state had fled to the woods and had planted no crops, and though the plague was over the Indians still had not all gathered in their houses and pueblos. They were vassals of a lady, a young marriageable woman who had recently inherited. They would go back to report what his lordship requested and would advise him at once of her reply. Meanwhile he might wait confidently because they knew that their lady, being a discreet woman of noble instincts, would do everything she could to serve the Christians. After making these statements, they returned to their pueblo with the governor's permission and advised their lady of what the captain of the Christians had requested for his journey.

The Indians could scarcely have delivered the message to their lady when the Castilians saw two large canoes being made ready, and an awning with many trappings and ornaments being raised over one of them. The lady of the pueblo embarked in this with eight noblewomen who attended her, and no other person embarked in that canoe. In the other the six principal Indians who had carried the message embarked, and with them came many oarsmen who rowed and steered the canoe, which towed the lady's canoe, in which there were no oarsmen nor any men whatever, but only the women. They crossed the river in this order and came to the place where the governor was. This is an action very similar, though inferior in grandeur and majesty, to that of Cleopatra when she went by the River Cydnus in Cilicia to receive Marc Antony, where destinies were changed in such manner that she who

had been accused of the crime of *lèse-majesté* came out as judge of him who had condemned her; and the emperor and lord, as the slave of his servant—now become his mistress by the power of love because of the excellences, beauty and discretion of that most famous Egyptian; all of which is told at length by the master of that great Spaniard, Trajano, who was a worthy pupil of such a teacher. Because certain events of these two histories are so similar, we would like to plagiarize here from him as suits us, as others have done from the same author, who has something for everyone, if we did not fear that in doing it so openly his most elegant brocade would necessarily be discovered among our base sackcloth.

The Indian lady of the province of Cofachiqui, having come before the governor and made her obeisance, seated herself on a chair her people brought her, and she alone spoke to the governor without any of her Indians, men or women, saying a word. She referred again to the message that her vassals had given him and said that the pestilence of the year before had deprived her of the provisions she would have desired to have in order to be able to serve his lordship better, but that she would do all she could to assist him. So that he might see this by her actions, she immediately offered him one of two storehouses that she had in that pueblo, each of which contained six hundred fanegas of Indian corn, which she had collected to succor the vassals who had escaped from the plague. She begged that he be pleased to leave her the other for their own need, which was great; and if his lordship should need maize thereafter, she had collected two thousand fanegas in another pueblo near that one for these same necessities, and he could take as much as he liked from there. She would move out of her own house to provide lodgings for his lordship, and she would order that half of the pueblo be vacated for the captains and principal soldiers. For the rest of the people they would erect very good shelters of branches in which they would be comfortable. If he wished, they would move out of the whole pueblo and the Indians would go to another that was close by. Rafts and wooden canoes would be provided quickly to enable the army to cross that river, and they would all be ready on the following day so that his lordship might see how promptly and willingly they would serve him.

The governor replied to her friendly words and promises with many acknowledgments and was very gratified that during a time when her country was suffering want she offered him more than he asked. In return for that favor he said that he and his people would endeavor to get along with as little food as they could, in order not to give her so much inconvenience, and that the quarters and other things provided were very well ordered and planned.

Therefore in the name of the emperor of the Christians, his lord the king of Spain, he received all this in his service, to be acknowledged at the proper time and occasion, and on behalf of the entire army and of himself he received it as a particular favor and benefit, never to be forgotten.

Besides these things, they spoke of others concerning that province and the surrounding ones. The Indian replied to all the governor's questions to the great satisfaction of her listeners, so that the Spaniards marveled to hear such sensible and well-chosen words, which showed the discretion of a barbarian, born and bred far from all instruction and civilized life. But natural good sense, wherever it may be, flourishes by itself without teaching, in discretion and gentility; and on the contrary stupidity becomes duller the more it is instructed.

Our Spaniards noted particularly that the Indians of this province and of the two that they had left behind were of a gentler disposition, more affable and less fierce, than any of the others whom they had encountered in this discovery. For in the other provinces, while they offered peace and maintained it, they were always suspicious and their gestures and words showed that their friendship was more feigned than real. This was not true of the people of Cofachiqui or those of Cofaqui and Cofa, which they had left behind, who acted as if they had spent their lives among the Spaniards. They were not only obedient to them, but they endeavored in all their actions and words to disclose and show the true affection that they felt for them, and they were gratified that people who had never seen them before should treat them with such familiarity.

## XI

### THE ARMY CROSSES THE RÍO COFACHIQUI AND LODGES IN THE PUEBLO, AND THEY SEND JUAN DE AÑASCO AFTER A WIDOW

While talking with the governor about the things that we have said, the lady of Cofachiqui was taking off, a little at a time, a great rope of pearls as large as hazelnuts that was wound three times around her neck and hung down to her thighs. Having been gradually removing them during all the time that the conversation lasted, she told Juan Ortiz, the interpreter (holding them in her hands), to take them and give them to the captain-general.

Juan Ortiz said for her ladyship to give them to him herself, for he would thus esteem them more. The Indian replied that she did not venture to do so, as not to go against the modesty that women ought to observe. The governor asked Juan Ortiz what the lady was saying, and when he heard it he said to him: "Tell her that I shall esteem more the favor of her giving them to me with her own hands than I value the jewels themselves, and that her doing so does not go against her modesty, for the matter concerns peace and friendship, things so admissible and important between unknown peoples." The lady, having heard Juan Ortiz, stood up to give the pearls to the governor with her own hands. He did likewise to receive them, and taking from his finger a gold ring that he wore, set with a very handsome ruby, he gave it to the lady as a sign of the peace and friendship that was brought about between them. The Indian received it very courteously and put it on one of her fingers. After this incident she asked leave and returned to her pueblo, and left our Castilians very gratified and charmed, both with her discretion and with her great beauty, which she had in extreme perfection. They were so enthralled with her that neither then nor later did they think to ask her name, but contented themselves with calling her Señora, and in this they were justified because she was so in all respects. Since they did not know her name, I cannot give it here; there were many such oversights in this respect and others in the course of this discovery.

The governor remained on the riverbank to supervise the immediate crossing of the army. He sent to order the *maese de campo* to bring the men to the place where he was as quickly as possible. Meanwhile the Indians constructed large rafts and brought many canoes, and with their efforts and those of the Castilians they crossed the river in the course of the next day; though with misfortune and loss, for through the carelessness of some officials who were supervising the passage of the men four horses were drowned. Since they were so necessary and so important to the men, our Spaniards regretted it more than if their own brothers had died.

Alonso de Carmona says that seven horses were drowned, and that it was the fault of their masters who drove them into the water very precipitately without knowing where they ought to cross, and that when they reached a certain part of the river they sank and did not reappear. It might have been a strong whirlpool that sucked them in and swallowed them up. Having crossed the river, the army was quartered in the half of the pueblo that the Indians had given up to them, and for those who found no room there they made large new arbors, because there was plenty of very good timber with



which to construct them. Among the arbors were many different kinds of fruit trees, particularly mulberries, which were larger and more luxuriant than any they had seen hitherto. We always take particular note of this tree because of its beauty and its usefulness for [producing] silk, which ought to make it valuable everywhere.

On the following day the governor took steps to inform himself concerning the nature and the various parts of that province called Cofachiqui. He found that it was fertile for anything that they might desire to plant, sow, and breed in it. He also learned that the mother of the lady of that province, being a widow, had retired to a place twelve leagues away. He made arrangements with the daughter to send for her, and she dispatched twelve principal Indians to request her to come to visit the governor and see a people never seen before, who brought some strange animals.

The widow was unwilling to come with the Indians; rather when she learned what her daughter had done with the Castilians she was much disturbed and grieved at the daughter's imprudence in having consented so quickly and easily to show herself to the Spaniards, a people whom she herself said had never been seen or heard of before. She quarreled bitterly with the ambassadors for having consented to it, and also did and said many other extreme things such as prudish widows are accustomed to do.

When the governor heard all this he ordered the accountant Juan de Añasco that, since he was adept at such things, he go by land down the river with thirty infantry to a place withdrawn from the vicinity of the other pueblos, where they had told him the *señora* widow was, and bring her back in an entirely peaceful and friendly manner, because he desired that all the land he discovered and left behind him should remain quiet and pacified and devoted to him without any opposition, so that there would be less to pacify when it should be settled.

Although it was now well into the day, Juan de Añasco set out at once on foot with his thirty companions, and besides some Indian servants, he took with him an Indian noble whom the lady of the pueblo gave him of her own accord as a guide. When they should approach the place where her mother was, he was to go on ahead and advise her that the Spaniards were coming to entreat her to come back willingly with them, and say that she and all her vassals begged her to do the same thing.

The widowed mother of the lady of Cofachiqui had brought up this young noble with her own hands, for which reason and because he was a near relative, and chiefly because the youth had grown up with an affable

and most noble disposition, she loved him more than if he had been her own son. Therefore the daughter sent him on this embassy to her mother so that the message might vex her less because of her love for the messenger.

The Indian showed clearly in the aspect of his countenance and in his bearing his noble blood and generous spirit; where the one is the other must be also, for they are united like the fruit and the tree. He had a handsome face and a graceful body, and was twenty or twenty-one years old. He was very elegantly attired, as befitted an ambassador on such a mission, and wore on his head a large plume made of a pleasing combination of varicolored feathers that added to his gracefulness, and a mantle of fine deer-skins in the place of a cape. In the summer, because of the heat, they do not use pelts; or if they do sometimes wear them, it is with the fur on the outside. He carried a most handsome bow in his hands, which besides being good and strong had been given a coating of something that looked like fine enamel, which these Indians of La Florida use on them, of whatever color they like, and it gives the bow or any other wood a glaze like crockery. On his shoulder he carried his quiver of arrows. The Indian went with all this ornate equipment, and he was so willing to accompany the Spaniards that his desire to serve and please them was plainly seen.

## XII

### THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR CUTS HIS THROAT, AND JUAN DE AÑASCO PROCEEDS ON HIS MARCH

Captain Juan de Añasco and his thirty gentlemen, having marched almost three leagues on their way in the manner that we have said, stopped to eat and to rest for a while in the shade of some large trees, because it was very hot. The Indian noble who was accompanying them as ambassador, having gone up to that time very happily and joyfully, entertaining the Spaniards all along the road by telling them what they asked him about the things of his country and of the surrounding ones, began to show sadness and fell to pondering with his hand on his cheek. He gave some long and profound sighs, which our men noticed well enough, though they did not ask him the reason for his sadness in order not to trouble him more than he was already.

Seated as he was in the midst of the Spaniards, the Indian took his quiver and, placing it in front of him, drew out very slowly, one by one, the arrows

that were in it, which were admirable for the refinement and skill that had gone into their making. They were all made of reeds; some had heads made of the points of deer's antlers finished to extreme perfection, with four corners like the points of a diamond; others had fish bones for heads, marvelously fashioned for use as arrows. There were others with heads of palm wood and of other strange and durable timber that grows in that country. These arrowheads had two or three barbs as perfectly made in the wood as if they had been of iron or steel. In short, all the arrows were so exquisite, each one in itself, that they invited those nearby to take them up in their hands and enjoy examining them closely. Captain Juan de Añasco and each of his companions took up one to look at it, and all of them praised the skill and deftness of the maker. They noted particularly that they were feathered in triangular form so that they would leave the bow better. In short, each one had a new and different curiosity that embellished it separately.

What we have said about the arrows of this nobleman is not an exaggeration; rather, we have fallen short in a description of them, because all the Indians of La Florida, and especially the nobles, take the greatest pride in the beauty and elegance of their bows and arrows. Those they make for their adornment and carry every day, they fashion with the greatest possible nicety, each one striving to outdo the others with new inventions or greater elegance, so that it is a very gallant and honorable contest and rivalry that continually goes on among them. The many arrows that they make as munitions to expend in war are common and worthless, though in case of necessity they make use of all of them, not distinguishing between the fine and the ordinary, or the valuable and the worthless.

The Indian ambassador, who as we said was taking his arrows out of the quiver one at a time, drew out, almost among the last ones, one that had a flint head fashioned like the point and blade of a dagger, about six inches long. Seeing that the Castilians were inattentive and absorbed in looking at his arrows, he gashed his throat with it so that he was decapitated [*se degollo*; decapitated or slashed in the throat—DB] and immediately fell dead.

The Spaniards were amazed at such a strange event and grieved at not having been able to save him. Desiring to know the reason for that fatality and for his having killed himself in such sorrow after having been so happy and joyous a short time before, they called the Indian servants whom they had brought with them and asked whether they knew why he did it. With many tears and much sorrow at the death of their chief, because of the love that they all had for him, and because they knew how his sad death would grieve their mistresses, both mother and daughter, they said that so far as

they could tell there could have been no other reason except that that noble had been seized with the idea that the embassy he was performing was against the pleasure and will of his elder lady. For it was well known that when they had sent her the first ambassadors she had been unwilling to come to see the Castilians, and now in guiding and conducting the same Spaniards to the place where she was, so that they might bring her, willingly or by force, he was not acting in accordance with her love for him or the upbringing that she had given him as mother and lady. Besides this he would have known that if he did not do what his young lady ordered him, which was to guide the Spaniards and carry the message (now that he had so thoughtlessly undertaken to do it), he would fall into disgrace with her and be dismissed from her service. The Indians affirmed that either of the two offenses, whether against the mother or the daughter, would have been more grievous to him than death itself. Seeing himself, then, in this dilemma, and being unable to get out of it without offending one of his ladies, he had wished to show both of them his desire to serve and please them, and in order not to do otherwise (having already fallen into one error and wishing to avoid a second) he had chosen death as preferable to angering either of them, and thus he had inflicted it with his own hands. The Indians said that they believed that this and nothing else had caused the death of that poor gentleman, and their conjecture seemed to the Spaniards not to be a bad one.

Juan de Añasco and his thirty companions, though grieved at the death of their guide, proceeded on their way and that afternoon marched three leagues along the road that they had followed up to that time, which was the public highway. In order to go on, they asked the Indians the next day whether they knew where and how far away the señora widow was. They answered that certainly they did not know, because the dead Indian held the secret of her dwelling, but that they would endeavor to guide them wherever they ordered them. The Castilians went on with their journey in all this confusion, and having marched almost four leagues, it now being nearly noon and the sun being extremely hot, they saw some Indians. They set an ambush and captured a man and three women, all who were there, from whom they attempted to learn the widow's whereabouts. The Indians replied readily that they had heard that she had withdrawn still farther away from where she had first been, but they did not know where, and that if they [the Spaniards] wished to take them along, they would ask about her on the way of the Indians whom they might meet along the road. It might be that she was near and it might be that she was far away. This is an expression from the common language of El Perú.

## XIII

### JUAN DE AÑASCO RETURNS TO THE ARMY WITHOUT THE WIDOW, AND THE FACTS CONCERNING THE GOLD AND SILVER OF COFACHIQUI

When they heard what the Indians said our Spaniards were doubtful as to what they ought to do, and after many different opinions had been advanced about it one of the companions said, more advisedly: "Gentlemen, it seems to me for many reasons that we are not proceeding very judiciously on this journey, for since this woman was unwilling to come with the principal Indians who took her the first message, but rather showed her displeasure at it, I do not know how she will receive ours. It is clear to us already that she is unwilling to go where the governor is, and it may be that, knowing that we are going to oblige her to do so by force, she would have men prepared to defend her and also to attack us. Whatever she intends to do, we are not in a position to oppose her or to defend ourselves and return safely because we have brought no horses, which are what put fear into the Indians. For the purposes of our discovery and conquest, I do not see that a widow in her solitary retreat is of such importance that we should have to risk the lives of all of us who are here to bring her out, without needing her, since we have her daughter, who is the ruler of the province, with whom to negotiate and arrange whatever may be necessary. Furthermore, we do not know the road nor what lies between us and that place, nor do we have a guide on whom we can depend; also the very unexpected suicide yesterday of the ambassador whom we were bringing warns us to be cautious, for it must have a bearing on some of the things that I have mentioned. Aside from these inconveniences (he said, turning to the captain), we see that you are fatigued both from the weight of the heavy armor that you are wearing and from the excessive heat of the sun, as well as because of your corpulence, for you are a very stout man. All these reasons not only persuade us but force us to go back peaceably."

What their companion said seemed reasonable to all the others, and by common consent they returned to the camp and reported to the governor everything that had happened to them on the road.

Three days later an Indian offered to guide the Castilians down the river and take them by water to the place where the mother of the lady of the pueblo was, and thus with the approval and consent of the daughter, Juan de

Añasco returned to his quest, and with him went twenty Spaniards in two canoes. On the first day of their navigation they found the four drowned horses lodged against a large fallen tree, and grieving for them anew, they proceeded on their voyage. Having done everything they could, they returned at the end of six days with news that the good old woman, having heard that the Christians had come after her on two occasions, had gone farther into the country and hidden herself in some high mountains where she was out of reach. Therefore the governor left her alone and took no further notice of her.

While the things that we have told were happening to Captain Juan de Añasco in the country, the governor and his people were not resting in the settlements, for they still held the hope that had been with them for so long that they would find much gold and silver and many precious pearls in this province of Cofachiqui. Desiring, then, to see themselves rich and free from this anxiety of mind, a few days after their arrival in the province they busied themselves in making inquiries about it. They summoned the two Indian youths who had told them in Apalache about the wealth of this province of Cofachiqui, and at the governor's order they spoke with the lady of the pueblo and asked her to order brought some of these metals that the merchants, whose servants they had been, were accustomed to buy in her country to take and sell in other places. These were the same ones that the Castilians were seeking.

The lady ordered to be brought at once [the metals] that were in her country of the colors that the Spaniards wanted, which were yellow and white, because they showed her gold rings and pieces of silver, and they had also asked her for pearls and stones such as those they had in the rings. At their lady's order, the Indians brought promptly a large quantity of copper of a very resplendent golden color, surpassing that of our brass,<sup>16</sup> so that the Indian servants of the merchants might very well have been deceived into thinking that that metal and the one the Castilians showed them were the same, because they did not know the difference between brass and gold.

In the place of silver, they brought some large slabs as thick as boards that were of an iron pyrite [rather, probably mica—VJK], and from the information they gave me I will not be able to describe them now as they really were,

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<sup>16</sup>Native copper, cold-hammered into sheets and fashioned into a variety of decorative goods, was a premier wealth item among the Mississippian cultures. Here Garcilaso distinguishes between copper and brass (*azófar*), but hereinafter, when he says brass, the reader will infer copper.

except that at first sight they were white and shone like silver, and on taking them in the hands, though they were a vara in length and the same in width, they weighed almost nothing, and when handled they fell apart like a clod of dry earth.

As for precious stones, the lady said that in her country there were only pearls and that, if they wanted them, they might go to the upper part of the pueblo; and, pointing with her finger, she showed them a temple that was there (within sight) of the size of ordinary ones that we have here, and said: "That house is the burial place of the nobles of this pueblo, where you will find large and small pearls and many seed pearls. Take as many as you like, and if you still want more, one league from here is a pueblo that is the house and seat of my ancestors and the capital of our state; in it is another temple larger than this one, which is the burial place of my predecessors. There you will find so many seed pearls and pearls that, although you should load all your horses and as many of yourselves as may go there with them, you could not exhaust all that are in the temple. Take all of them, and if you still need more, we can get more every day from the pearl fisheries in my country."

With this good news and with the lady's munificence, our Spaniards consoled themselves somewhat for having been deceived in their hopes of the much gold and silver that they had thought to find in this province, though it is true that there were many Spaniards who persisted in saying that the copper or brass had quite a large admixture of gold. But since they had brought no nitric acid or metal filings, they could not make tests either to undeceive themselves entirely or to gain new and more definite hope.

## XIV

### THE SPANIARDS VISIT THE BURIAL PLACE OF THE NOBLES OF COFACHQUI, AND THAT OF THE CURACAS

They waited to see the pearls and the seed pearls that were in the temple until the accountant and captain Juan de Añasco should come back from his second expedition; and meanwhile the governor ordered persons whom he could trust to guard the temple, and he himself made the rounds at night, so that no one would be impelled by greed at what he had heard to go out of turn and attempt to take away secretly the best of what was in the temple or

burial place. As soon as the accountant came, the governor and the other officials of the imperial hacienda and thirty other gentlemen, including the captains and principal soldiers, went to see the pearls and the other things that were there.<sup>17</sup> They found that against all four walls of the house were wooden chests made in the same way as those of Spain, lacking only hinges and locks. The Castilians wondered that the Indians, having no tools like the workmen of Europe, could make them so well. In these chests, which were placed on benches half a vara high, they put the bodies of their dead, with no more preservatives from corruption than if they had placed them in underground sepulchers. The stench of the bodies while they were decaying did not trouble them because these temples served them only as charnel houses where they kept dead bodies, and they did not enter them to make sacrifices or to pray, for as we said at the beginning they live without such ceremonies. We shall say no more about this temple so as not to repeat ourselves [when we describe] that of the *señores curacas* (which we shall see and describe soon).

Besides the large coffers that served as sepulchers they had other smaller ones in which, and in some large baskets woven of reed—which the Indians of La Florida use with great artifice and subtlety for everything they desire to make of it, as they use wicker in Spain—there were great quantities of pearls and seed pearls and much clothing of both men and women, of the kind in which they dress, which is made of deerskins and other pelts. They dress these very skillfully with the hair on them, and use them for lining the clothing of princes and great lords. In our Spain they would be valued at large amounts.

The governor and his men rejoiced greatly at seeing so much wealth all together, because they were all of the opinion that there were more than a thousand arrobas of pearls and seed pearls. The officials of the real hacienda being provided with a steelyard [*Romana*; a Roman balance], in a short time they weighed twenty arrobas of pearls, while the governor left them to see

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<sup>17</sup>John R. Swanton has given careful consideration to the ethnographic veracity of Garcilaso's lengthy and grandiose description of the temple at Talomeco, contained in this and the following chapters. Much is certainly exaggerated, as in the quantity of pearls discovered, the fifty thousand bows, the size of the structure and storehouses, and the size and character of the guardian images. Nonetheless many of the particulars are corroborated by independent accounts of other native Southeastern temples. Swanton concludes that "the description of this temple . . . represents an attempt to tell a straightforward story and contains material of value to the ethnologist and the archaeologist." Swanton, "Ethnological Value of the De Soto Narratives," 578–87.



what else was in the house. Returning to the officials, he told them that they would not be able to burden themselves with loads so useless and embarrassing to the army, and that his intention had been simply to take two arrobas of pearls and seed pearls, and no more, to send to La Havana as a sample of their quality and size; as for the quantity, he said that they would have to believe what they would write them about it. Therefore they were to put them back where they got them and take only the two arrobas. The officials begged him, saying that since they were already weighed out and could scarcely be missed from the amount that remained, he ought to allow them to take them, so that the evidence would be more abundant and rich. The governor agreed to it, and he himself, taking up the pearls by the double handfuls, gave one to each of the captains and soldiers who had come with him, telling them to make rosaries of them with which to say their prayers. And the pearls were fit to use for rosaries because they were the size of large chick-peas.

The Castilians left that burial house without doing any more damage than we have said, and were more desirous than ever of seeing the one that the lady had told them was that of her fathers and grandfathers. Two days later the general and the officials and other captains and chief soldiers went to it, thirty Spaniards in all. They marched a long league, all of which had the appearance of a garden, where there were many trees, fruit-bearing and others; and one could pass between them on horseback without any inconvenience because they were separated from one another as if they had been set out by hand.

The Spaniards traveled all that long league scattered through the country gathering fruit and noting the fertility of the soil. Thus they came to the pueblo called Talomeco, which was situated on an elevation overlooking the steep bank of the river. It had five hundred houses, all large and of better materials and workmanship than the ordinary ones. From its arrangement, it seemed to be the seat and court of a powerful ruler, having been constructed with more meticulousness and ornamentation than the other, ordinary pueblos. The houses of the ruler could be seen from a distance, because they were on the highest point and showed themselves to be his by their superiority to the others in size and construction.

In the middle of the pueblo, facing the lord's houses, was the temple or charnel house the Spaniards were coming to see. It contained things admirable for their grandeur, richness, rarity, and majesty, curiously made and arranged, which I would like much to be able to describe as my author desired them to be. Accept my willingness, and what I cannot say will re-

main for the contemplation of the judicious, whose discretion will supply what my pen is unable to write. For certainly (particularly at this point and at others as important that will be found in the *History*) our picture falls far short of their grandeur and of what would be required to describe them as they were. Thus ten and ten times (a phrase from the language of El Perú, meaning many times) I shall beg earnestly that it be believed that what has been said is an incomplete and fragmentary account, rather than an exaggerated one.

## XV

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE WONDERS FOUND IN THE TEMPLE AND BURIAL PLACE OF THE LORDS OF COFACHIQUI

The Castilians found the pueblo of Talomeco entirely deserted because the recent pestilence had been more severe and cruel there than in any other pueblo in the whole province, and the few Indians who escaped it had not yet been returned to their houses. Thus our men stopped only a short time in them until they came to the temple. It was large, being more than a hundred paces long and forty wide; the walls were high in keeping with the size of the room, and the roof was very high and steeply pitched, for since they did not have the invention of tiles it was necessary for them to build very steep roofs so that the rain would not come into the houses. The roof of this temple apparently was made of reeds and slender stalks of cane split in half lengthwise, from which these Indians make very nicely finished and well-woven mats similar to the Moorish mats. By placing four, five or six of these on top of each other, they make a roof that is beautiful within and without and very effective, keeping out both sun and rain. From this province on, the Indians for the most part do not use straw for roofing and covering their houses, but mats of cane.

On the roof of the temple there had been placed many shells of various marine animals arranged according to their size, from large to small ones. It is not known how they came to be so far inland, though perhaps they also are found in the rivers flowing through that country, which are so many and so large. The shells were placed with the inner side on top because of its greater luster. Among them there were also many periwinkles, extraordinarily large. There were spaces between the shells and the periwinkles, for

they were all arranged in regular order. In those spaces were large skeins made of strings of pearls and seed pearls half a fathom long that were spread out on the roof, descending gradually, one string beginning where another left off. With the sun reflected on them they made a beautiful sight. The temple was covered with all these things on the outside.

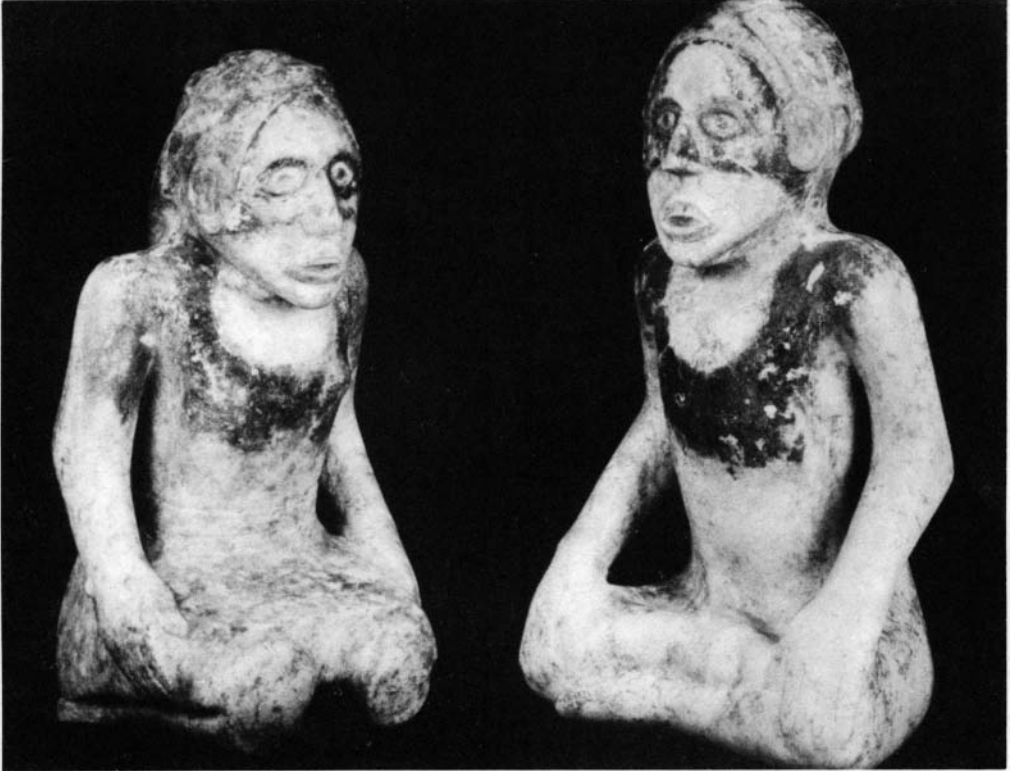
To go inside, the Spaniards opened some large doors whose size was proportionate to the rest of the temple. Near the door were twelve giant figures carved from wood, such faithful imitations of life and with such a fierce and bold posture that the Castilians stayed to look at them for a long time without passing on, marveling to find in such a barbarous country works that, if they had been in the most famous temples of Rome in the most flourishing period of its power and empire, would have been esteemed and valued for their grandeur and perfection. The giants were placed as if to guard the door and oppose the entrance of those who might enter.

There were six on one side of the door and six on the other, one after the other, descending gradually in size from the largest to the smallest. The first were four varas high, the second somewhat less, and so on to the last.

They had various weapons in their hands made in proportion to the size of their bodies. The first two on each side, which were the largest, each held clubs the last quarter of which were embellished with diamond-shaped points and bands made of that copper [already mentioned]. They were so exactly like those clubs that are described as belonging to Hercules that it seemed that either might have been copied from the other. The giants held their clubs aloft with both hands, with such a fierce and bold aspect (as if threatening to strike anyone who entered the door) that it inspired terror.

The second on either side (this was the order in which they were all placed) had broadswords made of wood in the same form that they make them in Spain of iron and steel. The third had sticks, different from the clubs, that resembled the swingles used to beat flax, a fathom and a half long, the first two-thirds being thick and the last gradually becoming narrower and having a shovel-shaped end. The fourth in order had large battle-axes corresponding in size to the stature of the giants. One of them had a brass head, the blade being large and very well made and the other end having a four-sided point a handbreadth in length. The other axe had a head exactly like this, with its blade and point, but for greater variety and curiosity it was made of flint.

The fifth in order carried bows as long as their bodies, bent and with the arrows in place as if ready to shoot. The bows and arrows were fashioned with all the extreme care and perfection these Indians employ in their mak-



*Mississippian Ancestor Figurines. When raiding the temple at Talomeco, according to the Garcilaso and Cañete accounts, De Soto's men saw human statues, perhaps similar to these examples of painted marble from a Mississippian mortuary temple site in northern Georgia. Made of either wood or stone, such kneeling or sitting figurines seem to represent the deified ancestors of the chief. (Courtesy of Etowah Mounds State Historic Site, operated by Georgia State Parks and Historic Sites Division)*

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ing. The head of one of the arrows was made of the tip of a deer antler carved into four points; the other arrow had a flint point for a head, the same shape and size as an ordinary dagger.

The sixth and last figures had very large and handsome pikes with copper heads. All of them, like the first ones, seemed to be threatening to wound with their weapons those who might want to enter the door. Some were ready to strike downward from above, like those with the clubs; others, as those with the broadswords and pikes, were ready to stab; others, as those with the axes, to hack; others, as the ones with the sticks, to give a diagonal stroke from left to right; and the archers threatened to shoot from a distance. Each of them was in the boldest and fiercest posture required by the weapon that he held in his hands, and this was what most amazed the Spaniards, seeing how natural and true to life they were in every respect.

The upper part of the temple above the walls was adorned like the roof outside with periwinkles and shells arranged in order, with skeins between them made of strings of pearls and seed pearls hanging from the roof, which kept to and followed its design. Among the strings of pearls, periwinkles, and shells on the roof were large plumes of multicolored feathers like those that they make for their own adornment. Besides the strings of pearls and seed pearls hanging from the roof, and the plumes thrust into it, there were many other plumes and strings of seed pearls and pearls hanging from thin threads of an indeterminate color, which, being invisible, made it appear that the pearl tassels and plumes were suspended in the air, some higher than others, giving the effect of falling from the roof. Such was the adornment of the upper part of the temple above the walls, and it was a pleasing thing to see.

## XVI

### A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE RICHNESS OF THE BURIAL PLACE, AND THE DEPOSITORY OF ARMS THAT WAS IN IT

Lowering their eyes from the roof, our captains and soldiers saw that along the highest part of the four walls of the temple were two rows, one above the other, of statues of figures of men and women corresponding in size to the ordinary stature of the people of that country, who are as large as

Philistines. Each was set on its own base or pedestal, near one another, and they served no other purpose except to ornament the walls, so that the upper part of them would not be bare and uncovered. The figures of the men had various weapons in their hands, all those that we have named elsewhere. These were adorned with circles of pearls and seed pearls, each one made of four, five, or six loops, and for further embellishment they had at intervals borders of threads of exquisite colors, for these Indians make any thing they like extremely well. The statues of the women had nothing in their hands.

On the floor against the walls, on very well-made wooden benches, as was everything in the temple, were the chests that served as sepulchers, in which were the bodies of the curacas who had been lords of that province of Cofachiqui, and of their sons and brothers and nephews, the sons of their brothers. No others were buried in that temple.

The chests were well covered with their lids. Exactly one vara above each chest was a statue carved from wood, against the wall on its pedestal. This was a portrait taken while living of the deceased man or woman who was in the chest, at the age at which they died. The portraits served as a record and memorial of their ancestors. The statues of the men had weapons in their hands, but those of the children and women had nothing.

The space on the walls between the portraits of the dead and the statues on the upper part was covered with round and oblong shields, large and small, made of cane so strongly woven that they could turn a dart shot from a crossbow, though a harquebus-shot penetrated them more than did the dart. The oblong and round shields were interwoven with strings of pearls and seed pearls, and around the edges they had borders of colored threads that embellished them greatly.

On the floor of the temple, lengthwise, were placed on benches three rows of wooden chests, large and small, one on top of another. They were arranged in order so that the large ones came first, and on them other smaller ones, and then others still smaller; and in this manner four, five, or six chests were put one on top of another, rising from the largest to the smallest in the form of a pyramid. Between the various rows of chests were passages that went the length of the temple and crossed from one side to the other, by which one could walk all through the temple without any difficulty and see what was in each part of it.

All the large and small chests were full of pearls and seed pearls. The pearls were separated from one another according to size, the largest ones being in the first chests, those not quite so large in the second, and others still smaller in the third, and so on to the seed pearls, which were in the

smallest chests on top. In all of these there were such quantities of seed pearls and pearls that with their own eyes the Spaniards confirmed the truth of the statement made by the lady of this temple and burial place, admitting that it was not a boast or an exaggeration, to the effect that although they all might load themselves, they being more than nine hundred men, and although they might load their horses, which numbered more than three hundred, they would be unable to take from the temple all the pearls and seed pearls that were in it. Such a quantity of pearls is no great cause for wonder, if it is considered that those Indians do not sell any of those that they find, but bring them all to their burial place, and that they have done so for many centuries. In making a comparison, it may be affirmed (since it is seen every year) that, if the gold and silver that has been brought and is being brought from El Perú to Spain had not been taken away from there, they could have covered many temples with roofs of silver and gold.

With the display and wealth of pearls that was in the temple there were also many and very large bundles of white deerskin and some tinted in various colors, and of this last each color was separate to itself. There were also large parcels of mantles of many colors, made of deerskin, and another large quantity of mantles of skins of all kinds of animals that are native to the country, large and small, dressed with the hair on them. There were many mantles made of the pelts of cats of different species and markings, and others of extremely fine marten-skins, all likewise dressed so perfectly that the best from Germany or Muscovy could not be better.

The temple was arranged with all these things in the manner and order that has been said, the roof, the walls, and the floor alike, each thing being placed with as much neatness and order as could be imagined of the most careful people in the world. It was all clean, without dust or cobwebs, from which it appeared that many people must have been engaged in the care and service of the temple, in cleaning and putting everything in its place.

Around the temple were eight rooms, separated from one another and placed regularly and in order. Apparently they were annexes of the temple for its embellishment and service. The governor and the other gentlemen wanted to see what was in them, and found that they were all full of arms arranged in the manner that we shall tell. The first room they happened to see was full of pikes, there being nothing else in it. All were very long and very well made, with heads of brass, which, because it was so highly colored, looked like gold. All were adorned with rings of pearls and seed pearls having three or four turns, placed at intervals along the pikes. Many were covered in the middle (where they would rest on the shoulder and where the

head joined the haft) with strips of colored deerskin, and along both the upper and lower edges of this strip were borders of varicolored threads with three, four, five, or six rows of pearls or seed pearls that embellished them greatly.

In the second room there were only clubs such as those that we said the first giant figures held, which were at the door of the temple; except that those in the room, being arms that were among the lord's equipment, were decorated with rings of pearls and seed pearls and borders of colored thread placed at intervals so that the colors were blended with one another and all were intermingled with the pearls. The other pikes [clubs?] that the giants held had no ornamentation whatever.

In another room, which was the third, there was nothing but axes like those we said the giants had who were fourth in order at the door of the temple. They had copper heads with a blade on one side and a diamond-shaped point on the other, six inches and a hand's breadth long [respectively]. Many of them had flint heads fastened solidly to the handles with copper bands. These axes also had on their handles rings of pearls and seed pearls and borders of colored thread.

In another room, which was the fourth, there were broadswords made of various kinds of hardwoods such as those that the giants second in order had, all of them being decorated with pearls and seed pearls and borders on the handles and on the first third of the blades.

The fifth room contained only staffs such as those we said the giants of the third order had, but decorated with their rings of pearls and seed pearls and colored borders all along the handles to where the shovel-shaped end began. We shall tell the rest in the following chapter, so that this one may not be disproportionately longer than the others.

## XVII

### THE ARMY LEAVES COFACHIQUI IN TWO DIVISIONS

In the sixth room there was nothing except bows and arrows wrought in all the extreme perfection and care with which they make them. For arrowheads, they used points of wood, of the bones of land and sea animals, and of flint, as we told in connection with the Indian noble who killed himself. Besides these kinds of arrowheads made of copper, such as those they put on darts in Spain, there were others with harpoons, also made of copper, and in



the form of small chisels, lances, and Moorish darts, which looked as if they had been made in Castilla. They noted also that the arrows with flint tips had different kinds of heads; some were in the form of a harpoon, others of small chisels, others were rounded like a punch, and others had two edges like the tip of a dagger. The Spaniards examined all these curiously and wondered how they could fashion such things out of a material as resistant as flint, though in view of what Mexican history says about the broadswords and other arms that the Indians of that land made of flint, a part of this wonderment of ours will be lost. The bows were handsomely made and enameled in various colors, which they do with a certain cement that gives them such a luster that one can see himself in them. In speaking of this temple, Juan Coles says the following: "And in one apartment there were more than fifty thousand bows with their cases or quivers full of arrows."

Not satisfied with this lustrous finish, they put on the bows many circles of pearls and seed pearls placed at intervals, these circles or rings beginning at the handles and going in order to the tips in such manner that the first circles were of large pearls and made seven or eight turns, the second were of smaller pearls and had fewer turns, and thus they went on decreasing to the last ones, which were near the tips and were of very small seed pearls. The arrows also had circles of seed pearls at intervals, but not of pearls, there being seed pearls only.

In the seventh room there were large numbers of round shields made of wood and of cowhide [buffalo-hide], both brought from distant countries. All were decorated with pearls and seed pearls and borders of colored threads.

In the eighth room there were a great many oblong shields, all made of cane very skillfully woven and so strong that the Spaniards had very few crossbows that could send a dart clear through them, as was experienced in other places outside of Cofachiqui. The oblong shields, like the round ones, were decorated with a network of seed pearls and pearls and with colored borders.

The eight rooms were filled with all these offensive and defensive arms, and each one of them contained so many of the particular kind of arms that were in it that the governor and his Castilians marveled especially at their number, besides the neatness and perfection with which they were made and arranged in their order.

The general and his captains, having seen and noted the grandeur and sumptuousness of the temple and its riches, the multitude of the arms, and the elaboration and order with which everything was made and arranged,

asked the Indians what was the significance of such ostentation and pomp. They replied that the lords of that kingdom, especially those of that province and of others that they would see beyond, regarded the ornateness and magnificence of their burial places as the greatest [sign of] their dignity, and thus they endeavored to embellish them with all the arms and wealth they could, as they had seen in that temple. Because this one was the richest and most superb of all those that our Spaniards saw in La Florida, I have seen fit to write of it at such length, and particularly of the things that were in it, and also because he who gave me the account ordered me to do so. For, as he said, it was among the grandest and most wonderful of all the things that he had seen in the New World, in having traveled over most and the best part of México and El Perú, though it is true that when he passed through those two kingdoms they had already been sacked of their most valuable wealth, and their chief grandeurs had been destroyed.

The officials of the imperial hacienda discussed taking the fifth of the pearls and seed pearls and the rest of the wealth in the temple that belonged to his Majesty's hacienda and carrying it with them. The governor told them that taking it would serve only to load the army down with useless burdens, when they could not carry even the necessary ones of their arms and munitions. They were to leave it all as it was, for at present they were not parceling out the land, but discovering it, and when they should distribute and settle it then he who received it by lot would pay the fifth. Thus they did not touch anything that they had seen, and they went back to where the lady was, having wonders to tell of the magnificence of her burial place.

All that has been said of the pueblo of Cofachiqui, Alonso de Carmona tells in his *Relation*, though not at such length as our *History*. He speaks particularly, however, of the province and of the reception the lady gave the governor on crossing the river, and says that she and her ladies all wore long strings of large pearls around their necks and fastened to their wrists, and that the men wore them only around their necks. He says also that the pearls lost much of their beauty and fine luster by being taken out [of the shells] with fire, which made them black. He says that, in the pueblo of Talomeco where the burial place and rich temple was, they found four long houses full of bodies of those who died from the plague that had raged there; thus far Alonso de Carmona.

The adelantado spent another ten days after having seen the temple in informing himself of what was in the rest of the provinces that bordered upon that of Cofachiqui, and he heard that all of them were fertile and abounded in food and were inhabited by many people. Having learned these

things, he ordered preparations made for continuing his discoveries, and, accompanied by his captains, he took leave of the Indian lady of Cofachiqui and of the principal men of the pueblo, thanking them heartily for the courtesy that they had shown him, and thus he left them friendly and well disposed toward the Spaniards.

The army left the pueblo in two divisions, because they did not have enough provisions to go all together. The general therefore ordered that Baltasar de Gallegos, Arias Tinoco, and Gonzalo Silvestre, with a hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, go to a place twelve leagues from there where the lady had a storehouse containing six hundred fanegas of maize, which she had offered to give them. Taking as much maize as they could carry, they were to go to meet the governor, who would march by way of the public highway to the province of Chalaque, which was the one that bordered upon Cofachiqui on that side. With this order the three captains set out with the three hundred soldiers, and the governor with the rest of the army. After eight days' journey, which they made by way of the public highway, the latter reached the province of Chalaque, without anything worth mentioning having happened to them on the way.

The three captains had something to report, and this was that, having arrived at the storehouse, they took two hundred fanegas of Indian corn, being unable to carry more, and directed their march toward the public highway by which the governor was proceeding. On the fifth day of their march they reached the main highway, and by the signs that the army had left they saw that the general had passed and was going on ahead of them. Thereupon the two hundred foot soldiers rose up and demanded to march as rapidly as possible, in disobedience to their captains, until they overtook the general, because they said that they were carrying little food and did not know how many days they would take in reaching the governor, and thus it would be well to hasten while they could and overtake him as soon as possible before their provisions gave out and they died of hunger. The soldiers said this out of fear of what had happened to them in the wilderness before they reached the province of Cofachiqui.

## XVIII

### THE EXPERIENCES THAT THE THREE CAPTAINS HAD ON THEIR JOURNEY, AND HOW THE ARMY REACHED XUALA

The captains were troubled at the attempted mutiny of the infantry because they had three horses sick from a colic that had attacked them the day before, which prevented their traveling as rapidly as the foot soldiers desired. Thus they told them that one day more or less of marching was not sufficient reason for abandoning three horses, for they knew what an advantage and help they were against the enemy. The infantry replied, saying that the lives of three hundred Castilians were more important than the health of three horses, and that they did not know whether the march would last one day, or ten or twenty or a hundred, and that it was reasonable to have regard for the more important things and not for those of such little concern. So saying, being now mutinous, they began to march as rapidly as they could, without orders. The three captains stationed themselves in front of them, and one of them in the name of all said to them: "Gentlemen, observe that you are going to your captain-general, who as you know is a man so punctilious in affairs of war that he will be much grieved at learning of your disobedience, and of your nonobservance of commands and orders. It is probable, as I myself believe, that we shall overtake him today or tomorrow, or the next day at the latest, for it is not to be expected that he will make such haste when we are behind him. This being so, we shall have incurred much disgrace and dishonor, that without having suffered extreme necessity and simply through excessive fear of possible scarcity of food, we shall commit the weakness of abandoning three horses, which are so valuable. You know that they are the nerve and the strength of our army, and that because of them enemies fear us and friends do us honor. And inasmuch as when they kill one of them it is so regretted and mourned, how much more deplorable it will be for us to abandon and lose three horses through our own weakness and cowardice, without any necessity whatever except those we imagine. The most lamentable thing that I see in the whole matter is the loss of your reputations and ours, for the general and the other captains and soldiers will say with much justification that in the four days that we were away from them we did not know how to command or you how to obey. But when it shall be known how the thing happened, they will see that you

were wholly to blame and that we were not obligated except to persuade you with reasonable arguments. Therefore, gentlemen, desist from doing such an ill-advised thing; it will be more honorable for us to die like good soldiers in the performance of our duty than to live in infamy for having fled from an imaginary danger.”

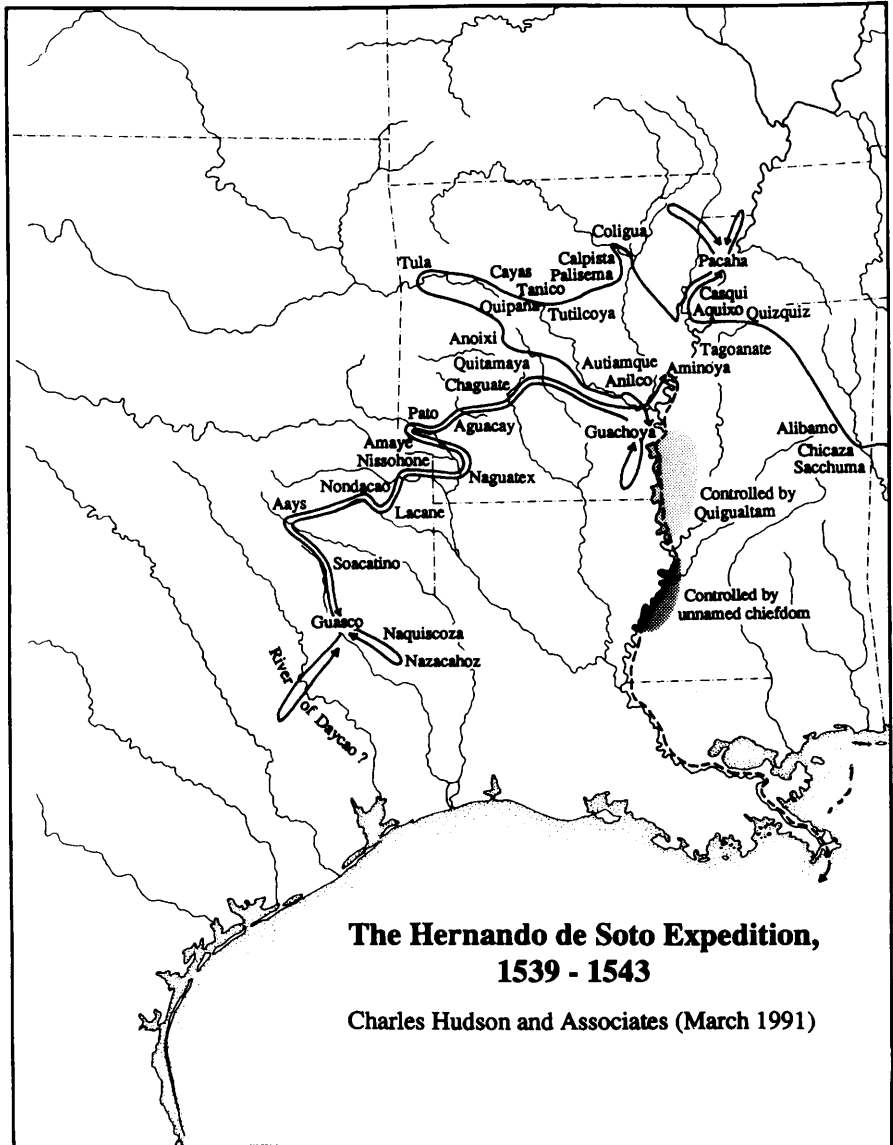
The foot soldiers were placated at these words, and they shortened their daily marches, but not so much that they failed to travel five or six leagues [each day], which was as far as the sick horses could go.

On the day after the mutiny died down these soldiers were marching along at midday when suddenly a great tempest of strong contrary winds blew up, with much lightning and thunder, and quantities of large hailstones that fell upon them, so that if there had not happened to be some large walnut trees near the road and some other dense trees under which they took shelter, they would have perished, for the largest of the hailstones were the size of a hen egg and the smallest were the size of a nut. The *rodeleros* held their shields over their heads, but even so when the stones struck an unprotected part of their bodies they hurt them badly. It was God's will that the storm should last only a short time; if it had been longer the shelter they had taken would not have been enough to save their lives, and short as it had been they were so battered that they could not march that day or the next. On the third day they proceeded on their way and came to some small *pueblos*, whose inhabitants had not dared await the governor in their houses and had fled to the woods. Only the old men and women remained, almost all of them being blind. These *pueblos* were called *Chalaques*.

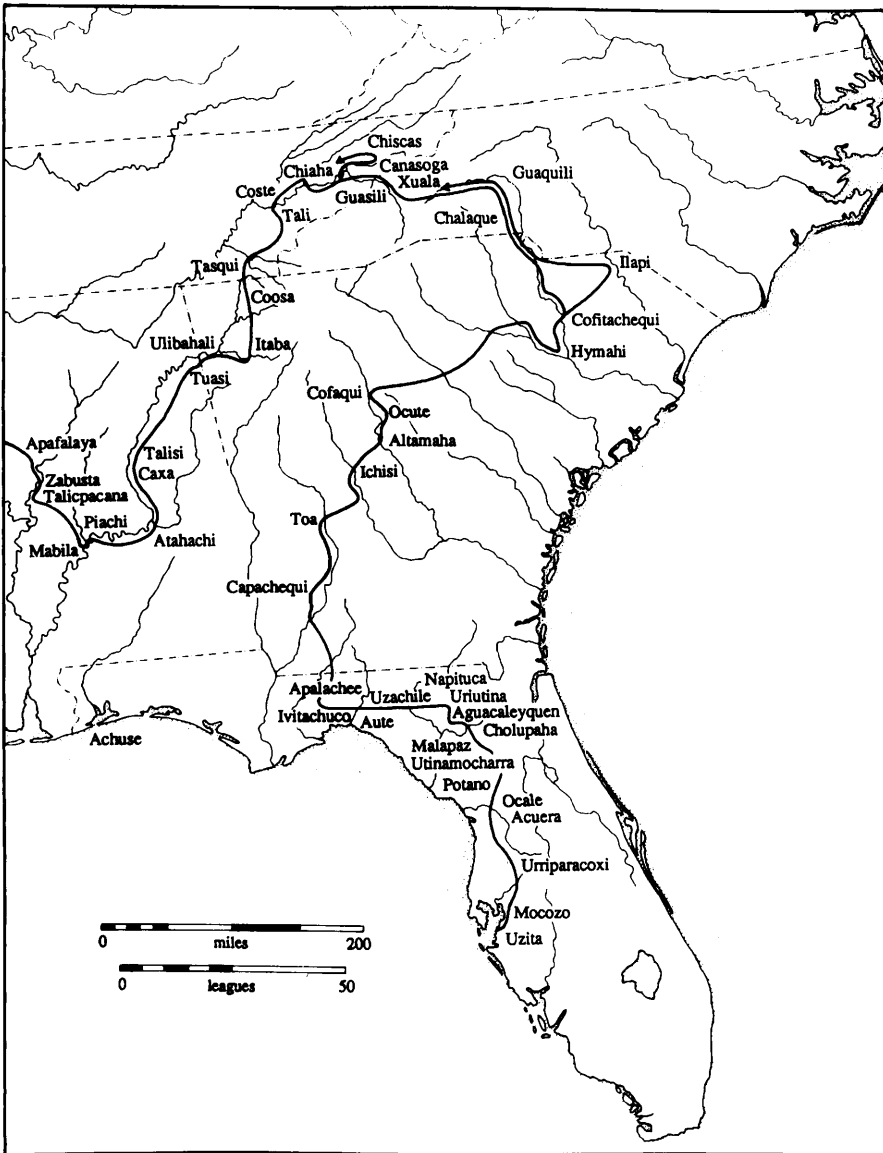
Three days' march after leaving the *pueblos* of *Chalaques* they reached the governor in a beautiful valley of a province called *Xuala*, where he had arrived two days before and had awaited the captains and the three hundred soldiers, being unwilling to pass on.

From the *pueblo* of *Cofachiqui* where the lady remained to the first valley of the province of *Xuala*, by the road these *Castilians* took, it was about fifty leagues, more or less, all of it through a level and pleasant country with small rivers flowing through it at a distance of three or four leagues from one another. They saw few mountains, and these had much grass for cattle and were easy to traverse on foot or on horseback. The whole fifty leagues generally, both that which they found inhabited and cultivated and that which was uncultivated and fit for tillage, had good soil.

The whole distance traveled from the province of *Apalache* to that of *Xuala* where we found the governor and his army was (if I have not miscounted) fifty-seven daily journeys. The march was generally northeast,



*A Version of the Route of the De Soto Expedition, by Charles Hudson and Associates, 1991. This map exemplifies a new emphasis in De Soto scholarship. The chief motive for refining knowledge of the expedition's route is a desire to understand better the Native American chiefdoms at the time of first contact. Anthropologists and archaeologists attempt to match the chronicles to patterns of archaeological village sites. Seeking an*



*improved grasp of the route, along with a critical perception of the chronicles themselves, they hope to understand the native political geography of the Southeast. This research is a collaboration among cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, geographers, and linguists. (Courtesy of Charles Hudson and Associates)*

and many days was toward the north. The large river that flowed through Cofachiqui, according to the mariners among the Spaniards, was the one which they called Santa Elena on the coast; they did not know this for certain, but according to the direction they had traveled, it seemed to them that it would be this one. This doubt and many others that our *History* leaves unsolved will be cleared up when God, our Lord, shall be pleased to have that land won for the increase of his holy Catholic faith.

We take four and a half leagues as an average of the fifty-seven daily journeys those Spaniards marched from Apalache to Xuala, though some may have been longer and others shorter. According to this calculation, they have marched a little less than 260 leagues to Xuala, and from the Bay of Espíritu Santo to Apalache we said that they traveled 150 leagues. Thus in all they covered a little less than four hundred leagues. [The Inca's calculations are somewhat low; they traveled a little *more* than four hundred.—DB]

In the pueblos under the jurisdiction and overlordship of Cofachiqui through which our Spaniards passed they found many Indians native to other provinces who were held in slavery. As a safeguard against their running away, they disabled them in one foot, cutting the nerves above the instep where the foot joins the leg, or just above the heel. They held them in this perpetual and inhuman bondage in the interior of the country away from the frontiers, making use of them to cultivate the soil and in other servile employments. These were the prisoners they captured in the ambushes that they set against one another at their fisheries and hunting grounds, and not in open war of one power against another with organized armies.<sup>18</sup>

We told above how the captain and accountant Juan de Añasco went twice after the mother of the lady of Cofachiqui, but we did not tell the chief reason why such persistent efforts were made to take her. This was that the Spaniards had learned that the widow had with her six or seven loads of large unpierced pearls, and that because they were unpierced, they were better than those they had seen in the burial places. Because these latter had been pierced with copper needles heated in the fire they had smoked a little and had lost much of their natural fineness and luster. Thus our men wished to see whether they were as large and good as the Indians claimed them to be.

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<sup>18</sup>A similar procedure for disabling prisoners to be put to service in the fields was observed in the same general area by John Lawson over 150 years later. The description here of ambush warfare is generally applicable to the Southeastern tribes. John R. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 137 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 689–90.



## XIX

### WHERE IS RECOUNTED SOME OF THE MAGNANIMITY OF SPIRIT OF THE LADY OF COFACHIQUI

In the pueblo and province of Xuala (which, although it was a separate province from that of Cofachiqui, belonged to the same lady) the governor and his army rested for fifteen days, because in the pueblo and its environs they found much Indian corn and all the other grains and vegetables that we have said grow in La Florida. They needed to stop for this length of time in order to feed and rest the horses, which were lean and debilitated because of the little maize that they had to eat in the province of Cofachiqui. It was understood that this was the real cause of the three horses, which we mentioned above, having failed them, although at the time, to pass the matter over as lightly as possible in order to placate the mutineers, it was said that they had colic.

This pueblo was situated in the foothills of a mountain range on the bank of a river that, though not very large, had a very strong current. The territory of Cofachiqui extended to that river. In the pueblo of Xuala they served and entertained the governor and all his army most attentively, for as it was a part of the seigniorship of the lady of Cofachiqui, and as she had sent orders to that effect, the Indians did everything in their power both to obey their lady and to please the Spaniards.

At the end of the fifteen days, the horses now being rested, they left Xuala. On the first day they marched through the cultivated fields and gardens that were there, which were many and good. They marched for another five days through a mountain range, uninhabited but a very good country. It had many oaks and some mulberries, and plenty of pasturage for cattle. There were ravines and streams with little water, though they flowed rapidly, and very green and delightful valleys. At the place they crossed it this range was twenty leagues wide.

But to return to the lady of Cofachiqui, whose seigniorships we have not yet left: because it is fitting that her generousities be recorded, we say that, not content with having served and entertained the general and his captains and soldiers in her own house and court, nor satisfied with having provided the supplies that they would need for the march when her country was suffering such want as it did, nor with giving him Indian carriers to serve him throughout the fifty leagues of the province of Xuala, she ordered her vassals

to carry from Xuala, where there was plenty of food, without any recompense whatever, all that the Spaniards might request for the twenty leagues of uninhabited country they would have to pass through before reaching Guaxule, and that they give them Indian servants and everything else necessary as if to her own person. Along with this she directed that four principal Indians go with the general, whose care would be to control and give orders to the servants so that the Spaniards might be better attended on their march. She made all these preparations for her own provinces.

But now it must be understood that neither did she overlook the others [i.e., other provinces], desiring that the Spaniards receive the same attentions in all of them. To this end she ordered the four principal Indians that, having entered the province of Guaxule, which bordered upon hers in that direction, they go on ahead and, acting as her ambassadors, charge the curaca of Guaxule that he serve the governor and all his army as she herself had done; otherwise she threatened him with war, with fire and bloodshed. The governor was ignorant of this embassy until the four principal Indians, after they had passed through the uninhabited country, asked his permission to go on ahead to carry it out. When the governor and his captains learned of this it caused them wonder and new gratification to see that that Indian lady had not been content with the service and entertainment she had given them in her own house and country with such affection and good will, but had also provided for it in other [provinces]. From this they came to understand more clearly the will and desire that this lady always had to serve the governor and his Castilians, for thus it was that though she did everything she could to please them, and they saw it, she always asked the general's pardon for being unable to do as much as she wished for them, which so afflicted and depressed her that the Spaniards themselves had to console her. By these manifestations of a generous spirit and others that she showed toward her vassals, according to what they themselves said publicly, she showed herself to be a woman truly worthy of the states she possessed and of other greater ones, and undeserving of being left in her heathenism. The Castilians did not offer her baptism because, as has been said already, they had the intention of preaching the faith after having made settlements and an establishment in that country, and marching continually as they did from one province to another, without stopping, they had little opportunity for preaching.

## XX

### WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ARMY UNTIL IT REACHED GUAXULE AND YCHIAHA

We have said already that the governor and his army had left Xuala and marched five days through the uninhabited district that lies between it and Guaxule. It must be told (going back in our story) that on the same day they left the pueblo of Xuala they missed three slaves who had fled the night before. Two were Negroes, the servants of Captain Andrés de Vasconcelos de Silva, and the other was a Moor from Barbary, the slave of Don Carlos Enríquez, a gentleman from Xerez de Badajoz, whom we mentioned above. It was understood that the flight of these slaves and their remaining among the Indians had been caused by the attraction of women more than by any other interest, and therefore they could not recover them though they made efforts to do so. The Indians of this great kingdom generally are much gratified (as we shall see more clearly further on) when anything pertaining to the Spaniards remains among them. The dereliction of the Negroes caused surprise because they were regarded as good Christians and friends of their master. The Berber did nothing new but rather confirmed the opinion that they had always had of him, as he was very bad in every respect.

Two days later it happened that, as the army was marching through this same wilderness, in the middle of the journey and of the day, when the sun was hottest, a foot soldier from Albuquerque named Juan Terrón, whose name fitted him well [Terrón means a lump or clod of earth], came up to another, mounted soldier who was his friend, and taking from his knapsack a small linen bag in which he was carrying more than six pounds of pearls, he said: "Take these pearls and carry them; I don't want them." He on horseback replied: "It is better for you to keep them, for you need them more than I do, and you can send them to La Havana where they will bring you three or four horses and mares, so that you will not have to walk. The governor says that he wishes to send messengers to that country soon with news of what we have discovered in this one." Angered because his friend would not accept the present that he made him, Juan Terrón said: "Well, if you don't want them, I swear that I won't take them with me either, so they will have to stay here." So saying, he unfastened the sack and grasping it by the bottom he flung out his arm like a person sowing, scattering all the pearls through the woods and grass, so as not to have to carry them on his shoul-

ders, he being a strong and robust man who could carry almost as heavy a load as a pack mule. Having done this, he put the bag back in his knapsack as if it were more valuable than the pearls, to the amazement of his friend and all the rest who saw this reckless action. They had not imagined that he would do such a thing, for if they had suspected it, they would have stopped it in some way, because in Spain the pearls would have been worth more than 6,000 ducats, as they were all large, being the size of hazelnuts or large chick-peas. They had not been pierced, which made them more valuable, for their color was perfect, since they had not been smoked as had those they found already pierced. They recovered about thirty of them, searching among the grass and bushes, and seeing that they were so fine, they were regretful over the loss and made up a refrain they sang among themselves, which ran: "Pearls are not for Juan Terrón" [No son perlas para Juan Terrón]. He would never say where he got them, and as the men of his group often joked with him afterward about the loss and ridiculed him for the foolish thing that he had done, which corresponded with his rustic name, he said to them one day when he was very hard-pressed: "For the love of God, don't mention it to me again, because I assure you that every time I think of my foolishness it makes me want to go hang myself from a tree." Such are those whom prodigality enlists in its service, for after having made them throw away all their possessions through vanity, it provokes them to desperate actions. Liberality [on the other hand], being such an excellent virtue, gratifies very pleasantly those who embrace it and practice it.

Without anything else worth recording happening to them and having marched five daily journeys through the mountain range, the Castilians arrived at the province and pueblo of Guaxule, which was situated among many small streams that flowed through various parts of the pueblo. Their sources were in these mountains which the Spaniards had passed through and in others beyond.

The lord of the province, who also had the same name of Guaxule, came out half a league from the pueblo accompanied by five hundred nobles handsomely dressed in rich mantles made of various kinds of skins and wearing long plumes on their heads, in accordance with the common usage of that whole country. Thus ceremoniously he received the governor, showing by signs his regard for him and speaking to him most courteously and with a very lordly air. He took him to the pueblo, which had three hundred houses, and lodged him in his own. On receiving the message from the ambassadors of the lady of Cofachiqui, he had moved out of it to accommodate him and had prepared other things in order to serve him better. The

house was on a high elevation like other similar ones we have described. All around it was a public walk along which six men could pass abreast.

The governor was in this pueblo four days, informing himself about the surrounding country, and from there he went in six daily journeys of five leagues each to another pueblo and province called Ychiaha, whose lord had the same name. The route he followed on this six days' march was downstream along the many rivers that flowed through Guaxule. All of them joined together within a short distance to form a large river of such volume that at Ychiaha, which was thirty leagues from Guaxule, it was larger than the Guadalquivir at Sevilla.

This pueblo Ychiaha was situated on the end of a large island more than five leagues long, which the river formed. The cacique went out to receive the governor and welcomed him cordially with all the demonstrations of affection and pleasure that he could show, and the Indians whom he brought with him did the same with the Spaniards, being very pleased to see them. Taking them across the river in many canoes and rafts they had ready for this purpose, they lodged them in their houses, as if they were their own brothers. All the other service and entertainment they accorded them were similar in measure, their desire being, as they expressed it, to take out their hearts and lay them before the Spaniards, so that they might see with their own eyes how much pleasure it gave them to know them. In Ychiaha the governor took the same steps that he had in the other pueblos and provinces to inform himself about what was in that country and its environs. The curaca told him, among other things that he said in response to his questions, that thirty leagues away there were mines of the yellow metal that he was seeking, and that in order to examine them his lordship might send two Spaniards, or more if he liked, to go and see them. He would furnish guides who would take and bring them back safely. On hearing this, two Spaniards offered to go with the Indians. One was named Juan de Villalobos, a native of Sevilla, and the other was Francisco de Silvera, a native of Galicia. They left at once, deciding to go on foot rather than on horseback, though they had horses so as to accomplish more in less time.

## XXI

### HOW THEY TOOK THE PEARLS OUT OF THEIR SHELLS, AND THE REPORT THE DISCOVERERS OF THE GOLD MINES BROUGHT

Early on the next day after the Spaniards left to visit the gold mines they so desired to find, the curaca came to visit the governor and made him a present of a handsome string of pearls. If they had not been pierced with fire they would have been a fine gift, because the string was two fathoms long and the pearls as large as hazelnuts, almost perfectly matched. The governor received them with many thanks, and in return he gave him pieces of velvet and cloth of various colors and other things from Spain, which the Indian valued highly. The governor asked him if those pearls were found in his country, and the cacique replied that they were, and that in the temple and burial place of their fathers and grandfathers, which was in that same pueblo, there were great quantities of them; if he wanted them, he would have all or as many as he desired brought to him. The adelantado told him that he appreciated his good will and that although he desired the pearls he would not injure the burial place of his ancestors, however much he might want them. The string that he had given him he had received only because it was a present from him, and he wished to know only how they took them from the shells where they grew.

The cacique told him that on the next day at eight o'clock in the morning his lordship would see how it was done, for that afternoon and the following night the Indians would fish for them. He immediately directed that forty canoes be sent out with orders that they fish for the shells with all diligence, and come back in the morning. When morning came, the curaca ordered much wood to be brought (before the canoes returned) and heaped up on a level space on the riverbank. It was set on fire and a large bed of coals made, and as soon as the canoes arrived he ordered it to be spread out and the shells that the Indians brought to be thrown upon it. These opened from the heat of the fire and they were enabled to hunt for the pearls inside them. From almost the first shells that they opened the Indians took out ten or twelve pearls as large as medium-sized chick-peas and brought them to the curaca and the governor, who were watching together to see how they took them out. They saw that they were very good and perfect except that the heat and smoke of the fire had already damaged their fine natural color.

Having seen them take out the pearls, the governor went to his lodgings to eat, and soon after he had eaten a soldier entered, a native of Guadalcanal named Pedro López. Showing a pearl that he carried in his hand, he said: "Sir, as I was eating some of the oysters that the Indians brought today, a few of which I took to my quarters and had cooked, I found this between my teeth, which almost broke them. As it seemed to me to be a fine one, I brought it to your lordship so that you might send it to my señora Doña Isabel de Bobadilla." The adelantado replied, saying: "I thank you for your good will and accept the present and the favor you do Doña Isabel so that she may thank you and repay you whenever the opportunity arises. But it will be better if you keep the pearl and take it to La Havana, so that you can get in exchange for it a couple of horses and two mares and anything else you may need. Because of the good will that you have shown toward us, I shall pay out of my own pocket the fifth [of the value of the pearl] that belongs to his Majesty's hacienda."

The Spaniards who were with the governor examined the pearl, and those among them who regarded themselves as lapidaries of sorts estimated that in Spain it would be worth 400 ducats, because it was the size of a large hazelnut with its husk entire, perfectly rounded and of a clear and lustrous color. Since it had not been opened with fire, as had the others, its color and beauty had not been injured. We give an account of these particulars, though so unimportant, because they show the wealth of that country.

On one of the days that the Spaniards were in this pueblo of Ychiaha a misfortune occurred that grieved all of them very much. This was that a gentleman who was a native of Badajoz, named Luis Bravo de Xerez, while walking across a plain near the river with a lance in his hand, saw a dog pass near him and threw the lance at it with the intention of killing it for food, because due to the general scarcity of meat throughout that country, the Castilians ate all the dogs they were able to get. The throw missed the dog, and the lance went skimming across the plain beyond until it fell over the bluff above the river, and it happened to strike in the temple a soldier who was fishing there with a cane pole, coming out on the other side of his head, from which he immediately fell dead. Luis Bravo, ignorant of having made this cruel throw, went to look for his lance and found it stuck through the temples of Juan Mateos, for this was the soldier's name. He was a native of Almendral. Among all the Spaniards who went on this discovery he alone had gray hair, wherefore everyone called him father and respected him as if he were the father of each of them. Thus there was general grief at the misfortune and miserable death that had overtaken him when he had gone out to

enjoy himself. Death is as near and is equally certain for us, in all times and places.

The things mentioned took place in the camp while the two companions went out and returned from discovering the mines, spending ten days on their journey. They said that the mines were of very fine brass like that which they had seen formerly, but that because of the nature of the country, they were sure that gold and silver mines would be found if the veins and deposits were sought. In addition to this they said that the country they had seen was all very good for cultivation and pasturage. The Indians in the pueblos through which they had passed had received them very affectionately and joyfully, and had entertained and regaled them to such an extent that every night after they had feasted them they sent two handsome young women to entertain and sleep with them that night; but that they did not dare touch them, fearing that the Indians might shoot them with arrows the next day, because they suspected that they sent them [the women] to give an excuse for killing them if they should receive them. The Spaniards feared this, but perhaps their hosts did it by way of giving them special entertainment, seeing that they were young, because, if they had wished to kill them, they had no need to seek pretexts for doing so.

## XXII

### THE ARMY LEAVES YCHIAHA AND ENTERS ACOSTE AND COÇA, AND THE HOSPITALITY THAT WAS ACCORDED THEM IN THESE PROVINCES

Having received an account of the gold mines that they went to discover, the governor ordered preparations made for departing on the following day, which our Castilians did, leaving the curaca and his principal Indians very satisfied with the gifts the general and his captains gave them in return for their hospitality.

They marched that day down the island, which as we said was five leagues in length. At its point where the river came together again was founded another pueblo called Acoste; it belonged to another lord, quite different from the last one. He received the Castilians in a very different manner than the cacique of Ychiaha, for he showed no signs of friendship for them but on the contrary placed more than fifteen hundred Indian warriors under arms,



decked out with plumes and having their weapons ready. They kept the latter in their hands, unwilling to put them down even though they had already received the Spaniards in their pueblo. They showed themselves to be so bold and anxious to fight that there was not a single Indian who in speaking with a Spaniard did not boast that he would scratch out his eyes, and they would have done so. If they asked them any questions, they replied so arrogantly, shaking and throwing their arms about with the fists closed (signs they make when they wish to fight), that their effrontery was insupportable, as were their words and manner, all of which provoked battle, so that often the Castilians lost patience and were ready to engage them. But the adelantado prevented it, telling them to endure everything that the Indians did simply in order not to break the record [of peace] that they had maintained up to that point since leaving the warlike province of Apalache. Thus they did as the governor commanded, but both sides passed that whole night with their squadrons formed, like declared enemies.

On the next day the Indians showed themselves to be friendlier, and the curaca and the chief men came with a new aspect to offer the governor all that they had in their country, and they gave him Indian corn for the march. He understood that a favorable message that the lord of Ychiaha had sent them regarding the Spaniards must have caused that civility. The general thanked them for the offer and paid for the maize, which satisfied them. On the same day the Spaniards left the pueblo and crossed the river in canoes and rafts, of which there were many, and gave thanks to God for having brought them out of that pueblo of Acoste without having broken the peace that they had kept up to that time.

Having left Acoste, they entered a large province called Coça. The Indians came out to receive them peaceably and treated them in a very friendly manner, giving them provisions and guides for their march from one pueblo to another.

The curaca and lord of this province had the same name as the province itself. At the place the Spaniards crossed it, it was more than a hundred leagues long, all fertile country and very populated, so that on some days of their march through it they passed ten or twelve pueblos, not counting those that were off the road on either side. It is true that the pueblos were small. The Indians came out of them to receive the Christians very gladly and joyfully, and entertained them in their houses. They gave them whatever they had very willingly, and all along the road those from one pueblo went to the next to serve them, and when the other pueblo had received them they returned to their own. In this manner they took the Spaniards throughout

the hundred leagues, lodging them some nights in the settlements and others in the fields, as the day's march happened to end, each of which was about four leagues in length.

The lord of that province of Coça, who was at the other side of it, sent new messengers every day with the same message, repeated many times, welcoming the arrival of the governor, requesting that he travel very slowly through his country, resting and enjoying himself as much as he could, and saying that he himself was awaiting him in the chief pueblo of his province in order to serve his lordship and all his people with the affection and good will that they would see.

The Spaniards marched twenty-three or twenty-four days without anything of note happening to them, except the many repetitions of the welcome the Indians gave them, until they reached the chief pueblo, called Coça, from which the whole province took its name, and where its lord was. He advanced a long league to receive the governor, accompanied by more than a thousand nobles much adorned with mantles made of various kinds of skins. Many of them were of fine marten-skins that gave off a strong odor of musk. They wore long plumes on their heads, which are the decoration and adornment that the Indians of this great kingdom most value. These men were well disposed, as those of that country generally are; their plumes stood up half a fathom high and were of many and varied colors; and they were stationed in the field in order in the form of a squadron, with twenty men to a file. Thus they made a handsome and pleasing appearance.

With this military and lordly pomp and ceremony the Indians received the general and his captains and soldiers, making every possible demonstration of the satisfaction that they said they felt at seeing them in their country.<sup>19</sup> They lodged the governor in one of three houses that the curaca had in different parts of the pueblo, built in the same form as we have said other such houses were, situated on a height with the advantages that the lord's houses have over those of his vassals. The pueblo was established on the bank of a river and had five hundred large and good houses, which showed clearly that it was the head of a province so large and important as has been said. They had moved out of half the pueblo (in the vicinity of the governor's lodgings) where they quartered the captains and soldiers, and there was

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<sup>19</sup>The formal approach of the chief of Coça to receive De Soto, accompanied by a fully dressed military escort, was undoubtedly part of a standard greeting protocol normally accorded to visiting chiefs. See George E. Lankford III, "Saying Hello to the Timucua," *Mid-America Folklore* 12 (1984):7-23.



*Chief Coça Welcomes the Hernando de Soto Expedition. In this old engraving from a Dutch edition of the Elvas narrative, Chief Coça is shown arriving in the background, being carried on a litter and accompanied by military entourage and musicians. (From De Gedenkwaardige Voyage van don Ferdinand de Soto, Leyden: P. Van der Aa, 1706, courtesy of the W. S. Hoole Special Collections Library, The University of Alabama)*

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room for all of them because the houses would accommodate many people. The Castilians stayed there eleven or twelve days, being served and entertained by the curaca and all his people as if they were much-beloved brothers, for certainly no expression suffices to tell the affection, care, and diligence with which they served them, so that the Spaniards themselves marveled at it.

## XXIII

### THE CACIQUE COÇA OFFERS HIS STATE TO THE GOVERNOR FOR AN ESTABLISHMENT AND SETTLEMENT, AND HOW THE ARMY LEAVES THAT PROVINCE

One day while the Spaniards were in this pueblo called Coça, its lord, who had eaten at the governor's table—having talked with him about many things pertaining to the conquest and settlement of the country and having replied to the entire satisfaction of the adelantado to everything that he had asked him on this subject—when it seemed to him time, arose, and making the general a deep and very respectful obeisance, after the custom of the Indians, and turning his eyes to the gentlemen who were on either side of the governor, speaking to them all, said: "Sir, the affection I have come to feel for your lordship and for all your people in these few days that I have known you leads me to beg that, if you are seeking good lands on which to settle, see fit to remain in mine and make an establishment in them. I believe that this is one of the best provinces that your lordship would have seen among all those that are in this kingdom, and moreover I assure your lordship that you have chanced to pass through and see the poorest and least desirable part of it. If your lordship should desire to examine it more closely, I will take you through other, better parts that will satisfy you entirely, and you can take whatever part of them seems best to you for settling and establishing your house and court. If you do not wish to grant me this favor at present, at least do not refuse to remain in this pueblo during the coming winter, which is near, where we will serve you, as your lordship will see by our actions. Then at your leisure your lordship can send your captains and soldiers to examine all parts of my country and bring you accurate reports of what I have said, for your lordship's better satisfaction."

The governor thanked him for his good will and told him that he was wholly unable to make an inland settlement until knowing what ports there were on the seacoasts to receive the ships and the people that would come to them from Spain or elsewhere with cattle and plants and the other things necessary for making settlements. At the proper time he would accept his offer and would always maintain friendship with him, and meanwhile he might rest assured that he would not delay in returning there and settling the country, and then he could do the things he asked for his gratification and satisfaction.

The cacique kissed his hands and said that he took these words of his lordship for pledges of his promise, and that he would keep them in his heart and memory until he should see their fulfillment, which he wished for extremely. This lord was twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, of very elegant bearing, as are most of those in that country, and of good understanding. He spoke with discretion and gave good replies to all the questions that were asked him; he appeared to have been brought up in a most enlightened and polished court.

After the army had rested ten or twelve days in the pueblo of Coça, more to comply with the wishes of its curaca, who desired to have them in his country, than from their need for rest, the governor saw fit to continue his journey toward the sea, which he was seeking. Since leaving the province of Xuala he had marched toward the coast, making an arc through the country in order to come out at the port of Achusi, as he had agreed with Captain Diego Maldonado to do. The latter had remained to explore the coast and was to return at the beginning of the coming winter to the port of Achusi with reinforcements of men and arms, and cattle and provisions, as we said above. The governor's chief purpose was to go to this port to begin making his settlement.

The cacique Coça desired to accompany the general to the boundaries of his territory, and thus he set out with him, accompanied by many noble warriors, with many provisions and Indian carriers to transport them. They marched in the usual order for five days, at the end of which they reached a pueblo called Talise, which was the last one in the province of Coça and its frontier and defense. It was extremely strong, for in addition to its enclosure made of logs and earth, it was almost entirely surrounded by a large river that made it into a peninsula. This pueblo Talise was not wholly obedient to its lord Coça, because of its double-dealing with another lord, named Tascaluça, whose state bordered upon that of Coça, and he was not a safe neighbor or a true friend. Although the two were not openly at war, Tascaluça was

a haughty and belligerent man, very cunning and deceitful, as we shall see below, and as such he had stirred up this pueblo to disobedience to its lord. The cacique Coça, having learned of this some time before, was glad to come with the governor both in order to serve him on the way and in the pueblo Talise itself, and to threaten its inhabitants and bring them to obedience with the Spaniards' assistance.

In the pueblo of Coça there had remained a Christian, if he were such, named Falco Herrado. He was not a Spaniard nor is it known from what province he came; he was a man of the lowest class and thus was not missed until the army reached Talise. Steps were taken to bring him back, without result, for he very shamelessly sent word by the Indians who went with the governor's messages that he wanted to stay with the Indians and not go with the Castilians, so that he might not have to see his captain every day, who had quarreled with him and spoken to him abusively; therefore they need not expect to see him again.

The curaca replied more civilly and courteously to the request that the governor made him to order his Indians to bring back that fugitive Christian, saying that, since all of them had not been willing to remain in his country, he would be much pleased to have only one of them stay there. He begged his lordship to pardon the man and not force him to return if he wished to stay of his own accord, for he would regard it as a favor. Seeing that he was some distance away and that the Indians would not compel him to return, the governor made no further demand for him.

We have forgotten to say that in this same pueblo of Coça there had remained a Negro named Robles, who was sick and unable to travel. He was a very good Christian and a good slave, and was entrusted to the cacique who very willingly and affectionately took upon himself the task of caring for and curing him. We have included an account of these details so that when God, our Lord, shall will that that country be conquered and won, an effort may be made to see whether some trace or memory remains of those who thus stayed among the natives of that great kingdom.

## XXIV

### CONCERNING THE FEARLESS CURACA TASCALUÇA, WHO WAS ALMOST A GIANT, AND HOW HE RECEIVED THE GOVERNOR

The governor was in the pueblo Talise ten days, making efforts to learn about all the remaining regions through which he must go on his journey and of what was in the surrounding provinces on either side of this pueblo. Meanwhile a son of Tascaluça arrived, a youth eighteen years old, of such good stature that he was head and shoulders taller than any of the Spaniards or Indians in the army. He was accompanied by many nobles and brought a message from his father in which the latter offered the governor his friendship, person, and state, to be made use of at his pleasure. The general received him in a very friendly manner and treated him with great respect, both because of his rank and of his elegance and fine bearing. After delivering his message and learning that the adelantado desired to go where his father Tascaluça was, he said: "Sir, in order to go there, though we are no more than twelve or thirteen leagues away, there are two roads. I beg your lordship to order two Spaniards to go by way of one and return by the other, so that they may see which one of them is better for your lordship to take. I will furnish guides who will take and bring them back safely." This was done, and one of the two who went to discover the roads was Juan de Vilalobos, who had gone in search of the gold mines and had found them to be brass. He was always most anxious to see first, ahead of his companions, whatever was to be found in this discovery, and in his eagerness he offered to travel the road twice or even three times.

When the two companions came back with the report concerning the roads, the governor took leave of the good Coça and his people, who were very sad because the Castilians were leaving their country. The general went by way of the road that they told him was the most suitable and crossed the Río de Talise in rafts and canoes, it being so full of water that they could not ford it. They marched two days, and early on the third day they came in sight of the pueblo where the curaca Tascaluça was. It was not the chief pueblo of this state, but one of the other, ordinary ones.

Learning from his runners that the governor was approaching, Tascaluça went out from the pueblo to meet him. He was on a small high hill, an eminence from which much of the country could be seen in every direction.

He had with him only a hundred nobles, richly dressed in fine mantles of various kinds of furs with long plumes on their heads, according to their usual manner of dress. They were all on foot except Tascaluça, who was seated in a chair such as the lords of those lands use. They are of wood about a *tercia* [one-third of a vara, approximately eleven inches] in height, with a somewhat concave seat and without a backrest or arms, all made in one piece.<sup>20</sup> Near him was a standard-bearer carrying a large banner made of yellow deerskin with three blue bars dividing it from one side to the other. It was the same size and shape as the standards the companies of cavalry carry in Spain.

It was a new thing for the Spaniards to see military insignia, for up to that time they had not seen a standard or a banner or a guidon.

The build of Tascaluça was like that of his son, for he towered over all the others by more than half a vara and appeared to be a giant, or was one, and the rest of his body and his face were in proportion to his height. His countenance was handsome and habitually wore such a severe expression that his aspect showed well the ferocity and nobility of his spirit. His shoulders corresponded to his stature, his waist was a little more than two tercias around, his arms and legs were straight, well set and proportionate to his body. In short, he was the tallest Indian and of the finest figure that these Castilians saw in all their travels through La Florida.

Tascaluça was waiting for the governor in the manner that has been told, and though the gentlemen and captains of the army who marched ahead of him reached the place where he was, he made no move toward them nor any sign whatever of civility, as if he did not see them and they were not passing by him. Thus he remained until the governor came up, and when he saw him approaching he stood up and advanced fifteen or twenty paces to receive him.

The general dismounted and embraced him, and the two remained in the same place talking while the army was being quartered in the pueblo and outside of it, because there was not room for all the men in it. Then the two went together to the governor's house, which was near the house of Tascaluça, where he left the general and went with his Indians.

The Spaniards rested in that pueblo two days, and on the third they proceeded on their journey. As a sign of his great friendship for the governor,

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<sup>20</sup>Wooden stools, though only rarely observed in the aboriginal Southeast, were an important emblem of chieftaincy throughout the circum-Caribbean area, particularly in the Greater Antilles.



Tascaluça wanted to accompany him, saying that he would do so in order to see that he would be well served in his country. The governor ordered that a saddle horse be made ready for him, as he had always done with the curacas, lords of vassals, who had traveled with him, though we have neglected to mention it until now. Among all the horses that were with the army not one was found that could bear and carry Tascaluça, because of his large body and not because he was fat, for as we said above his girth was less than a vara, nor was he corpulent with old age, because he was scarcely forty years old. Making further search for a horse that Tascaluça could ride, the Castilians found a hack belonging to the governor that was used as a pack horse because it was so strong; this horse could carry Tascaluça. He was so tall that when he mounted the horse his feet cleared the ground by only a handbreadth.

The governor was no little relieved that a horse had been found that Tascaluça could ride, and he was not disturbed because they mounted him on a pack horse. Thus they marched three daily journeys of four leagues each, at the end of which they reached the principal pueblo, called Tascaluça, from which the province and its lord took their names. The pueblo was strong, being situated on a peninsula the river formed; the stream was the same one that passed by Talise, and it became increasingly large and swift.

They spent the following day in crossing it, and because of the scarcity of rafts, it took almost the entire day. They camped half a league from the river in a beautiful valley.

At this camp two Spaniards were missing, one of them being Juan de Villalobos, whom we have mentioned twice. It was not known what became of them, though it was suspected that the Indians, finding them some distance from the camp, had killed them, because Villalobos, wherever he might be, was very fond of going about the country to see what he could find, a thing that costs the lives of all those who indulge in this bad habit in time of war.

The absence of the two Spaniards was a bad sign, and those who noted the novelty of the event feared that Tascaluça's friendship was not as true and loyal as he pretended it to be. To this unfavorable sign was added another, worse one, which was that when his Indians were questioned about the two missing Spaniards they replied very impudently, asking whether they had been appointed to guard them or what obligation they had to tell them about their Castilians. The governor was unwilling to insist further upon searching for them because he understood that they were dead, and that business would serve only to disturb and alienate the cacique and his vassals. It

seemed better to him to leave the investigation and the punishment for a more favorable occasion.

At dawn on the following day the governor sent out two soldiers selected from among the best in the whole army. One was named Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo, an hidalgo who was a native of Zafra, an able and experienced man in all respects to whom could be entrusted implicitly any serious affair of peace or of war; the other was Diego Vázquez, a native of Villanueva de Barcarrota, also a man of good repute and entirely trustworthy. He sent them with orders to go to see what was in a pueblo called Mauvila, which was a league and half from that camp. There the curaca had many people ostensibly in order to better serve and entertain the governor and his Spaniards. He ordered them to wait for him in the pueblo, as he was marching after them immediately.

## XXV

### THE GOVERNOR ARRIVES AT MAUVILA AND FINDS INDICATIONS OF TREASON

As soon as the two soldiers left the camp, the governor ordered a hundred cavalry and a hundred infantry to prepare to go with him and with Tascaluça, both of them desiring to be in the vanguard that day. He left orders that the *maese de campo* follow immediately after him with the rest of the army. The latter was late in leaving, and his men marched scattered through the country hunting and enjoying themselves, quite overlooking the possibility of a battle because of the undisturbed peace that they had enjoyed throughout the summer, up to that time.

The governor, who was marching with more caution, reached the pueblo of Mauvila at eight o'clock in the morning. It contained few houses, scarcely more than eighty, but they were all very large and some had a capacity of fifteen hundred persons, others of a thousand, and the smaller ones of more than five hundred. We call a house any building of only one room, like a church, for the Indians do not build their houses by connecting several rooms together; but each one according to his ability builds a house with one room like a *sala*, and this has its apartments containing the necessary offices, which are few enough. These single rooms they call houses. Since those of this pueblo had been erected as a frontier and strong place and for displaying

the power of the lord, they were very handsome. Most of them belonged to the cacique, and the others to the most important and richest men of his whole state.

The pueblo was situated on a very beautiful plain and had an enclosure three *estados* high, which was made of logs as thick as oxen. They were driven into the ground so close together that they touched one another. Other beams, longer and not so thick, were placed crosswise on the outside and inside and attached with split canes and strong cords. On top they were daubed with a great deal of mud and packed down with long straw, a mixture that filled all the cracks and open spaces between the logs and their fastenings in such a manner that it really looked like a wall finished with a mason's trowel. At intervals of fifty paces around this enclosure were towers capable of holding seven or eight men who could fight in them. The lower part of the enclosure, to the height of an *estado*, was full of loopholes for shooting arrows at those on the outside. The pueblo had only two gates, one on the east and the other on the west. In the middle was a spacious plaza around which were the largest and most important houses.<sup>21</sup>

The governor and the giant Tascaluça arrived at this plaza, and the latter, as soon as he had dismounted, summoned the interpreter Juan Ortiz and, pointing with his finger, said to him: "The governor will lodge in this large house, together with the gentlemen and nobles whom his lordship wishes to have with him, and his servants and equipage will be put in this other one that is near it. An arrow-shot outside of the pueblo my vassals have erected many good shelters made of branches for the rest of the people, in which they can be comfortably lodged, because the pueblo is small and we cannot all get into it." The general replied that as soon as the *maese de campo* arrived he would send [the men] into their quarters, and do everything else as he had arranged it. Thereupon Tascaluça entered one of the largest houses on the plaza where, as was learned afterward, he had the captains of his council of war. The governor and the cavalry and infantry who came with him stayed in the plaza, and they ordered the horses taken outside the pueblo until learning where they were to put them.

Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo, who, as we have said, had gone ahead to

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<sup>21</sup>Stripped of its blatant exaggerations, Garcilaso's description of Mabila accords well with archaeologically known fortified native towns of the late prehistoric Southeast. The severest faults lie in the extraordinary size claimed for the houses, and in the size of the vertical members of the palisade. All archaeologically excavated examples of town palisades in the Southeast reveal evidence of closely spaced vertical posts of relatively small diameter.

see and reconnoiter the pueblo of Mauvila, as soon as the governor dismounted came up to him and said: "Sir, I have examined this pueblo carefully, and the things that I have seen and noted in it give me no assurance whatever of the friendship of this curaca and of his vassals; rather they arouse my suspicion that they have plotted some treason, for in these few houses that your lordship sees there are more than ten thousand chosen warriors. There is not a single old man or Indian servant among them, but all are warriors, nobles and young men. They are all supplied with a great many arms, and besides those which each one has for himself many of these houses are full of them [arms]. They are a common depository of arms. Furthermore, although these Indians have many women with them, all are young and none of them have children nor is there a single child in the whole pueblo, but they are free and unimpeded by any encumbrance. The country for a harquebus-shot surrounding the pueblo (as your lordship will have seen) they have cleaned and cleared of growth in such a curious manner that they have even pulled up the grass roots by hand, which seems to me to be a sign that they intend to give us battle and wish to have nothing in their way. There may be added to these bad signs the death of the two Spaniards who were missing at the last camp. For all these reasons it seems to me that your lordship ought to proceed cautiously with this Indian and not trust him. Though there was nothing else except the unfriendly countenances and still more unfavorable attitude that he and his people have hitherto shown us, and the arrogance and impudence with which they speak to us, it would be enough to warn us not to consider his friendship genuine, but false and deceitful."

The general's reply was to order that the word be passed from one to another among those who were there, warning them all to be secretly on their guard, and he particularly commanded Gonzalo Quadrado that as soon as the *maese de campo* arrived he was to notify him of what he had seen in the pueblo so that he might act for the best interests of all.

Alonso de Carmona in his manuscript volume gives a very long account of the journey that these Spaniards made, and he with them, from the province of Cofachiqui to that of Coça. He tells of the grandeurs of the province of Coça and of the generosity of its lord, and names many of the pueblos along that road, though not all that I have named. Concerning the stature of Tascaluça, he says that almost nothing was lacking to make a giant of him, and that he was very well favored. Juan Coles, in speaking of this huge fellow, says the following: "When we arrived at the province of this lord Tascaluça he came out to receive us peacefully. He was a large man, whose

shin from the foot to the knee was as high as any other very tall men from the foot to the waist; he had eyes like an ox. He mounted a horse on the march, and the horse could not carry him. The adelantado dressed him in scarlet and gave him a very handsome cape of his own." Having told about the scarlet clothing, Alonso de Carmona adds these words:

When the governor and Tascaluça entered Mauvila the Indians came out to receive them with dances and ceremonies to better dissemble their treason, the most important people taking part in them. When that entertainment ended another dance took place, performed by marvelously beautiful women, because as I have said those Indians are very well favored, and the women so much so that afterward, when we left that country and went to México, Governor Moscoso took an Indian from this province of Mauvila, who was a very handsome and graceful woman. She could compete in beauty with the most elegant from Spain who were in all México, and thus because of her extreme beauty, those ladies of México sent to beg the governor to send her because they wished to see her. He did so very gladly because it pleased him that they should envy her.

All these are words of Alonso de Carmona as he himself says them, and I am glad to include these and all that appear in the *History* in the names of these two soldiers, who were eyewitnesses, so that it may be seen how clearly they show that their accounts and ours correspond. A little further on Alonso de Carmona tells of the notice that we said that Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo (though he does not name him) gave to Governor Hernando de Soto. He adds that he told him how on that morning and on many others before the Indians had gone out to the fields to drill, and how every day before the skirmish and military exercise a captain harangued them.

The cacique Tascaluça (as has been said), as soon as he and the governor entered the pueblo, went into a house where his council of war was, waiting to conclude and decide upon the plan that they were to follow in killing the Spaniards, for that curaca had determined long since to kill them in the pueblo of Mauvila. For this purpose he had assembled the warriors that he had there, not only from among his vassals and subjects but also from the neighboring and outlying [provinces], so that all might enjoy the triumph and glory of having killed the Castilians and might have their part of the spoils that they carried. Those who were not his vassals had come on this condition.

When Tascaluça was among his captains, then, and the chief men of his army, he told them that they must determine quickly how they would carry

out that purpose; whether they would immediately cut the throats of the Spaniards who were then in the pueblo and of the others after them, as they arrived, or whether they would wait until all of them had come. Because of their own strength and bravery they expected to be able to behead all of them together as easily as they could when they were separated into the three divisions of vanguard, center, and rear guard, into which the army was formed on the march. They must decide at once, because he only waited upon their resolution.

## XXVI

### THE MEMBERS OF TASCALUÇA'S COUNCIL DETERMINE TO KILL THE SPANIARDS. AN ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE THAT TOOK PLACE

The captains of the council were divided regarding the proposals that Tascaluça presented to them. Some said that they ought not to wait until all the Castilians should be together, so that their enterprise would not be made more difficult, but that they ought to kill at once the ones who were there and then the rest as they should arrive. Others who were braver said that it seemed like a kind of cowardice and a sign of fear and even smelled of treason to wish to kill them when they were divided, but that inasmuch as they had the same advantage in bravery, dexterity, and lightness as in numbers, they should allow them to come together and behead all of them at one blow; that this would be more honorable and more befitting to Tascaluça's grandeur because it would be a greater exploit.

The first captains replied, saying that it was not a good thing to risk all the Spaniards joining together and putting themselves in a better defensive position, and killing some of the Indians. However few there might be, they would feel more the loss of a few friends than the satisfaction that the death of all their enemies would give them. It was enough to gain the end that they desired, which was to cut all their throats, and it could be accomplished better and more surely the more leisure they had for doing it.

This last counsel prevailed, for though the other was more in line with Tascaluça's arrogance and bravado, he was so desirous of seeing the Spaniards beheaded that any delay, however short it might be, seemed long to

him. Thus it was agreed that for carrying out their decision they would seize any opportunity that was offered them, and that if there were none, they would do it arbitrarily, for it was not necessary to seek reasons for killing enemies.

While Tascaluça's council was discussing the death of the Spaniards, the governor's servants, who had gone on ahead and hurried their march and had been lodged in one of the large houses that faced the plaza, had prepared breakfast, or dinner, for they were all one, and summoned his lordship to eat, as it was now the hour. The general sent a message to Tascaluça by Juan Ortiz asking that he come to breakfast, for he had always eaten with the governor. Juan Ortiz delivered the message at the door of the house where the curaca was because the Indians would not let him come inside. Having delivered the message, they replied that their lord would come out soon.

After some time had passed Juan Ortiz again repeated his message at the door and received the same reply. Then after another interval he asked again, for the third time, that they tell Tascaluça to come out, for the governor was awaiting him with the food on the table. Then an Indian came out of the house, who must have been the captain-general, and spoke with extraordinary arrogance and haughtiness, saying: "Who are these thieves and vagabonds here calling to my lord Tascaluça to come out, come out, speaking with as little reverence as if they were talking to another like themselves? By the Sun and the Moon, one is not able to endure the boldness of these devils, and it is only just that they die for it today, being cut to pieces to put an end to their iniquity and tyranny!"

The captain had scarcely spoken these words when another Indian who came out after him placed a bow and arrows in his hands so that he could begin to fight. The Indian general, throwing back over his shoulders the folds of a very handsome mantle of marten-skins he wore fastened at his throat, took the bow and, placing an arrow in it, turned with it to shoot at a group of Spaniards who were in the street.

Captain Baltasar de Gallegos, who happened to be near, to one side of the door by which the Indian came out, seeing his treason and that of his cacique, and that the whole pueblo was implicated in it, raised a loud alarm and drew his sword. He gave the Indian a slash from the left shoulder downward that, as he wore no defensive armor nor even any clothing except the mantle, laid open his whole side, and with his entrails all protruding he immediately fell dead, without having a chance to shoot the arrow.

When this Indian went out of the house to speak those insulting words that he said against the Castilians, he had already given the Indians the word

to fight, and thus there came out of all the houses in the pueblo, principally those that surrounded the plaza, six or seven thousand warriors. They fell with such impetus and courage upon the few Spaniards who were going carelessly through the principal street by which they had entered, that they very easily sent them flying, as they said, without allowing them to put their feet on the ground, until they drove them outside the gate more than two hundred paces into the fields. So fierce and bold was this inundation of Indians that it overwhelmed the Spaniards, though it is true that in all that time there was not a single Spaniard who turned his back on the enemy. On the other hand, they fought with all good spirit, valor, and strength, defending themselves and withdrawing because it was impossible for them to make a stand and resist the cruel and arrogant violence with which the Indians rushed out of the houses and of the pueblo.

Among the first Indians who left the house from which the Indian captain came was a young noble about eighteen years of age. Fastening his eyes upon Baltasar de Gallegos, he shot six or seven arrows at him with great fury and swiftness, and though he had more, seeing that he had not killed or wounded him with those, because the Spaniard was well protected with armor, he grasped his bow in both hands and closed with him, he being close by, and gave him three or four blows on the head with such velocity and force that he made the blood flow from under his helmet down his forehead. Baltasar de Gallegos, seeing himself so mistreated and to prevent his abusing him further, very hastily stabbed him twice in the breast, and with this his enemy fell dead.

It was surmised that this young Indian must have been the son of that captain who was the first to come out to the battle, and that it was with the desire of avenging his father's death that he had fought Baltasar de Gallegos with such courage and anxiety as he showed to kill him. But as a matter of fact all of them fought with the same eagerness to kill or wound the Spaniards.

The mounted soldiers, who, as we said, had their horses staked outside the walls of the pueblo, seeing the impetus and fury with which the Indians fell upon them, ran out of the pueblo to get their horses. Those who were most dexterous and made the greatest effort succeeded in mounting them. Others who underrated this avalanche of the enemy and its swiftness, being unable to mount their horses, contented themselves with loosing them by cutting the reins or halters so that they could run away before the Indians shot them. Others, still more unfortunate, who were unable either to mount their horses or even to cut the halters, left them tied where the enemy shot



them with arrows, with extreme satisfaction and rejoicing. As the Indians were so numerous, half of them carried on the fight against the Castilians and half of them busied themselves in killing the horses that they found tied and in gathering up all the baggage and possessions belonging to the Christians that had already arrived and was piled against the wall of the pueblo and scattered around the plain, awaiting storage. The enemy got possession of all of this, without anything escaping them except the belongings of Captain Andrés de Vasconcelos, which had not yet arrived.

The Indians put all this in their houses and left the Spaniards despoiled of everything they were bringing. They had nothing left except their lives and what they wore on their persons, for which they fought with all the good spirit and strength that were necessary in such a crisis, though they were unused to arms because of the long peace that they had enjoyed from Apalache to that place, and had not expected to fight that day because of the false friendship that Tascaluça had shown them. But neither the one nor the other was enough to make them fail in their duty.

## XXVII

### WHERE ARE RECOUNTED THE EVENTS OF THE FIRST THIRD OF THE BATTLE OF MAUVILA

The few riders among those who left the pueblo who were able to mount their horses, with a few others who had arrived from the march, unexpectedly finding such a cruel battle, joined together and went to resist the impetus and fury with which the Indians were pursuing the Spaniards who were fighting on foot. These latter, however much they tried, could not prevent the Indians from driving them forward across the plain, until they saw the horses charging them. Then they held up a little and gave our men a chance to rally and form two divisions, one of infantry and one of cavalry. They fell upon the Indians with such courage and shame for the past affront that they did not stop until they had shut them [the Indians] up again in the pueblo. But when they attempted to enter, such a shower of arrows and stones rained upon them from the wall and its loopholes that they withdrew by common accord.

Seeing them retire, the Indians came out again with the same impetuosity as the first time, some through the gate and others jumping down from the

wall. They engaged our men rashly, even grasping the cavalrymen's lances, and the Spaniards were forced, in spite of themselves, to retire more than two hundred paces from the wall.

As has been said, the Spaniards withdrew without turning their backs, fighting with all discipline and good order, because in this lay their salvation. They were few and lacked those who were behind in the rear guard, which had not yet come up.

Our men at once charged the enemy and drove them back toward the pueblo, but they made a strong attack from the wall, from which the Spaniards came to understand that it was better to fight them on the plain at a distance from the pueblo than near it. Thus from that time on, when they retired they purposely yielded more ground than the Indians forced them to lose, in order to draw them away from the pueblo so that by their retreat the cavalry would have more ground and room where they could charge them with lances. First one and then the other, attacking and withdrawing in this manner, as if in a tournament with reed spears—though it was a very cruel and bloody battle—and again standing their ground, Indians and Spaniards fought for three hours, savagely killing and wounding each other.

In these attacks and retreats that were thus made, there rode behind and among the Spaniards a Dominican friar named Fray Juan de Gallegos, the brother of Captain Baltasar de Gallegos. He was not attempting to fight, but he wished to give the horse to his brother, and with this desire he shouted to him to come out and mount the horse.

The captain, who had never ceased to be among the first, as he had happened to be at the beginning of the battle, made no effort to reply to his brother because he was unable to do so, nor would his reputation and honor permit him to leave the post that he occupied. In these advances and retreats the good friar made in his anxiety to help his brother with the horse, during an assault by the Indians one of them caught sight of him, and though he was some distance away he discharged an arrow at the moment when the friar happened to turn his horse to flee from them. It struck him in the back and wounded him, though slightly, because he wore his two cowls and all the other robes that those of his order usually wear, which are many, and over all this he had a large felt hat that was fastened around his neck with a cord and hung down over his shoulders. The arrow wound the Indian gave him with such good will was not mortal because of all these defenses. The friar took warning from it and went off some distance, fearing that they might shoot him again.

There were many wounds and deaths in this obstinate battle, but the one

that caused the Spaniards the greatest regret and grief, both because of the misfortune through which it happened and because of the person upon whom it fell, was that of Don Carlos Enríquez, a gentleman from Xerez de Badajoz. He was married to a niece of the governor and, because of his great virtue and affability, he was esteemed and beloved by all; we have mentioned him on another occasion. From the beginning of the battle this gentleman had fought like a very valiant soldier during all the attacks and retreats, and his horse, having been wounded in the last retreat by an arrow that had gone into one side of his breast above the breast-leather, in order to draw it out he changed his lance from his right hand to his left, and grasping the arrow, pulled at it. With his body extended forward along the horse's neck he made an effort, turning his head slightly over his left shoulder so that his throat was uncovered at an unfortunate moment. Just then a stray arrow with a flint barb fell and happened to strike him in the small part of the throat that was unprotected and without armor, for all the rest of his body was well armored. It wounded him in such a manner that the poor gentleman at once fell down from his horse with his throat cut, though he did not die until the next day.

With such events incident to battles, Indians and Castilians fought with many deaths on both sides, although the mortality was greater among the Indians because they had no defensive arms. After fighting for more than three hours on the plain, the latter realized that they were getting the worst of the battle on an open field because of the damage that the horses were doing them, and they all decided to withdraw toward the pueblo, close the gates, and station themselves on the walls. This they did, calling to one another to assemble from every direction.

On seeing the Indians closed up, the governor ordered that all the mounted soldiers, because they were better armed than the infantry, dismount and attack the pueblo, taking shields to defend themselves and axes to break in the gates (most of them carried axes with them), and as brave Spaniards do what they could to win it.

Instantly a squadron of two hundred cavalry was formed, which attacked the gate, broke it down with axes, and entered through it with no little damage to themselves.

Other Spaniards who could not go in through the gate because it was narrow, so as not to wait in the fields and lose time in fighting, made vigorous strokes at the wall with their axes and knocked off the mixture of mud and straw that was on top of it, uncovering the transverse logs and the fastenings by which they were attached. Assisting one another they climbed up

by them, got over the wall, and entered the pueblo to help their men.

The Indians, on seeing the Castilians inside the pueblo that they had considered impregnable, and that they were gaining it, fought with the spirit of desperate men, in the streets as well as from the roofs, from which they did much damage to the Christians. The latter, in order to defend themselves from those who were fighting from the flat roofs or terraces and to insure that they would not attack them from behind, and also in order that the Indians might not come back to gain the houses that they were taking, decided to set fire to them. They did so and, as they were made of straw, in a moment a great deal of flame and smoke arose, which added itself to [the confusion of] the blood, the many wounds, and the massacre that was taking place in such a small pueblo.

As soon as they closed themselves up in the pueblo, many of the Indians ran to the house that had been designated for the governor's service and chamber, which they had not attacked hitherto because it seemed to them that they had it safely [in their hands]. Thus they now went very boldly to enjoy the spoils that were in it. But they found the house well defended, because inside were three crossbowmen and five halberdiers of the governor's guard who were accustomed to accompany his equipage and servants, and one of the first Indians whom they captured in that country, who was now a friend and a faithful servant, and as such carried his bow and arrows to be ready when it should be necessary to fight against those of his own nation in the favor and service of the foreigner. There also happened to be in the house two priests, a cleric and a friar, and two of the governor's slaves. All these people stationed themselves to defend the house, the priests with their prayers and the seculars with arms, and they fought so courageously that the enemy could not gain the door. They then decided to go in through the roof and accordingly opened it in three or four places, but the crossbowmen and the Indian archer worked so effectively that all those who dared enter through the holes in the roof they shot down dead or badly wounded, as they appeared. These few Spaniards were conducting this spirited defense when the general and his captains and soldiers came up to the door of the house, fighting, and drove the enemy away from it. Thereupon those in the house were released and went out to the field, giving thanks to God for having saved them from such danger.

## XXVIII

### WHICH CONTINUES THROUGH THE SECOND THIRD OF THE BATTLE OF MAUVILA

When the things that we recounted in the last chapter took place Indians and Castilians had been fighting without ceasing for more than four hours, killing one another most cruelly. For it seemed that the more injury the Indians received, the more they persisted, and despairing of their lives, instead of surrendering they fought with greater eagerness to kill the Spaniards; and they, seeing the obstinacy, persistence, and rage of the Indians, wounded and killed them without any pity.

The governor, who had fought throughout the four hours on foot at the head of his men, went out of the pueblo and mounted a horse. So as to increase the fears of the enemy and the spirit and courage of his men, he went back into the pueblo, accompanied by Nuño Tovar who was also mounted, and both riders, calling the names of Our Lady and St. James the Apostle ["Santiago" (St. James) was a traditional battle cry of the Spanish] and shouting loudly to their men to make way, broke through the enemy squadron from one side to the other as it was fighting in the principal street and in the plaza. Then they turned back upon them, spearing them on either side, like the brave and skillful soldiers that they were.

During these attacks and withdrawals, at a time when the governor was standing in his stirrups to throw a lance at an Indian, another who was behind him shot an arrow above the hind bow of the saddle, which struck in the small unprotected space the general exposed between the saddlebow and the breastplate, and though he wore a coat of mail, the arrow broke through it and penetrated some six inches into the left hip. The good general, alike in order not to let it be known that he was wounded so that his men would not become alarmed because of this hurt, and because in the press of the fighting he had no opportunity to pull out the arrow, fought with it through all the rest of the battle, which was almost five hours, without being able to sit in the saddle, which was no small proof of the valor of this captain and of his skill in horsemanship.

They shot another arrow through Nuño Tovar's lance, which as it was slender it passed through the middle near the hand, and the haft of the lance was so fine that it was not split, but it appeared rather that the arrow was a gimlet that had bored delicately through it. Thus when the arrow was later

cut away on either side the lance served as well as before. Though of little importance, this shot is described because such shots are seldom made, and also because it shows what we have said many times about the ferocity and skill that these Indians of La Florida have with bows and arrows.

These two gentlemen, although they fought all day and repeatedly broke through the squadrons that the Indians formed and reformed at every step, and were present at the most dangerous crises of this battle, received no other wounds than those that we have described, which was no small good fortune.

The fire that they had set to the houses increased momentarily and did the Indians much damage, for as they were numerous and could not all fight in the streets and plaza, because they could not all get into them, they fought from the terraces and flat roofs, and the fire trapped and burned them there or forced them in fleeing from it to fling themselves down from the terraces.

It did no less damage in the houses where it came in through the door, for as has been said, they were large rooms with only one door, and when the fire blocked it those who were inside could not get out and were burned and suffocated by the fire and smoke. Many women who were closed up in the houses perished in this way.

The fire was equally harmful in the streets, because sometimes the wind blew the flame and smoke over the Indians, blinding them and helping the Spaniards to drive them back without their being able to resist. Again it would turn in favor of the Indians against the Christians and enable them to regain the part of the street that they had lost. Thus the fire went favoring now one side and now the other, and increasing the mortality of the battle.

The fighting was sustained on both sides with the cruelty and fury that has been seen until four o'clock in the afternoon, the battle having been continuous for seven hours. At this hour the Indians, seeing how many of their men they had killed by fire and the sword and that for lack of fighters their strength was decreasing while that of the Castilians was increasing, summoned the women and ordered them to take up some of the many arms that were lying in the streets and set about taking vengeance for the death of their people; and if they could not avenge them, they could at least see to it that all of them should die before becoming the slaves of the Spaniards.

When they gave this command to the women many of them had already been fighting bravely for some time along with their husbands, but with this new order not one remained who did not go to the battle, taking up arms that they found lying on the ground, of which there was an abundance. Many of the swords, halberds, and lances that the Spaniards had lost came

into their hands, and they turned them against their owners, wounding them with their own arms. They also took up bows and arrows and shot them with no less skill and ferocity than their husbands. They stationed themselves in front of the latter to fight, and resolutely exposed themselves to death with much more temerity than the men. They thrust themselves among the enemy's weapons with great fury and recklessness, showing well that the desperation and courage of women in what they have determined to do is greater and more heedless than that of men. The Spaniards, however, seeing that the Indian women were doing this more with the desire of dying than of conquering, and also out of regard for the fact that they were women, abstained from wounding and killing them.

While this long and stubborn battle lasted, the trumpets, fifes, and drums did not cease to sound the alarm very insistently, so that the Spaniards who had stayed behind in the rear guard would hurry to the assistance of their men.

The *maese de campo* and those who were coming with him marched scattered about the country hunting and enjoying themselves, ignorant of what was going on in Mauvila. But when they heard the noise of the military musical instruments and the shouts and outcries that sounded inside and outside the pueblo, and saw the clouds of smoke that rose up in front of them, suspecting what it might be, they passed the word back to the last ones and all of them marched at top speed, arriving during the last part of the battle.

Among them came Captain Diego de Soto, the governor's nephew and the brother-in-law of Don Carlos Enriquez, whose misfortune we have already told. When he learned what had happened to his brother-in-law, whom he loved devotedly, the grief that he felt at such a loss made him desire to avenge it. He leaped down from his horse and, taking up a shield, entered the pueblo sword in hand and went where the battle was raging most fiercely and cruelly, which was in the principal street, though it is true that in all the others there was no lack of blood, fire, and death, for the whole pueblo was filled with savage combat.

At four o'clock in the afternoon Diego de Soto entered the battle at that place, but it was to imitate the misfortune of his brother-in-law rather than to avenge his death. It was not a time for private vengeance but for the wrath of military fortune, which, apparently in abhorrence of having granted them so much peace in the land of such cruel enemies, now desired to give them all in one day the warfare that would have sufficed for a year, and perhaps it would not have been so disastrous to them as that of this day alone, as we

shall see later. Few or no battles between Spaniards and Indians have taken place in the New World that would equal this one, both in the stubborn persistence of the fighting and in the length of time that it lasted, unless it were that of the presumptuous Pedro de Valdivia, of which we shall tell in the history of El Perú if God shall be pleased to grant us life.

As we were saying, then, Captain Diego de Soto came to the thick of the battle and had scarcely entered it when they shot him in the eye with an arrow, which came out at the back of his head. He fell to the ground at once and lay in agony without speaking until the next day, when he died, without their having been able to remove the arrow. This was the revenge that he took for his relative Don Carlos, to the greater grief and loss of the general and of the whole army, for these two gentlemen were most worthy nephews of such an uncle.

## XXIX

### IT TELLS OF THE END OF THE BATTLE OF MAUVILA, AND IN WHAT BAD CONDITION THE SPANIARDS WERE LEFT

The battle that took place in the country was no less bloody; it was for this purpose that the fields had been cleared of timber and cleaned even to uprooting the grass and herbs. Having enclosed themselves in the pueblo to make a defense, the Indians realized that because of their numbers they would hinder one another in fighting, and that because the space was limited<sup>22</sup> they could not profit by their lightness and agility. Thus many of them agreed to go out to the fields, letting themselves down from the walls, where they fought with all good spirit and courage and eagerness for victory. But they soon recognized that their plan was ill-advised, because if their lightness gave them an advantage over the Spanish infantry, those on horseback were their superiors and speared them in the field entirely at their pleasure, without their being able to defend themselves, for these Indians do not use pikes (although they have them), which are the defense against cavalry, be-

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<sup>22</sup>The Varners' translation of this passage, in speaking of "the narrowness of the place," has sometimes led to the unwarranted supposition that the layout of Mabila was narrow or oblong. Varner and Varner, *The Florida of the Inca*, 371; Caleb Curren, *In Search of De Soto's Trail*, *Bulletins of Discovery* no. 1 (Camden: Alabama-Tombigbee Regional Commission, 1986), 11.



cause they had not permitted themselves to believe that the enemy would come up within reach of the pikes, but expected to assault and kill them with arrows a good distance before they should reach them. This is the chief reason they use the bow and arrows more than any other weapons. Thus a great many of them died on the field, ill-advised in their ferocity and vain presumption. The Spaniards of the rear guard came up, cavalry and infantry, and all attacked the Indians who were fighting in the field, and after engaging in battle for a long period of time and receiving many deaths and wounds—for though they arrived late they received a very good share of them, as we saw in the case of Diego de Soto and shall soon see in others—they routed and killed most of the Indians. Some escaped by flight.

At this time, which was now nearly sunset, the shouts and cries of those who were fighting in the pueblo still sounded. Many of those who were mounted entered to aid their men; others remained outside to be ready for whatever might be needed. Hitherto for lack of room none of the cavalry had fought inside the pueblo except the general and Nuño Tovar. Now, therefore, many mounted men entered and scattered through the streets, for there was work for them to do in all of them. Breaking through the Indians who were fighting there, they killed them.

Ten or twelve horsemen advanced along the principal street where the battle was fiercest and bloodiest, and where there was still a squadron of Indian men and women who were fighting most desperately, for now they attempted nothing else except to die fighting. The cavalry charged upon them, and taking them from behind they broke them more easily and passed through them so furiously that they knocked down many Spaniards in the wake of the Indians. They were fighting hand to hand with the enemy, all of whom they killed, for none wished to surrender or give up their arms, but to die with them, fighting like good soldiers.

This was the last encounter of the battle in which the Spaniards ended by conquering, just as the sun went down, having fought nine hours in both places without ceasing. This was the day of the blessed St. Luke the Evangelist in the year 1540, and on the same day, though many years later, this account of it was written.

At the same moment the battle ended, one of the Indians who had been fighting in the pueblo, dazed with his own struggle and courage, had not noticed what had happened to his people until, coming to himself, he saw them all dead. Since he saw himself alone and now unable to conquer, he attempted to save his life by fleeing, and with this desire he ran to the wall and jumped up on it with much agility, so as to escape across the fields. But

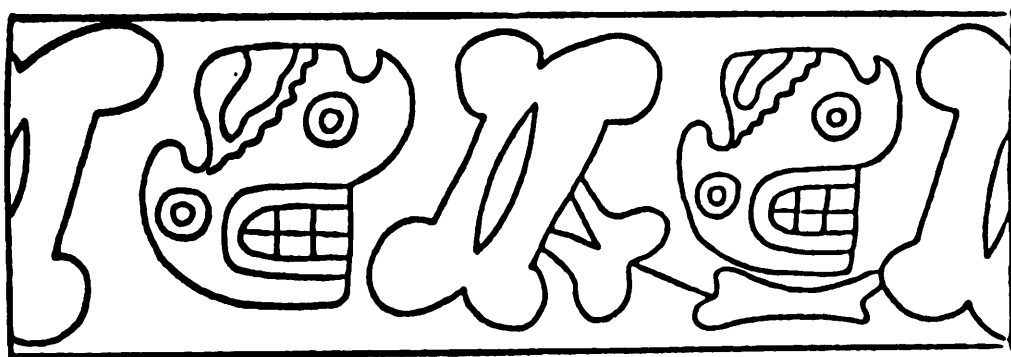
seeing the Castilians on foot and on horses who were there and the massacre that had occurred and that he could not escape, he preferred death to giving himself up as prisoner, and quickly taking the cord from his bow, he fastened it to the branches of a tree that was growing on the wall in the spaces between the logs, which the Indians had left there as a point to reckon from in enclosing the pueblo. This tree was not the only one growing on the wall, for there were many others like it that they had left there purposely, which greatly beautified the wall.

Fastening one end of the cord, then, to a branch of the tree, and the other around his neck, he let himself fall down from the wall so quickly that, although some Spaniards desired to rescue him so that he would not die, they could not get there in time. Thus the Indian was hanged by his own hand, causing amazement by his action and by the certainty that he who would hang himself would be even more desirous of hanging the Castilians if he could. From this may be well surmised the recklessness and desperation with which all of them fought, for the one who was left alive killed himself.

The battle over, Governor Hernando de Soto, though he came out of it badly wounded, took care to order that the bodies of the dead Spaniards be recovered for burial on the next day and that the wounded be treated. There was such a lack of necessities for treating them that many died before they could be assisted, for it was found by actual count that there were 1,770 or more wounds that required treatment. These included only the ones that were dangerous and required the service of a surgeon, such as those that penetrated the body cavity, or a broken skull, or arrow wounds in the elbow, knee, or ankle, from which it was feared the wounded man might be left lame or maimed.

The number of such wounds found was that which we have stated. Of those which were through the calf from one side to the other, or through the thigh or the hips, or through the large or fleshy part of the arm, though made by lances, and of the knife wounds or stabs that did not endanger life, they took no account and did not have the surgeon treat them. The wounded themselves treated one another, though they might be captains or officials of the hacienda real. There was an almost countless number of such wounds, for there was scarcely a man who was not wounded, and most of them had five or six wounds, and many ten or twelve.

Having recounted (though badly) the events of the bloody battle of Mauvila and the victory that our men won there, from which they escaped with so many wounds as we have said, I must refer in what remains of this chapter to the consideration of those who may read it, so that they can



*Warfare and Death: A Mississippian Motif. This native design, taken from an incised pottery beaker excavated in Alabama, illustrates a common artistic theme in Mississippian culture: skulls and forearm bones. The skulls bear conventional marks indicating that the victims had been scalped. (From the University of Alabama Museum of Natural History collections, Moundville Archaeological Park, Moundville, Alabama)*

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supply from their imaginations what I cannot tell fully here, the affliction and extreme necessity that these Spaniards suffered for everything needed to enable them to treat their wounds and save their lives. Even for people who were well and rested there was a great scarcity, as we shall soon see, and much more for men who had fought nine hours by the clock without stopping and had come out with so many and such severe wounds. I wish to avail myself of this means because, aside from my small ability, it is impossible that such momentous things can be written of adequately or described as they took place.

Therefore it must be considered first of all that, if they applied to the surgeon for treatment for such a multitude of wounds, there was only one in the whole army, and he was not as able and diligent as could have been desired; rather he was stupid and almost useless. Then if they asked for medicines, there were none, for the few that they were carrying, along with the olive oil they had reserved some days before for such needs, and the bandages and lint that they always had ready, and all the other linen such as sheets and shirts they could have used for making bandages and lint, and the rest of the clothing they were bringing, the Indians, as we said above, had taken into the pueblo, and the fire the Spaniards themselves set had consumed it. Then if they wished something to eat, there was nothing, because the fire had burned up the provisions that the Castilians had brought and those the Indians had in their houses, not one of which remained standing, all of them having been consumed.

Our Spaniards found themselves in these straits, without doctors or medicines, without bandages or lint, without food or clothing with which to cover themselves, without houses or even huts in which to take shelter against the cold and dew of the night. They had been deprived of all succor by the misfortunes of that day. Even if they had attempted to go in search of something for their relief, the darkness of the night would have prevented them, and not knowing where to find it, and seeing themselves all so wounded and weak from loss of blood that most of them could not stand on their feet. They had an abundance only of sighs and groans that the pain of their wounds and the poor treatment of them wrested from them.

In their hearts and aloud they called on God to protect and succor them in that affliction, and our Lord as a merciful Father aided them, by giving them an invincible spirit in that hardship, which the Spanish nation always had above all the nations of the earth to support it in its greatest necessities, and these availed themselves of it in the present one, as we shall see in the next chapter.

## XXX

### THE EFFORTS THE SPANIARDS MADE TO HELP THEMSELVES, AND TWO STRANGE EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE DURING THE BATTLE

Our Spaniards finding themselves in the necessity, hardship, and affliction of which we have told, considering that they had no other recourse than their own spirit and courage, recovered it to such an extent that those who were least wounded went at once and with great diligence to the aid of the badly wounded. Some found a sheltered place in which to put them, making use for this purpose of the shelters and large huts that the Indians had built outside the pueblo for lodging the Spaniards. They made roofs from the arbors to fasten to the walls that were left standing. Others busied themselves in cutting open the dead Indians and taking the fat to use as ointment and oil in treating wounds. Others brought straw on which to lay the sick.

Others took the shirts off their dead comrades and took off their own to make bandages and lint from them. The ones that were made of linen were reserved for dressings only for those who were most dangerously wounded, not for all of them. The rest, whose wounds were not dangerous, had them dressed with coarser kinds of lint and bandages made of jackets and the linings of trousers and other such things that could be had.

Others worked at skinning the dead horses and in preparing and keeping the meat from them, to be given to the badly wounded in place of hens and young chickens, because there was nothing else to feed them.

With all the labor that they had to perform, others set themselves to stand guard and sentry duty so that, if the enemy should come, they would not find them unprepared, though very few of them were fit to take up arms.

In this manner they helped one another that night, all forcing themselves to endure with a good spirit the hardships that ill-fortune had inflicted upon them.

They remained four days treating the wounds that were considered dangerous, for as they had only one surgeon and as he was not very active, it was not possible to give them more attention. Thirteen Spaniards died during this time from their wounds. Forty-seven fell in battle, eighteen of whom were killed by arrow wounds in the eyes or mouth, for the Indians, knowing that their bodies were armed, shot at their faces.

Besides those who died before being treated and in the battle itself, another

er twenty-two Christians died afterward from poor treatment and poor doctors. Thus we can say that eighty-two Spaniards died in this battle of Mauvila.

To this loss was added that of forty-five horses that the Indians killed in the battle, which were no less lamented and mourned than their own comrades, because they saw that in them lay the greatest strength of their army.

Among all these losses, though they were so great, none was felt so much as that of Don Carlos Enríquez, for in all the toils and hardships, because of his great virtue and amiable disposition, he was a comfort and a solace to the governor, as good sons are to their fathers. To the captains and soldiers he was a help in their necessities and a protection in their shortcomings and faults, and brought peace and concord to their passions and private quarrels, setting himself to pacify and compose them. He did this not only among the captains and soldiers but also he served as their intercessor and patron with the general, to win his pardon and clemency for them in the derelictions they committed. The governor himself, whenever any trouble arose between important persons in the army, submitted it to Don Carlos so that he might compose and pacify it with his great affability and tact.

In these matters and other similar ones, besides fulfilling completely the duty of a good soldier, this true gentleman employed himself in favoring and assisting with deeds and words those who had need of him. Such acts ought to be held in esteem by those who pride themselves on the name of gentleman and hidalgo, for truly these titles sound false when unaccompanied by such works, because they are the very essence, origin, and principle from which true nobility springs, and upon which it sustains itself, and there can be no nobility where there is no virtue.

Among many other strange events that took place in this battle, we shall tell two that were the most notable. One was that in the first assault the Indians made upon the Castilians, when they fell upon them and drove them out of the pueblo with that unexpected and undreamed-of fury, sending them retreating across the fields, one Spaniard fled. He was a native of the village of Badajoz, a common man, very uncouth and rustic, whose name has been forgotten. At that time, only he turned his back and fled, and reaching a place out of danger (though to him it did not seem possible to do so), he fell headlong and then got up, but soon thereafter he fell dead, without a wound or any sign of a blow that they might have given him. All the Spaniards said that he had died of fright and of cowardice, because they found no other reason for it.

The other case was just the contrary. A Portuguese soldier named Men

Rodriguez, a nobleman from the city of Yelves of the company of Andrés Vasconcelos de Silva, a soldier who had served in Africa on the frontiers of the kingdom of Portugal, fought all day on horseback like the very valiant soldier that he was and performed memorable exploits in the battle. That night when the fighting was over, he dismounted and remained like a wooden statue, and without again speaking or eating or drinking or sleeping, after three days he passed from this life, without a wound or the sign of a blow that might have caused his death. It might have been that he was exhausted with much fighting. Thus in contrast to the other, it was said that this good fidalgo had died of valor and courage from having fought and labored excessively.

All that we have said in general and in particular about this great battle of Mauvila, both as to the time that it lasted, which was nine hours, and as to the events that took place in it, Alonso de Carmona tells in his *Relation*. He mentions the governor's wound and the arrow passing through Nuño Tovar's lance and says that they left it in the form of a cross. He tells of the unfortunate death of Don Carlos Enríquez and of that of Don Diego de Soto, his brother-in-law. Carmona adds that he himself put one knee upon his chest and the other on his forehead and endeavored with both hands to pull out the arrow, which pierced his eye, and says that he could not move it. He also tells of the hardships and fatigues they all suffered in common. Juan Coles tells the same things, though not at such length as Alonso de Carmona, and he refers especially to the number of serious wounds, which we mentioned. Both agree as to the number of Spaniards and horses that died in this battle, which was so much discussed that the memory of its events remained clear to them.

## XXXI

### THE NUMBER OF INDIANS WHO DIED IN THE BATTLE OF MAUVILA

The number of Indians, men and women, who perished in this conflict by the sword and by fire was thought to exceed eleven thousand persons, because more than 2,500 men were left lying round about the pueblo, and among them they found the young Tascaluça, son of the cacique. Inside the pueblo more than three thousand Indians died by the sword, and one could

not walk through the streets for the dead bodies. The fire consumed more than 3,500 souls in the houses, for in one house alone a thousand persons were burned, the fire cutting them off from the door and suffocating and burning them inside without their being able to get out. It was pitiful to see how they were left, and most of them were women.

For four leagues round about in the woods, ravines, and streams, the Spaniards on going through the country found nothing but dead and wounded Indians, to the number of two thousand persons who had been unable to reach their houses. It was pitiful to hear them groaning in the woods, entirely helpless.

Concerning Tascaluça, who was responsible for all this calamity, it was not known what had become of him, because some Indians said that he had escaped by flight and others that he had been burned up. The latter seems more probable and was more in accordance with what he deserved, for as was learned later, from the first day that the Castilians knew that they would come to his country he had resolved to kill them there. With this determination he had sent his son to the pueblo of Talise to receive the governor (as was told above), in order that he and those who went with him under pretext of serving the governor and his army could act as spies and note the military organization that the Spaniards maintained by day and by night, so that in accordance with their watchfulness or carelessness he could plan the treason that he intended to carry out in order to kill them. It was also learned that when the Indians of the pueblo of Talise (who we said were disobedient to their curaca) complained to Tascaluça that their lord had ordered them to give the Spaniards a certain number of Indian men and women for whom the governor had asked, telling him of their resentment at their cacique who, without regard for the good of his own people, would give them up to foreigners and unknown persons to be taken away as slaves, Tascaluça had said to them: "Do not be troubled at giving up the Indian men and women whom your cacique orders you to send, for I shall return to you very soon not only your own but also those whom the Spaniards are bringing as captives and prisoners from other places. I shall give you even the Spaniards themselves to be your slaves and to serve you in cultivating and tilling your fields and gardens, digging and delving all the days of their lives."

The Indian women who remained in the hands of the Castilians after this battle of Mauvila also confirmed this statement of Tascaluça and declared openly the treason that he had plotted against the Christians, because they said that most of them were not natives of that pueblo nor of that province, but of various other neighboring ones, and that the Indians who had assem-



bled for that battle at the summons and persuasion of Tascaluça he had attracted by the glowing promises that he had made them. Some he had promised to give scarlet capes, and others clothing of silk, satin, and velvet with which they could dress themselves for their dances and festivals. He had sworn with solemn oaths to give others horses, and that as a sign of their victory and triumph they should ride them before the Spaniards. Other women came away saying, "Well, he promised the Spaniards themselves for our servants and slaves," and each one stated the number of captives that had been offered to them to be taken to their houses.

Thus they confessed that many other promises had been made to them of linen, cloth, and other things from Spain. They also declared that many women who were married had come in obedience to their husbands, who had commanded them to do so. Others, who were single, said that they had come at the importunity of their relatives and brothers who had promised to bring them so that they might see some solemn festivals and great celebrations that they would observe and hold after the death and destruction of the Castilians, in rendering thanks to their great god the Sun for the victory that he would give them.

Many other women confessed that they had come at the request and petition of their gallants and sweethearts who wished to marry them, and who begged and persuaded them to come and see the valiant deeds and exploits they expected to perform against the Spaniards in their service and presence. These statements proved conclusively the length of time that this curaca had been plotting the treason that he perpetrated against our men. He and his vassals and allies were well punished for this, though at the cost of such injury to the Castilians as has been seen.

Their loss did not consist alone in the lack of the horses that were killed and in the comrades who were lost, but also in other things that concerned them more as a result of the uses to which they were dedicated. These were a little wheat flour, amounting to about three fanegas, and four arrobas of wine, for this was all they had when they reached Mauvila. For many days before they had kept this flour and wine very carefully and reverently for celebrating mass, and so that it might be carried more carefully and be better protected, the governor brought it in his own equipage. All this was burned, along with the chalices, altars, and ornaments they were carrying for divine worship. Thenceforth it was impossible for them to hear mass because they did not have the material of bread and wine for the consecration of the Eucharist, though the questions in theology were raised among the religious and secular priests [or, perhaps, "priests, religious, and seculars"—DB] as

to whether or not they could consecrate bread made of maize. It was agreed by common consent that the most certain [decision] and above all that which the holy Roman church, our Mother and Lady, in her holy councils and sacred canons orders and teaches us, is that the bread shall be of wheat and the wine from the grape. Thus these Spanish Catholics concluded that they would not adopt doubtful remedies for fear of finding themselves thereby disobedient to their mother the Roman Catholic church, and also they omitted [celebrating mass] because even if they had the means for consecrating the Eucharist, they would lack chalices and altars for celebrating it.

## XXXII

### WHAT THE SPANIARDS DID AFTER THE BATTLE OF MAUVILA, AND A MUTINY THAT AROSE AMONG THEM

Since everything they were carrying for saying mass was burned in the battle of Mauvila, from that time on, by order of the priests, an altar was set up and adorned to be venerated on Sundays and feast days, whenever there was an opportunity to do so. A priest robed himself with ornaments that they made from deerskin, in imitation of the first garments that there were in the world, which were made of the skins of animals. Taking his stand at the altar he read the Confession and the Introit of the mass, and the Prayer [the Orison], the Epistle and the Gospel and all the rest to the end of the mass, without the consecration, and these Castilians called it the “dry mass.” The one who celebrated it, or another of the priests, announced the text and upon it gave his discourse or sermon, and with this sort of ceremony that they conducted in the place of mass they consoled themselves in the affliction they felt at being unable to adore Jesus Christ our Lord and Redeemer in the sacramental elements. This lasted for three years, until they left La Florida for Christian lands.

Our Spaniards remained eight days in the rude huts that they erected within Mauvila, and when they were able to leave them they went to those the Indians had built for their lodgings, where they were better accommodated. They stayed there fifteen days longer treating the wounded, which included almost all of them. Those whose wounds were less serious went out to scour the country in search of food in the pueblos that were in the vi-

cinity. There were many of these, though they were small, where they found enough food.

In all the pueblos in the surrounding four leagues the Spaniards found many wounded Indians who had escaped from the battle, but they did not find a single Indian, man or woman, who was caring for them. They understood that they came at night to bring them provisions and in the daytime went back to the woods. The Castilians gave aid to such wounded Indians and divided with them the food that they found, rather than mistreating them. Not a single Indian appeared in the open country, and after a diligent search by the mounted men they captured fifteen or twenty from whom to obtain information. Having asked them whether there was any body of Indians being assembled in any place to come against the Spaniards, they replied that inasmuch as the bravest, noblest, and richest men of that province had perished in the recent battle, no one remained in it who could take up arms. This seemed to be the truth because in all the time that our men were in that camp no Indians appeared by day or by night except to make sallies and raise alarms, which simply by disturbing them did them much harm and injury, such was their weakened condition after the battle.

In Mauvila the governor had word of the ships that Captains Gómez Arias and Diego Maldonado were bringing, exploring the coast and learning what was going on there. He received this report before the battle and afterward he verified it by the Indians who were captured, from whom he learned that the province of Achusi, which the Spaniards were going in search of, and the seacoast, were a little less than thirty leagues from Mauvila.

The governor was very pleased with this news, [which indicated] the conclusion and end of such a long peregrination, and the beginning and commencement of the new settlement that he intended to make in that province. His purpose, as we have said above, was to found a pueblo at the port of Achusi to receive and safeguard the ships that would come to it from all parts, and to found another pueblo twenty leagues inland from which to begin and to direct the conversion of the Indians to the faith of the holy Roman church, and to the service and augmentation of the Crown of Spain.

As a celebration of this good news and because he was assured that the roads were safe from Mauvila to Achusi, the governor set free the curaca whom Captain Diego Maldonado had brought as a prisoner from the port of Achusi. The adelantado had brought him with him, treating him well, and had not sent him back to his own country previously because of the long distance and the danger that the other Indians would kill or capture him on the road. Since the governor now knew that his country was close by and

that he would be safe until reaching it, he gave him permission to go to his house, charging him strictly to preserve his friendship for the Spaniards, as he would very soon have them as guests in his country. The cacique took leave, gratified by the favor that the governor showed him, and said that he would be much pleased to see him in his country in order to return the favors that he owed his lordship.

All these desires that the adelantado had to settle the country and the method and plans that he had worked out for it in his own mind were destroyed and frustrated by discord, as it always ruins and throws down armies, republics, kings, and empires, where they allow it to enter. The door by which it found ours was that, since there were in this army some of the personages who had taken part in the conquest of El Perú and the imprisonment of Atahualpa, and who saw the great riches there in gold and silver, and had told those who were going on this expedition about it, and since on the contrary there had not been seen in La Florida silver or gold, though the fertility and the other good qualities of the land were such as have been seen, they would not consent to settle or make an establishment in that kingdom.

To this disappointment was added the incredible ferocity of the battle of Mauvila, which had frightened and disturbed them extraordinarily, making them wish to leave the land and go away from it as soon as they could. For they said that it was impossible to rule such bellicose people or to subjugate such bold men. From what they had seen up to that time it seemed to them that neither by force nor by persuasion could they be brought under the authority and dominion of the Spaniards; that they would allow themselves to be killed first. There was no reason for going about expending their forces a little at a time in that country; rather they ought to go to others already won, and rich, such as El Perú and México, where they could enrich themselves without so much work. Therefore it would be well as soon as they should reach the coast to leave that bad country and go to New Spain.

A few of the persons whom we have mentioned whispered and discussed these things and other similar ones among themselves, but they could not keep them so secret that some of those who had come with the governor from Spain, and were his loyal friends and companions, did not hear them. These persons told him what was going on in his army, and how they were speaking resolutely of leaving the country as soon as they should reach a place where there were ships or any vessels at all.

## XXXIII

### THE GOVERNOR CONFIRMS THE MUTINY, AND CHANGES HIS PLANS

In such a serious matter the governor did not wish to give entire credit to those who had told him of it without first verifying it for himself. With this in mind he made the rounds at night as thoroughly as he could, in disguise, so as not to be recognized. Going about thus, one night he heard the treasurer, Juan Gaytán, and others who were in the hut with him saying that when they reached the port of Achusi where they expected to find the ships they intended to go to Mexico or El Perú, or to return to Spain, because they could not endure such a hard life to win and conquer such a poor and miserable country.

This hurt the governor exceedingly, for he understood from those words that his army was disintegrating and that his men, in finding a place to go, would all desert him as they did at the beginning of the discovery and conquest of El Perú in the case of the governor and marqués Don Francisco Pizarro, who finally was left with only thirteen men on the island of Gorgona. And he knew that, if those whom he then had should leave him, there would be no possibility of raising a new army, and he would be stripped of his grandeur, authority, and reputation, his money spent in vain, and the excessive hardships they had endured hitherto in the discovery of that country would be lost.

These things, considered by a man so zealous of his honor as was the governor, produced in him hasty and desperate resolutions. Though he dissembled his wrath at that time, reserving punishment for another occasion, he was unwilling to endure or to see and experience the bad actions that he feared from those whose spirits were weak and cowardly. Thus as rapidly as he could, without revealing anything of his anger, he gave orders that they would again go inland and withdraw from the coast, so as to deprive the ill-disposed of the occasion for disgracing themselves and stirring up all his men to rebellion.

This was the first beginning and the chief cause of this gentleman and all his army being lost. From that day, as a disillusioned man whose own people have betrayed his hopes and cut off the road to his ambition and destroyed the plan that he had made for settling and holding the land, he never again succeeded in doing anything profitable to him, nor was it thought that he

attempted to do so. On the contrary, actuated only by indifference, he went about thereafter wasting his time and his life without any gain, always traveling from one place to another without order or purpose, like a man tired of life and desirous of ending it, until he died, as we shall see below. His contentment and hopes lost, and lost also to his successors and descendants the labors that he had undergone in that conquest and the wealth that he had consumed in it, he was the cause of all those who had gone with him to win that land being lost as well. He failed likewise to lay the foundations for a most glorious and beautiful kingdom for the Crown of Spain, and for the increase of the holy Catholic faith, which is what is to be most regretted.

Therefore it would have been very fitting for him, in such a serious business, to have asked and received counsel from the friends that he had, on whom he could depend, so as to act prudently and with their approval for the common good. This captain could have put down that mutiny by punishing its leaders, with which the others in the conspiracy, who were few in number, would have been frightened, and he would not have lost himself and injured all his men by being governed only by his own passionate feeling, which caused his own destruction. Though he was so discreet as we have seen, in his own cause and with his passions aroused he could not control and govern himself with the clear reasoning and unbiased judgment that serious matters demand. Thus he who refuses to ask and take advice invites disaster.

In fear of the mutiny, the governor wished to leave that camp quickly and go back into the interior through other provinces that they had not seen, so that his men would not suspect his purpose and guess his intentions, [as they might] if he should return by the road that they had followed previously. Thus with a dissembling spirit foreign to that which he had shown hitherto, he encouraged his soldiers, telling them to recover quickly in order to get out of that bad country where they had received so much injury, and he ordered a decree to be issued for the march to begin on a certain day in the future.

## XXXIV

### TWO LAWS THAT THE INDIANS OF LA FLORIDA OBSERVE AGAINST ADULTERESSES

Because we promised above to tell some of the customs, at least the most notable ones, that the Indians of La Florida have, before we leave Mauvila it will be well to say here that in the province of Coça, which we have left behind, and in that of Tascaluça where our Spaniards are at present, the Indians have and enforce a law for the punishment of the adulterous women who are found among them.<sup>23</sup> Thus it was that throughout all that great province of Coça it was the law that under penalty of death and of sinning gravely against their religion, any Indian who knew of an adulterous woman in his neighborhood, not as an actual witness of criminal acts, but because of suspicious signs, which signs were set forth in the law both as to their nature and their number, was obliged, after having verified his suspicion, to give notice of it to the lord of the province or in his absence to the judges of the pueblo. They would take secret testimony from three or four witnesses, and having found the woman guilty through circumstantial evidence, they would arrest her. On the first feast day that came among those that they observe in their heathenism, they would order by public proclamation that all the people in the pueblo come out after dinner to such and such a place in the country near the pueblo, and of the people who came out they formed a long or short lane, according to their number.

Two judges stationed themselves at one end of the lane and two more at the other. One of them ordered the adulteress before him, and summoning the husband, said to him: "This woman in accordance with our law is convicted [on the testimony] of witnesses to be bad and an adulteress; therefore do with her what that same law commands you." The husband immediately stripped off her clothes, leaving her as naked as when she was born, and with a flint knife (for in all the New World the Indians have not achieved the

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<sup>23</sup>Regarding this, John R. Swanton states that "the severity with which adultery was punished by the Creeks and their neighbors struck Garcilaso's informants as forcibly as it did later explorers. . . . It is significant that, though the custom of killing adulteresses with arrows which he describes as a current usage among the Indians of Tuscaloosa had disappeared by the eighteenth century, James Adair's informants related it as a former custom well known to them." We might merely add that Garcilaso's soldier informants had ample opportunity to provoke such sanctions and thus to observe them firsthand. Swanton, "Ethnological Value of the De Soto Narratives," 576.

invention of scissors) he clipped off her hair (a most ignominious punishment, used generally among all the nations of this New World), and thus shorn and naked the husband left her in the hands of the judges and went away, carrying her clothing as a sign of divorce and repudiation.

The judges ordered the woman to go immediately, just as she was, through the lane formed by the people to the other judges and give them an account of her crime.

The woman went all the way down the lane and, standing before the judges, said to them: "I come sentenced by your associates to the punishment the law imposes upon adulterous women, because I have been such. They sent me to you so that you could order in this case whatever you regard as conducive to the public welfare." The judges replied to her: "Return to those who sent you here to us and tell them on our part that it is very fitting that the laws of our country, which our ancestors formed regarding chastity, be observed, complied with, and carried out against wrongdoers. Therefore we approve what they ordered you [to do] in accordance with the law, and we order you not to transgress it at any time."

The woman went back to the first judges with this reply, and this going and coming they ordered her to do in carrying the messages between the lane formed of people served no other purpose except to insult and shame her, forcing her to appear before all her people in disgrace and infamy, shorn, naked, and [convicted of] such a crime, for the punishment of such shame is a public one.

While the poor woman came and went between the two sets of judges, all the people of the pueblo, by way of insult and contempt, threw at her clods, pebbles, sticks, straw, handfuls of earth, old rags, fragments of hides, pieces of mats, and other such things, according to what each one of them happened to bring to throw at her in punishment of her crime. The law so commanded, making it understood that the woman had become a loathsome outcast.

Then the judges condemned her to perpetual exile from the pueblo and from the whole province, which was the penalty prescribed by law, and they turned her over to her relatives, admonishing them under the same penalty not to give her protection or assistance in re-entering any part of the state, openly or secretly. The relatives received her, and covering her with a mantle, they took her away where she would never again appear in the pueblo or in the province. The judges gave the husband permission to marry. The Indians of the province of Coça observed this law and custom.

In that of Tascaluça they observed another, more rigorous one in punish-



ing adulterous women. It was that the Indian who should notice bad signs (such as to see a man entering or leaving another's house in a suspicious manner) that would lead him to suspect that the woman was an adulteress, after having verified his suspicion by seeing the man enter or leave three times, was obligated by their fallacious religion under penalty of a curse to tell the husband of his suspicion and of the woman's action. He had to produce two or three other witnesses who may have seen a part of what the accuser told or some other similar indication. The husband questioned each one of them separately, calling down terrible curses upon him if he should lie to him and great blessings if he should tell him the truth. On finding that the woman had incurred this suspicion by the bad signs that she had given, he took her into the country near the pueblo and fastened her to a tree, or if there were none to a post he planted in the ground, and shot at her with his bow and arrows until he killed her.

This done, he went to the lord of the pueblo or in his absence to the magistrate and said: "Sir, I left my wife dead in such and such a place, because certain of my neighbors said that she was an adulteress. Order them to be summoned, and if what they told me should be true, set me free, and if not impose the penalty upon me that our laws prescribe and order."

The penalty was that the woman's relatives shoot the surrendered with arrows until he died, and leave him unburied in the fields as he had done the woman, whom as an innocent person the law ordered to be buried with all pomp and ceremony. But if the judge found that the witnesses confirmed one another and that the signs and suspicions proved true, the husband was set free and given permission to marry. They ordered a proclamation issued to the effect that under penalty of death no person, whether relative, friend, or acquaintance of the dead woman, should dare bury her or even to pull a single arrow out of her body, but were to leave it to be eaten by the birds and the dogs as a punishment and example for her wrongdoing.

These two particular laws are observed in the province of Coça and Tascaluça, and throughout the kingdom in general adultery is punished very severely. Though I endeavored to learn what penalty they imposed upon the accomplice and the adulterous husband, he who gave me the account could not tell me anything except that he had heard no discussion of the men who were adulterers, but only of the women. It may have been because among all nations these laws are always more severe against women and favorable to the men, for as a woman of this bishopric whom I knew said, the men make them, being fearful of the offense, and not the women; if the women had the making of them, things would be arranged differently.

## XXXV

### THE SPANIARDS LEAVE MAUVILA AND ENTER CHICAÇA. THEY BUILD PIROGUES FOR CROSSING A LARGE RIVER

Taking up the thread of our *History*, then, after the Spaniards had spent twenty-three or twenty-four days in camp at Mauvila recovering from their wounds, and had regained some strength for continuing their discovery, they left the province of Tascaluça, and at the end of the three days' journey that they made through some pleasant though uninhabited country, they entered another, called Chicaça. The first pueblo of this province that our men reached was not the principal one, but one of the others in its jurisdiction. It was situated on the edge of a large and deep river having very high banks. The pueblo was on the side of the river from which the Spaniards approached.<sup>24</sup>

The Indians were unwilling to receive the governor peacefully but from the very beginning showed themselves to be hostile, replying to the messengers that he had sent them that they desired war with fire and sword. When our men came in sight of the pueblo they saw in front of it a squadron of more than fifteen hundred warriors, who came out to meet the Castilians as soon as they appeared. They skirmished with them, and having made some show of defense they withdrew to the river, abandoning the pueblo, from which they had taken their property, women, and children. They had decided not to fight a pitched battle with the Spaniards but to oppose their crossing the river, which—because it carried a great deal of water, was very deep, and had high and steep banks—they thought would obstruct their road and force them to take another route.

Therefore, as the Spaniards fell upon the Indians furiously, they threw themselves into the water and crossed the river, some of them in canoes, as they had many and very good ones, and some of them swimming, urged on by their fear.

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<sup>24</sup>Garcilaso conflates and confuses the crossing of the River of Pafallaya (Elvas; Ranjel's Apafalaya) with the crossing of the River of Chicaça. Both crossings were contested.

They had the main body of their army on the other side of the river facing the pueblo, where there were eight thousand warriors, whose purpose was to defend the crossing of the river. Their encampment extended for two leagues along its banks, so that the Castilians could not cross in all that distance.

Besides this opposition that the Indians gave the Christians at the river, they harried them at night with the sudden attacks and alarms that they gave, bands of them crossing the river in their canoes at various points and then joining together, thus molesting our men greatly. In order to defend themselves the latter made use of a very clever stratagem. This was that in three landing places along the river in that space the Indians had occupied, where they came to disembark, they dug pits at night in which crossbowmen and arquebusiers could take shelter. When they saw the Indians they allowed them to land and leave their canoes, and then they fell upon them and did them much damage with their swords, because the enemy had nowhere to run. They mistreated them thus three times, whereupon the Indians, chastised for their boldness, did not dare cross the river again. They only waited with much care and alertness to oppose our men's crossing. The governor and his captains, seeing that it was impossible to cross the river where they were because of the strong opposition that the enemy was making, and that they would lose time in awaiting a moment of carelessness on their part, ordered that a hundred of the most diligent men who knew something of the art should build two large barks, which they also call pirogues. They are almost flat and will hold many people. In order that the Indians might not find out what they were doing, they went into a forest that was a league and a half up the river and a league back from the riverbank.

The hundred Spaniards assigned to this task worked so quickly that they finished the pirogues in the space of twelve days. In order to carry them to the river they made two carts of appropriate size, and by means of pack animals and horses that pulled them, and the Castilians themselves who pushed the carts and at difficult places carried the barks on their shoulders, they got them to the river one morning before dawn at a very spacious landing place that was there. There was also a good landing on the other side.

The governor was present when the barks were launched on the river because he had ordered that he be advised of it beforehand. He directed that ten cavalymen and forty infantry who were expert marksmen embark in each of the boats as quickly as possible before the Indians should come to oppose their passage. The foot soldiers were to row, and the cavalymen

rode their horses into the boats so as not to be delayed in mounting when they reached the other side.

However silently the Spaniards attempted to launch the barks in the river and go aboard them, they could not avoid being heard by five hundred Indians who were patrolling the opposite bank of the river. They ran to the crossing and, seeing the barks and the Spaniards who were attempting to pass over, they raised a loud alarm, warning their men and asking for help, and then went to the landing to oppose their passage.

Fearing that still more enemies would come, the Spaniards embarked as hastily as possible. The governor wished to cross on the first trip, but his men prevented him because of the great danger there was on that first voyage, until the landing place should be cleared of enemies. Our men thus hastily applied themselves to the oars, and all of them reached the other bank wounded because the Indians shot arrows at them from the bluff entirely at their pleasure.

One of the barks struck the landing squarely and the other fell downstream from it, and because of the high bluffs along the river, the men could not land. Thus they were forced to row hard to get up to the landing.

Those in the first bark jumped ashore, and the first one to come out was Diego García, the son of the alcalde of Villanueva de Barcarrota, a brave soldier and very resolute in all feats of arms, wherefore all his companions called him Diego García de Paredes, not because he was related to him, though he was a nobleman, but because he resembled him in spirit, courage, and valor. The second mounted man who went ashore was Gonzalo Silvestre. These two fell upon the Indians and drove them more than two hundred paces back from the landing place, and came back at a run to their own side because of the great danger they were in, being two alone among so many of the enemy. Thus they attacked the Indians and fell back four times without receiving any help from their companions, because they got in one another's way and could not manage to get the horses ashore. The fifth time they attacked the enemy there were six mounted men, which put more fear into the Indians and prevented their coming so furiously to oppose the crossing. As soon as the infantry who were in the first boat came ashore, they went into a small pueblo that was on the very brink of the river, and did not dare leave it because they were few and all of them were wounded, as they had received most of the arrows. Those in the second pirogue, as they found the landing place free of the enemy, came ashore more easily and without any danger and ran to help their companions who were fighting on the plain.

The governor went across on the second trip with seventy or eighty other Spaniards, and as the Indians saw that their enemies were numerous and that they could not resist them, they retreated to some woods that were not far from the pueblo, and from there they went to the place where their people were encamped. The latter had heard the shout and alarm that their scouts had given and ran quickly to defend the crossing, but on meeting the scouts and learning from them that many Spaniards had already crossed the river, they went back to their army where they prepared to defend themselves.

The Christians went after them, intending to fight, but the Indians remained quiet, fortifying themselves with wooden palisades and with the same shelters that they had built for their lodgings. Some of them came out very boldly to skirmish, but they paid for their daring because they were killed with lances, as their swiftness could not equal that of the cavalry. That whole day was spent in this manner, and the following night the Indians left and did not reappear. Meanwhile the whole Spanish army had crossed the river.

## XXXVI

### OUR MEN ENCAMP IN CHICAÇA. THE INDIANS GIVE THEM A MOST CRUEL AND UNEXPECTED NOCTURNAL BATTLE

Our Spaniards overcame the difficulty of crossing the first river of the province of Chicaça with the labor and danger of which we have told, and as they found themselves free of the enemy, they dismantled the pirogues and kept the nails for making others whenever it might be necessary. Having done this, they went on with their discovery, and in four daily journeys they made through a level country, well populated, though the pueblos were scattered and had few houses, they reached the principal pueblo, called Chicaça, from which the whole province takes its name. It was situated on a level elevation extending from north to south between two streams having little water but much timber, consisting of walnuts, oaks, and live oaks, at the foot of which was the fruit of two or three years. The Indians let it go to waste because they had no cattle to eat it and they themselves did not use it, having other, better and more delicate fruits to eat.

The general and his captains reached the pueblo Chicaça at the beginning of December of the year 1540 and found it abandoned. Since it was now winter, it seemed to them that it would be well to winter there. Having decided to do so, they collected all the necessary provisions and brought from the outlying small pueblos much wood and straw from which to make houses, because those of the principal pueblo, though they numbered two hundred, were not enough.

Our men were in these lodgings almost two months, enjoying some degree of quiet and rest. They did nothing except ride through the country every day, and they took a few Indians, most of whom the governor sent with gifts and messages to the curaca, offering him peace and friendship. He replied, giving great hopes of his coming, making up excuses for his delay, and repeating his messages day after day to keep up the governor's expectations. In return for his gifts he sent him some fruit, fish, and venison.

Meanwhile his Indians did not cease disturbing our Spaniards with sudden assaults and alarms that they made two or three times every night. They did not stay to fight, for when the Christians came out against them they ran away. They did all this purposely as experienced warriors to keep the Spaniards awake with their unexpected attacks and make them careless with their show of cowardice, so that they would think that they would always do thus and would relax their military discipline, at which time they would fall upon them in earnest.

The Indians did not follow these cowardly tactics very long. On the other hand it seemed that, ashamed of having used them, they wished to contradict them and show that their past flights had been made purposely in order to reveal a greater spirit and courage in due time, which they did, as we shall soon see.

One night toward the end of January of the year 1541, having realized that the north wind, which was blowing furiously, was favorable to them, at one o'clock the Indians came in three squadrons, and as silently as possible, they advanced to within a hundred paces of the Spanish sentries.

The curaca, who was coming as captain of the middle squadron, which was the principal one, sent to find out where the other two were on either side, and having learned that they were in the same position as his own, he ordered the signal to be given. They did so with many drums, fifes, shells, and other rude instruments they brought along for making more noise. All the Indians together raised a great shout to strike terror and fright into the Spaniards. In order to set fire to the pueblo and to be able to see the enemy,

they brought faggots made of a certain herb that grows in that country, which, when made into a rope or thin cord and lighted, smolders like the match-cord of a harquebus, and when waved through the air it bursts into flame that burned steadily like a wax taper with four wicks and gave as much light. They had twists made of the same herb on the points of their arrows so as to shoot them while burning and set fire to the houses from a distance.<sup>25</sup>

In this order and with these preparations the Indians came and attacked the pueblo, waving the torches and shooting many burning arrows into the houses. As the latter were made of straw, they caught fire immediately in the hard wind that was blowing.

The Spaniards, though attacked so suddenly and with such a fierce assault, did not fail to come out with all promptness to defend their lives. The governor, who in order to be prepared for such surprises always slept in his breeches and doublet, went out against the enemy on horseback ahead of all the rest of his gentlemen. Because of the enemy's swiftness, he had been unable to take up any defensive armor except a helmet and a jacket, which they considered as armor, made of quilted cotton three finger-breadths in thickness. Our men had found no better defense against arrows. The governor went out alone with these arms and his lance and shield against such a multitude of enemies, for he never learned to fear them. Ten or twelve other horsemen went after him, but not immediately.

The rest of the Spaniards, captains as well as soldiers, hurried with their accustomed courage to resist the ferocity and boldness of the Indians, but they could not fight with them because they brought in front of them in their favor and defense fire, flame, and smoke. The hard wind that was blowing turned all this against the Spaniards, hindering them seriously. But with all this our men came out of their quarters as well as they could to fight with the enemy, some crawling on all fours under the flames so that they would not overtake them, others running from house to house fleeing from the fire, and some of them thus reaching the open country, and others running to the infirmary to rescue the sufferers, for they had the sick by themselves in a separate house. Hearing the fire and the enemy, those who were able took refuge in flight, and those who were not burned to death before help reached them.

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<sup>25</sup>The use of fire arrows by the Southeastern Indians is attested elsewhere in the ethno-historical record for a later period.

The mounted men came out as well as they could, hastened by the fire and the enemy's fury, but since the attack was so sudden they had no time to arm and saddle the horses. Some they led out by the bridles, escaping with them so that the fire would not burn them; others they set loose, there being no other defense against the fire except flight. A few went out to help the governor, who had been fighting the enemy for a long time with the handful of men who had gone out at the beginning of the battle, and he was the first to kill an Indian that night because he always prided himself on being among the first in everything. The Indians of the two squadrons on either side entered the pueblo, and aided by the fire, which was in their favor, they did a great deal of damage. They killed many horses and Spaniards who had no time to escape.

## XXXVII

### THE BATTLE OF CHICAÇA PROCEEDS TO ITS END

From the eastern quarter of the pueblo where the fire and the impact of the enemy were greatest and most furious, forty or fifty Spaniards came out running at full speed (a shameful thing such as had not been seen up to that time in the whole expedition to La Florida). Nuño Tovar came after them with a naked sword in his hand, wearing a coat of mail all unclasped, for the enemy's haste had not given him time for more.

This gentleman went shouting loudly to his men, "Come back, soldiers, come back! Where are you going? There is no Córdoba or Sevilla to receive you. Remember that the safety of your lives lies in your stout spirit and strong arms, and not in flight." At this moment there came out to meet those who were fleeing thirty soldiers from the southern quarter of the pueblo, which the fire had not yet reached. Captain Juan de Guzmán from Talavera de la Reyna was lodged there, and the soldiers were from his company. Censuring those who were running away for their shameful action, they stopped them, and all of them together went around the pueblo because they could not pass through the fire that was between them and the enemy, and came out on the field on the east side to fight with them.

At the same time that these infantrymen came out, Captain Andrés de Vasconcelos, who was lodged in the same quarter, arrived, bringing twenty-four gentlemen *fidalgos* of his company, all Portuguese and chosen men,



most of whom had been horsemen on the African frontiers. These gentlemen came out on the west side, and Nuño Tovar went with them on foot, just as he was. When they encountered the enemy, these two parties, one on one side and one on the other, closed with them and forced the center squadron, which was the principal one, to retire. There the battle was fiercest, and the governor and the few men who were with him had hitherto been fighting desperately and at great risk to their lives, because they were few and the enemy was numerous.

But when they saw help coming they fell upon them with new energy, and the general, with the desire to kill an Indian who had been distinguishing himself in the fight, closed with him, and having managed to wound him with his lance, in order to give the finishing stroke he bore down upon it and upon the right stirrup. With the weight and the force that he exerted, the saddle turned under him and he fell with it in the midst of the enemy. Seeing their captain-general in that danger, the Spaniards, both cavalry and infantry, ran to his rescue so promptly and fought so bravely that they prevented the Indians from killing him. His horse being saddled, he mounted and went back again to fight.

The governor had fallen because his servants, in the confusion of the sudden and furious assault by the Indians and perturbed by the threat of imminent death, had saddled the horse without fastening the girth. Thus the Spaniards who came to his aid found it doubled back over the saddle where they always put it when they unsaddle a horse, so that the governor had fought more than an hour with the girth unfastened when he fell, having availed himself of his great skill in horsemanship.

Seeing the force in which the Spaniards were gathering from all sides, and that many horses were coming out, the Indians abated the fury with which they had fought hitherto, but they still persisted in giving battle, sometimes attacking very spiritedly and again retreating in very good order, until at length they could no longer resist the force of the Spaniards and they called to one another to retire and abandon the fight. Turning their backs, they fled at full speed.

The governor and the mounted men followed at their heels, pursuing the enemy as far as they could by the light of the fire that was burning in the pueblo. After this sudden and furious battle, which lasted more than two hours, had ended, the general, who had followed in the pursuit, ordered the assembly sounded and went back to see the damage that the Indians had done. He found it to be greater than he expected, because forty Spaniards were killed and fifty horses. Alonso de Carmona says that eighty horses

were killed and wounded, more than twenty of them having been burned to death or shot with arrows in the very stables where they were tied, because their masters, having found them very mettlesome as the result of the plentiful food that they had in that camp, in order to keep them more securely had made halters of heavy chains with which they fastened them. In their haste in the presence of the fire and the enemy, they had been unable to loosen them, and thus they abandoned the horses to the fire and to the enemy. Being tied, as they were, the latter shot them with arrows.

Besides the grief our Spaniards felt at the loss of their companions and the death of the horses, which were the strength of their army, they were saddened by a particular incident that happened that night. This was that among them there was just one Spanish woman, who was named Francisca de Hinestrosa, who was married to a good soldier called Hernando Bautista, and who was to give birth to a child within a few days. Since the enemy's attack came so suddenly, the husband went out to fight, and when the battle was over and he came back to see where his wife was he found her burned to a cinder, because she had been unable to run from the fire.

The contrary happened to a little soldier named Francisco Enríquez, who was worthless, though he bore a good name. He was a pusillanimous wretch, more of a buffoon than a soldier, at whom the Spaniards laughed a great deal. He was sick in the infirmary and for days they had carried him on their shoulders. But when he heard the fire and the enemy's onslaught he ran out of the infirmary and, after going only a few steps in the street, he met an Indian who wounded him in the groin, the arrow almost coming out on the other side, and left him stretched on the ground for dead, where he remained more than two hours.

After daylight they treated him, and in a short time he recovered from the wound, which had been thought mortal; and also from the illness, which had been very long and troublesome. Thus those who were accustomed to joke with him were making fun of him afterward and said: "You can thank that grievous misfortune that gave you, who aren't worth two pins, your health and life, and caused the death of so many gentlemen and principal soldiers as have died in these two last battles." Enríquez took it all and said other, worse things to them.

We have told above how the governor took swine to La Florida for breeding and had had them tended with much care for their feeding and increase. So as to keep them more safely at night in this camp of Chicaça, they had made a wooden pen inside the pueblo by setting stakes in the ground and making a covering of straw. Inasmuch as the fire on the night of the battle

was so great, it overtook them also and burned all of them. Only the sucking pigs escaped, they being able to get out between the stakes of the pen. They were so fat with the abundance of food that they found in that country that the lard from the burned pigs ran out for more than two hundred paces. This loss was felt no less than the others, because our Castilians suffered for lack of meat and kept this to give to the sick.

Juan Coles and Alonso de Carmona agree with the account of this battle throughout, and both tell of the destruction of the swine by fire. They praise the governor's horsemanship highly and tell of his fall and of his having fought more than an hour without a saddle-girth. Alonso de Carmona adds that each Indian had three cords tied around his wrist, one for leading a Castilian, one for a horse, and the other for a pig, and that our men were highly incensed when they learned of it.

## XXXVIII

### REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE BATTLE OF CHICAÇA

As soon as they had buried the dead and tended the wounded, many Spaniards went out to the battlefield to see and examine the arrow wounds the Indians had given the horses that they killed. They opened them, as was their custom, both in order to see to what part the arrows had penetrated and in order to keep the meat for eating. They found that almost all of them had been pierced by arrows through the entrails and lungs or near the heart. They found in particular eleven or twelve horses shot through the center of the heart, and as we have said before, when these Indians could shoot them through the knees they would not shoot them elsewhere.

They also found four horses, each one of which had two arrows through the heart, that had happened to be shot at the same time, one from one side and one from the other. This is a marvelous thing and hard to believe, though it is certain that it happened, and because it was such an unusual thing, all the Spaniards who were walking through the field came up to see it.

They found another extraordinarily powerful shot. This took place when the horse of a trumpeter named Juan Díaz, a native of Granada, was killed by an arrow that had passed through the broadest part of the back and stuck

out three finger-breadths on the opposite side. Since this shot had come from such a strong and powerful arm, because the horse was one of the broadest and heaviest in the whole army, the governor ordered that a record be made of it in writing and that a royal notary certify and attest to the shot. This was done, and immediately a notary came named Baltasar Hernández (whom I met afterward in El Perú), a native of Badajoz and an hidalgo, very upright and religious, which it is fitting and requisite that all should be who exercise this office, for to them is confided the property, life, and honor of the commonwealth. This hidalgo in blood and in virtue set down in writing and attested to what he saw with regard to that arrow, which was what we have said.

Three days after the battle our Castilians decided to move their camp to another place a league away from where they were, for it seemed to them a better site for the horses, and they did so very quickly and diligently. They brought wood and straw from the other neighboring pueblos and made ready as best they could a pueblo that Alonso de Carmona calls Chicacilla. He states that here they very hastily made saddles, lances, and shields, because he says that all these were destroyed in the fire, and that they were going about like Gypsies, some without jackets and some without breeches; all these are his own words.

In that pueblo they passed very laboriously what remained of the winter, which was extremely severe with cold and ice. The recent battle had left the Spaniards destitute of clothing with which to resist the cold, because nothing escaped the fire except what they happened to be wearing.

Four days after the battle the governor removed Luis de Moscoso from his office and gave it to Baltasar de Gallegos, because he learned from a secret investigation that the field officers had been negligent and careless in making the rounds and guarding the army, and that for this reason the enemy had come up without being heard and had done the damage they did. Besides the loss of the horses and the death of the men, the Spaniards admitted that they would have been defeated that night by the Indians if it had not been that the fidelity of certain individuals and common necessity had brought them to themselves and caused them to win the victory, which they already considered lost. They won it, however, at great cost to themselves and little damage to the Indians, because only five hundred of them died in that battle.

All that we have said about this sudden nocturnal battle of Chicaça, Alonso de Carmona tells at length in his *Relation*, having a great deal to say about the danger the Spaniards ran that night from the unexpected and furious

assault that the Indians made, and he says that most of the Christians ran out in their shirts because the fire was so close behind them. In short, he says that they fled and were defeated, and that the persuasion of a friar caused them to turn back and miraculously win the victory that they had lost; and that the governor fought alone on horseback against the enemy for a long time until they came to his assistance, and that he had no saddle-girth. Juan Coles agrees with him in most of this and says particularly that the governor fought alone, like a good captain.

Besides what Alonso de Carmona says of this battle that confirms our account, he adds the following words:

We were there three days, and at the end of them the Indians decided to come against us again and die or conquer. And certainly I do not doubt that, if determination could have accomplished it, they would have carried us all away in their claws, because of our lack of weapons and saddles. When they were a quarter of a league from the pueblo on their way to attack us, God was pleased to send a great downpour of water from the sky, which wet the cords of their bows, and they could do nothing, and so they went back. On going through the country the next morning, the Spaniards found their trail and captured an Indian who told and warned us of all that the Indians were going to do, and said that they had sworn by their gods to die in the attempt. Thus when the governor heard this he decided to leave there and go to Chicacilla. There we very hurriedly made shields, lances, and saddles, because in such times necessity makes everyone a master workman. We made bellows from two bearskins and we set up our forge with the two cannons that we had brought along, tempering our weapons and preparing as best we could.

All these are Carmona's words, copied literally.

Inasmuch as the enemy had realized and learned for certain the damage and ravages that they had made against the Castilians, regaining their spirit and boldness with the recent victory, they set about worrying them every night with sudden attacks and alarms, and not in a desultory manner, for they came in three or four squadrons from different directions, and with a great shouting and alarm they all attacked together at one time, so as to cause greater fear and confusion among the enemy.

So that they might not burn them in the camp as they had done in Chicaça, the Spaniards went outside the pueblo every night, formed in four squadrons on the four sides of it, with their guards stationed and everyone on watch. There was not an hour when they could sleep safely, for the Indians came two or three times every night, and there were many nights when

they came four times. Besides the continual uneasiness they gave with these attacks, though most of them were light, they never failed to wound or kill some man or horse. The Indians also had many killed, but they did not take warning from this.

To make sure that the enemy would not come on the following night, the governor would send every morning to frighten them away four or five bands of fourteen or fifteen cavalry, which would scour the country around the pueblo. They did not leave a single Indian alive, whether they were spies or not, but speared them all and went back to their camp at sunset or later with the true report that for four leagues around the pueblo no Indian remained alive. But within four hours, or five at the latest, the Indian squadrons would again be facing those of the Castilians, a thing that excited the latter's wonder, that in such a brief time they could have assembled and come to harry them.

Though there were always deaths and wounds on both sides in these nightly skirmishes, nothing of particular note occurred to be told unless it was that one night, when a squadron of Indians went to attack the place where Captain Juan de Guzmán was with his company, he went out against them on horseback with five other riders, and the infantry also advanced. When the enemy waved their torches and made a light, because they were very near, our men—both foot soldiers and cavalry—could go against them together. Juan de Guzmán, who was a gentleman of great spirit, though slight of body, assailed the standard-bearer who was carrying a standard and was in the front line, throwing a lance at him. Avoiding the throw, the Indian seized the lance with his right hand and ran his hand along it until it touched that of Juan de Guzmán. Then he dropped the lance and seized him by the collar, and giving a hard jerk, dragged him from the saddle and jumped on him with both feet without letting go of the standard, which he carried in his left hand. It was all done so quickly that it was scarcely possible to see how it had happened.

When the soldiers saw their captain in such a predicament they assailed the Indian before he could do him further injury, and cut him to pieces, dispersed his squadron, and rescued Juan de Guzmán from that danger. But they did not escape without damage, because the Indians left two horses dead and wounded two others of the six that had gone against them. The Spaniards regretted the loss of the horses no less than that of their companions, and the Indians were more pleased at killing one horse than four horsemen, because they believed that it was only by means of the horses that their enemies had an advantage over them.

## XXXIX

### CONCERNING A PROTECTION THAT A SPANIARD INVENTED AGAINST THE COLD THEY SUFFERED IN CHICAÇA

Our Castilians remained in that camp until the end of March enduring these nocturnal battles, which being so numerous and so continuous caused them intolerable hardship and vexation. Besides the persecution and fatigues that the Indians gave them there, they suffered from the severe cold, which was most rigorous in that region. As they passed all the nights formed in squadrons and had such little clothing to wear—for the best equipped among them had only breeches and jackets of deerskin, and almost all were barefooted, without shoes or sandals—the cold that they suffered was unbelievable, and it was a miracle of God that they did not all perish.

In this necessity [for protection] against the cold, they made use of the invention of a man named Juan Vego, a homely enough rustic from Segura de la Sierra. In the island of Cuba at the beginning of this expedition there took place between him and Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa a friendly contest, though rather severe for the latter, which we do not include here because it was done in jest and facetiousness, except to say that Juan Vego, though crude and rough, was always friendly. He joked with everyone, jesting and talking nonsense with them, after the manner of the surroundings from which he had come. Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, who also liked a jest, played a practical joke on him in satisfaction for which he gave him in La Havana, where this jesting took place, a sorrel horse. Afterward in La Florida, because the horse turned out to be so good, he several times offered him 7,000 or 8,000 pesos for him, for [use in] the first settlement that might be made, because the hopes our Castilians held at the beginning and in the midst of the discovery were as rich and magnificent as this. But Juan Vego would never consent to sell the horse, and he was right, for there was no settlement, but death and loss for all of them, as the *History* will tell.

This Juan Vego busied himself in making a grass mat (for the grass there is very good, being long, soft, and pliable) to protect himself from the cold at night. He made it four finger-breadths thick, and long and wide, putting half of it underneath for a mattress and the other half on top in the place of a blanket. As he found it to be very comfortable, he made many others for his

companions, with their assistance, for everyone sets to work in a common necessity.

With these beds, which they took to the guardrooms and parade ground, where they were stationed in squadrons every night, they resisted that winter's cold, and they themselves admitted that they would have perished if it had not been for Juan Vego's help. The plentiful supply of maize and dried fruit that was available in the vicinity also aided them in resisting the severe weather, for although the Spaniards suffered from the rigors of cold and the molestation of the enemy, who did not allow them to sleep at night, they were not hungry but rather had an abundance of food.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK OF LA FLORIDA



FOURTH BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*It deals with the combat of the Fort of Alibamo; the death of many Spaniards for the lack of salt; how they come to Chisca and cross the Río Grande; how Indians and Spaniards form a solemn procession to adore the cross, asking God for mercies; the cruel war and pillage between Capaha and Casquin; how the Spaniards discover a means of making salt; the ferocity of the Tulas in appearance and weapons; an agreeable winter the Castilians spent in Utiangue. It contains sixteen chapters.*



# I

## THE SPANIARDS LEAVE THE CAMP OF CHICACILLA AND FIGHT AGAINST THE FORT OF ALIBAMO

The governor and his captains, seeing that the month of March was already past and that it was now time to go on with their discovery, consulted together with regard to leaving that camp and province of Chicaça. The rest of the men desired to do so in order to go out of that country where the Indians had committed so many hostilities against them and done them so much damage, always by night. In all the four months that the Spaniards were wintering there the Indians did not miss four nights in making their continuous attacks and raising alarms. Reaching this common decision, our men left that post at the beginning of April of the year 1541, and having marched on the first day four leagues through a level country dotted with many small pueblos having fifteen or twenty houses, they passed a quarter of a league beyond the inhabited region, it appearing to them that the Indians of Chicaça, who had been so troublesome to them in their own country, on seeing them beyond their pueblos, would stop pursuing them. But they had other, very different ideas, totally opposed to peace, as we shall soon see.

When the Spaniards halted to make camp in that field they sent cavalry to scour the country on every side and see what was all around the camp. They returned with the information that nearby was a fort built of wood, manned by very select warriors who apparently numbered about four thousand. The general, choosing fifty cavalry, went to reconnoiter the fort, and having seen it, he returned to his men and said: "Gentlemen, it is well that before night closes in we drive our enemies from the fort where they have fortified themselves. Not content with the molestation and trouble that they have given us so persistently in their own country, now that we are out of it they still wish to harass us, to show that they do not fear your arms, since they come to seek them outside their boundaries. Therefore it will be well for us to chastise them and for them not to remain where they are tonight, because if we leave them there they can come out successively in armed bands and shoot arrows at us all night, not allowing us to rest."

Everyone agreed with what the governor had said, and thus leaving a third of the infantry and cavalry to guard the camp, all the rest went with the governor to assail the fort, called Alibamo. It was square, with four equal curtains made of embedded logs, the curtain of each wall being four hundred

paces long. Inside the square were two other curtains of wood, which crossed the fort from one wall to the other. The front curtain had three small doors, so low that a mounted man could not go through them. One door was in the middle of the curtain and the other two were at the sides near the corners. In line with these three doors there were three others in each curtain, so that if the Spaniards should take the first ones, the Indians could defend themselves at those of the second curtain, and of the third and the fourth. The doors of the last curtain opened on a river that passed behind the fort. Though narrow, this river was very deep and had such steep banks that one could go up and down them only with difficulty on foot and not at all on horseback. This was the intention of the Indians, to make a fort in which they could be sure that the Castilians would not attack them with the horses by entering through the doors or by crossing the river, but would fight on foot like themselves, for as we have said already on other occasions, they had no fear whatsoever of the infantry, as it seemed to them that they were equal or even superior to them. They had bridges over the river made of wood, but so shaky and ruinous that they could hardly pass over them. There were no doors at all on the sides of the fort.

Having seen and examined the fort well, the governor ordered that a hundred of the best-armed cavalry dismount and attack it, formed into three squadrons with three men to a file, and that the infantry, who were not so well supplied with defensive arms as the cavalry, should follow them, and all attempt to gain the doors. This disposition was made immediately. One door fell to Captain Juan de Guzmán, another to Captain Alonso Romo de Cardenosa and the third to Gonzalo Silvestre, and they led their squadrons directly toward the doors to attack them.

The Indians, who hitherto had remained closed up in their fort, seeing that the Spaniards were preparing to attack, sent out a hundred men from each door to skirmish with them. They wore great plumes on their heads, and in order to appear more fierce they all came with their faces, bodies, arms, and legs painted in stripes with paints or clays of various colors, and they assailed the Spaniards with all the gallantry that can be imagined. With the first arrows they felled Diego de Castro, a native of Badajoz, and Pedro de Torres, a native of Burgos, both nobles and brave men; they were advancing in the first file on either side of Gonzalo Silvestre. They wounded Diego de Castro above the knee in the large muscle of the right leg with a flint barb, and they transfixing Pedro de Torres in the leg between the two shin-bones [*canillas*]. Francisco de Reynoso, a gentleman from Astorga, seeing his com-

mander Gonzalo Silvestre advancing alone, passed from the second file where he was marching to the first, so as not to let him go by himself.

In the second squadron, which Captain Juan de Guzmán was leading, they downed with another arrow wound made by a flint barb another gentleman, named Luis Bravo de Xerez, who was at the captain's side, wounding him in the large muscle of the thigh. They removed from the side of Captain Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, who was going to attack the third door, one of his two companions, who was named Francisco de Figueroa, very noble in blood and in virtue and a native of Zafra. He was also wounded in the large muscle of the thigh, likewise by a flint barb. These Indians being experienced warriors, they shot at the Spaniards from the thighs downward, these being the parts on which they wore no defensive armor; and they shot at them with flint barbs so as to be able to do more damage, because, if they did not wound them with the point, the edge would cut them in passing.

These three gentlemen died shortly after the battle, and all within an hour, because the wounds had been alike. Their deaths occasioned much grief because they were nobles, brave, and young, for none of them was as much as twenty-five years old. Besides the wounds of which we have told there were many others, because the Indians fought most valiantly, always shooting at their enemies' legs. Our men, on seeing this, all shouted together to close in at once on the enemy and not give them a chance to use up the arrows with which they were doing them so much damage. Thus they fell upon them so swiftly and furiously that they swept them back to the doors of the fort.

## II

### THE BATTLE OF THE FORT PROCEEDS TO ITS END

The governor had stationed himself with twenty horsemen on one side of the squadrons, and Captains Andrés de Vasconcelos and Juan de Añasco on the other side, with thirty more, and they all fell upon the Indians. One of them shot an arrow at the general, who was at the head of his men, and struck him such a severe blow on the helmet above the forehead that the arrow flew up more than a pike's length in the air above the helmet, and the governor confessed afterward that it had made him see stars. When the caval-

ry and the infantry attacked all together, the Indians retreated to the wall of the fort where, since the doors were so small and all the Indians could not take refuge inside, they suffered heavy losses. With the same fury with which they had assailed the Indians in the open, the Spaniards entered the doors, face to face with the enemy, and so nearly at the same time that it could not be ascertained which of the three captains had entered first.

Inside the fort there was a great butchery of the Indians, for as the Spaniards saw them closed up there and remembered the many and unceasing grievances they had suffered from them in their last camp, they bore down upon them mercilessly in their wrath and rage against them and killed great numbers very easily with stabs and thrusts, as they wore no defensive armor. Many Indians, being unable to escape through the doors leading to the river because they were so hotly pursued, trusting to their swiftness, jumped from the tops of the walls and fell into the hands of the cavalry who were patrolling the field, where they speared all of them. Many other Indians, who were able to get out through the doors to the river, crossed it by the wooden bridge, but because of the haste with which they pushed against one another in passing over, many of them fell into the river, and it was an amazing thing to see the great splashes they made in striking the water because they fell from such a height. Others, who could not reach the bridges because the enemy's fury did not give them time, threw themselves down from the bluffs and swam across the river. In this manner they abandoned the fort within a short time, and those who were able to cross the river, being now safe, formed themselves into a squadron. Our men remained on this side.

One of the Indians who had escaped, seeing himself out of danger and wishing to show his skill with his bow and arrows, went apart from his own men and shouted to the Castilians, making them understand by signs and a few words that [he wished] one of their crossbowmen to come out for a single combat, so that they might exchange shots to see which one of them was the better archer. One of our men, named Juan de Salinas, an hidalgo from Santander, came out very promptly from among the Spaniards (who had taken shelter under some trees that were in front of them, as a protection against arrows) and went down the river to place himself opposite the Indian. Though one of his companions called to him to wait, that he wanted to go with him and protect him with a shield, he refused, saying that since his enemy sought no advantages for himself he would not take any against him. He immediately put a bolt in his crossbow and aimed at the Indian to shoot

at him; the latter did the same with his bow, having chosen one of the arrows from his quiver.

Both fired their shots at the same time. The man from Santander struck the Indian in the center of the breast, so that he fell, but before he reached the ground his people came to his assistance and carried him off in their arms, more dead than alive, for the bolt entered his breast all the way. The Indian struck the Spaniard in the neck, just behind the left ear (for in order to take aim at the enemy and also to turn the side of his body toward him, which presented a smaller target than the front, he had turned to one side to fire the crossbow), and the arrow went through the nape of his neck, standing out an equal distance on each side. Thus he went back to his companions, transfixed by the arrow and very satisfied with the shot that he had made at his enemy. The Indians (though they might have done so) would not shoot at Juan de Salinas because the challenge had been to have one-to-one combat. The adelantado, who was desirous of punishing those Indians for their impudence and audacity, calling to the mounted men and crossing the river by a good ford that was above the fort, drove them forward across a plain for more than a league, spearing them as they went, and they would not have stopped short of finishing them all if they had not been overtaken by darkness. Nevertheless more than two thousand Indians died in this conflict, and they paid well for their boldness, because now they could not boast about the Castilians who had died in their country nor of the great molestation that they had given them throughout the past winter. Having pursued them as far as they could, the Castilians went back to their camp and treated the wounded, who were numerous, for which reason they remained there four days, being unable to march.

### III

#### MANY SPANIARDS DIE FOR LACK OF SALT, AND HOW THEY REACH CHISCA

Going back a little in our *History* from where we are, so that events may be told according to the time and place in which they occurred, and so that we shall not have to go back further to tell them, it must be said that as soon as our Spaniards left the great province of Coça and entered that of Tascaluça

they were in need of salt. Having passed some days without it, they felt the lack of it greatly, and some whose constitutions required more than others died for the need of it in a most extraordinary manner. They were taken with a slight hectic fever, and by the third or fourth day no one could endure the stench of their bodies fifty paces away from them, it being more foul than that of dead dogs or cats. Thus they perished without any help for it, because they neither knew what it was nor what to do for them, as they had no physicians or medicines, and even if they had had them, it was understood that they would have been of no use because they were already corrupt when the fever came upon them, and their bellies were as green as grass from the breast down.

Thus some of them began to die, to the great horror and consternation of their companions. In their fear many of them made use of the remedy the Indians prepared to save and help themselves in that necessity. This was that they burned a certain herb they knew about and made lye with the ashes. They dipped what they ate in it as if it were a sauce and with this they saved themselves from rotting away and dying, like the Spaniards. Many of the latter in their arrogance and presumptuousness were unwilling to make use of this remedy because they regarded it as a filthy thing and unbecoming to their rank, and said that it was a mean thing to do as the Indians did, and such as these were the ones who died. When in their extremity they asked for this lye, it was now of no use to them, for the time was past when it could save them from the corruption. Once it had appeared nothing could stop it, and [the medicine] did not help those who asked for it too late. It is a deserved punishment of the arrogant not to find in time of need that which they disdained in prosperity. Thus more than sixty Spaniards died during the time when they had no salt, which was almost a year, and we shall tell in due time how they made salt and supplied their need.

It is to be noted also that when the governor reached Chicaça, because of the great variety of languages that he found as a result of the many provinces that he had passed through, almost every one of which had a language different from the others, ten, twelve, or fourteen interpreters were needed to talk with the caciques and Indians of those provinces. The statement would pass from Juan Ortiz to the last of the interpreters, all of whom stood up like a chorus to receive and pass on the words to the next one, according to the manner in which they understood one another. With such labor and trouble the adelantado asked and received information concerning the things that it was worthwhile for him to know about all that extensive country. This labor was unnecessary in the case of the individual Indians, men and women,



whom our people took from any of the provinces as servants, because after two months of communication with the Spaniards they understood what their masters said to them in the Castilian language and they could make themselves understood in the most necessary and common matters in the same tongue. After six months of speaking with the Castilians they could serve as interpreters for them with other, new Indians. All those of this great kingdom of La Florida showed this facility in the language, and aptness in all other matters as well.

The army left the camp of Alibamo, which was the last one in the province of Chicaça, after the four days that they were forced to spend there on account of the wounded. After three more days' march through an uninhabited region, always going north in order to withdraw from the sea, they came within sight of a pueblo called Chisca.<sup>26</sup> It was near a large river, which because it was the greatest of all those that our Spaniards saw in La Florida they called the Río Grande, without giving it any other name. Juan Coles says in his *Relation* that in the Indian language this river was called Chucagua,<sup>27</sup> and below we shall describe its grandeur at more length, for it was a wonderful thing. The Indians of this province of Chisca, because of the continuous war that they have with those of Chicaça and because of the uninhabited region that lies between the two provinces, knew nothing of the Spaniards' coming to their country, and thus they were unprepared. As soon as our men saw the pueblo they attacked it without waiting for orders and captured many Indian men and women of all ages. They sacked everything they found in the pueblo, as if it had belonged to the Indians of the province of Chicaça where they had been treated so badly.

The curaca's house was to one side of the pueblo, situated on a small, high elevation erected artificially, and served as a fortress. There was no way of ascending to it except by two stairways. Many Indians gathered at this house, and others assembled in a very dense woodland that was between the pueblo and the Río Grande. The lord of that province was named Chisca, like the province itself. He was sick in his bed and was now an old man. Hearing the noise and uproar that were going on in the pueblo, he got up and went out of his apartment, and seeing the pillaging and capture of his

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<sup>26</sup>In a transposition of names, Garcilaso has Chisca for the place called Quizquiz or Quizqui in the other chronicles. Chisca was the name of a province learned about but not visited by the main army while it was in the vicinity of Chiaha. Swanton, *Final Report*, 231.

<sup>27</sup>George Lankford has pointed out that the native term that Juan Coles here applies to the Mississippi River, Chucagua, is evidently an Algonquian term still in use much later during the French exploration of the Mississippi Valley. It survives in the name "Chicago."

vassals, he took up a battle-ax and went down as rapidly as he could, uttering fierce threats of killing all who might have entered his country without permission. With all his bravado the poor man had not the stature or strength to kill a cat, because in addition to being sick, he was a little old man so slight of body that among all the Indians these Spaniards saw in La Florida they saw no other of such forlorn appearance. But the spirit of the daring and exploits of his youth, which had been filled with warfare, and the lordship of such a large and fine province as his, gave him strength to make those threats and other, greater ones.

His wives and servants laid hold of him and begged him tearfully not to go down, reminding him of his illness. The Indians who came up from the pueblo told him that those who had come were men never seen before, nor heard of; that they were numerous and brought some very large and swift animals; that if he desired to fight with them, he must consider that his people were off their guard and not prepared; that in order to avenge his injury he should summon the people from the outlying districts and await a better opportunity; and that meanwhile he ought to make a fair show of complete friendliness and avail himself of such opportunities as might arise, exercising patience and endurance or wrath and vengeance as the case might be. He would not want to commit any unconsidered rashness to his own greater hurt and the injury of his vassals. With these and other similar arguments that his wives, servants, and vassals made to the curaca, they stopped him from fighting with the Christians, but he remained so angry he refused to listen to a message of peace and friendship the governor (knowing that he was in his house) sent to him. He said that he did not wish to hear a message from those who had offended him, but to give them war with fire and sword, and thus he declared it immediately so that they could look out for themselves, for he intended to cut all their throats forthwith.

## IV

### THE SPANIARDS RETURN THE BOOTY TO THE CURACA CHISCA AND ARE GLAD TO MAKE PEACE WITH HIM

The general and his captains and soldiers, who throughout the past winter had had enough and more than enough of fighting and had with them many sick and wounded, both men and horses, had no inclination for war, but

wanted peace. Desirous of it and embarrassed by having pillaged the pueblo and angered the curaca, they sent him many other messages, all couched in the fairest, friendliest and most persuasive words that they could command, for besides the inconvenience that the Spaniards were suffering themselves, they saw that in less than three hours after their arrival in the pueblo almost four thousand warriors had joined the cacique, all with their weapons ready. Our men feared that inasmuch as those had come together in such a brief time, many others would come later. They noted also that the situation of the place, both in the pueblo and out of it, was very good and favorable for the Indians and very bad and inconvenient for the Castilians, for, because of the many streams and forests that were in all that region, they could not make use of the horses, which were needed to attack the Indians. And what was of more importance to them, as they had learned well by experience, was that they were gaining nothing from war and battles but rather were consuming themselves, because men and horses were being killed every day. For all these reasons they earnestly sought peace, desiring it greatly.

On the contrary, among the Indians (after they had assembled to discuss the messages from our men) there were many who desired war because they were offended by the capture of their women and children, their brothers and relatives, and by the property stolen. It seemed to them in the ferocity of their spirit that, in order to regain everything lost, there was no more direct way than that of arms, and any other would only cause delay. Desiring to engage in battle, they opposed peace, giving no other reason except that of their loss. There were likewise other Indians, who had lost nothing that they wished to recover, who opposed peace simply because they wished to show their courage and bravery and through the natural inclination that they generally have for war. These maintained that it was a matter of honor, saying that it would be a good thing to find out what sort of fighters these strange and unknown men were, and how much spirit and courage they had; and so that they and others after them would be warned away from their lands (in the future), it would be a very good thing to make them understand their own strength and bravery. There were other, more peaceable and discreet Indians who said that the peace and friendship the Spaniards offered ought to be accepted because they could recover their captive women and children and their lost property more surely by this means than by war and enmity, and make certain that other possible losses (such as seeing their pueblos burned and their fields laid waste when the crops were nearly mature) would not be incurred. There was no reason for making a trial of the bravery of those people, for their understanding told them clearly that men

who had passed through so many hostile countries to reach there could not fail to be most valiant, and it was better to have peace and concord with them than war. Aside from the damage mentioned, the latter would cause the death of many of them and of their brothers, relatives, and friends, and would of itself give revenge to their enemies, the neighboring Indians. Therefore it would be better to accept their [the Spaniards'] friendship and see how they got on with it; if they were not satisfied, they could very easily take up arms again, with more advantages than they had at present, and carry out what they were now planning.

This advice outweighed the other, and the curaca agreed to it. Keeping his wrath for a better occasion, he replied to the governor's messengers, saying that they were to tell him first of all what it was the Castilians wanted. On their replying that they wanted nothing except that they [the Indians] move out of the pueblo so that they could lodge in it, and that they give them the food they needed, which would be little, so that they could continue on their way, as they could not stay long in their country, he [the curaca] replied that he was willing to concede them the peace and friendship they asked, and leave the pueblo, and give them the provisions, on condition that they immediately release his vassals and restore all the property they had taken, down to the last earthen pot (these were his words), and that they were not to ascend to his house or to see him. On these conditions he would be a friend to the Spaniards; otherwise he immediately challenged them to battle.

Our people accepted the conditions because they had no use for the Indians whom they had captured, as they had plenty of servants, and the property consisted of nothing except some trifles such as deerskins and some blankets, few and of poor quality. All of it was restored to them, not leaving out even a clay pot, as the curaca said. The Indians moved out of the pueblo and left the food they had in their houses for the Castilians. The latter remained in that pueblo called Chisca for six days in order to care for the sick. On the last day, with the cacique's permission, his anger having abated, the governor visited him and thanked him for his friendship and hospitality. The next day he left to continue his journey and discovery.

## V

### THE SPANIARDS LEAVE CHISCA AND BUILD BOATS FOR CROSSING THE RÍO GRANDE, AND ARRIVE IN CASQUIN

The army having left Chisca, it marched four short daily journeys of three leagues each, since the indispositions of the sick and wounded did not permit longer ones. On all four days they traveled upstream. At the end of that time they came to a passage where they could cross the Río Grande, not that they could ford it, but there was an open passage for reaching it, for previously all along its banks there had been extremely large and very dense woodlands, and the banks on either side were very high and steep and one could not go up or down them. The governor and his army were forced to stop at this pass for twenty days, for in order to cross the river it was necessary to make barks or pirogues like those they built in Chicaça, because immediately upon the arrival of our men at the river, more than six thousand Indian warriors showed themselves on the other side, well armed and with a large number of canoes in which to oppose their crossing.

On the day after the governor arrived at this camp four principal Indians came with a message from the lord of that same province where the Spaniards were, whose name is not set down here because it has been forgotten. Standing before the general, without having spoken a word or having made any other sign, they turned their faces to the east and made an obeisance to the Sun, with extreme reverence; then, turning to the west, they made another, not quite so deep, to the Moon; and then, facing the governor, they made him another, lesser one, so that all those present noted the three methods of veneration that they employed, according to their degree. Then they delivered their message, saying that their lord the curaca and all his nobles and the rest of the common people of his country had sent them in the name of all to welcome them and offer them their friendship, good will, and the service that his lordship might be pleased to receive from them. The adelantado spoke to them in a very friendly manner and sent them away very pleased with his affability.

All the time the Spaniards were in that camp, which was twenty days or more, these Indians served the army in a very friendly and peaceful manner, though the chief curaca never came to see the governor, but rather continued to excuse himself on the pretext of illness, from which it was understood

that he had sent the embassy and performed the other services for fear they might lay waste the fields, which were very fruitful, with the crops nearly mature, and so that they might not burn the pueblos, more than from any love that he had for the Castilians or any desire to serve them. With the great diligence and industry with which the Spaniards applied themselves to building the boats (for all of them labored at it, without distinction between captains and soldiers, he being considered captain who worked hardest on them), at the end of fifteen days they launched two barks on the river, complete in every detail. They guarded them very carefully night and day so that the enemy might not burn them. The latter, throughout the time that the Spaniards were busy with their work, did not cease to molest them in their canoes. They had many and very good ones, and formed into squadrons, sometimes descending and sometimes ascending the river, on coming abreast they discharged many arrows. The Spaniards defended themselves and kept them back with harquebuses and crossbows, with which they did them much damage because they took care to fire so as not to lose a shot, and they dug pits on the riverbank where they concealed themselves, so that the Indians would come nearer. At the end of the twenty days that the Castilians spent in making the boats, they had four in the water, which would carry 150 infantry and thirty cavalry; and so that the Indians might see them well and understand that they could not damage them, they sailed and rowed them up and down the river. Realizing that they could not prevent their crossing, the heathen decided to break camp and go to their pueblos.

Without any opposition, the Spaniards crossed the river in their pirogues and in some canoes they had won from the enemy by their diligent efforts. Dismantling the boats in order to keep the nails, which were very necessary to them, they proceeded on their journey, and having made four daily marches through uninhabited country, on the fifth day they looked ahead from some high hills and saw a pueblo with four hundred houses, situated on the banks of a river larger than the Guadalquivir at Córdoba. All along the edges of that river and in its vicinity there were many fields of maize and Indian corn and great numbers of fruit trees, which showed the country to be very fertile. The Indians of the pueblo, who already had notice of the Castilians' coming, advanced all together without any personage being distinguished among them to greet the governor and offer him their persons, houses, and lands, and they told him that they made him lord of all these. Soon two principal Indians came on behalf of the curaca, accompanied by many others, and in the name of their lord and of the whole state they offered the general anew (as the first ones had done) their vassalage and

service. The governor received them very kindly and spoke many friendly words to them, with which they returned very pleased.

This pueblo and its whole province and the curaca, its lord, had the same name, which was Casquin. The Spaniards rested there six days because of the plentiful supply of food that it had for the people and in order to attend to the sick and also to the horses. At the end of that time they went in two more days to the pueblo where the cacique Casquin resided, which was seven leagues up the river on the same side. All the land was very fertile and well populated, though the pueblos were small, with fifteen, twenty, thirty, or forty houses. The cacique, accompanied by many nobles, came out to receive the governor and offered him his friendship and service and his own house in which to lodge, this being on a high hill erected artificially, on one side of the pueblo, where there were twelve or thirteen large houses in which the curaca had all his family, consisting of wives and servants, who were numerous. The governor said that he accepted his friendship but not his house, so as not to inconvenience him. He was pleased to make camp in an orchard that the cacique himself designated when he saw that he did not desire his houses. There not being a single house in it, the Indians very soon erected large and fresh arbors, such as were necessary, for it was now May and very warm. Part of the army was quartered in the pueblo and part in the orchards, where all were very comfortable.

## VI

### A SOLEMN PROCESSION OF INDIANS AND SPANIARDS IS FORMED TO ADORE THE CROSS

The army had been quartered for three days in the pueblo called Casquin, much to the satisfaction of both Indians and Spaniards, and on the fourth day the curaca appeared before the governor accompanied by all the nobles of his state, whom he had convoked for that ceremony. He and all his people having made deep obeisances, he said to him: "Sir, as you have advantage over us in strength and in arms, so we believe that you enjoy it in that you have a better God than ours. These whom you see here, who are the nobles of my country (who because of their humble estate and little merit do not dare appear before you), and I with them, supplicate that you be pleased to ask your God for rain, because our crops are much in need of water." The

general replied that although all those of his army, and he as well, were sinners they would pray to God, our Lord, as a merciful Father to grant them that blessing. He ordered immediately in the cacique's presence that the Genoese, Maestre Francisco, who was very expert in carpentry and in shipbuilding, make a cross from the tallest and thickest pine tree that could be found in the vicinity.

The one that was cut on advice of the Indians themselves, after being finished, that is, having the bark removed and being rounded to best advantage, as the carpenters say, could not be lifted from the ground by a hundred men. The master constructed the cross perfectly, in the proportion of five and three, without taking away anything from the height of the tree. It came out most handsomely because it was so tall. They set it up on a high artificially made hill that was on the riverbank and served the Indians as a lookout, and exceeded in height the other, small hills nearby. The work, which required two days, being finished, and the cross being erected, on the following day a solemn procession was formed in which the general and the captains and the most important men took part, and an armed squadron of infantry and cavalry kept watch, as was required for the safeguarding and security of the army.

The cacique went at the governor's side and many of his Indian nobles were interspersed among the Spaniards. In a separate group in advance of the general went the priests, clerics, and friars, chanting the litanies in chorus, and the soldiers responded. In this manner more than a thousand men, including the faithful and the heathen, marched a good distance until they came to the place where the cross was, and all knelt before it. Having said two or three prayers, they arose and went two by two with the priests leading and knelt on the ground to adore and kiss the cross. Following the ecclesiastics came the governor, and the cacique, who, without anyone telling him, did everything that he saw the general do, and kissed the cross. Behind them came the other Spaniards and the Indians, who did the same as the Christians.

On the other side of the river there were fifteen or twenty thousand souls of both sexes and all ages, who stood with their arms extended and their hands held up, watching what the Christians were doing. From time to time they raised their eyes to heaven, making signs with their hands and faces as if they were praying God to heed the Christians' petitions. Again they would give a low hoarse cry as of people mourning, and they told the children to cry, and they themselves did the same. All this ceremony and solemnity was observed on either side of the river in the adoration of the cross, which



deeply moved the governor and many of his men, seeing that the sign of our redemption was venerated with such a demonstration of humility and tears in lands so far away and by people so far removed from the Christian doctrine. All having adored the cross in the manner that has been told, the procession returned in the same order in which it had come, the priests chanting the *Te Deum laudamus* to the end of the canticle. This concluded the ceremonies of that day, which had extended over a long four hours.

God, our Lord, in His mercy was pleased to show those heathen how He listens to His own who earnestly call upon Him, and at once on the following night, beginning at midnight, a very good rain commenced to fall, which lasted two more days, leaving the Indians very joyful and contented. The curaca and all his nobles formed a procession such as he had seen the Christians do to adore the cross, and went to render thanks to the governor for such favors as his God had bestowed upon them through his intercession. Finally, they told him in very well-chosen words that they were his slaves and that thenceforth they would boast of it and take pride in being so. The governor told them to give their thanks to God, who created heaven and earth and bestowed those mercies and other, greater ones.

These things have been told in such detail because they happened thus, and because it was the mandate and the care of the governor and the priests who went with him that the cross be adored with all possible solemnity, so that those heathen would see the veneration in which the Christians held it. Juan Coles recounts all this chapter concerning the adoration at great length in his *Relation*, and says that it rained fifteen days. After these matters were concluded, they now having been in that pueblo nine or ten days, the governor ordered the army to prepare to march on the next day to continue their discovery.

The cacique Casquin, who was about fifty years of age, begged the governor to permit him to go with him and to bring warriors and servants, the first to accompany the army and the second to carry the provisions, because they would have to go through uninhabited country, and to clear the roads and bring wood and grass for the horses when they were in camp. The governor thanked him for his kindness and told him to do whatever most pleased him, whereupon the curaca left well satisfied and ordered made ready, if they were not already so, a large number of warriors and servants.

## VII

### INDIANS AND SPANIARDS GO AGAINST CAPAHA. THE SITE OF HIS PUEBLO IS DESCRIBED

It must be said for the sake of a clearer explanation of our *History* that this cacique Casquin and his parents, grandparents, and ancestors for many centuries previously had war with the lord and lords of another province, called Capaha,<sup>28</sup> which bordered upon his own. These latter, because they were more-powerful lords of lands and vassals, had hemmed in Casquin, and were continuing to do so, having almost overcome him. He dared not take up arms for fear of angering Capaha and irritating him lest he [Capaha] do him [Casquin] the harm that he could do, being so powerful. He remained quiet, content only with guarding his boundaries, and not leaving them or giving occasion for being attacked, if it be enough not to give it to tyrants. Since Casquin now saw the good opportunity that was offered him to take revenge for all his past injuries with the aid of foreign strength and power, being astute and sagacious, he asked the governor for the permission that we have mentioned. With this, and with the intention of avenging himself, he took in addition to servants five thousand Indian warriors well armed and adorned with large plumes, for they never left their houses without these two things. He took also three thousand Indians laden with food, who carried their bows and arrows as well.

Casquin set out from his pueblo with all this ostentation, having asked permission to go ahead with his men under pretext of discovering the enemy, if they were there, and of supplying the camps with the necessary things before the Spanish army should arrive. He led his men out formed in squadrons and divided into three parts, vanguard, center, and rear guard, in good military order. The Spaniards left a quarter of a league behind the Indians, and they marched thus all that day. At night the Indians camped ahead of the Castilians and also posted their sentries as our men did, and the cavalry made the rounds between the two lines of sentries. They marched three days in this order, and at the end of that time they came to a swamp that was very difficult to cross, having deep miry places at the entrance and exit and clear water in the middle, but so deep that for the space of twenty paces it was necessary to swim (this swamp was the boundary between the two hostile

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<sup>28</sup>Inverting the first two syllables, Garcilaso calls this province Capaha where the other chroniclers have Pacaha.

provinces of Casquin and Capaha). The men crossed over some poor wooden bridges that were there, and the horses swam across with much trouble because of the mud on either side of the swamp. They spent all the fourth day in passing over it, and half a league beyond Indians and Spaniards camped in some most beautiful pasture grounds in a very fine country. After crossing the swamp, they marched two days more, and early on the third they reached some high hills from which the principal pueblo of Capaha could be seen, which was the frontier and defense of the whole province against that of Casquin, and therefore it was fortified in the manner that we shall describe. The pueblo had five hundred large and good houses and was on a site somewhat higher and more elevated than its surroundings. They had made it almost an island with a ditch or moat ten or twelve fathoms deep and fifty paces wide,<sup>29</sup> or forty at the narrowest parts, all made by hand. It was full of water that it received from the Río Grande that we mentioned above, which flowed three leagues above the pueblo. The water came through an open canal, made laboriously, which went from the moat to the Río Grande for this purpose. The canal was three estados in depth and so wide that two of the large canoes could go up and down it abreast without the oars of one touching those of the other. The moat of water, of the width that we have said, surrounded three sides of the pueblo, the work not yet being complete. The fourth side was enclosed by a very strong palisade in the form of a wall made of thick logs set in the ground, touching one another, and other, transverse logs fastened and covered with packed mud and straw such as we have described above. This great moat and its canal contained so many fish that all the Spaniards and Indians who were with the governor took their fill of them, and it was still as if none had been taken out.

When his enemies, the Casquines, came in sight of the pueblo, the cacique Capaha was inside of it, but it seemed to him that because his people were unprepared and because he did not have as many as were needed he could not resist his adversaries, so he gave way to them. Before they arrived he got into one of the canoes that were in the moat and went through the canal to the Río Grande to take refuge on a fortified island he had there. The Indians of the pueblo who could get canoes followed their lord. Others who

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<sup>29</sup>The use of moats in combination with wooden palisade fortifications is independently attested to in several archaeologically known Southeastern town sites. Etowah in northwest Georgia is a prominent example. See Lewis Larson, "Functional Considerations of Warfare in the Southeast During the Mississippian Period," *American Antiquity* 37 (1972):383-92.



*Life in a Mississippian Village. Mississippian villagers of the interior Southeast at the time of the De Soto expedition depended upon corn agriculture, hunting, and fishing for their subsistence. They often lived in large, walled towns. The earth mounds in the background of this painting supported residences of chiefs and nobles and shrines dedicated to their ancestors. (Painting by H. Tom Hall © National Geographic Society)*

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could not obtain them fled to the woods that were close by. Others, who were slower and less fortunate, remained in the pueblo. The Casquines entered it, finding it undefended; not all at once, but cautiously, fearful that there might be an enemy ambush inside. Though they had the Spaniards' protection, still, as a people many times defeated, they feared those of Capaha and could not lose their dread of them. This delay gave opportunity for many people of the pueblo—men, women, and children—to escape by fleeing.

After the Casquines ascertained that there was no one in the pueblo to oppose them, they showed well the hatred and rancor that they felt against its inhabitants, for they killed the men on whom they could lay hands, numbering more than 150, and took off their scalps to carry to their own country as an indication of a great victory and of revenge for their wrongs, a sign used by all these Indians. They sacked the whole pueblo, particularly robbing the lord's houses with more satisfaction and enjoyment than any of the others, because they were his. They captured many boys, children, and women, and among them two very beautiful young women who were among the many wives of Capaha. They had been unable to embark with the cacique, their husband, because of the disturbance and great haste occasioned by the sudden and unexpected arrival of the enemy.

## VIII

### THE CASQUINES SACK THE PUEBLO AND BURIAL PLACE OF CAPAHA, AND GO IN SEARCH OF HIM

Not content with having pillaged the curaca's house and robbed the pueblo, and killed and taken as many prisoners as they could, the Casquines went to the temple, which was on a large plaza that the pueblo contained, which was the burial place of all the former lords of that province: the father, grandfathers, and ancestors of Capaha. Those temples and burial places, as has already been told elsewhere, are the most esteemed and venerated possessions that these Indians of La Florida have, and I believe that it is the same among all nations, not without good reason, because they are relics, not of saints, but of ancestors whom they represent to us as alive. The Casquines, summoning one another so that all could enjoy the triumph, went to this temple. Since they understood how much Capaha (being arrogant and

haughty because he had not hitherto been attacked by them) would feel it that his enemies had the boldness to enter his temple and burial place contemptuously, they not only entered it, but committed all the ignominious and offensive affronts that they could, because they pillaged everything that the temple contained in the way of riches, ornaments, spoils, and trophies that had been gathered at the expense of their own ancestors.<sup>30</sup>

They knocked down on the ground all the wooden chests that served as sepulchers, and for their own satisfaction and revenge and to affront their enemies, they threw out on the ground the bones and dead bodies that were in the chests. Not content with throwing them on the ground, they stamped and kicked them in an excess of contempt and disdain. They took away many heads of the Indians of Casquin, which those of Capaha had placed on the points of lances at the doors of the temple as a sign of triumph and victory. In the place of them they put other heads, which they had cut off that day from the inhabitants of the pueblo. In short, nothing they could think of was left undone. They wanted to burn the temple and the curaca's houses and the whole pueblo, but did not dare do it for fear of angering the governor. The Casquines did all these things before the governor entered the pueblo. The latter, as soon as he learned that Capaha had gone to the island to fortify himself there, sent him messages of peace and friendship by some of his Indians who had been captured, but he would not accept them. On the other hand he summoned his people in order to revenge himself against his enemies.

When the governor learned of this he ordered that Indians and Spaniards make ready to go to attack the island. The curaca Casquin told his lordship to wait three or four days until a fleet of sixty canoes should arrive, which he would order to be brought from his country and which were needed to cross to the island. This fleet would have to come up by way of the Río Grande, which also passed through the lands of Casquin. He ordered his vassals to go as speedily as possible and come back with the canoes; that this was to be their revenge and the destruction of their enemies. Meanwhile the governor did not cease sending messages of peace and friendship to Capaha. But seeing that he disregarded them and knowing that the canoes were already on the way up the river, he ordered the whole army to come out to receive them

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<sup>30</sup>Considering the pivotal importance of the chief's hereditary line to the well-being of a chiefdom, the defilement of Pacaha's ancestor shrine would have been a prominent goal of the Casqui raiders.



*A Pottery Jar in the Form of a Human Head. This painted jar, perhaps portraying the severed head of a slain enemy, comes from the general area of the Mississippian chiefdom of Pacaha. At the time of De Soto's arrival, Pacaha was at war with the neighboring chiefdom of Casqui. The incised decorations on this piece probably represent facial tattooing. The notion of success in warfare is repeated in many forms of Mississippian art. (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Flourney Collection/Smithsonian Institution)*

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and to go by water and by land to where the enemies were. The Castilians went out on the fifth day after they reached the pueblo of Capaha.

In order to damage their enemies' growing crops, the Casquin Indians marched out formed into a wing half a league across, laying waste and destroying everything they encountered. They found many of their Indians who were captives and who served as domestics on the estates and in the fields of those of Capaha. So that these slaves would not run away, they had crippled one of their feet,<sup>31</sup> as we have already told concerning others, and they held them in slavery in a cruel and perpetual imprisonment, more as a sign of victory than because of the advantage and service they could be to them. The Casquines set them free and sent them to their country. The governor and the cacique Casquin arrived with their armies at the Río Grande and found that Capaha was fortified on the island with palisades made of thick logs that were set in from one side to the other. Since there were many thickets of brambles and trees growing on the island, it was bad to enter and worse to travel through, and because of this roughness and of the many and very good warriors Capaha had there, he was certain that they would not take it. In the face of all these difficulties the governor ordered that two hundred Castilian infantry embark in twenty canoes, and three thousand Indians in the others, and that they all attack the island together and attempt to gain it, like good soldiers. The number of Indians and Spaniards mentioned went in this order in the sixty canoes. Upon landing, an accident took place that grieved all the Castilians generally. This was that one of them, named Francisco Sebastián, who was a native of Villanueva de Barcarrota and had been a soldier in Italy, a man of handsome body and face and of a very happy temperament, was drowned because he had been in such haste to jump ashore with a lance by thrusting the end in the ground. He was unable to make the shore, and as the canoe had moved backward, he fell into the water. Since he wore a coat of mail, he immediately sank to the bottom and did not reappear. Shortly before, while in the canoe, he had been (as on other occasions) very merry with his companions, telling them innumerable jokes and stories, and among others he had told the following: "Ill-fortune brought me into these desperate places. Would that God had sent me into a good country, such as Italy: There, after their manner of speaking, they addressed me as 'lordship,' as if I were a lord of vassals, while you here don't even pride yourselves on addressing me familiarly. There, being a generous and charitable people, they entertained me and helped me in my need as if I

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<sup>31</sup>See note 18.



had been their son. I was treated thus in time of peace, and in war: if I happened to kill an enemy—Turk, Moor, or Frenchman—there were spoils to be had in the form of arms, clothing, or horses, which always brought me something. But here I have to fight with a naked man who leaps along ten or twelve paces ahead of me, shooting arrows at me as if at a wild beast, without my being able to overtake him. And if good luck comes to my aid and I overtake and kill him, I find nothing to take from him except a bow and a plume, as if they were of any use to me. My greatest complaint is that El Lucero of Italy, so called as a famous astrologer, told me to avoid going in the water, because I was to die by drowning, and it seems that luck brought me to a country where we never get out of the water.” Francisco Sebastián said these things and other similar ones a little before he was drowned, much to the grief of his companions.

These latter landed to make the first attack upon the enemy, and with much spirit and courage they gained the first palisade, driving [the Indians] back to the second. They thereby struck such terror into the women and children and serving-people who were on the island that they very hastily embarked in their canoes, shouting, in order to flee up the river. The Indians who were stationed to defend the second palisade—seeing their cacique before them and knowing the danger their women and children and all of them ran of being slaves of their enemies, and that in this single battle, if they did not fight like men and win it, they would lose all the honor and glory their predecessors had left them—attacked furiously, like desperate men, ashamed of those who had retreated and run from the Casquines. They fought very courageously and wounded many Spaniards, preventing them and the Indians from advancing farther.

## IX

### THE CASQUINES FLEE FROM THE BATTLE, AND CAPAHA ASKS THE GOVERNOR FOR PEACE

Seeing that they had checked the impetus of their enemies, the Indians of Capaha, regaining their spirit and courage with this successful exploit, said to the Casquines: “Come on and take us, cowards, and carry us off as slaves, since you have dared enter our pueblo to injure our prince as you have done; remember well what you are doing and what you have done, so that when the strangers have gone we shall then see what kind of warriors you are.”

These words alone were enough to make the Casquines, as a frightened people often defeated on other occasions, not only stop fighting but totally lose their courage, turn their backs, and run for the canoes, paying no attention to their cacique nor fearing the shouts and threats of the Spaniards and the governor ordering them not to desert the two hundred Christians who had come with them. Fleeing thus as if they were being pursued with spears, they took their canoes and attempted to take those the Castilians had carried, but they found two Christians in each one who had stayed to guard them and who defended them with their swords. The Indians wished to take them all so that the enemy would have no means of following them.

Thus the Casquines fled with such abjectness and meanness of spirit when shortly before they had been on the point of gaining the island with the protection and help of the Spaniards, without their adversaries daring to take up arms. Our infantry, seeing that they were few against so many enemies and that they had no horses, which were their greatest strength in resisting them, began to retire in good order to where they had left the canoes. Seeing that the Christians were alone and that they were retreating, the Indians of the island fell upon them very boldly to kill them. But the cacique Capaha, who was wise and prudent, wished to take advantage of this occasion to win the governor's favor and pardon for his rebelliousness and pertinacity in having refused to accept the peace and friendship that he had continuously offered him. It seemed to him also that he was obligated by the favor [on the governor's part] of his not having permitted the Casquines to do more damage in their pueblo and fields than they had done, which he regretted extremely.

With this intention he went out to his men and shouted to them loudly, ordering them not to harm the Christians, but to let them go freely. Because of this favor that Capaha did them our two hundred infantry escaped death, for if it had not been for his generosity and courtesy, they would all have died at that perilous time. The governor contented himself for the moment with having recovered his men alive through Capaha's magnanimity, which was esteemed and praised highly among all the Spaniards. Early on the morning of the following day four principal Indians came with an embassy from Capaha to the governor, asking his pardon for what had happened and offering his services and friendship in the future, and [requesting] that he not permit his enemies to do more damage in his country than they had done already. He begged his lordship to return to the pueblo and said that on the next day he would go personally to kiss his hands and offer the obedience that he owed him. This was the substance of the message, but the ambas-

sadors delivered it in many words and with great solemnity, ceremony, and demonstrations of respect and veneration, which they accorded to the Sun and Moon, but not to the cacique Casquin. He was present, but [they acted] as if he were not there and as if they had not seen him.

The general replied, saying that Capaha might come whenever he wished, that he would always be well received, that he was glad to accept his friendship, and that they would do no more damage in his country, not even to the leaf of a tree. What had been done was caused by the fact that he had been unwilling to receive the peace and friendship that had been offered him so many times, and he begged him to speak no more of things already past. The governor sent the ambassadors back very well satisfied with this reply, having entertained them and made much of them with friendly words. Casquin was not at all pleased with the embassy from his enemy or with the governor's reply, for he hoped that Capaha would have persevered in his obstinacy, so that he could have taken revenge on him and destroyed him with the Castilians' help. As soon as he had received Capaha's embassy, the governor returned to the pueblo. On the road he ordered a decree issued to the effect that neither Indian nor Spaniard should dare take anything that might injure the people of the province. On arriving at the pueblo, he ordered that the Indians of Casquin, both warriors and servants, go immediately to their own country, some of them staying to serve their curaca, who wished to remain with the governor. At noon, while the army was on the march, an embassy came from Capaha to the general saying that he begged his lordship to send word concerning his health and to be certain and assured that on the following day he would come to kiss his hands. At sunset, when they had already reached the pueblo, another messenger came with the same message, and these two embassies were delivered with the same solemnity and ceremonies as the first, with the veneration of the Sun, the Moon, and the governor. The general replied very courteously and ordered the messengers to be entertained so that they would understand that he considered them friends. At eight o'clock the next morning Capaha came, accompanied by a hundred nobles adorned with very handsome plumes and mantles made of all kinds of skins.

Before he saw the governor he went to see his temple and burial place; it might have been because it was on the way to the general's lodgings or because he felt that affront more than all the others they had committed against him. As he went inside and saw the destruction done, he concealed his feelings and lifted up from the ground with his own hands the bones and dead bodies of his ancestors, which the Casquines had thrown out, and having

kissed them he returned them to the wooden chests that served as sepulchers. This done as well as possible, he went to his house where the governor was lodged. The latter came out of his apartment to receive him and embraced him with much affability. The curaca made his offer of vassalage and they spoke of many particulars that the governor asked him concerning his country and the surrounding provinces. The cacique replied to the general's satisfaction and to that of the captains who were present, and he showed himself to be very intelligent. Capaha was twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age.

The latter, seeing that the governor ceased his questions and that he did not have to reply to him, and on the other hand being able no longer to dissimulate his wrath against the cacique Casquin because of the offenses he had committed against him, and of whom—though he had gone out with the governor to receive him and had been present throughout their conversation—he had taken no notice, as if he had not been there; seeing, then, that the field was clear, he turned to him and said: "You must be satisfied, Casquin, at having seen what you never imagined or hoped from your own courage, which is revenge for your insults and affronts; you can thank the outside help of the Spaniards for it. They will leave, and we shall remain here in our country as before. Pray to the Sun and the Moon, our gods, that they send us good weather."

## X

### THE GOVERNOR TWICE UPHOLDS CASQUIN, AND RECONCILES THE TWO CURACAS

Before Casquin could reply, the governor asked the interpreters what it was that Capaha had said, and having been informed, he said to him that the Spaniards had not come to his lands to leave them more inflamed with their wars and enmities than they were before, but to put them in peace and concord, and that he himself was to blame for the injury that the Casquines had done him because he had not waited in his pueblo when the Castilians were coming to it, or had not sent him a messenger on the road. If he had done so, his enemies would not have entered his pueblo or his territory, and inasmuch as his own negligence had caused the past damage, he begged him to lay aside his anger and forget the passions the two of them had felt hitherto, and

thenceforth to be friends and good neighbors. He begged and charged them to do this as a friend of both of them; if necessary he ordered it under penalty of his own enmity toward him who did not obey.

Capaha replied to the governor that, because his lordship had so commanded and in order to serve him, he would take pleasure in being a friend to Casquin, and thus they embraced like two brothers, but the expressions on their faces and their looks at one another were not those of true friendship. With as much of it as they could feign, however, the two curacas talked with the general about many things, both pertaining to Spain and to the provinces the Spaniards had seen in La Florida. The conversation lasted until they were told that it was time for dinner, so they passed to another apartment where the table had been laid for all three, because the governor always honored the caciques by having them eat with him. The adelantado seated himself at the head of the table, and Casquin, who from the first day that he had eaten with him had been seated at his right hand, took the same place. When Capaha saw him he said, without showing annoyance: "You know very well, Casquin, that that place is mine, for many reasons, the principal ones being that my rank is higher, my seigniorship more ancient, and my state greater than yours. Because of any of these three reasons you ought not to take that seat, for you know that by virtue of each of them it belongs to me."

The governor, who had been acting as Casquin's patron, sensing that something unusual was happening, wished to know what Capaha had said to him. When he learned what it was, he said: "Granting that all this you have said is true, it is fitting that Casquin's age and his gray hairs should be respected and that you, who are young, should honor the elder by giving him the most important place, because it is a natural obligation that the young have to respect the old, and in so doing they honor themselves." Capaha replied, saying: "Sir, if I had Casquin as a guest in my house, I would give him the first place at my table, gray hairs or no, and would do him all the other honor that I could, but when eating at another's table it does not seem to me right to yield my privileges, because they belong to my ancestors, and my vassals, especially the nobles, would be displeased with me. If your lordship wishes me to eat at your table, I must be given the place at your right hand, for it belongs to me. Otherwise I shall go eat with my soldiers, which would be more honorable to me and more pleasing to them than to see me disgrace myself and the position my fathers left me." Casquin, who on the one hand desired to placate Capaha's past wrath, and on the other saw that all he had said and asserted on his own behalf was true, got up from the chair and said to the governor: "Sir, Capaha is right and his demands are justified.

I beg your lordship to order him to be given his seat and place, which is this one, and I shall seat myself on the other side. I am much honored to be seated at any part of your lordship's table." So saying, he passed to the left side and sat down to eat without any ill-feeling, whereas Capaha was pacified and took his seat, and ate with the governor with an untroubled countenance.

These things are written in such detail, though they may seem unimportant, to show that the ambition for honor, more than any other impulse, is very strong in all men, however barbarous and far removed they may be from all good instruction and doctrine. Thus the governor and the gentlemen who were with him wondered to see what had passed between the two curacas, because they had not understood that the Indians drew such fine distinctions of honor or that they would be so punctilious therein.

As soon as the governor and the two caciques had eaten, they brought before them the two wives of Capaha whom, we said, the Casquines had captured when they entered the pueblo, and they presented them to Capaha, having freed all the other people who had been captured with them the day before. Capaha received them with many thanks for the generosity shown him, and after having accepted them, he said to the governor that he begged his lordship to make use of them, that he offered and presented them to him very willingly. The governor told him that he did not need them because he already had many servants. The curaca replied that, if he did not want them for his own service, he might pass them on to any captain or soldier to whom he wished to grant a favor, because they were not to return to his house or remain in his country. It was understood that Capaha abhorred them and put them away from him because of the suspicion that, since they had been captives in the power of his enemies, it would be impossible that they should not have been contaminated.

So as not to displease the curaca, the governor told him that he would accept them because they were a gift from him. They were extremely beautiful, but for all this, and though the curaca was young, the suspicion alone was enough to make him detest them and put them from him. From this action it may be seen how that crime is abominated among these Indians, and the exile and punishment of these women seems to confirm what we said above about their laws against adultery.

## XI

### THE SPANIARDS SEND TO SEARCH FOR SALT AND GOLD MINES, AND THEY PASS ON TO QUIGUATE

Seeing the great necessity for salt that his people were experiencing, for they were dying for lack of it, the adelantado made thorough inquiries of the curacas and their Indians in that province of Capaha in order to learn where they could get some. In the course of this questioning he found eight Indians in the hands of the Spaniards who had been captured the day they entered that pueblo, and were not natives of it, but strangers and merchants who had traversed many provinces with their goods; and among other things, they were accustomed to bring salt to sell. Being brought before the governor, they told him that in some mountains forty leagues away there was a great deal of very good salt, and to the repeated questions they asked them, they replied that there was also in that country much of the yellow metal they asked for.

The Castilians rejoiced greatly at this news, and two soldiers offered to go with the Indians to confirm it. These were natives of Galicia, one named Hernando de Silvera and the other Pedro Moreno, diligent men to whom anything could be entrusted. They were directed to note the nature of the country through which they passed and bring a report as to whether it were fertile and well populated. To barter for and purchase the salt and the gold, they took pearls and deerskins and some vegetables called *frisoles* that Capaha ordered to be given to them. They also took Indians to accompany them and two of the merchants to act as guides. Thus prepared, the Spaniards set out, and at the end of the eleven days that they spent on their journey they returned with six loads of rock-salt crystals, not made artificially, but found in this state. They also brought back a load of very fine and resplendent brass [copper], and concerning the quality of the lands they had seen, they said that they were not good, for they were sterile and thinly populated. Because they needed it so badly, the Spaniards consoled themselves with the salt for their disappointment and misunderstanding regarding the gold.

With the unfavorable reports that his two soldiers had given him concerning the lands that they had seen, the governor decided to go back to the pueblo of Casquin in order to make another journey to the west from there to see what lands there might be in that direction, because from Mauvila to that point they had always marched toward the north, in order to get away

from the sea. Having so decided, the Castilians left Capaha in his pueblo and went back with Casquin to his, where they rested five days. At the end of that time they left it and marched four days' journey down the river through a fertile and well-populated country. Then they arrived in a province called Quiguate, whose lord and inhabitants came out peacefully to receive the governor, and entertained him. On the next day the cacique asked his lordship to go on to the chief pueblo of his province where he was better prepared to serve him than in that one.

The Spaniards traveled five more daily journeys, always down the river, through a country that, as we said of the last one, was well populated and had an abundance of food. At the end of the fifth day they reached the principal pueblo, called Quiguate, from which the whole province took its name. It was divided into three equal districts, in one of which was the lord's house, situated on a high elevation made by hand. The Spaniards lodged in two of the districts, and the Indians were assembled in the third, there being plenty of lodgings for everyone. Two days after they arrived all the Indians and the curaca ran away without any cause at all. Two days later they returned, asking pardon for their bad behavior. The cacique excused himself by saying that a certain urgent necessity had forced him to leave without his lordship's permission, thinking to return on that same day, and that it had not been possible for him to do so. It might have been that after his flight the curaca feared the Spaniards would burn his pueblo and fields on their departure, and that this fear caused him to return. Apparently he had left with bad intentions because in his absence his Indians had been rebellious, doing such damage as they could by stealth and wounding two or three Castilians. The governor overlooked all this so as not to break with them.

On one of the nights the Spaniards spent in this camp it happened that the assistant to the sergeant major, who was named Pablo Fernández, a native of Valverde, went to the governor at midnight and told him that the treasurer Juan Gaytán, having been summoned to make the rounds on horseback in the second night watch, had refused to do so on the grounds that he was his Majesty's treasurer. The governor was very angry because this gentleman was one of those who had complained about the conquest in Mauvila and had planned to leave the country as soon as they should arrive where there were ships, and return to Spain or go to México. This, as we have said already, was the cause of obstructing and disarranging the purposes and well-laid plans that the governor had in mind for conquering and settling the country.

Thus since the present disobedience recalled his past anger, the governor



got out of bed and, stationing himself in the patio of the curaca's house, which was on a high place, he said in such a loud voice that, although it was midnight, the whole pueblo heard him: "What is this, soldiers and captains? Do the mutinies that were plotted in Mauvila for returning to Spain or going to México still persist, so that under pretext of being officials of the real hacienda you refuse to stand the watches that fall to you? Why do you want to return to Spain? Did you leave some inheritances there to go back and enjoy? Why do you wish to go to México? To show the weakness and cowardice of your spirits, when you could be lords of such a great kingdom where you have discovered and traversed so many and such beautiful provinces, you have thought it better (in abandoning them through your pusillanimity and cowardice) to go and lodge in a strange house and eat at another's table, when you could have your own in which to entertain and do good to many others? How much honor do you think they will do you when this becomes known? Be ashamed of yourselves, and understand that, officials of the real hacienda or not, we all have to serve his Majesty, and that no one shall presume to absent himself, whatever privileges he may have, or I shall behead him, whoever he may be. Understand further that while I live no one shall leave this country, but that we must conquer and settle it, or all die in the attempt. Therefore do your duty and give up your vain presumptions, because this is not the time for them."

The governor showed with these words, spoken in great anger and heaviness of heart, the reason for the perpetual discontent that he had felt all the way from Mauvila and that he felt continuously until his death. Those to whom they were addressed did as they were ordered from there on without raising any questions, because they understood that the governor was not a man to be trifled with, particularly when he had declared himself as decisively as he had done.

## XII

### THE ARMY REACHES COLIMA, FINDS A METHOD OF MAKING SALT, AND PASSES TO THE PROVINCE OF TULA

The Spaniards spent six days in the pueblo called Quiguáte. On the seventh they left it, and in five daily journeys they made, always downstream

along the banks of the Río de Casquin, they reached the principal pueblo of another province, called Colima. Its lord came out peacefully and received the governor and his army very cordially and with signs of affection, which greatly pleased the Castilians because they had heard that the Indians of that province were accustomed to use [the juice of a poison] herb on their arrows. Our men were very fearful of this, because they said that if poison were added to the usual ferocity and boldness with which the Indians shot their arrows, what recourse could they have? But finding that they did not use [the poison], they received the friendship of the Colimas with greater satisfaction, though it did not last long, for within two days they rose up, without any reason for it, and the curaca and his vassals went to the woods.

After remaining one day in the pueblo of Colima following the flight of the Indians, collecting provisions on the march, our men continued their journey. They marched over some fertile cultivated fields and through some open woodlands, easy to traverse, and at the end of four days' march they came to the bank of a river, where the army encamped. After making their camp, certain soldiers went down to walk by the river, and passing along its shore, they happened to see a blue sand at the water's edge. One of them took up some of it, tasted it, and found that it was brackish. He told his companions, and they said that they thought saltpeter could be made of it for making powder for thearquebuses. With this in mind they set to work handily to take up the blue sand without an admixture of the white. Having collected a quantity of it, they put it in water, rubbed it together between their hands, strained off the water, and put it to boil. As they made a large fire under it, it was converted into salt of a somewhat yellow color, but effective and with a very good taste.

Rejoicing at this new discovery, and because of their great need for salt, the Spaniards spent eight days in that camp and made a large quantity of it. There were some who in their craving for salt, seeing that there was now an abundance of it, ate it by itself in mouthfuls, as if it were sugar. To those who scolded them they said, "Let us get our fill of salt, because we have had a great craving for it." Nine or ten of them ate their fill of it in such a manner that in a few days they died of dropsy. Thus some died from lack of salt and some from too much.

Supplied with salt and happy over their discovery for making it whenever they should need it, the Spaniards left that camp and province, which they named La Sal. They marched two days to get out of its territory, and entered that of another province, called Tula, through which they marched for four days in an uninhabited region. At noon on the last day the army halted on a

fine plain where it encamped. Though the guides told the governor that the principal pueblo of that province was half a league from there, he did not want the men to go on because they had marched for six days without stopping, but desired to enter it the next day after they had rested in that camp. He himself wished to see the pueblo on that same evening, however, so he chose sixty infantry and a hundred cavalry to go with him to reconnoiter it. It was situated on a plain between two streams, and its inhabitants were unprepared, having had no notice of the Castilians' coming. But as soon as they saw them they sounded the alarm and came out to fight with all the good spirit and courage that could be imagined. What our men wondered at most, however, was seeing that many women came out among the men with their weapons and that they fought as fiercely as the men themselves.

The Spaniards fell upon the Indians and broke through them, and they entered the pueblo fighting with one another. There the Christians had enough to do because they found rash enemies who fought without fear of death, and even though they lacked weapons and strength, they were unwilling to give themselves up, but wished to be killed. The women did the same and showed themselves to be even more desperate. During the struggle a gentleman from the kingdom of León, named Francisco de Reynoso Cabeza de Vaca, entered a house and ascended to an upper room that served as a granary, where he found five Indian women huddled in a corner. By signs he told them to be quiet and that he did not wish to do them harm. Seeing him alone, they all assailed him at once, and like mastiffs attacking a bull they seized him by the arms, legs, and neck, and one grasped him around the body. By a great effort Reynoso freed his body and arms so as to defend himself with his fists. He bore heavily upon one foot, and it broke through the floor of the room, which was of flimsy framework. The foot and leg sank through to the thigh, and he was left sitting on the floor. Thereupon, the Indian women completely subdued him with bites and fisticuffs, and were on the point of killing him. Francisco de Reynoso, though he found himself in such dire straits, for the sake of his honor, because of the struggle being with women, did not wish to call to his people for help.

At this juncture a soldier happened to enter the lower room of the house where they were throttling Cabeza de Vaca. Hearing the noise that was going on above, he raised his eyes and saw the suspended leg. Thinking that it must belong to some Indian because it was bare, without stocking or shoe, he raised his sword to slash it with a stroke, but at that moment he suspected whom it might be because of the great clamor he heard overhead. He hurriedly summoned two other companions, and all three went up to the apart-

ment. On seeing how the Indian women were holding Francisco de Reynoso, they attacked them and killed them all, because none of them would let go of Reynoso or cease cuffing and biting him, even though they were killed for it. Thus his comrades saved Francisco de Reynoso from death, which was very near. In the year 1591 in which I am making a final fair copy of this *History*, I learned in the month of February that this gentleman was still living in his native country.

Another incident, equally unfortunate, happened that day to Juan Páez, a native of Usagre, who was captain of crossbowmen. Though he had no skill in horsemanship, but rather was awkward and heavy, he wished to fight on horseback, and going out in the last stages of the battle, he encountered an Indian who, though he was retreating, was still fighting. Juan Páez attacked him, and without aptitude, skill, or dexterity, for he did not have them, he threw a lance at him. The Indian jumped aside and warded off the lance with a piece of a pike more than a fathom long, which he carried as a weapon. Grasping it with both hands, he gave Juan Páez a blow on the mouth that broke all his teeth, leaving him choking, and made his escape safely.

## XIII

### CONCERNING THE STRANGE FEROCITY OF SPIRIT OF THE TULAS, AND THE ARMED ENCOUNTERS THE SPANIARDS HAD WITH THEM

Because it was already late, the general ordered the assembly sounded, and leaving many Indians dead and carrying back some of his own badly wounded men, he returned to the camp, not at all satisfied with that day's expedition. On the other hand he was amazed at the obstinacy and temerity with which those Indians fought, and at the fact that the women had the same spirit and ferocity.

On the following day the general entered the pueblo with his army, and finding it abandoned he encamped there. That afternoon bands of cavalry went out to scour the country in all directions to see whether there were any parties of the enemy there. They encountered some who were serving as lookouts, and captured them, but it was impossible to take any of them to the camp alive in order to obtain information from them, because when they laid hold of them to take them away, they immediately fell down on the

ground and said, "Either kill me or leave me here." They would not answer a word to all the questions that were asked them, and if they tried to drag them along and raise them up they simply allowed themselves to be dragged. Thus the Castilians were forced to kill them all.

In the pueblo (because we are noting its peculiarities) our men found many cowhides tanned and dressed with the hair on them, which served as blankets on the beds. They found many other rawhides, not yet tanned. They also found beef, but they saw no cattle in the country, nor could they learn from where they had brought the hides. The Indians of this province of Tula are different from all the other Indians whom our Spaniards had encountered hitherto, for we have said that the others are handsome and graceful in person. These, however, both men and women, have ugly faces, and though they are well-proportioned, they deform themselves by deliberate distortion of themselves. Their heads are incredibly long and tapering on top, being made thus artificially by binding them up from birth to the age of nine or ten years. They prick their faces with flint needles, especially the lips, inside and out, and color them black, thereby making themselves extremely and abominably ugly. The hideous aspect of their faces corresponds to their bad dispositions, as we shall see more particularly below.

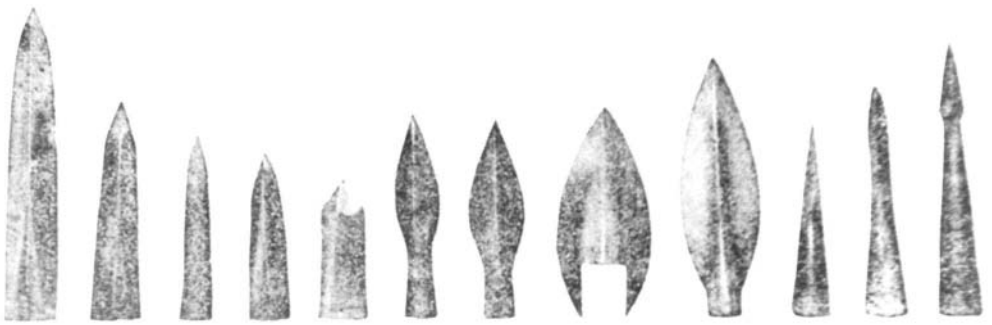
On the fourth night that the Spaniards spent in the pueblo of Tula the Indians came in great numbers just before dawn, and they arrived so silently that when the sentries heard them they were already surrounded. They attacked the camp on three sides, and though the Spaniards were not sleeping, the Indians who assaulted the crossbowmen's quarters came so suddenly and with such ferocity, impetus, and swiftness that they gave them no opportunity to prepare their crossbows or to make any other resistance. They could only run with their weapons in their hands toward the quarters of Juan de Guzmán, which were nearest to those of the crossbowmen. The Indians pillaged the few things that our marksmen had and fought desperately with the soldiers of Juan de Guzmán who came out to resist them, being inspired with new courage in that, in their opinion, they had snatched the victory out of their hands.

In the two other places where the enemy attacked the fighting was no less fierce, because everywhere there were deaths and wounds and great outcries and much confusion because of the darkness of the night, which kept them from seeing whether they were wounding friends or enemies. Therefore the Spaniards passed the word along for all of them to call out the name of Our Lady and the apostle St. James as they went, so that the Christians would thus recognize one another and would not harm their own men. The Indians



*A Spanish Crossbowman. The De Soto expedition was one of the last to use crossbows, which were rapidly replaced by firearms in the later sixteenth century. The crossbow was a deadly weapon. Its advantage over the longbow was that it could be used effectively by relatively unskilled and unpracticed soldiers. Its disadvantage was that it took some time to reload. An Indian could fire several arrows in the time it took a crossbowman to reload. (From Albert F. Calvert, Spanish Arms and Armour, London: John Lane, 1907)*

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*Lance and Spear Heads. The wooden lances tipped with metal heads, came in a number of sizes and with a number of different shapes of iron or brass tips. Lance tips have been found in archaeological excavations of native village sites in the Southeast and the Southwest. "The Pike I would have if it might be, of Spanish Ash, and between 20 and 22 feet long"—Sutcliffe, Practice of Arms (1593). (From Albert F. Calvert, Spanish Arms and Armour, London: John Lane, 1907)*

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did likewise, all of them having in their mouths the name of their province, Tula. In the place of bows and arrows with which they are always accustomed to fight, that night many of them carried clubs made of pieces of pikes two or three varas long, a new thing for the Spaniards. The reason for it was that the Indian who had broken Captain Juan Páez's teeth two days before had told his people of the lucky stroke he had made with his club. It appearing to them that good fortune lay in the kind of weapon and not in its skillful use (because the Indians generally are great believers in omens), that night they brought many clubs and gave mighty blows with them to many of the soldiers, particularly to a certain Juan de Baeza, who was one of the halberdiers of the general's guard. That night he happened to find himself with a sword and a shield between two Indians with their clubs. One of them broke his shield to pieces with the first stroke, and the other gave him another blow on the shoulders so hard that it knocked him down, and he would have finished killing him if his companions had not come to his rescue. In this manner many other valiant exploits took place, which, because they were blows with sticks, the soldiers laughed about afterward, comparing their experiences. It was a very good thing for them that they were sticks and not arrows, which would have done more damage.

The mounted men, who were the strength of the Spaniards and what the Indians feared most, broke through their squadrons and scattered their ranks, but they did not fail for this reason to fight with great courage and desire to kill the Castilians or to die in the attempt. Thus they fought very obstinately for more than an hour, and it was not enough for the horsemen to go in and out among them many times and kill large numbers of them (for since the country was level and clear they could spear them at pleasure) to make them stop fighting and leave, until daylight came. Then they withdrew by common consent into the woods along one of the streams that passed at the side of the pueblo, as a refuge and defense against the Castilians.

The Spaniards were greatly relieved when the Indians withdrew and stopped fighting, because they saw them battling desperately with great eagerness to kill the Christians, going in among their weapons as if they were insensible [to pain] in order to kill or wound them. The battle ended at sunrise, and the Spaniards, without pursuing the enemy, assembled in the pueblo to tend the wounded, who were numerous, though only four were killed.



## XIV

### THE ENGAGEMENT OF A TULA INDIAN WITH THREE SPANIARDS ON FOOT AND ONE ON HORSEBACK

Because historical truth obliges us to tell the exploits of the Indians as well as the deeds done by the Spaniards, and not to slight the ones or the others, neglecting to tell of the valor of one nation and recounting only that of the other, but on the other hand telling everything as it happened, in its proper time and place, it will be fitting for us to relate a strange and singular thing that a Tula Indian did shortly after the battle we have described. We beg that the reader may not be vexed because we recount it in such detail, for the event took place thus and its particulars should be noted.

It happened that some Spaniards who were considered to be among the bravest were walking two by two scattered over the field where the battle had taken place, examining the dead, as was their custom, and noting the serious wounds given by good strokes; they always did this when an important and hotly contested battle had taken place. One soldier, named Gaspar Caro, a native of Medellín, fought that night on horseback, and however it may have happened, either by the enemy knocking him down or his falling from the horse, finally he lost it [the horse], and the horse ran away from the battle out into the fields. In order to recover it, Gaspar Caro asked a friend for his horse and went in search of his own. Having found it, he returned driving it in front of him, and thus he came to where four soldiers were walking looking at the dead and wounded. One of them, named Francisco de Salazar, a native of Castilla la Vieja, mounted the horse to show off his horsemanship, on which he prided himself.

At this point Juan de Carranza of Sevilla, one of the three soldiers who were on foot, shouted, "Indians, Indians!" The reason was that he saw an Indian raise himself up out of some bushes close by and drop back into hiding. Believing that there were many of them there, the two mounted men, without looking farther, ran one in one direction and the other in another to intercept the Indians who might come out. Juan de Carranza, who had seen the Indian, went running toward the bushes where he was hidden, and one of his two companions hurried after him. The other, having seen only one Indian, followed them slowly.

As he saw that he could not escape because the horses and foot soldiers were cutting him off on all sides, the barbarian ran out of the bushes to meet

Juan de Carranza. He carried in his hands a battle-ax that had fallen to his lot from the spoils and booty that the Indians had taken that morning from the crossbowmen. The ax belonged to Captain Juan Páez, and being the weapon of a captain of crossbowmen the blades were well sharpened and it had a haft more than half a fathom long, very smooth and well polished. Holding it in both hands, the Indian struck Juan de Carranza a blow on the shield that knocked half of it on the ground and wounded him badly in the arm. The Spaniard was so stunned by the pain of the wound and the force of the blow that he had not the strength to attack the enemy. The latter turned upon the other Spaniard, who was near Carranza, and gave him another blow equal to the first one, which cut his shield in two and also wounded him badly in the arm, leaving him, like his companion, incapacitated for fighting. This soldier's name was Diego de Godoy, and he was a native of Medellín.

Francisco de Salazar, who was the one who mounted Gaspar Caro's horse, seeing the two Spaniards in such straits, attacked the Indian furiously. To avoid being trampled by the horse, the latter ran under an oak tree that was close by. Being unable to ride his horse under the tree, Francisco de Salazar came up to it and, good horseman that he was, made some very sad thrusts at the Indian as he was unable to reach him. The Indian came out from under the tree, being unable to swing the ax well because the branches of the tree hindered him, and stationed himself on the rider's left. Raising the ax in both hands, he struck the horse over the shoulder near the withers, and the curve of the blade opened him all the way to the knee, leaving the horse unable to move.

At this moment another Spaniard came up, who was on foot. He had not hurried more because it seemed to him that two Spaniards on foot and one on horseback would be enough for one lone Indian. This was Gonzalo Silvestre, a native of Herrera de Alcántara. When the Indian saw him coming, he went out to meet him with all ferocity and boldness, having gained new spirit and courage with the three such effective blows that he had delivered. Grasping the ax in both hands, he made a stroke that would have been like the first two if Gonzalo Silvestre had not been more cautious than the others, being able to avoid the blow, as he did. The ax glanced off the shield and did not break through it, and because of the great force of the blow, it did not stop until it reached the ground. The Spaniard then made a diagonal downward stroke at the Indian with his sword, which reached him and wounded him on the forehead, all down the face, in the breast, and in the left hand, cutting it off at the wrist. The heathen, seeing himself with only one hand and unable to use the ax with both hands as he desired, put the haft on

the stump of the cut arm and made a desperate leap to wound the Spaniard by a stroke in the face. Warding off the ax with his shield, the latter thrust his sword from beneath it and gave him a diagonal stroke at the waist, which because of negligible protection from armor or clothing that the Indian wore or even from the bones of that part of the body, and also because of the Spaniard's strong arm, [cut] him entirely in two, so swiftly and with such a clean stroke of the sword that after it had passed, the Indian remained standing and said to the Spaniard, "Peace be with you!" Uttering these words, he fell dead, his body in two halves.

Just then Gaspar Caro arrived, it being his horse that Francisco de Salazar had brought to the fight. Seeing the state in which his horse was, he took him without saying a word, keeping his anger to be shown elsewhere, and brought him before the governor, saying to him: "So that your lordship may see the worthlessness of some of the soldiers that you have in your army, though they claim to be brave men, and so that you may see also the ferocity and boldness of the natives of this province of Tula, I inform you that one of them with three blows of an ax has incapacitated for fighting two Spanish foot soldiers and one on horseback, and would have ended by killing them if Gonzalo Silvestre had not come in time to their aid. With the first thrust that he gave the enemy he laid open his face and chest and cut off his hand, and with the second he cut him in half at the waist."

The governor and those who were with him wondered to hear of the Indian's valor and skill, and of the Spaniard's strong arm. So that Gaspar Caro, in his anger at the misfortune that had befallen his horse, would cease to regard the three Spaniards as luckless cowards, the general, wishing to uphold their honor—for assuredly they were brave men and fit for any valiant exploit—told him to moderate his anger and consider that these things were the chances of fortune, which nowhere shows itself to be more variable than in the events of war, today favoring one and tomorrow another. He told him to have the horse tended to at once, for it seemed to him that it would not die, since the wound was not a deep one; and that because of the wonder that he had excited by his account, he wished to go and see for himself what had happened, as in such extraordinary events it was well for many persons to be able to give testimony regarding them. So saying, he went accompanied by many persons to see the dead Indian and the brave exploits that he had performed. The governor learned the particulars that we have told from the wounded Spaniards themselves, and he and all those who heard them wondered anew.

## XV

### THE SPANIARDS LEAVE TULA AND ENTER UTIANGUE, WHERE THEY LODGE FOR THE WINTER

The Spaniards remained in the pueblo called Tula for twenty days, treating the many wounded who came out of the recent battle. During this time they made many forays throughout the province, which was well populated, and captured many Indians, both men and women, of all ages, but it was impossible either by cajolery or threats for them to make any of them consent to go with the Castilians. When they attempted to take them by force they fell on the ground without saying a word, making it clear that they could either kill them or leave them, whichever they wished to do. These Indians showed themselves to be so obstinate and ungovernable, as we have said, that it was necessary to kill the men who were capable of fighting. The women, boys, and children they let go, since they could not carry them off.

Only one Indian woman from this province remained in the service of a Spaniard, a native of León named Juan Serrano. She was so ill-tempered, bold, and haughty that if her master or any of the men belonging to his company said anything to her about what she was to do regarding the food or any other matter of service, she would throw the pot, or firebrands, or anything that came to hand in his face. She wanted them either to let her do what she liked or to kill her, because, as she said, she did not have to obey or to do what they ordered her. Thus they let her alone and endured her ill-temper, and even so she ran away, at which her master rejoiced, seeing himself free of that intractable woman. Because of the ferocity and inhumanity that characterize the Indians of this province, they are feared by all their neighbors; they are disturbed simply by hearing the name of Tula, and they frighten the children with it to make them hush when they cry. As a proof of this we shall come down from the ferocity of the elders to describe a children's game.

It happened that when the Spaniards left this province of Tula, they took with them only a boy nine or ten years old who belonged to a gentleman from Badajoz named Cristóbal Mosquera, whom I knew afterward in El Perú. In the pueblos that the Christians discovered later, where the Indians came out peacefully, the boys gathered for their games and childish diversions, which almost always took the form of battles against one another, they being divided either according to names or by districts. Often they

became so inflamed in their fighting that many of them came out badly injured. The Castilians ordered the Tula boy to join one side and fight against the other, and he went out very pleased that they should order him to take part in the battle. Those on his side immediately named him captain, and with his soldiers he fell upon his adversaries with a great shout and outcry, calling the name of Tula, and this alone was enough to put the enemy to flight.

Then the Spaniards ordered the Tula boy to go over to the defeated side and fight the conquerors. He did so and overcame them with the same word, so that he always came out victorious. The Indians said that his elders did the same thing, because they were extremely cruel to their enemies and never took them alive. Their neighbors said that they deformed their heads, some of them being half a vara long, and painted their faces and mouths, inside and out, to make themselves uglier than they were already, so that their faces would be as forbidding as their bad dispositions and fierce natures, for they were most inhuman in every way.

After spending twenty days in the pueblo of Tula, more from necessity for healing the wounded than from any pleasure they might have had in remaining in the country of such a bad people, they left the pueblo and in two days' march passed out of its jurisdiction and entered another province, called Utiangue. Our people had the intention of wintering there if they could find the necessary conveniences, for winter was now approaching.

They marched through it for four days and noted that the land was good in itself and fertile, but thinly populated, having few people. These were very hostile, because they followed the road continuously, harrying the Spaniards with alarms and sudden attacks they gave them every half-league. They were in bands of one hundred, and when more assembled there were not as many as two hundred. They did the Christians little damage because, after having loosed one or two showers of arrows from a distance, with much shouting, they turned and fled, and the horsemen overtook them easily and speared them entirely at will because the country was level. But the Indians were not frightened away, for whenever they could get twenty men together they immediately came back to do the same thing, and in order to emerge more unexpectedly and cause greater surprise, they threw themselves down on the ground and covered themselves with grass so that they could not be seen, but they paid well for their audacity.

With these engagements, more injurious to the Indians than to the Castilians, the army marched these four days, and at the end of them they reached the principal pueblo of the province, which had the same name of

Utiangue, from which its whole territory was named. They lodged there without any opposition because the inhabitants had abandoned it. The Indians of this province are better favored than those of Tula and do not paint their faces or deform their heads. They showed themselves to be warlike, because they were never willing to accept the peace and friendship that the governor sent many times to offer them by the Indians of that province themselves, whom they succeeded in capturing.

The general and his captains, having seen the pueblo, which was large and had good houses containing plenty of food, and was situated on a fine plain with two streams on either side of it that had plenty of grass for the horses, and seeing that it was enclosed with a wall, decided to winter there because it was already the middle of October of the year 1541. They did not know whether, if they should go on, they would find such good accommodations as they then had. Having made this decision, they repaired the wall of the pueblo, which was made of wood and had fallen down in some places, and they collected diligently a good deal of maize, though it is true that there was so much in the pueblo that the supply was almost sufficient for the whole winter.

They stored up much firewood and a great deal of dried fruit, such as nuts, raisins, dried plums, and other kinds of fruits and seeds unknown in Spain. In the country they found large numbers of rabbits like those of Spain, and though these were in all parts of that great kingdom, in none of the provinces were there so many as in the environs of this pueblo Utiangue. There were also many deer and roe deer, of which both the Spaniards and their Indian servants killed a great many, going out to hunt for pleasure and entertainment, though they went prepared to fight in case they should encounter enemies. Often the deer hunt was converted into a battle with plenty of arrow-shots and spear-thrusts, but it was always with more damage to the Indians than to the Spaniards. It snowed hard during that winter in this province, when there was an interval of a month and a half in which they could not go out into the country because of the deep snow. With their plentiful supply of wood and provisions, however, they had the best winter of all that they spent in La Florida. They themselves admitted that they could not have spent it more comfortably, or as much so, in their fathers' houses in Spain.

## XVI

### CONCERNING THE GOOD WINTER THAT WAS SPENT IN UTIANGUE, AND A PLOT AGAINST THE SPANIARDS

Because of what we have said in the last chapter about the contentment and comfort in which our people passed the winter in the pueblo Utiangue, it is much to be regretted that these Spaniards neglected to conquer and settle a land so fertile and abundant in the things necessary for human life as they discovered, because of not having found gold or silver there. They did not consider that, if it had not been found, it was because these Indians do not seek these metals or value them. I have heard from trustworthy persons that the Indians of the coast of La Florida have happened to find bags of silver from the ships that have been wrecked there by storms, and that they will take away the bag as a thing that is useful to them, and leave the silver, for they do not value it or know what it is. For this reason, and because it is true that the Indians of the New World generally, though they have gold and silver, do not use it for buying and selling, it is not to be assumed that there is none in La Florida. If a search should be made, mines of gold and silver would be found, just as new ones are discovered every day in México and El Perú. And even though they should not be found, lands as broad and extensive as we have seen, and shall see, and provinces as fertile and abundant, would be sufficient to lay the foundations of an empire, because of what the land itself contains as well as because of the fruits, vegetables, grains, and cattle that could be introduced from Spain and México. Better lands could not be desired for planting and breeding, and with their wealth of pearls and the quantity of silk that could be produced immediately, they could trade with the whole world and become rich in gold and silver. Spain herself does not obtain these metals from her own mines, though she has them, but brings them from a distance, from what she has discovered and conquered in these parts since the year 1492. For all these reasons it is not right that this enterprise should be neglected, if only in order to establish the faith of the Holy Mother, the Roman church, in this great kingdom and remove from the power of our enemy so great a number of souls as he has blinded with idolatry. May our Lord provide for this event in accordance with His will, and cause the Spaniards to be animated to win and subjugate [the land]. Returning to our *History*, we said that the Castilians remained to winter in

the pueblo of Utiangue in entire comfort and ease, lodged in a good pueblo and supplied with food for themselves and their horses.

The chief curaca of the province, seeing that the Spaniards had settled down, attempted by double-dealing, under cover of professed friendship, to drive them out of it. To this end he sent messengers to the governor with false messages, giving him hope that he would come out very soon to offer his services. These messengers acted as spies and came only at night in order to see how the Spaniards conducted themselves in their camp; whether they kept watch and were cautious or whether they slept carelessly and heedlessly, in what manner and where they kept their weapons, and how their horses were, so as to note all this and plan the attack in accordance with what they had seen. There was carelessness and lack of caution on the part of our men with respect to the Indian messengers, because when the Indian told the Spanish sentry that he came with a message from the curaca, instead of telling him to come back in the daytime, he would take him to the governor immediately, no matter what the hour of the night, and leave him with him to deliver his message. After giving the message, the Indian walked all through the pueblo, looking at the horses and the weapons, the sleeping and the watching of the Castilians, and he gave a long report of all this to his cacique.

When the governor learned about these things from his spies, he ordered the messengers not to come at night, but in the daytime. But they persisted in their evil intent, always coming at night and at all hours. The general complained repeatedly to his men about this effrontery, saying: "Is there no soldier who could give one of these nocturnal messengers one good sword-thrust and frighten them so that they will not come at night? I have ordered them not to come except in the daytime, and it does no good." These words aroused a soldier named Bartolomé de Argote, a nobleman who had been brought up in the house of the marqués of Astorga, and first cousin of the other Bartolomé de Argote who was one of the thirty horsemen who went with Juan de Añasco from Apalache to the Bay of Espíritu Santo. Being a sentry one night at one of the gates of the pueblo, he killed one of the spies who attempted to pass with his false message, contrary to his order. The governor was very pleased with this act and praised and approved it. Thenceforth the soldier had a place among the valiant, though up to that time they had not considered him as such nor thought him capable of such an action, but he did what no one else in the whole army had been able to do. The messages ceased with the death of the messenger, and also the plots of the



Indians, for they saw that the Castilians were aware of them and on the watch and that they could not succeed.

The general and his men busied themselves with guarding their pueblo and riding through the whole vicinity every day so as always to be informed of what the Indians might be plotting against them. The winter passed with these precautions, and with much rest and comfort even though they were at war with the natives, for they never did them any serious damage. After the worst of the snows were over, a captain went out with some men to make a foray and capture some Indians, as they needed them for servants. He returned at the end of eight days with a few Indian captives. The governor therefore ordered that another captain go out with more men. He did the same as the first one, and having spent another eight days on his foray, at the end of them he came back, bringing only a few prisoners.

Since the general saw the little skill that his two captains had shown, he decided to make an expedition himself, and choosing a hundred cavalry and 150 infantry, he marched twenty leagues with them until he reached the confines of another province, called Naguatex.<sup>32</sup> It was a fertile and abundant land, full of very handsome and well-disposed people.

In the first pueblo of this province, where its lord resided, though this was not the principal pueblo of his state, the governor made a surprise attack at dawn, and as he found the Indians unprepared, he captured many people, men and women of all ages. He returned with them to his camp, having spent fourteen days on the journey. He found that his people had been very uneasy at his delay for four or five days past. But they all rejoiced at his presence and shared his plunder, [the Indians] being divided among the captains and soldiers who were in need of serving-people.

#### END OF THE FOURTH BOOK

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<sup>32</sup>In the following pages Garcilaso, as judged against our more reliable chroniclers, garbles the story to a somewhat greater degree than is usual for him. Firstly, Naguatex is here utterly misplaced. This province was encountered not on the army's first expedition west of the Mississippi but on the second, during 1542, and after De Soto's death.



FIRST PART  
OF THE FIFTH BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*Where an account is given of a Spaniard who remained among the Indians;  
the efforts that were made to recover him; a long journey of the  
Castilians, in which they traversed eight provinces;  
the enmity and cruel war between Guachoyas  
and Anilcos; the lamentable death of  
Governor Hernando de Soto, and  
two burials his men gave  
him. It contains eight  
chapters.*



# I

## THE SPANIARDS ENTER NAGUATEX, AND ONE OF THEM REMAINS THERE

Throughout the time that the Spaniards were wintering in the pueblo and camp of Utiangue, which was more than five months, nothing of importance occurred except what has been told. Since it was then the beginning of April of the year 1542, it seemed to the governor that it was time to proceed with his discovery.

With this determination he left Utiangue and took the road for the principal pueblo of the province of Naguatex,<sup>33</sup> which had the same name, by which the whole province was also called. It was different from the one where we have said that the governor made his recent foray from Utiangue to Naguatex. By the way the Castilians went, it is twenty-two or twenty-three leagues through a fertile and well-populated country. Our men marched this distance in seven days without anything of importance happening to them on the road, except that in some narrow passes by streams or woods the Indians came out to make surprise attacks, but ran away when they met resistance.

At the end of the seven days they reached the pueblo Naguatex and found that its inhabitants had abandoned it. They lodged there and remained fifteen or sixteen days. They scoured the country in every direction and took the food they needed with little or no resistance from the Indians.

After the Spaniards had been in the pueblo for six days, its lord sent an embassy to the governor saying that he begged his lordship to pardon him for not having awaited him in his pueblo to serve him as would have been fitting, and that because of shame for his past bad behavior, he dared not come immediately, but that within a few days he would come out to kiss his hands and acknowledge him as lord; and that until he should arrive he would order his vassals to serve him in everything that he might order them. This message was delivered with great ceremony, such as we have described in the case of others. The adelantado replied that whenever he should come he would be well received, and that he would be pleased to know him and have him for a friend, as were most of the curacas through whose lands he had passed. The ambassador returned very well satisfied with the governor's words.

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<sup>33</sup>See note 32.

On the next day, early in the morning, another messenger came, bringing with him four principal Indians and more than five hundred Indian servants. He said to the general that his lord was sending those four men, who were his very close relatives, so that, pending his own arrival, they might serve him and carry out his commands; and that he sent the most important men of his household and state as hostages for his coming so that he would be assured of it.

The governor replied in friendly terms, welcoming the arrival of the Indians, and ordered that no more Indians be captured in forays, as they had been doing hitherto. The cacique never came to see the governor, however, from which it was understood that he had sent the embassy and the principal Indians and the servants out of fear that they would lay waste the fields and burn the pueblos, and to prevent their capturing more people than they had already. The principal Indians and all the rest served the Castilians with every desire to please them.

The governor, having informed himself about what was in that province and its environs, both from the report of the Indians and from that of the Spaniards who went to explore the country, left the pueblo of Naguatex with his army, accompanied by the four principal Indians and by many other servants whom the cacique sent with provisions, which they carried until the Castilians entered another province.

After the Spaniards had marched two leagues, they missed a gentleman named Diego de Guzmán, who was a native of Sevilla. He had gone on this conquest as a noble and a rich man, taking much costly and elegant clothing, excellent arms, and three horses that he brought to La Florida. He comported himself in every way like a gentleman except that he gambled passionately.

As soon as they missed him, the governor ordered that the army halt and that the four principal Indians be held in custody until learning what had become of the Spaniard because they feared the Indians had killed him.

A close inquiry was made among the Spaniards, and it was learned that they had seen him in the camp the day before, and that four days previously he had gambled away everything he had, even to his clothing and arms and a very good black horse that he had remaining. Going still further in the passion and blindness of his play, he had lost an Indian serving-woman who, unhappily for him, had fallen to his lot from those whom we said the governor had captured in the foray he made on a pueblo of this same province of Naguatex. Diego de Guzmán had also taken part in this expedition.

It was learned also that he had paid all his losses very promptly except for

the Indian woman. He told the winner to wait four or five days and he would send her to his lodgings, but he had not done so. The Indian woman was missing as well. It was suspected from these indications that he had gone to the Indians, so as not to have to give her up and through shame at having played away his arms and horse, which is considered among soldiers to be a most despicable action.

This suspicion was verified immediately, because it was learned that the Indian was the daughter of the curaca and lord of that province of Naguatex, a girl of eighteen and extremely beautiful. These things may have so blinded him that he thoughtlessly renounced his own people and went among strangers.

The governor ordered the four principal Indians to have that Spaniard who was missing in their country brought at once; otherwise he would understand that they had killed him treacherously, and by way of revenge he would order them and all the Indians whom they brought with them quartered.

In fear of death these chiefs sent messengers who were to go as quickly as possible to all the places where they thought they might get news of Diego de Guzmán, and they charged them to return with the same swiftness before the Spaniards should harm them because of their delay.

The messengers went and came back on the same day with the report that Diego de Guzmán was with the cacique, who kept him and entertained and honored him as much as possible, and that the Spaniard said he did not want to come back to his own people.

Because we said that these Spaniards gambled, and have not told what they played, it should be said that after the cards they had with them were burned in the bloody battle of Mauvila, along with all the other things that they lost there, they made cards of parchment and painted them remarkably well, for whenever the necessity arose they were forced to make whatever they needed. They did this as if they had been masters of that art all their lives. Because they could not or did not wish to make as many as were needed, they made enough to be used among the players by turns for a limited time, from which (or from some other similar occasion) we can say that there may have arisen that saying current among gamblers when they are playing: "Let us hurry, gentlemen, they are coming for the cards." Since those that our men made were of leather, they lasted a long time.

## II

### THE EFFORTS THAT WERE MADE TO RECOVER DIEGO DE GUZMÁN, HIS RESPONSE, AND THAT OF THE CURACA

The governor, on hearing the news that the messengers brought, told the four principal Indians that they had deceived him in saying that the Spaniard was alive, because he was convinced that they had killed him. Then one of them, not with the aspect of a prisoner but with the seriousness and authority these Indians seem to wish to show when they are most oppressed, said: "Sir, we are not men who would lie to your lordship, and so that you may see more clearly that the messengers have told the truth, your lordship can release one of us who will go and come back with evidence of what has been done with the Spaniard that will satisfy your lordship. The three of us who shall remain give our word and promise that he will return with the Christian or bring definite notice of his decision; and so that your lordship may make certain that he is not dead, you can order that a letter be written to him asking that he either come or reply to it to show with his own hand that he is alive, since we do not know how to write. In case our companion should not return with this proof, the three of us who remain will pay with our lives for his failure to comply with his promise and ours. It will be enough and more than enough, without your lordship killing our Indians, that three men like ourselves shall die for the treason of one Spaniard who denied his own people without our having forced him or known of his going." All these were the Indian's own words, for we added nothing to them but simply changed them from his language to Spanish or Castilian.

The general and his captains agreed to what the principal Indian had said and promised in the name of all four, and they ordered that he himself go for Diego de Guzmán and that Baltasar de Gallegos, who was his friend and countryman, write to him, shaming him for his bad action if he should persevere in it, exhorting him to return and do his duty as an hidalgo, and saying that his arms and horse would be restored to him and that they would give him others when should he need them.

The principal Indian left with the letter and with a verbal message the governor gave him for the cacique, begging him to be pleased to send the Spaniard and not to detain him. Otherwise he threatened to destroy his land with fire and blood, burning his pueblos, laying waste his fields, and killing



the Indians—both the principal men and the others that were with him, and all the rest of his vassals that he could capture.

The Indian went, bearing these threats, on the second day of Diego de Guzmán's absence and returned on the third with the same letter that he had carried, and in it was the name of Diego de Guzmán, written with charcoal. He wrote it to show that he was alive, and did not reply another word. The Indian said that the Christian did not wish or intend to return to his own people.

The curaca replied to the governor that his lordship was to understand and be assured that he had not used any force to induce Diego de Guzmán to remain in his country, nor would he do so to make him leave, inasmuch as he did not wish to return. On the contrary, he would entertain and honor him to the best of his ability, as a son-in-law who had restored a much-beloved daughter to him, and he would treat all the Spaniards or Castilians who might wish to stay with him in the same manner. And if (because he was doing his duty in this matter) his lordship wished to destroy his country and kill his relatives and vassals, he would not be doing right or justice as he ought to do; and as a final reply he said that, being a powerful man, he [the governor] must do as he pleased, but that he himself would do only what he had said.

The adelantado having spent three days in attending to this affair, and seeing that the Spaniard did not want to come back and that the cacique was in the right and was making a just demand, decided to go on with his journey. He released the principal Indians and the servants, all of whom served him very affectionately until he left their boundaries and entered another's territory.

This poor gentleman committed this weakness through the blindness of play and love for the woman, and so as not to give her up to him who had won her, he was willing to give himself up to his enemies to do as they liked with him, rather than be without her. From this, in short, can be seen what reckless play leads to, and we could say a great deal about what we have seen with our own eyes as regards this passion, if it belonged to our profession to do so. This, however, is left for those whose business it is to reprimand vices.

Returning to Diego de Guzmán, we say that if, retaining the reputation and prestige that he had among the Indians of Naguatex, he would later have preached the Catholic faith to them, as was his duty as a Christian and a gentleman, we could not only excuse his wrongdoing but could praise him

highly, for we could believe that his teaching would have borne much fruit because of the esteem the Indians generally have for those who remain with them. But since we never found out any more about him, we can tell nothing except what happened at the time.

Alonso de Carmona refers in his *Relation* to what we have said about Diego de Guzmán, though not at such length as we do, and he calls him Francisco de Guzmán.

After the loss of Diego de Guzmán, the Spaniards marched for five days through the province of Naguatex, and at the end of that time they came to another province, called Guancane.<sup>34</sup> Its natives were different from the others, for they had been affable and friendly to the Spaniards, while these showed themselves to be hostile and never desired their friendship, but on the other hand showed their hatred and eagerness to fight with them in every way that they could, offering them battle many times. The Spaniards refused, however, for they now had few horses left, the Indians having killed more than half of them, and they wished to keep those that remained. As we have said many times, they were their greatest strength, for the Indians had no fear of the infantry.

The Spaniards spent eight days in traversing this province of Guancane, and they did not rest there a single day, so as not to have to fight with the Indians, who were so desirous of doing so.

Throughout this province there were so many wooden crosses set on the tops of the houses that there was scarcely a house that did not have one. It was supposed that the reason was that these Indians had heard of the good works and miracles that Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes and their companions had performed in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, in the provinces of La Florida that they traversed during the years the Indians held them as slaves, as Alvar Núñez himself has written in his *Comentarios* [also known as *Naufragios*]. Although it is true that Alvar Núñez and his companions did not reach this province of Guancane nor many others that lie between it and the lands through which they traveled, yet the fame of those wonders wrought by God through the medium of those men

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<sup>34</sup>A province named Guancane is not mentioned by the other chroniclers. John R. Swanton guessed that Garcilaso's informants may have corrupted the name from Rangel's Aguacay, but thought it perhaps more likely to correspond with Elvas's Lacane. Either way these latter provinces, like Naguatex, would be transplanted if the equation were granted. They properly belong in the account of the later westward expedition of the army in 1542 under the leadership of Moscoso. The story of Guzmán's defection after losing at cards is placed by Elvas in Chaguatate, also visited during Moscoso's 1542 expedition. Swanton, *Final Report*, 278–79.

came to it, passing from person to person and from country to country. Inasmuch as those Indians understood and had heard it said that all the benefits those Christians had conferred in curing the sick was by making the sign of the cross over them, and that they carried it in their hands as an emblem, it gave rise to their observance of placing it over their houses, in the belief that it would also save them from all evil and danger, as it had cured the sick. This shows the facility those Indians in general had, and which those now have, for receiving the Catholic faith if there were someone to cultivate it, chiefly by setting a good example for them to observe, more than in any other manner.

### III

#### THE GOVERNOR LEAVES GUANCANE, PASSES THROUGH SEVEN OTHER SMALL PROVINCES, AND REACHES THAT OF ANILCO

The governor left the province of Guancane with the intention of returning to the Río Grande, which he had left behind him, not by the same route that he had followed since crossing it but by another, different one, making a large circle so as to discover other new lands and provinces on the way back besides those that he had seen, and he intended to inspect them as he passed.

His motive for so doing was the desire to make a settlement before all the strength of his army was spent, for he saw that of both men and horses diminishing from day to day. Past battles and illnesses had destroyed more than half of both of them, or at least of the horses, and he regretted extremely that there should be lost without benefit to him or anyone else so much labor as they had undertaken and were undertaking in that discovery, and that such extensive and fertile lands should remain unpopulated by the Spaniards, especially those who were with him. For he did not fail to perceive that if he should not succeed, or should die without making a beginning in settling the country, it would be many years before there would be assembled again so many and such good men, and as many horses and arms as he had introduced for the conquest.

Therefore, repenting of his past anger, which had been the cause of not making a settlement in the province and port of Achusi, as he had determined to do, he now wished to remedy it as best he could. Because he was at

a distance from the sea and would have to lose time if he should go in search of [a place] to settle on the coast, he proposed (as soon as he arrived at the Río Grande) to establish a pueblo on the best and most convenient site that he should find on its banks. He would immediately build two brigantines and send them down the river with trustworthy men whom he regarded as most friendly to him, who were to go out by way of the North Sea and give notice in México, Tierra Firme, the islands of Cuba and La Española, and in Spain of the large and extensive provinces he had discovered in La Florida, so that Castilian Spaniards could come from all parts with cattle and seeds of the plants that were not found there, to settle, cultivate, and enjoy them. All this could be done very easily, as we shall see later, but death put an end to these ambitious and excellent plans, as it has done to other greater and better ones that have been made in this world.

We said that the governor left Guancane and went toward the west in search of the Río Grande, and thus it is that although in this instance and in others of this, our *History*, we have told the route that the army took when it left one province to go to another, it has not been with a specification of the latitude and longitude of each province nor with a definite statement of the direction that our people took, because as I have already said elsewhere, though I endeavored to ascertain it, it was not possible for me to do so. The one who gave me the account, since he was not a cosmographer or a mariner, did not know it, and the army carried no instruments for determining the latitude, nor was there anyone who would attempt to do so or interest himself in it because they were all so disappointed at not finding gold or silver that they thought of nothing else. Thus I may be pardoned for this fault, along with many others that my work contains, for which I am happy not to have to ask indulgence.

The governor, having left Guancane, traversed seven provinces, making as long daily marches as possible, without stopping a day in any of them, so as to reach the Río Grande quickly and carry out the plans that he had made for beginning to settle the land and for forming an establishment in it during that summer. For this reason the names of these provinces were not remembered, except that four of them had fertile lands where our men found plenty of food. They had much timber, rivers that were not very large, and small streams flowing between them. The other three provinces were sparsely populated and their lands were not as fertile or as pleasant as the others, though it was suspected that the guides, who were from that same country, had taken them through the worst part of it. Some of the natives of these seven provinces came out peacefully to receive the governor, and others were

hostile, but nothing of consequence or worth relating happened with any of them, except that they managed to keep the peace with those who were friendly and to avoid fighting and warfare with those who were hostile, for our people were now proceeding with all care to escape hostilities. Thus they passed through the seven provinces, which must have been a distance of at least 120 leagues.

At the end of this hasty march they reached the boundaries of a large province that was named Anilco, and they traveled twenty leagues through it to the chief pueblo, which had the same name. It was situated on the banks of a river larger than our Guadalquivir, and had four hundred large and good houses with a handsome plaza in the midst of them. The curaca's houses were on a high man-made hill that overlooked the whole pueblo.

The cacique, whose name was also Anilco, was under arms and had a squadron of fifteen hundred warriors, all chosen men, drawn up in front of the pueblo to meet our army. Seeing the Indians so prepared, the Spaniards halted to wait for the last ones to come up, and all placed themselves in order to fight with them.

While the Spaniards were waiting, the Indians put their women, children, and the property in their houses in safety, some taking them to the other side of the river in rafts and canoes, others placing them in the woods and thickets that were on the banks of the same river.

Having formed themselves into a squadron, the Castilians marched toward the Indians, but the latter dared not wait for them, and without firing a shot, they withdrew to the pueblo and thence to the river. Almost all of them crossed to the other side, some in canoes, some on rafts, and others swimming. They had not intended to fight with the Spaniards but to hold them back and prevent their entering the pueblo so quickly, in order to have time to place what was in it in safety.

Seeing the Indians fleeing, our men fell upon them and caught a few who were embarking. In the pueblo they found many women of all ages, and children and boys who had been unable to flee.

The governor immediately and hastily sent messages to the cacique Anilco, offering him peace and friendship and asking for his; he had also sent such messages before entering the pueblo. But the curaca was so strange that he would not reply to the first ones or to the second, nor did he speak a word to the messengers, but made signs to them with his hand as if he were mute, indicating that they were to leave his presence.

The Spaniards lodged in the pueblo, where they remained four days obtaining canoes and building large rafts. When they had a supply of them they

crossed the river without opposition from the enemy. They marched four days through some uninhabited country that was very heavily forested [or very mountainous (*grandes montañas*)], and at the end of that time they entered another province, called Guachoya. We shall recount the notable things that happened there in the next chapter, God willing.

## IV

### THE SPANIARDS ENTER GUACHOYA. IT IS TOLD HOW THE INDIANS HAVE PERPETUAL WARFARE WITH ONE ANOTHER

After passing through the uninhabited region, the first pueblo that the Spaniards saw in the province of Guachoya was the principal one, which had the same name. It was on the banks of the Río Grande, which our people were seeking. It was situated on two high hills close together, and had three hundred houses. Half of them were on one hill and half on the other. The level space between the two hills served as a plaza, and the cacique's house was on the higher one of the two.

There was great hatred and enmity between these two provinces of Guachoya and Anilco, and they waged a cruel war. Therefore the Guachoyas could not receive notice of the Spaniards' coming to their pueblo and thus they found them unprepared. But the cacique and his vassals got under arms as best they could to defend the pueblo. Seeing their adversaries' strength and that they could not resist it, they gathered at the Río Grande and crossed it in very handsome canoes they always had ready for such necessities, being a people with many enemies; taking with them their women, children, and all their possessions that they could carry, and they abandoned the pueblo.

The Castilians entered it, finding there plenty of food in the form of maize and other grains and fruits that the land produces in abundance. They were very pleasantly lodged there.

Because, as we have seen, nearly all the provinces the Spaniards traversed were at war with one another, it will be well to tell here the kind of warfare that they waged. It must be known, then, that this was not a war of one power against another with armies drawn up and general engagements, except on very rare occasions. Nor was it a war of greed and ambition on the part of some lords to take away the states of others.

The warfare that they waged consisted of ambushes and stratagems, making surprise attacks on the fisheries, hunting grounds, cultivated fields, and roads, wherever they could find their adversaries off guard. Those whom they captured in such assaults were held as slaves, some in perpetual captivity with one foot disabled, as we have seen in some of the provinces, and others as prisoners for ransom, to be exchanged for others.

The enmity among them extended only to inflicting injury on their persons, with death or wounds or imprisonment, without attempting to take away one another's states, and if the war sometimes became general, it would lead to burning the pueblos and laying waste the fields. But as soon as the victors had done as much damage as they wished, they went back to their own country without attempting to take possession of that of others. It appears from this that the war and hostility that exist between them arise more from gallantry and the desire to show the valor and courage of their spirits, and to indulge in military pursuits, than from the desire for the property and territory of others.

The prisoners who are taken on both sides are ransomed easily, being exchanged for one another so that they can go back to their ambushes again. This kind of warfare has now become second nature to them and is the cause of their going about, wherever they may be, with their weapons constantly in readiness, because they are nowhere safe from their enemies. Having such constant practice in this continuous warfare gives them their bellicose nature and their skill with weapons, particularly with bows and arrows, which, since they are missile weapons that are effective at long range, they use more than any others, whether they are hunting men or animals.<sup>35</sup>

The cacique did not carry on this warfare with only one of his neighbors, but with all those whose boundaries touched his, there being two, three, four, or more, all of whom were at war among themselves.

This certainly is a laudable exercise in the military arts, so that none shall be careless and each one can show his personal bravery. In general, this is the nature of the hostility among the Indians of the great kingdom of La Florida. This in itself would be an important reason why that land could be won easily, because "the whole kingdom divided, etc."

After the Spaniards had been in the pueblo Guachoya three days, its lord, who had the same name—having learned what had taken place between the

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<sup>35</sup>The preceding paragraphs constitute Garcilaso's second and more-comprehensive general discussion of native warfare in La Florida. The shorter account occurs in Book 3, in the Inca's discussion of warfare in Cofitachequi. See note 18.

Spaniards and the Indians of the province of Anilco and how that curaca had refused to receive the governor peacefully but on the other hand had disdained his friendship and messages and refused to answer them—did not wish to lose the occasion that he had in his hands for revenging himself on his enemies of Anilco. Being a clever man and full of cunning, he immediately sent a ceremonious embassy to the governor with four Indians who were leading nobles, and many other servants, who came laden with a great deal of fruit and fish. He sent word by them that he begged his lordship to pardon his inadvertence in not having awaited him and having received him in his pueblo, and asked permission to come and kiss his hands. If he should grant it, he would come within four days to greet him personally, and he offered him thenceforth his vassalage and service.

The governor was pleased with the embassy and replied to the messengers that they might tell their curaca that he was gratified by his good will and esteemed his friendship greatly; that he might come without any apprehensions, for he would be well received.

The messengers returned satisfied with this reply, and during the three days that the cacique delayed his arrival, he sent seven or eight messages every day. All contained the same terms, asking that his lordship send word of his health, and whether he could serve him in any way, and other trifling messages of no importance. Guachoya, being a cautious and astute man, sent these messages to see whether he could discover anything new by means of them, or how the adelantado took them.

Having seen that he received them in a friendly manner, he was reassured, and on the last of the four days he arrived, before dinner, as he had announced on the day before. He brought a hundred nobles with him, all very highly adorned after their custom with long plumes and handsome mantles of marten-skins and other very valuable pelts. They all carried the finest of their bows and arrows, which they make for gala occasions.

## V

### HOW GUACHOYA VISITS THE GENERAL, AND BOTH GO BACK AGAINST ANILCO

The governor, who was lodged in Guachoya's house, on learning that he was approaching, went as far as the door to receive him. He spoke very



affectionately to the cacique and all his people, at which they were very flattered and well satisfied. Then they entered a large sala that was in the house, and the general spoke with the curaca through the many interpreters, who [were] placed like the members of a chorus [*como a tenoras*]. He informed himself about the things in his country and in the neighboring provinces that were favorable and unfavorable to the conquest.

While this was going on, the cacique Guachoya gave a loud sneeze. The nobles who had come with him—who were standing around the walls of the sala among the Spaniards who were present—bowing their heads, opening and closing their arms, and making other gestures of great veneration and respect, all saluted him together with various words that had the same meaning, saying, “May the Sun keep you, be with you, enlighten you, aggrandize you, protect you, favor you, defend you, prosper you, save you,” and other such expressions, each one as the words came to him. For some time the murmur of these words continued among them. The governor wondered at it and said to the gentlemen and captains who were with him: “Do you not see how the whole world is alike?”

The Spaniards were much impressed by this incident, seeing that the same or even more elaborate formalities were observed among such a barbarous people when someone sneezed than were customary among people who considered themselves highly civilized. Thus it may be believed that this manner of salutation is natural among all peoples and was not caused by a pestilence, according to the common saying usually heard, though there is no lack of those who will affirm it.

The cacique ate with the governor, and his Indians stood all around the table, being unwilling to go and eat until their lord had finished though the Spaniards told them to do so. Our people also noted this incident. Later they gave them dinner in another apartment, for they had prepared food for all of them.

They cleared one of the rooms in his own house to give the curaca lodgings, and he stayed there with a few servants. The Indian nobles went at sunset to the other side of the river and came back in the morning, and they did this throughout the time that the Castilians were in that pueblo.

Meanwhile the curaca Guachoya persuaded the governor to return to the province of Anilco, offering to go with his men to serve his lordship, and to facilitate the crossing of the Río de Anilco he ordered eighty large canoes, besides other small ones, to be taken seven leagues down the Río Grande to the mouth of the Río de Anilco, which entered the Río Grande. They would ascend it to the pueblo of Anilco. The whole route that the canoes would

have to go by both rivers would be about twenty leagues of navigation. While the canoes were descending the Río Grande and ascending the Anilco they would go by land, so that they could all arrive together at the pueblo of Anilco at the same time.

The governor was easily persuaded to make this expedition because he wished to see what was in that province that would be of benefit and assistance to his plan of building the brigantines. He also desired to win the devotion of the curaca Anilco by peaceful and friendly methods, so that he could make his settlement and establishment in those two provinces without the hardships and labors of a war. It seemed to him that they had an abundance of food, and that he could await there the completion of the two brigantines that he intended to send down the river.

The governor's purpose in returning to the pueblo of Anilco was what we have seen, but that of the curaca Guachoya was very different, because he intended to avenge himself on his enemy Anilco with foreign help.

During the wars and continual strife that went on between them, the latter [Anilco] had always kept him in a very ignominious and oppressed condition, and now on this occasion he was endeavoring to take satisfaction for all his past injuries.

Therefore he urged the governor with all possible dissimulation to return to the pueblo of Anilco and ordered with much solicitude and diligence that everything necessary for the journey be made ready.

As soon as all was prepared and they had brought the canoes, the governor ordered that Captain Juan de Guzmán and his company go in them to direct and give orders to four thousand Indian warriors who were embarking in them, in addition to the oarsmen. The latter also carried their bows and arrows. They allowed them a period of three full days for their navigation, which seemed time enough for both parties to arrive and join one another at the pueblo of Anilco.

Captain Juan de Guzmán set out with these orders down the Río Grande, and at the same hour the governor left by land with his Spaniards, and Guachoya with two thousand warriors, in addition to another great concourse of Indians who carried the provisions. Without anything of note happening to either party, they all arrived at the same time in sight of the pueblo of Anilco. Though the cacique was absent, its inhabitants sounded the alarm and stationed themselves to defend the crossing of the river with all possible spirit and courage. But they could not resist the fury of the enemy, who were both Indians and Spaniards, so they turned back and abandoned the pueblo.

The Guachoyas entered it as a pueblo of such hated enemies, and being an affronted people who desired vengeance, they sacked and robbed the temple and burial place of the lords of that state, where, besides the bodies of his dead, the cacique kept his best and richest and most valued possessions, and the spoils and trophies of the greatest victories that he had won over the Guachoyas. These consisted of numerous heads of the most important Indians that they had killed, placed on the points of lances at the doors of the temple, and many standards, and a large number of weapons that the Guachoyas had lost in the battles they had with the Anilcos.

They took the heads of their Indians down from the lances and put in their places others belonging to the Anilcos. They took away their military insignia and their arms with great satisfaction and joy at recovering them. They threw out on the ground the dead bodies that were in the wooden chests and trampled and kicked them with all the contempt they could show in revenge for their injuries.<sup>36</sup>

## VI

### THE CRUELITIES OF THE GUACHOYAS CONTINUE, AND HOW THE GOVERNOR PLANS TO ASK FOR HELP

The Guachoyas' rage still not being appeased with what they had done to the property and the dead of Anilco, nor satisfied with the restoration of their standards and arms, their wrath carried them on to other, worse things. They refused to capture alive any person that they found in the pueblo, regardless of sex or age, but killed them all, and they inflicted the greatest cruelties on those most deserving of mercy, such as old women, already in extreme senility, and infants. They stripped the old women of the little clothing they were wearing and killed them with arrows, shooting at the pudenda in preference to other parts of their bodies. The infants, no matter how small, they grasped by one foot, raised them up, and five or six marksmen or whatever number happened to be present would shoot at them in the air, before they fell to the ground.

With these cruelties and such others as they could commit without the Spaniards seeing them, the Guachoyas showed the hatred and rancor that

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<sup>36</sup>See note 30.

they felt, as an affronted people, toward the Anilcos. When some of the Castilians saw these things, the Indians, having been unable to conceal [their hatred] as well as they desired, immediately notified the governor of them. He was very angered at their having so injured those of Anilco, since his intention had not been to do them harm or damage, but to win their friendship.

So that the Guachoyas' cruelty should not go further, he ordered the assembly to be sounded at once, and he rebuked the cacique for what his Indians had done. In order to make sure that no further damage would be done, he ordered a decree issued to the effect that on penalty of death no one should dare to set fire to the houses or harm the Indians, and to prevent the Guachoyas from ignoring the decree, he directed the interpreters to announce it in their own language. Because he feared that they would still do as much damage as they could, eluding the Spaniards, he left the pueblo of Anilco as rapidly as possible and went to the river, having ordered the Castilians to send the Indians on ahead of them so that they would not stay to burn the pueblo and kill the people who had hidden themselves in it.

These measures remedied the evil somewhat and prevented its being as great as it might have been. The general embarked with all his men, both Spaniards and Indians, and crossed the river to return to Guachoya.

But they had not traveled a quarter of a league when they saw smoke in the pueblo and many of the houses bursting into flames. The reason was that the Guachoyas, unable to resist burning the pueblo, now that they had been forbidden to set fire to it openly, had attempted to burn it in the best way they could. Thus they left burning sticks under the eaves of the houses, and as they were made of straw and had become dry as tinder during the summer, they needed little wind to burst into flames.

The governor wished to return to the pueblo to prevent its being entirely consumed, but at that moment he saw many of its Indian inhabitants running as quickly as they could to extinguish the fire, and thereupon he left it and continued on his way to the pueblo of Guachoya, concealing his anger in order not to lose the friends he had for the sake of those he could not gain.

Having arrived in the pueblo and settled down there with his army, he left all other affairs to the field officers and devoted himself to the business of building the brigantines. He thought about and worked on them day and night. He ordered the necessary timber to be cut, there being an abundance of it in that province. He collected all the ropes and cords that could be found in the pueblo and its vicinity for rigging. He ordered the Indians to bring him all the resin and gum from pine, plum, and other trees that they

could find in that country. He directed that many more nails be made and that those which had been used in constructing the other pirogues and barks be prepared for use.

In his own mind he had already chosen the captains and soldiers whom he regarded as his most loyal friends, upon whom he could depend, to go back in the brigantines when he should send them to request the assistance for which he intended to ask.

When the time should come to send the brigantines, he had determined to cross to the other side of the Río Grande to a large province called Quigualtanqui. He had learned from certain scouts whom he had sent out, both cavalry and infantry, that it had an abundance of food and was well populated. Its principal pueblo was near the pueblo of Guachoya, with the river between them, and it contained more than five hundred houses. Its lord and cacique, who was also called Quigualtanqui, had replied unfavorably to the messages that the governor had sent him requesting peace and offering his friendship, having uttered very disrespectfully many insults and vituperations and made fierce threats and menaces, saying that he would kill them all in one battle, as they would see very soon, and put a stop to the evil lives they were leading, lost in foreign lands, robbing and killing like highwaymen and vagabonds, and he uttered other offensive words. He had sworn by the Sun and the Moon not to make friends with them as the other curacas had done through whose lands they had passed, but he would kill them and hang them from the trees.

At this point Alonso de Carmona says the following:

Shortly before the governor died he ordered all the canoes in that pueblo to be collected. They joined the best ones together two by two and put horses in them, and they put men in the rest and crossed to the other side of the river. There they found very large settlements, though the people had risen up and fled, and thus they returned, without doing anything. The chief men of that country having seen this, they sent a messenger to the governor warning him not to dare to send Spaniards to their lands again, because none of them would come back alive, and saying that he could thank his good reputation and the good treatment that he had given the Indians of the province where he then was, that his people had not gone out to kill all the Spaniards who had passed to his territory. If he had any intentions with regard to his country, he would meet him with equal numbers and let him understand the lack of civility and prudence he had shown in having sent scouting parties into his territory; he was not to do so again, or he swore by his gods to kill him and all his people or die in the attempt.

All these are Alonso de Carmona's words, which we have copied literally, since they are almost the same as those we have spoken concerning Quigualtanqui.

The governor had always replied very reasonably and amiably to these insults, requesting peace and friendship, and though it is true that because of the general's great courtesy Quigualtanqui had exchanged his ill words for good ones, giving signs of peace and concord, it was always understood that he was false and deceitful and only wished to take the Spaniards off guard. The governor knew through his spies that he was plotting treason and evil and summoning his people and those from the neighboring provinces against the Christians, to kill them treacherously under guise of friendship. The general knew all this and bided his time to punish it when the occasion arose. He still had 150 horses and five hundred Spaniards, with whom, after he had dispatched the brigantines, he intended to cross the Río Grande and establish himself in the principal pueblo of Quigualtanqui, spending the present summer and coming winter there, until he should receive the aid that he intended to ask for. It could be sent to him very easily from the whole coast and city of México, and from the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, ascending by way of the Río Grande, which was large enough for all the ships that might wish to ascend it, as we shall see below.

## VII

### WHEREIN THE GOVERNOR'S DEATH IS RECOUNTED, AND THE SUCCESSOR WHOM HE NAMED

This heroic gentleman was absorbed day and night in the cares and endeavors that we have described, desiring like a good father that the many hardships he and his men had suffered in that discovery and the great expenditures he had made for it might not be lost without producing any result.

Then on the twentieth day of June of the year 1542 he felt a slight fever, which was slow on the first day and extremely severe on the third. The governor, seeing its excessive increase, understood that his illness was mortal. Thus he immediately prepared for death, and as a Catholic Christian made his will, almost in cipher, because there was not a sufficient supply of paper. With grief and repentance for having offended God, he confessed his sins.

He named as his successor in the office of governor and captain-general of the kingdom and provinces of La Florida, Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado, whom he had removed from the office of *maese de campo* in the province of Chicaça. In this *auto* he ordered summoned to his presence the gentlemen, captains, and most important soldiers, and in the name of his Imperial Majesty he ordered them, and in his own name he begged and charged them, that in view of the rank, virtue, and merits of Luis de Moscoso they accept him as their governor and captain-general until his Majesty should send new orders, and he received their solemn oaths that they would do so.

This done, he summoned the nobles in the army by twos and threes, and after them he ordered that all the other men enter in groups of twenty, and he took leave of all of them with much sadness on his part and many tears on theirs. He charged them with the conversion of those natives to the Catholic faith, and with the increase of the Crown of Spain, saying that death had stopped him in the attainment of those desires. He requested very affectionately that they maintain peace and love among themselves.

He spent five days in these affairs while the severe fever continued, always increasing, until the seventh day, when it deprived him of this present life. He died like a Catholic Christian, asking mercy of the Most Holy Trinity and invoking on his behalf and favor the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, the intercession of the Virgin and all the Celestial Court, and the faith of the Roman church.

With these words, repeated many times, this magnanimous and unconquered gentleman gave up his soul to God. He was worthy of great estates and seigniories and did not deserve that his history should be written by an Indian. He died at the age of forty-two.

As we said at the beginning, the adelantado Hernando de Soto was a native of Villanueva de Barcarrota, an hidalgo through all four lines. His Caesarean Majesty, having been informed of this fact, had sent him the habit of Santiago, but he did not enjoy this favor because when the *cédula* reached the island of Cuba the governor had already entered upon the discovery and conquest of La Florida.

He was of more than medium stature, of good presence, and appeared well both on foot and on horseback. His face was animated and of dark complexion, and he was skillful in riding both *a la jineta* and *a la brida* [the two different schools of horsemanship then followed], but more so in the first. He was extremely patient in hardships and necessities, to such an extent that the greatest comfort his soldiers had in the midst of them was the sight of their captain-general's patience and endurance.

He was successful in the private exploits that he undertook personally, though in the principal one he was not so, for he expired at the critical moment.

He was the first Spaniard who saw and spoke with Atahualpa, the tyrant king and the last of those of El Perú, as we shall tell in the history of the discovery and conquest of that empire itself if God, our Lord, is pleased to extend our life, which is now becoming very feeble and weary.

He was severe in punishing military derelictions; the rest he pardoned readily. He honored greatly the soldiers who were virtuous and brave. He was extremely courageous in his own person, to such a degree that wherever he chose to enter a general engagement, fighting, he left behind him place and room for ten of his men to pass, and thus all of them admitted that any ten lances in his army were not equal to his alone.

One notable circumstance concerning this brave captain in warfare, which ought to be remembered, is that when the enemy attacked his camp by day he was always the first or the second to come out armed, and never the third; and in the attacks they made by night he was never the second, but always the first. It seemed that, after having prepared to go out with his arms, he himself ordered the signal given. In time of war he was constantly as prompt and vigilant as this. In short, he was one of the best lancers who have passed to the New World. There were few as good and none better unless it was Gonzalo Pizarro, who by common consent was always given the honor of the first place.

He spent more than 100,000 ducats in this discovery, which he gained in the first conquest of El Perú from the apportionments of Casamarca, from the rich spoil that the Spaniards had there. He also spent his life and perished in the attempt, as we have seen.

## VIII

### TWO BURIALS THAT THEY GAVE THE ADELANTADO HERNANDO DE SOTO

The most lamentable death of the governor and captain-general Hernando de Soto inspired great grief and sadness in all his men because of having lost him and because of the bereavement those who regarded him as father suffered, and because they were unable to give him the sepulcher his body



deserved or to accord him the honor of funeral rites such as they would have desired to give such a beloved captain and lord.

Their sadness and grief were doubled by the knowledge that they were forced to bury him in silence and secret rather than in public, so that the Indians would not know where he rested. They feared that they would commit such indignities and affronts on his body as they had done in the case of other Spaniards, whom they had disinterred, cut in pieces, and hung in the trees, each joint on a separate limb. It was probable that they would commit even greater affronts and insults on the governor's body, he being the principal leader of the Spaniards, in order to offend them more. Our people said that, inasmuch as he had not received such insults in life, there was no reason why he should receive them in death through their negligence.

Therefore they decided to bury him at night with sentries posted so that the Indians would not know where he was. They chose for a sepulcher one of the many large and broad pits that were on a plain near the pueblo. The Indians had taken earth from these for their buildings. In one of them they interred the famous adelantado Hernando de Soto, with many tears on the part of the priests and gentlemen who attended his sad obsequies.

On the following day, for the purpose of concealing the place where the body was and dissembling their own sadness, they spread the news among the Indians that the governor's health was improved, and to carry out this fiction they mounted their horses and made signs of great celebration and rejoicing, running them across the plain and going at a gallop among the pits and across the grave itself, things much at variance with and contradictory to the feelings in their hearts. While desiring to place him whom they loved and esteemed so much in the mausoleum or obelisk of Julius Caesar, they themselves trod upon him, to their own greater grief, but they did it to prevent the Indians from committing other, greater indignities upon him. So that the marks of the grave would be entirely destroyed, they had not been content to have the horses tread upon it, but before these celebrations they had ordered a great deal of water to be sprinkled over the plain and the pits under pretext of preventing the horses from raising a dust when they ran over them.

The Spaniards took all these steps to deceive the Indians and conceal their own grief and sorrow, but inasmuch as it is difficult to feign pleasure and dissimulate grief so that he who feels them may not be discerned at a distance, our people could not do so to such an extent that the Indians did not suspect both the death of the governor and the place where they had put him. Walking over the plain and among the pits they went slowly and ex-

amined everything attentively. They talked among themselves and nodded their heads and winked their eyes in the direction of the place where the body was.

Since the Spaniards saw and noted these gestures, which increased their first fears and suspicions, they agreed to take the body away from that place and put it in another sepulcher that would be more difficult for the Indians to find if they should look for it. For they said that should the heathen suspect that the governor lay there they would dig up that whole plain to its center and would not stop until they had found him. Therefore it seemed to them that it would be a good thing to give him the Río Grande for a sepulcher, and before doing so, they wished to see how deep the river was and whether it was sufficient to conceal the body.

The accountant Juan de Añasco and Captains Juan de Guzmán, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, and Diego Arias, the *alférez* general of the army, undertook to examine the river. Taking with them a Biscayan named Ioanes de Abbadia, a seaman and a good engineer, they sounded it one afternoon, concealing their purpose as well as possible by making signs as if they were fishing and enjoying themselves on the river so that the Indians would not suspect them. They found that in midchannel it was nineteen fathoms deep and a quarter of a league in breadth. Seeing this, the Spaniards decided to inter the governor there, and inasmuch as there was no stone in the whole region with which to weight the body so that it would go to the bottom, they cut down a very thick oak tree and hollowed out on one side a space equal to the height of a man, into which they could put the body. On the following night they disinterred it as silently as possible and put it into the cut section of the oak tree with planks nailed over the body on the other side, and thus it was as if in a coffin. With many tears and much grief on the part of the priests and gentlemen who attended this second interment, they cast it into the middle of the river's current, commending his soul to God, and they saw it sink immediately to the bottom.

Such were the sad and doleful rites that our Spaniards performed over the body of the adelantado Hernando de Soto, their captain-general and governor of the kingdoms and provinces of La Florida. They were unworthy of such a heroic man, though upon examination they are found to be similar in almost all respects to those which the Goths, the Spaniards' predecessors, accorded 1,131 years before to their king Alaric in the province of Calabria in Italy, in the river Busento near the city of Cosenza.

I say similar in almost every respect because these Spaniards are descen-

dants of those Goths, and both sepulchers were rivers, and the deceased were the leaders and commanders of their people and much beloved by them. Both were most valiant men who performed great exploits in foreign kingdoms, having left their own lands seeking a place to settle and make establishments.

Even the intentions of the two peoples were the same, being to inter their captains where their bodies could not be found, though their enemies might seek them. They differ only in that the rites performed by these arose from piety and fear that the Indians would mistreat the body of their captain-general, and those of the others were born out of presumption and vainglory that they wished to show to the world for the honor and majesty of their king. So that this similarity may be better seen it will be well to give an account here of the burial the Goths gave their king Alaric for the benefit of those who do not know of it.

That famous prince—having performed innumerable exploits throughout the world with his men, and having sacked the imperial city of Rome, the first sack that it had experienced in the course of its empire and monarchy, 1,162 years after its foundation and 412 after the virginal delivery of Our Lady—wished to go to Sicily. Having been in Reggio and attempted the crossing, he went back to Cosenza, forced to do so by a very rough sea, where he died within a few days. His Goths, who loved him devotedly, celebrated his funeral rites with many and excessive honors and grandeurs. Among others they invented one that was most impressive and admirable, which was that they ordered the many captives who were with them to divert and turn the river Busento from its bed, and in the middle of its channel they erected an elaborate sepulcher. In it they placed the body of their king, with an infinity of treasure (these are the words of Colenucio, and aside from him all the ancient and modern historians, Spaniards and others, who write of those times say the same thing), and having closed the sepulcher, they ordered that the river be turned back into its old channel. They killed all the captives who had labored in this work so that they would never tell where King Alaric rested.

It seems to me that this history belongs here because of its great similarity to ours, and in order to note that the nobility of these our Spaniards and that which exists today throughout Spain undoubtedly comes from those Goths, because no other nation has entered after them except the Arabs from Barbary when they conquered it in the time of the king Don Rodrigo. But the few remnants of these same Goths who survived drove them little by little

out of all Spain and settled it as it is today. Even the descent of the kings of Castilla comes directly from those Gothic kings, whose notable antiquity and majesty gives them an advantage over all the kings of the earth.

All that we have said about the will, death, and funeral rites of the adelantado Hernando de Soto, Alonso de Carmona and Juan Coles tell in exactly the same way in their accounts. Both add that when the Indians did not see the governor they asked for him, and that the Christians replied to them that God had sent to summon him to order him to do great things as soon as he should return; and that they put off the Indians with these words, which all of them said.

SECOND PART  
OF THE FIFTH BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*It tells how the Spaniards decided to abandon La Florida; a long journey that they made in order to get out of it; the insupportable hardships that they endured in going and returning on that journey, until they came back to the Río Grande; seven brigantines they built in order to leave by way of it; the league of ten caciques against the Castilians; the secret notice that they had of it; the offers of General Anilco and his good qualities; a remarkable flood on the Río Grande; the activity in building the brigantines; a challenge from the General Anilco to the Cacique Guachoya and the reason for it; the punishment that was given to the ambassadors of the league.*

*It contains fifteen chapters.*



# I

## THE SPANIARDS DECIDE TO ABANDON LA FLORIDA AND TO LEAVE IT

On the death of the governor and captain-general Hernando de Soto, the attempts and well-laid plans that he had made for settling and forming an establishment in that land not only were not carried forward, but on the other hand his captains and soldiers abandoned and turned against them, as usually occurs wherever the principal leader of an enterprise is absent. Since all the captains and soldiers of the army had been discontented at the failure to find in La Florida the things that they were seeking, though it had the other advantages that we have named, and inasmuch as they had desired to leave it and only their respect for the governor had restrained them, (he being dead) it was decided by common agreement of the most influential among them that as quickly as possible they would leave that kingdom. This was a thing that they afterward lamented all the days of their lives, as a determination that is made and carried out without prudence or advice is usually regretted. The accountant Juan de Añasco—who as a minister of his king's hacienda and a nobleman in his own right, and one of those who had labored hardest in the discovery, was obligated to uphold this very well-founded judgment of his captain-general and to carry on his enterprise and conquest if only in order not to lose their past labors, for it was of such honor and advantage to all of them and of such grandeur, majesty, and profit to the Crown of Spain as we have seen—not only did not oppose the other captains and gentlemen who were in favor of leaving that great kingdom, but he even offered to guide them himself and bring them quickly into the limits and jurisdiction of México. He prided himself on being a cosmographer and presumed upon his skill to put them promptly in safety, not considering the broad provinces and the large rivers, the rough woodlands lacking in food, and the difficult swamps that they had passed; on the other hand he disregarded all of them; because when our ambition and desire become disordered, we often make light of hardship and disregard the difficulties of its pretensions, so as to allow ourselves to perish in them later.

They were inspired and encouraged in this determination by the memory of certain false information that the Indians had given them in the past winter and the preceding summer, to the effect that to the west not far from

where they were going there were other Castilians who were traversing and conquering those provinces.<sup>37</sup>

The Spaniards revived these past rumors in their memories and, accepting them as true, they said that these must be people who had gone out from México to conquer new kingdoms, and that according to what the Indians said, they ought not to be far from one another. It would be a good thing to go in search of them, and having found them, they could assist them in conquering and making settlements, as if they themselves had found nothing to conquer nor had anywhere to settle.

With this common determination, so ill-made, our Spaniards left Guachoya on the fourth or fifth of July, directing their march toward the west with the intention of turning neither to the right nor to the left, for it seemed to them that by following that direction they must necessarily come out in the territory of México. They did not consider that according to their own cosmography they were in a much higher latitude than the lands of New Spain.

Being thus desirous of entering them, they marched more than a hundred leagues, making as long daily journeys as possible, through different lands and provinces than those that they had seen hitherto, but not so abundant in food nor so well populated as the others. We cannot tell the names of these provinces because, as they now had no intention of settling, they did not attempt to learn the names nor to inform themselves of the nature of the country, but intended to pass through it as rapidly as they could. Therefore they did not record the names nor could they give them to me.

## II

### CONCERNING SOME INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS OF BOTH LA FLORIDA AND EL PERÚ, AND HOW THE SPANIARDS ARRIVED IN AUCHE

Going back in our story somewhat from where we are, it must be said that when the Spaniards left the pueblo of Guachoya, there went with them

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<sup>37</sup>In 1541 the expedition of Coronado had reached as far eastward as Quivira, believed to lie along the Saline River of central Kansas. It is possible that news of this expedition had reached western Arkansas, where De Soto's army was at the time.



of his own accord an Indian sixteen or seventeen years old, with a graceful body and handsome face, as the natives of that province usually have. After they had marched three or four days, Governor Luis de Moscoso's servants noticed him, the Indian having approached them. As this was unusual and they saw that he was of a different rank, fearing that he might be a spy, they told the general about it. He sent to summon him and he asked him through the interpreters and Juan Ortiz to tell the reason why he had left his parents, relatives, friends, and acquaintances to go with the Spaniards, since he knew nothing about them. The Indian replied: "Sir, I am poor and an orphan. The death of my parents left me alone at a very early age, and a principal Indian of my pueblo, a near relative of the curaca Guachoya, taking pity on me, carried me to his house and brought me up among his sons. At the time your lordship left, this man was sick and his life despaired of.

"As soon as they saw him thus, his relatives, wife, and children chose and named me to be buried alive with my master upon his death, for they said that my lord had been very fond of me, and that because of this love it was fitting that I should go with him and serve him in the other life. And although it is true that, because he reared me, I was obligated to him and loved him devotedly, my love is not such as to make me take pleasure in being buried alive with him.

"In order to escape this death, finding no better remedy, I determined to come with your lordship's people, since I prefer being your slave to seeing myself buried alive. This, and nothing else, is the cause of my coming."

The general and those who were with him wondered at hearing the Indian and understood that the custom and abuse of burying alive the servants and wives with the body of the deceased chief was also followed and observed in that country, as in the rest of the New World hitherto discovered.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout the empire of the Incas who reigned in El Perú it was long the custom to inter with and near the kings and great lords their most loved wives and favorite servants, because in their heathenism they believed in the immortality of the soul and thought that after this life there was another one like it, not spiritual. It contained pain and punishment, however, for him who had been bad, and glory, reward, and recompense for the good. Thus they call heaven *Hanampacha*, which means the higher world, and the inferno *Ucupacha*, meaning lower world. They call the devil *Zupay*, saying that

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<sup>38</sup>The execution of retainers to accompany a deceased noble to the afterlife is well attested in this same region much later among the Natchez, as described by the French in the early eighteenth century.

the wicked go with him. We shall discuss this at more length in the history of the Incas.

Returning to our Castilians, whom we left eager to travel a long distance—and they were later to regret having traveled so far—we said that after marching through the provinces we could not name, because we do not know what their names were, and through which they marched for more than a hundred leagues, at the end of this distance they came to a province called Auche.<sup>39</sup> Its lord came out to receive them very cordially and entertained them with many signs of affection. He said that it gave him much satisfaction to see them in his country, but as we shall see later all this was false and assumed.

The Spaniards rested in that pueblo of Auche for two days, it being the principal one of the province. On informing themselves about the things that would be helpful on their journey, they learned that two days' march from the pueblo there was a great uninhabited region that was four days' journey in extent. The cacique Auche gave them Indians laden with maize for six days, and an old Indian to guide them through the uninhabited country until he brought them out to the settlements. Making a great show of friendship, he ordered him in the Spaniards' presence to take them by the best and shortest road that he knew.

Thus prepared, our people left Auche, and in two days' march they reached the uninhabited country, through which they traveled four more days over a wide road that seemed to be a public highway. But at the end of the two days' journey it gradually became narrower until it disappeared entirely. They marched six more days without a road, wherever the Indian wanted to take them, he telling them that he was leading them by shortcuts off the road so as to reach the inhabited country more quickly.

At the end of eight days' wandering through those deserts, woodlands, and thickets, seeing that they were not getting out of them, the Spaniards noticed what had not hitherto come to their attention, namely, that the Indian had led them in a circle, sometimes guiding them toward the north, again to the west, other times to the south, and still others to the east. They had not noted this before because of their eagerness to pass on and because of the confidence they had that their guide would not deceive them. They considered also that it had been three days since they had eaten maize or any other

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<sup>39</sup>Auche is not mentioned by the other chroniclers. John R. Swanton believed that it was probably intended for Biedma's Hais, known to later writers as Ha-ish, but the phonetic resemblance is slight. Swanton, *Final Report*, 279.

food except herbs and roots, and that their difficulties were increasing hourly and their hopes of getting out of those deserts were becoming less, because they had neither food nor road.

### III

#### THE SPANIARDS KILL THE GUIDE. A PARTICULAR EXPLOIT OF AN INDIAN IS TOLD

Governor Luis de Moscoso ordered the Indian who had guided him summoned before him, and he asked him through the interpreters why he did not bring them out of that wilderness at the end of eight days, that they had wandered about through it lost; for upon leaving his pueblo, he had offered to pass through it in four days and come out in inhabited country. The Indian would not reply directly, but spoke some nonsense that he thought would excuse him for what he had done. The governor, being angered by this and at seeing his army in such want through the Indian's malice, ordered that he be tied to a tree and that the mastiffs they had with them be let loose upon him. One of them shook and dragged him badly.

The Indian, seeing himself so ill treated and overcome by the fear that they would kill him, begged them to take the dog away, saying that he would tell the truth about everything that had happened in that affair. When they took away the dog he said: "Gentlemen, my curaca and natural lord ordered me upon your departure to do what I have done with you, for he confided in me, saying that, since he did not have sufficient forces to cut all your throats in one battle, as he would like to do, he had determined to kill you by strategy and cunning, putting you into these wild forests and deserts where you would perish of hunger. He chose me, as one of his most faithful servants, to carry out this scheme, leading you off the road to where you would never be able to get back to the inhabited country. If I should succeed with the enterprise he promised to grant me many favors; if not, he would kill me cruelly.

"I, being a servant, did what my lord commanded me, as I believe that any one of you would do if yours should so order you. I was forced to do it out of respect and obedience to my superior and not through any will or desire of my own to kill you. I certainly have not wished nor do I wish to do so, because you have given me no reason for it. Rightly considered, the

greater part of this blame you put upon me is yours, because you have allowed yourselves to be led thus, with so much carelessness on your own part that you have not even asked me a word about the road. If you had asked me some of the questions that you are now asking on the first day that it was lost, I would have told you all this in time to have remedied the present evil. Even yet it is not too late, and if you will spare my life (since I acted according to orders and could do nothing else), I will remedy the error we have all made. I will undertake to bring us out of this desert and put us into an inhabited country before the next three days have passed. By traveling straight toward the west, without turning to one side or the other, we shall soon come out of this uninhabited region. If I do not lead you out of it within that time, then kill me, for I offer myself for punishment.”

General Luis de Moscoso and his captains became so indignant on learning of the curaca’s bad intentions and the deceit the Indian had practiced upon them, that they would neither listen to the good reasons he gave for being pardoned for his fault nor grant his petition to spare his life, nor accept or believe his promises. On the other hand they all said together that he who had done them such harm hitherto would do worse in the future, and they ordered the dogs let loose. Being very hungry, in a short time they tore him to pieces and ate him.

This was the revenge our Castilians took on the poor Indian who had led them off the road, as if it were any satisfaction for past hardships or remedy for present evils. After they had done it, they saw that they were not revenged but worse off than before, as they had no one at all to guide them because they had given the other Indians, who had brought the maize, permission to return to their own country as soon as the food was used up, and thus they found themselves entirely lost.

The Spaniards being in these straits and confused and repentant of having killed the Indian—who, if they had left him alive, might perhaps have brought them out to the settlements, as he had promised—seeing that they had no other recourse, took the one that the Indian had told them, giving him credit after his death for what they refused to believe while he was alive. This was that they should march toward the west without turning to one side or to the other.

They did so and traveled three days suffering extreme hunger and necessity, because for three days previously they had eaten nothing except herbs and roots. It was of much advantage to them in this hardship that the forests in that uninhabited country were open and not dense as they are in other

parts of the Indies, where they are like a wall. If these had been so, they would have perished of hunger before they got out of them.

Under these difficulties they continued their journey, always toward the west, and at the end of the three days they sighted inhabited country from the tops of some hills through which they were going. This gave them the relief that can be imagined, though on reaching the settlements, they found that the Indians had gone to the woods and that the land was poor and sterile. The pueblos were not like the others they had seen, but the houses were scattered through the fields in groups of four or five, badly built and worse arranged, looking more like huts of melon growers than dwellings. But for all this they satisfied their hunger with a quantity of fresh beef they found in them. They also found fresh cowhides, though they never saw the cattle alive nor would the Indians ever say where they got them.

On the second day of their march through that sterile and poorly inhabited province, which our people called the province of the Vaqueros<sup>40</sup> because of the meat and hides of cattle that they found in it, an Indian desired to show his spirit and valor with a strange and mad act that he performed. It happened that after the Spaniards had finished that day's march they encamped on a plain, and everything being quiet, they saw a lone Indian emerge from some woods not far from the camp and come toward them. He wore a handsome plume on his head and had his bow in his hands and a quiver of arrows on his back that inclined a little toward the right shoulder, as they all usually carry them.

The Castilians who were near the place where the Indian happened to come out of the woods, seeing that he was alone and so peaceable, did not give an alarm, but thinking that he was bringing a message from the cacique to the governor, they allowed him to come on. When he found himself fewer than fifty paces from a group of Spaniards on foot who were talking together, he very hastily and courageously placed an arrow in his bow and, aiming at the group, who were watching him, he shot it with extreme force. Seeing that he was shooting at them, the Christians hastily scattered to one side and the other and some fell down on the ground, thus escaping the shot. But the arrow passed beyond them and struck in the midst of five or six Indian women who were under a tree preparing their masters' dinner. It hit one of them in the back and passed clear through her, and struck the one who was

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<sup>40</sup>In the judgment of John R. Swanton, this "province of the Vaqueros" most closely matches the Soacatino of Elvas or the Xuacatino of Biedma. Swanton, *Final Report*, 279.

facing her in the chest and also passed through her, though the arrow did not come clear, and the Indians immediately fell dead.

Having made this bold shot, the Indian turned and fled to the woods, running so swiftly and lightly that it was clear that he had depended upon this [speed] to come and do what he did.

The Spaniards sounded the call to arms and shouted to the Indian, being unable to follow him. Captain Baltasar de Gallegos, who happened to be on horseback, responded to the alarm, and seeing the fleeing Indian and hearing the Spaniards shout, "Kill him, kill him!" suspected what he must have done and ran after him. Just as the Indian reached shelter he overtook and killed him before the poor unfortunate could enjoy the fruits of his rash bravery, as is the case with most such feats that are performed in war.

## IV

### TWO INDIANS LET IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY CHALLENGE THE SPANIARDS TO SINGLE COMBAT

Three days after this affair, in this same province, which they called that of the Vaqueros, there happened another, no less remarkable one. This was that one day at ten o'clock in the morning, as the general and his captains and soldiers stopped marching to rest after their past labors on two long daily marches that they had just made, they saw coming across a beautiful plain two Indian nobles. They were decked out in long plumes with their bows in their hands and their arrows in quivers on their backs. When they came within two hundred paces of the camp, they began walking around a walnut tree that was there, and they did not walk together, shoulder to shoulder, but went one behind the other, so that each one could protect his companion from behind. They walked thus almost all day, paying no attention to the Negroes and Indians—men, women, and children—who passed near them carrying water and wood. The Spaniards understood from this that they were not doing it for the benefit of the servants, but for themselves, and they told the governor about it. He at once ordered that a decree be issued forbidding any soldier to harm them, but ordering that they be left alone as insane persons.

The Indians continued to walk around until evening, without doing anything else, as if they were waiting for the Spaniards who wished to do so to

come out two by two for combat with them. When it was almost sunset a company of horse that had gone out that morning to ride over the country came back. Their camp was near the place where the Indians were walking, and when they saw them they asked what Indians they were. Learning about them and what had been ordered concerning them, namely, that they be left alone as madmen, they all obeyed except one, who chose to disobey in order to show his courage. Asking why in the name of heaven anyone else should be madder than they were, and saying that he would chastise their madness, he ran at them. This soldier was from Segovia and was named Juan Páez.

Seeing a single Castilian attacking them, the Indian who happened to be nearest advanced to meet him, in order to show that he had asked for a single combat. The other Indian stepped back and got under the walnut tree, showing further that their intention was to fight one against one, and that his companion did not wish help against a single Castilian, though he was on horseback.

Juan Páez attacked the Indian furiously in order to knock him down. The heathen, who was waiting for him with an arrow ready in his bow, seeing him come within range, shot it and struck him in the left arm at the place where it bled, through the sleeve of his coat of mail. Breaking through the sleeve on both sides, the arrow remained sticking through the arm. Because of his wound and the blow, which was very strong, Juan Páez could not move his arm. The reins fell from his hand, and the horse, who felt them fall, stopped galloping. It is very usual for horses to do this when they feel the reins fall, and it is likewise a rule of horsemanship to drop them suddenly when the horse runs away and will not stop.

Juan Páez's companions, who had not yet dismounted, seeing him in such danger, all ran up hastily to help him before the enemy should kill him. Seeing so many horses coming against them, the Indians fled toward some woods close by, but before they could reach them the Spaniards killed them with lances, not observing the rule of war that, inasmuch as the Indians had not desired to go two against one Spaniard, it was not fair for so many mounted Spaniards to go against two Indians on foot.

With these incidents, which, though they are unusual, we have told because no other, more important ones occurred, the Castilians traveled through the province they named that of the Vaqueros for more than thirty leagues. At the end of them that poor settlement ceased, and they saw that there were large mountain ranges and forests to the west and learned that they were uninhabited.

The governor and his captains, warned by the experiences of hunger and

hardship they had passed through in the deserts that were behind them, wished to go no farther than was necessary to find a road that would bring them out into an inhabited country, and they endeavored to take precautions against the inconveniences that they would encounter. Therefore they ordered that three mounted companies, each with twenty-four horses, should all go toward the west by three routes to find out what there was in that direction.

They ordered them to go as far as possible into the interior country and bring a report not only of what they should see, but also they were to attempt to find out what was beyond. They gave them Indian interpreters from among those domestics who spoke the best Spanish [*los más ladinos*].

The seventy-two horsemen left camp with these orders, and within fifteen days they all came back with nearly the same report. They said that each of the bands had entered more than thirty leagues and had found a very sterile country with few people, and the farther they went the worse it became. This was what they had seen, and they brought even worse news of what was beyond, because many Indians whom they had captured and others who had received them peacefully had told them that it was true that there were Indians beyond, but they did not inhabit settled pueblos, nor have houses in which to live, nor cultivate their lands. They were a nomadic people who wandered in bands, gathering such fruits, herbs, and roots as the land afforded them of itself, and they supported themselves by hunting and fishing, moving from one place to another according to the advantages the seasons gave them in their fisheries and hunting grounds. All three parties brought this report, differing little from one another.

In addition to the account given, Alonso de Carmona adds at this point that the Indians told them that beyond that province where they were (to the west) were large settlements in a very level country with a great deal of sand. The cattle whose skins they had seen were bred there, and there were large numbers of them.



## V

### THE SPANIARDS GO BACK IN SEARCH OF THE RÍO GRANDE, AND THE HARDSHIPS THAT THEY EXPERIENCED ON THE ROAD

Governor Luis de Moscoso and his captains, having heard this fine report about the road by which they had promised themselves to come out in the territory of México, and having discussed the matter and considered the difficulties of their journey, decided not to go farther in order not to perish of hunger while lost in those deserts, of which they did not know the extent, but to go back in search of the same Río Grande that they had left. It now seemed to them that to get out of the kingdom of La Florida there was no more certain route than going down the river and coming out into the North Sea.

Having so determined, they endeavored to inform themselves about the road that they could take on their return that would avoid the bad country and the uninhabited regions they had passed through when they came. They learned that by returning by a circular route to the right of the one by which they had come, the road they would travel would be shorter, but they would have to traverse many other uninhabited districts and deserts. If they chose to return by a route to the left, however, also making a semicircle, though their road would be longer they would always be going through an inhabited country where they would find food and Indians to guide them.

On learning this, they made haste to leave those bad lands of the Vaqueros, and they marched in an arc toward the south, always obtaining information of the road ahead in order not to get into some desert that they could not get out of. Though the Castilians traveled taking care not to injure the Indians, so as not to incite them to make war upon them, and though they made long daily marches so as to leave their provinces quickly, the natives did not allow them to pass in peace. On the contrary they fell upon them with sudden attacks and alarms at all hours of the day and night. In order to surprise them more successfully, they hid themselves in the woods near the road, and where there were none they threw themselves down on the ground and covered themselves with grass, and when our men passed by unsuspectingly, seeing no one, they raised up and shot them with arrows mercilessly, but when the Spaniards turned upon them they ran away.

These attacks were so numerous and so continuous that the enemy had

scarcely been driven away from the vanguard when others appeared in the rear, and often at three or four places at the same time. They always left damage behind them with deaths and wounds of men and horses. The Spaniards received more harm in this province of the Vaqueros, without coming to blows with the enemy, than in any other of the many through which they traveled, particularly on the last day of their march through it. The road happened to be rough, through woods and over streams and passes very convenient for highwaymen such as those Indians were. Going and coming there in safety, they did not cease their attacks that whole day, in which they killed and wounded many Castilians, Indian servants, and horses.

In the last attack, which occurred at the crossing of a stream where there were many trees, they wounded a soldier from Galicia named Sanjurge, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this *History*. Because he was an unusual man it will be fitting for us to tell some things about him in particular, for they all belong to our story and are extraordinary. I submit what I shall say about them and about anything else that I may say here or elsewhere to the correction and rule of the holy mother Roman church, whose most Catholic son I am, through the mercy of God, though unworthy of such a mother.

As Sanjurge was going through the middle of the stream, an Indian shot an arrow at him from among the undergrowth with such force that it penetrated the armor on his leg and went through the right thigh, and after going through the tree and pad of the saddle, two or three inches of the arrow passed on and wounded the horse. The horse ran out of the stream to a plain, kicking and curvetting to get rid of the arrow and of his master if he could.

The Spaniards who were near went to his assistance, and seeing that Sanjurge was pinned to the saddle and that the camp was near the place where they were, they took him and the horse, thus transfixed, to his quarters. There they lifted him up from the saddle and cut the arrow between it and the thigh, and then very carefully removed the saddle. They saw that the horse's wound was not deep, but they wondered that the arrow, being one of the ordinary kind that the Indians make for munitions, without a head, had penetrated so far. It was made of reed with the point of the same material cut obliquely and hardened in the fire.

They left Sanjurge lying on the plain to be assisted by his own efforts. Among his many other abilities, one was to cure wounds with oil, dirty wool, and words they call a charm. During this discovery he had made many cures that had excited great admiration as he appeared to have a particular

gift from God for making them. After the oil, the dirty wool and everything else that the Castilians had were burned in the battle of Mauvila, however, he had stopped making these cures. Though he himself had been wounded on two other occasions—once with an arrow that entered his instep and came out at the heel, from which he was more than four months in recovering, and the other time by another arrow that entered the knee joint, where the head, which was made of deer horn, broke off, and he had undergone martyrdoms to get it out—with all this he had been unwilling to treat either himself or any other wounded man, believing that he could not make a cure without oil and dirty wool.

Seeing now, therefore, his own necessity, he was unwilling to call the surgeon because of a grudge he had against him caused by the roughness and cruelty with which he had treated his wounded knee. On that occasion, angered by his heavy-handedness, he had told him in a very insulting manner that if he should be wounded again he would not call him, even though he might know he was dying, and the surgeon had retorted for his part that although he might know how to save his life he would not treat him, and that he need not summon him if he should ever need him.

Since they felt this bitter anger against one another, Sanjurge would not summon the surgeon, nor would the surgeon show him the kindness of going to tend him, though he knew he was wounded. Thus he saw that he must help himself by what he knew, and in place of the oil he took lard, and instead of dirty wool he used thread raveled from an old Indian blanket. It had been a long time since any of the Castilians had had a shirt or anything made of linen. The treatment he gave himself was so effective that within the four days that the army remained in the camp, because of the many wounded among them, he was cured, and on the fifth day when our men marched, Sanjurge mounted his horse, and so that the Spaniards might see that he was well he ran from one side of the army to the other, shouting in a loud voice: "Kill me, Christians, for I have been a traitor to you and a bad comrade. Because I have not attempted to cure, believing that the virtue of my treatments lay in the oil and dirty wool, I have allowed more than a hundred and fifty of you to die."

With the events that we have told, the Castilians left the province of the Vaqueros and made long daily marches for twenty days through other lands whose names they did not know. They directed their journey in an arc toward the south, and as it seemed to them that they were going too far down from the province of Guachoya, to which they wished to return, they turned toward the east, taking care always to ascend somewhat to the north. Travel-

ing in this manner, they came to and crossed the road that they had followed on going out, but they did not recognize it because of the little notice they had taken, in going, of the lands they left behind them.

When they reached that place it was already the middle of September, and having marched three months after leaving the pueblo of Guachoya, during all that time and on all that long road, though they had no pitched battles, they were never free from the sudden attacks and ambushes that the Indians gave them at all hours of the day and night. They never failed to do them damage, principally in the case of those who strayed away from the camp. Waylaying them like highwaymen, on seeing them apart from their companions, the Indians immediately shot them with arrows. In this manner they killed from time to time more than forty Spaniards on this journey alone. At night they entered the camp on all fours and, wriggling along the ground like snakes, without the sentries hearing them, they shot the horses and the sentries themselves, hitting them in the back as a punishment for their not having seen or heard them. They killed two sentries in this manner in one night. The Indians kept our Castilians very fatigued by these continuous persecutions.

One day during this journey it happened that, as some of the Spaniards lacked servants, they asked the governor's permission for eighteen of them to form an ambush and take ten or twelve of the Indians who, following the Spaniard's departure, were accustomed to come to their camp seeking whatever might remain there, as if they would have left anything of value.

With the general's permission a dozen cavalry and as many infantry remained hidden among some thick trees, in the highest of which they stationed a watchman who would tell them when the Indians appeared. In four attempts they very easily took fourteen Indians, without their making any resistance. When the Spaniards started to leave with their prizes, they having been divided among them, the Genoese, Maese Francisco, at whose request permission [to do this] had been asked, came out, and not being content with the two Indians that they had given him, he said that he needed another and that he would not go until he had taken one.

His companions told him to be satisfied for that time with those he had and that they would promise to go with him another day if he wished to take more. Persisting in his intention, Maestre Francisco said that although he stayed alone he would not leave there until he had taken the Indian he needed. Though each of his companions offered him the one that had fallen to his lot, in order to please him, for they knew that they would soon need him in building the brigantines, he would not accept them, saying that he

would not be so rude as to take away from another what had been given to him for his own, and that he desired an Indian to be taken in his own name. With this obstinacy he forced his companions to remain in the ambush against the will of all of them, for it seemed that they foresaw the bad outcome. A little later the lookout called that there was an Indian in the place.

Being anxious to leave, the Castilians did not wait for more Indians to come, and thus one of them came out running on his horse. He was named Juan Páez, a native of Segovia, whom we mentioned above. Not warned by past experience, he fell upon the Indian. The latter got under a tree so that the horse would not trample him, put an arrow in his bow, and waited for the Castilian.

Passing to one side, the rider made an ineffectual crosswise thrust with his lance. As the horse came opposite him, the Indian shot the arrow at him and struck him near the left knee, causing him to go stumbling on for more than twenty paces and then fall dead. Another horseman had followed Juan Páez, this being Francisco de Bolaños, who was his comrade and from his own country. He attacked the Indian, and being unable to go under the tree he threw a lance at him from the side over his left arm, but it was of no effect.

The Indian, who intended to make better use of his arrows than the Castilians did of their lances, shot one at the horse and struck him in the same place as the first one, in such manner that he went running in the tracks of the other and fell dead at his feet. These were the two best shots, and if he had not had a reverse at the third that broke his succession of good luck, we would have another exploit to tell about like the one that happened in the province of Apalache.

## VI

### THE INSUPPORTABLE HARDSHIPS THAT THE SPANIARDS SUFFERED BEFORE THEY REACHED THE RÍO GRANDE

A gentleman from Badajoz named Juan de Vega, a member of one of the very noble families that are in that city (whom I knew in El Perú and afterward in Spain), believing that two mounted Castilians could cope with one Indian on foot, had remained behind, though he had followed them. Seeing them now fallen to the ground and their horses dead, he ran full speed to kill the Indian. On the other hand the two soldiers, raising themselves from the

ground, ran at him with their lances in their hands. The Indian, seeing himself attacked from both sides, went running from under the tree to meet the horseman, giving more attention to him alone than to the two who had been made infantry and foot soldiers. It seemed to him that, if he could kill the horse as he had the other two, he would be free of all three of them and able to take to his heels before they could attack him, because of the usual advantage the Indians had over the Spaniards in running. He would have succeeded in carrying out his intention if Juan de Vega had not come so well prepared. His horse wore a breast-leather half a vara wide made of three thicknesses of cowhide, for the careful Spaniards made such breast-leathers from the skins of cows, lions, bear, and deer that they could obtain, for protecting their horses. The Indian had come out from under the tree with all the courage that a man in such danger could show, and shot an arrow at Juan de Vega's horse. It struck the breast-leather, passed through the three thicknesses of the skins, and wounded the horse, four finger-breadths of the arrow penetrating his breast. It went in so true that if he had not worn the breast-leather it would have gone to the heart, but the fortune of war willed otherwise.

Juan de Vega thrust his lance at the Indian and killed him, but his death did not console our men's sorrow at having lost two horses on that sad occasion, at a time when they needed them so much and had so few left. When they went to see the Indian their grief and anger were doubled, because his person was not like that of the other Floridos, who usually are of fine and robust figure. This one was small, lean, and weak, so that his appearance promised no courage whatever, but his good spirit and bravery made him so redoubtable that he amazed his enemies and left them cause for grief. Cursing their bad luck and Maestro Francisco who had been the cause of it, they started on their way and overtook the army. There all again bewailed the loss of the horses, for in them they had their greatest strength and hope in whatever hardship might present itself.

With so many and such continuous molestations as the Indians gave the Spaniards, the latter traveled toward the province of Guachoya and the Río Grande until the end of October of the year 1542, at which time a very severe winter set in, with much rain, cold, and hard wind. Since they wished to reach their intended destination, they did not fail to march every day, no matter how bad the weather, and they reached their camping places soaked with water and covered with mud. There they never found food without going after it, and most of the time they got it by force of arms and in exchange for their lives and blood.

Because of these hardships and the bad weather, they felt the fatigues of the march more than ever before. As the season advanced, the waters rose, much snow fell, the rivers were flooded, and it was increasingly difficult to cross them, for even the small streams could not be forded. Almost every day it was necessary to make rafts for crossing them, and at some passages of the rivers they were detained five, six, seven, and eight days by the perpetual opposition of the enemy and by the poor facilities for making the rafts. Thus their labor was augmented and lengthened.

On many nights, besides what they had endured in the course of the day, their hardships were so excessive that, because of the great amounts of water and mud, they could not find the ground in order to rest on it, and the mounted men slept or passed the night on their horses, not dismounting at all. The manner in which the foot soldiers passed it is left to the imagination of the reader, for they were at least knee-deep or thigh-deep in water.

Furthermore, as the clothing they were wearing was made of deerskin and other similar skins, and consisted of only one garment tied at the waist, which served as shirt, doublet, coat, and cape, and as it was always wet with the constant rain or snow and with crossing the many rivers, so that it was a rare thing for them to be dry, and as they went about barelegged, without stockings, shoes, or sandals, and inasmuch as to these personal deprivations and the inclemencies of the weather were added poor food, lack of sleep, and their great weariness on such a long and toilsome journey, many of the Spaniards and Indian servants whom they had with them became sick.

The sickness did not end with the people but passed to the horses, and increased more and more among all of them, both men and beasts beginning to die in large numbers. Every day two or three Spaniards expired, and one day there were seven. The horses and the Indian servants were in the same situation. The latter were mourned by their masters no less than their own companions, for they had served them like sons and they missed them very much. Almost none of these Indians escaped. There was one Spaniard who had four, and all of them died. In their haste to pass on they scarcely had time to bury the dead; many remained unburied, and those whom they interred were half buried because they could do no more. Most of them died on their feet on the march and there was no one to carry them; the horses were also sick, and they did not use the well ones for carrying the sick men because they needed them to go out against the enemy who came up to make continuous surprise attacks and assaults.

With all these miseries and afflictions our men endured, they did not neglect to keep watch night and day, posting their sentries and changing

guard in due military form, so that the enemy would not find them unprepared. This added to their illness and afflictions, as has been said.

At this point Alonso de Carmona, having told at length of the miseries and hardships of this journey, says that they found a sow they had lost on the outward journey and that she had a litter of thirteen pigs, now well-grown, all of which were marked on the ears, each with a different sign. Perhaps the Indians had divided them among themselves and marked them with their own signs, from which it can be inferred that those Indians have conserved these animals.

With the inclemencies of the heavens and the persecutions of the air, water, and earth, and the hardships of hunger, sickness, and deaths of men and horses, and with care and diligence, though feeble enough, in watching and guarding against their enemies, and with the continual molestation of alarms, sudden attacks, and warfare the latter gave them, our Castilians marched throughout the months of September and October and up to the end of November, when they reached the Río Grande, so desired and longed-for by them, since they had come to seek it through such adversities and with so much anxiety of heart. On the contrary, not long before they had so hated and abhorred it that they had undergone the same hardships in fleeing and withdrawing from it. At the sight of the river they congratulated one another, it seeming to them that, upon reaching it, their miseries and labors were over.

On this last journey that our people made after the death of Governor Hernando de Soto they traveled, going and returning, and counting the expedition that the scouts made, more than 350 leagues, during which a hundred Spaniards and eighty horses died at the hands of the enemy and from sickness. This is what their bad counsel profited them, and though they arrived at the Río Grande the deaths did not cease. Fifty more Christians died in the camp, as we shall soon see.

## VII

### THE INDIANS ABANDON TWO PUEBLOS, WHERE THE SPANIARDS ESTABLISH THEMSELVES FOR THE WINTER

Our people looked upon the Río Grande with extreme contentment and gratitude in their hearts, for it seemed to them that in it all the labors of their



journey would come to an end. They found on the banks of the river in the place at which they happened to reach it two pueblos, near one another, each having two hundred houses. A moat of water taken from the river itself surrounded them both and formed an island.

Governor Luis de Moscoso and his captains thought it would be well to lodge in them for the winter if it should be possible to gain the pueblos either by peaceful means or by war. Though that province was not Guachoya, which they had been seeking, it seemed enough for them to have reached the Río Grande, since for what they wished to do, which was to leave that kingdom by way of it, this was the most essential thing.

Having so determined, although they did not come to fight, they formed a squadron that still numbered more than 320 infantry and seventy cavalry, and attacked one of the pueblos, whose inhabitants abandoned it without making any defense. Leaving some men in it, our forces attacked the other pueblo and gained it with equal facility.

It was understood that the reason these Indians had not defended themselves was that they had thought the Spaniards were coming in such force as they had on the other two occasions that they had marched along the banks of that river. Though they themselves had not reached this province, their reputations must have come to it along with the news of other things that they had done in the provinces of Capaha and Guachoya. This report must have so terrified them that they would not now defend their pueblos.

On entering them, the Spaniards found such quantities of Indian corn and other grains and vegetables and dried fruit, such as nuts, raisins, dried plums, acorns, and other fruits unknown in Spain, that in truth, though our people, with the intention of wintering in those pueblos, had spent the entire past summer in collecting provisions, they would not have gathered so many.

Alonso de Carmona says that when they measured the maize they found in these two pueblos there were eighteen thousand fanegas by actual count, which excited great wonder among them at seeing that there was so large a supply of maize in such a small settlement, to say nothing of the other grains. All this, and the fact that the Indians had abandoned the pueblos so easily, these Christians attributed to the particular mercy that God had been pleased to show them in their necessity. For it is true that if they had not found those pueblos so good and so well provisioned, certainly after the way in which they had been mistreated, being weak and sick, they would all have perished within a few days. They themselves admitted this, they now being in such a state that they could do nothing for the preservation of their lives

and health. Even with the supplies and comforts that we have mentioned, more than fifty Castilians died after they had reached the pueblos, and as many Indian servants, because they were now so spent that they could not regain their strength. Among those who died was Captain Andrés de Vasconcelos de Silva, a native of Yelves, who bore two names representing the noblest blood to be found in the kingdom of Portugal.

There died also Nuño Tovar, a native of Xerez de Badajoz, a gentleman no less valiant than noble, though unfortunate because of such a severe superior having fallen to his lot. Because of an error of love that had forced him to marry without his [superior's] permission, he had always been out of favor and treated contemptuously, entirely contrary to what he deserved.

The faithful interpreter Juan Ortiz, a native of Sevilla, also died. Throughout the discovery he had served no less with his strength and courage than with his tongue, because he was a very good soldier and useful on all occasions. In short, there died many very noble gentlemen, and many very excellent, brave, and spirited soldiers. Those who died on this last journey numbered more than 150 persons. It occasioned great grief and sorrow that through the imprudence and bad management of the captains so many and such good men had perished to no purpose whatsoever.

Having gained the pueblos, the Spaniards agreed for their further convenience and safety to join the two together, so as not to be divided in whatever might arise in the future. They did so immediately, tearing down one of the pueblos and taking all the food, wood, and grass that was in it to the other, with which they enlarged and fortified it as best they could, and established themselves in it. Our people spent twenty days making these arrangements, because they were weak and debilitated and could not work as much as they liked, and as was necessary.

With the shelter of good houses and the comfort of plenty of food, the sick, who included almost all of them, began to convalesce, and the natives of that province were so good that though they were not friendly toward the Spaniards they did not annoy them or give them any trouble, nor attempt to attack them in the country, nor give sudden alarms and assaults by night. All this they attributed to a particular providence of the mercy of God.

That pueblo and its province were called Aminoya. It was sixteen leagues up the river from the pueblo of Guachoya, which our people had been seeking. When they had recovered their health and strength somewhat, seeing that the last days of January of the year 1543 had now come, they gave orders for cutting the timber for making the brigantines in which they intended to go by way of the river down to the North Sea. There was a great

abundance of timber throughout the vicinity. They worked diligently to obtain the other things that were needed, such as rigging, tow, resin from trees for tar, blankets for sails, oars, and nails. Everyone applied himself to this work very busily and willingly.

Alonso de Carmona says in his account that upon entering this pueblo of Aminoya he and Captain Espíndola, who was captain of the governor's guard, were going [together] and that they found an old woman who had been unable to flee when the others left. She asked them why they were coming to that pueblo, and on their replying that they intended to winter there, she asked where they expected to stay and put their horses, because every fourteen years that Río Grande overflowed its bed and covered the whole country, and the natives took refuge in the upper parts of the houses; and she said that year was the fourteenth. Whereupon they laughed and forgot about it. All these are words of Alonso de Carmona himself, as he wrote them in this his *Peregrination*, which is the name he gives to the little that he wrote, not intended for printing.

## VIII

### TWO CURACAS COME IN PEACE. THE SPANIARDS SET ABOUT BUILDING SEVEN BRIGANTINES

At this time, and even before, there had already been circulated throughout the vicinity the news that the Castilians had returned from their journey and were lodged in the province and pueblo of Aminoya. The curaca and lord of the province of Anilco, whom we mentioned above, being informed of this and fearing that the Spaniards would do the damage in his country that they had done before, and in order that his enemies of Guachoya, under their protection, might not come to avenge themselves on him and commit the abominations that they had committed on their past expedition, desired to repair the error that he had made at that time in his rebelliousness and obstinacy, which had been so disastrous.

Not daring to trust his own person to the Spaniards, however, he ordered an Indian to be summoned who was a very near relative of his and who was and had been for many years his captain-general and governor throughout his state, and said to him: "Go in my name to the Spanish general and tell him that I send you to represent my own person, since ill-health prevents me

from coming myself to serve them. Say that I beg them as earnestly as I can to receive me into their friendship and service; that I promise and give them my word to be their loyal and obedient servant in every way that I can serve them in my house and state.

“Say this to them on my behalf, and on your own and that of the other Indians who go with you, do as readily as possible everything that they may order you, so that the Castilians will believe my protestations and your intention of pleasing them in every way that may be conducive to their service.”

The captain-general Anilco—since we do not know his own name, we give him that of his curaca—left on this embassy accompanied by twenty-four nobles, finely decked out with plumes and furred mantles, and as many other Indians who went laden with fruit, fish, and venison, and two hundred Indians to serve the whole army. He arrived in the presence of Governor Luis de Moscoso and delivered his message with a most respectful and friendly bearing, repeating the same words that the cacique had said to him. Following this, he offered his own person, indicating the good spirit and willingness that they all had to serve him. At the close of his friendly offers he said: “Sir, I do not desire your lordship to believe my words, but the deeds that you shall see us perform in your service.”

The governor received him very affably and accorded him all the honors that he would have given the cacique himself. He said that his friendly words and spirit and his good will were very gratifying to him, and sent many compliments to the curaca, saying that he esteemed and valued his friendship. He was very attentive to the rest of the Indian nobles, thereby gratifying them very much. Anilco sent the governor’s message to his lord, and he himself remained to serve the Spaniards.

Two days later the cacique Guachoya came to kiss the governor’s hands, and to confirm their past friendship he brought a large present of the fruits, fish, and game that were in his country. The general also received this very affably and with many thanks. But Guachoya was not pleased to see Captain Anilco with the Spaniards, and still less that all of them accorded him such honors as they did, because as we have seen already, they were implacable enemies. He concealed his displeasure as well as he could, however, to show it in due time.

These two caciques Guachoya and Anilco performed services for the Castilians during all the time they were in that province called Aminoya, and every eight days they went to their houses and returned with new presents and offerings. Though they themselves left, their Indians remained to serve

the Spaniards. Inasmuch as the latter, for the purpose of leaving that kingdom, had put their hopes in the brigantines that they were to build, they busied themselves very diligently in preparing the things necessary for them. The chief direction of the work was given to *Maestre* Francisco, the Genoese, an expert shipbuilder. Having calculated the size that the brigantines would have to be in order to hold all the people who must embark in them, he found that they would need seven. They provided the necessary materials for this number of brigantines, and in order to prevent the winter rains from hindering their work, they built four very large shelters that served as dockyards, where they all labored equally, without any distinction, each one performing to this end the task for which he was best fitted. Some sawed the timber to make boards, others dressed it with adzes, others beat iron into nails, others made charcoal, others fashioned the oars, and others twisted the ropes. The soldier or captain who labored hardest at these things was honored most.

Our people were engaged in these activities throughout the months of February, March, and April, without the Indians of that province disturbing them or hindering their work, which was no small favor that they did them.

In all this time, and afterward, General Anilco showed himself most friendly to the Spaniards, for he acted very promptly to provide everything that they asked him for that was needed for the brigantines. He brought many blankets, new and old, which were what the Spaniards had feared could not be provided, as there were very few in all of that kingdom, but the friendliness of this good Indian and his great industry facilitated what our people had expected to find most difficult.

They kept the new blankets for sails and from the old ones they made string to use for oakum in caulking the ships. The Indians of La Florida make these blankets of a certain herb similar to mallows, which has a fiber like linen. They make thread from it and color it beautifully in any shade they wish.

Anilco also brought quantities of thick and thin ropes for rigging, sheets, and cables. In all these things and others that this good Indian provided, what was most appreciated and most gratifying was the good will and generosity with which he gave them, because he always brought more than they requested and came so promptly at the times set for providing this thing or that, that he never allowed them to pass. He went about among the Spaniards like one of them, helping them in their work and saying for them to ask for whatever they needed, as he wished to serve them and show his affection for them.

For these reasons the general and his captains and soldiers accorded him the same honor that they would have given to Governor Hernando de Soto if he had been alive, and Anilco deserved it, as much because of his virtue as because of the fine aspect of his face and person, which were those of a very noble man.

## IX

### TEN CURACAS FORM A LEAGUE AGAINST THE SPANIARDS, AND THE APU ANILCO WARNS THEM OF IT

Though the curaca Guachoya supplied and provided the things that were needed for the ships, it was done so tardily and so grudgingly that it was easily seen how different his attitude was from that of Anilco. At the same time it was noted what displeasure and anger he felt at seeing the esteem and honor that the Spaniards felt for Captain Anilco—he being poor and the vassal of another—which was much greater than that which they accorded him, who was rich and the lord of vassals. It seemed to him that this should be reversed, and honor given to each one in accordance with his estate and not his virtue. This gave rise to great envy that irritated him constantly, giving him no rest, until one day, unable to endure his passion, he showed it very openly, as we shall see below.

It will be appropriate to tell here what the Indians of the neighborhood were doing while the Castilians were building their caravels. Thus it must be known that opposite the pueblo of Guachoya on the other side of the Río Grande (as we said above), there was a very large province called Quigaultanqui, abounding in food and well populated. Its lord was young and warlike and was beloved and obeyed throughout his state and feared in the others because of his great power.

This cacique, seeing that the Spaniards were building ships so as to leave by way of the river, and considering that inasmuch as they had seen so many and such good provinces as they had discovered in that kingdom, and would carry news of the wealth and good qualities of the country (being a covetous people who were seeking a place to settle), they would return in greater numbers to conquer and gain it for themselves, taking it away from its natural rulers. It seemed to him that it would be a good thing to prevent this by

giving orders that the Spaniards should not leave that country, but should all die there, so that they could not spread the news in other places of what they had seen in that kingdom. With this evil purpose he ordered the nobles and chief men of his country summoned and told them of his intention and asked their opinion.

The Indians concluded that what their curaca and lord wished to do against the Castilians was a very good thing, and that their opinion and advice was that the cacique's plan be carried out as promptly as possible, and that they would serve him to the death.

With this common determination on the part of his people, Quigualtanqui, in order further to assure his success, sent ambassadors to the other caciques and lords of the region advising them of the determined stand he had taken against the Spaniards, and saying that, since the danger he feared and wished to guard against was common to all of them, he begged and exhorted them that, abandoning their hostilities and the past anger that had always existed among them, they unite all together and with one accord to forestall and prevent the evil that might befall them if foreigners should come to take away their lands, women, and children, making them slaves and tributaries.

Each one of the curacas and lords of the vicinity received Quigualtanqui's ambassadors very cordially and gladly, and gave formal approval to his opinion and advice. They praised his discretion and prudence highly, both because they believed he was right in what he said and in order not to slight and anger him by opposing him. All of them feared him because he was more powerful than they.

In this manner ten curacas on both sides of the river formed an alliance, and it was agreed among all of them that each one in his own country would make ready very secretly and diligently as many men as he could, and collect canoes and other equipment needed for the war that they intended to wage against the Spaniards on land and water. They agreed to pretend to be peaceful and friendly toward them so as to make them careless and take them unawares. Each one would send his ambassador separately, and they would not go all together, so that the Spaniards would not suspect the existence of the league and be on guard against them.

This conspiracy among the curacas being arranged, Quigualtanqui, as the principal mover of it, immediately sent his messengers to Governor Luis de Moscoso, offering him friendship and the service that he might be pleased to accept from him. The rest of the caciques did the same thing. The general replied to them, thanking them for their kind offer and saying that the Span-

iards would be very glad to have peace and friendship with them. And in fact they were pleased with the embassy, not understanding the treason that lay beneath it. They were the more content because for a long time they had been tired of fighting.

Neither the cacique Anilco nor his captain-general, whom we also call Anilco, were willing to enter this league, though they were invited to do so. On the other hand it troubled them to learn that the rest of the caciques were plotting to kill the Castilians, for they loved them and wished them well. With this regard for them and in order to keep the faith and word that they had given them in loyal friendship, the apu Anilco on behalf of his cacique and himself told the governor what the Indians of the vicinity were plotting against them. Having given this information, he said that he offered his lordship anew the services and friendship of his cacique and of himself, and that they would serve him with the same love and loyalty as hitherto, and he promised to keep him informed of what went on among the conspirators.

The governor thanked General Anilco very sincerely for what he had told him, and sent similar messages to his curaca, esteeming his friendship and loyalty greatly.

It is to be noted that, though the cacique Anilco did the Spaniards the friendly services of which we have told, he was never willing to come to see the general and always excused himself with the plea of ill-health. But the truth is that he himself confessed to his own people that he was regretful and ashamed at not having accepted the peace and friendship that the Castilians had offered him when they first came to his country, and he said that this embarrassment prevented his appearing in their presence.

It was impossible to tell for certain whether or not the curaca Guachoya, who also professed friendship for our people, was in the league, but it was suspected that, since he did not give warning of it, he consented to it and would enter in due time. To this suspicion and bad sign was added another, worse one, which was the hatred and rancor he showed toward Captain Anilco, and his great irritation that the governor and the Spaniards should honor and esteem him as much as they did. They did this in their gratitude for the great assistance that he gave them in building the brigantines, and because he had put them under new obligations by his loyalty in warning them of the uprising in that country. But Guachoya, disregarding the Spaniards' obligations and instigated on the other hand by his old enmity and present envy, was constantly with the governor belittling and discrediting Anilco, saying secretly everything bad about him that he could. The general and his captains were of the opinion that he did this purposely and cun-



ningly so that they would not believe Anilco if he had told them or should tell them anything about the league, for, since Anilco had refused to enter it, Guachoya suspected him of being against them all and feared that he would reveal the plot that the rest of the curacas had formed. Thus he went about dissimulating and scheming for his own ends.

## X

### GUACHOYA SPEAKS ILL OF ANILCO IN THE GOVERNOR'S PRESENCE, AND ANILCO REPLIES TO HIM, CHALLENGING HIM TO SINGLE COMBAT

Guachoya went about for some days suppressing his grievances, past and present, so as not to show them in public. But being unable to contain them, losing patience and all ordinary courtesy, he said to the governor publicly in the presence of many captains and soldiers who were with him, and before Anilco himself, many words that, according to the interpreters, ran thus:

“Sir, for a long time I have been much grieved at seeing the excessive honors that your lordship and these gentlemen, captains, and soldiers have accorded this man, for it seems to me that honor should be given to each according to his rank, and according to his quality and possessions. In him is found little or nothing of either of these, because he is poor, the son and grandson of poor parents and grandparents. His lineage is the same, as he has no higher rank than that of a servant and vassal of another lord such as I, and I also have servants and vassals who equal and surpass him in quality and wealth.

“I have said this to your lordship so that you may see upon whom you bestow your favor and trust, and henceforth may not give such credence to his words, which redound to the discredit of others. His being poor and having no lineage to respect can deceive your lordship easily unless you are warned against him.”

This was the substance of what the cacique Guachoya said, but his expression and many other superfluous and injurious words that he spoke showed clearly his hatred and envy of Captain Anilco.

While Guachoya was speaking, Anilco made no sign of interrupting him that the Spaniards could see. On the other hand, he let him say as much as he liked without speaking a word or making a movement. When he saw that he

had finished, he arose and said to the governor that he begged his lordship to do him the favor of permitting that, since Guachoya, in the presence of his lordship and of so many captains and soldiers, without respect for them, had insulted his honor, he might be allowed to defend it in their presence with truth and justice. He would be glad for Guachoya to protest any statement that was not such, so that the truth of that matter might be ascertained and made clear, and so that the little or no justification that Guachoya had for so maligning him might be made apparent. Inasmuch as his lordship was governor and captain-general and supreme judge of them all in peace and war, he would not deny his petition, as it was just and a matter concerning his honor, which he prized so highly.

Luis de Moscoso told him to speak as he saw fit, but that it must be without insulting or slandering Guachoya because he would not permit it. He ordered the Indian interpreters to state what Anilco should say without omitting anything in order to see whether he said anything discourteous to Guachoya.

Having made a most profound obeisance to the governor, Anilco said that he would speak the truth without abusing anyone, and he begged his lordship to pardon him if he should be long-winded. So saying, he sat down again and, turning toward Guachoya, he addressed the following discourse to him, a little at a time, so that the interpreters could tell what he was saying as he proceeded.

“Guachoya, without any reason whatever, you have seen fit to belittle and abuse me before the governor and his gentlemen, when you should honor me because of what I have done for you and your state, as you know and as I shall tell later. I have the governor’s permission to reply to you and defend my honor. Do not contradict my true statements, because I shall prove them by your own vassals and servants to your greater shame and confusion.

“That which may not be true, or any unjustified boasting that I may do out of vanity and pride, I shall be pleased to have you contradict, because I desire that the governor and his whole army may know the truth or falsity of what you have said and see how unjustly you have said it. Therefore, do not stop me until I have finished.

“In saying that I am poor and that my parents and grandparents were also, you speak truly. They were not rich, but neither were they so poor as you have said. They always had possessions of their own on which to live, and through good fortune I have won in war from your spoils and those of other lords as great as you quite as much as I need to maintain my household

and family in a manner befitting my rank. Thus I can be counted among the wealthy whom you so esteem.

“As for your saying that I am of humble ancestry, you well know that you are not speaking the truth. Though my father and grandfather were not lords of vassals, my great-grandfather and all his ancestors were, and this nobility has been transmitted to my person without having been defiled in any way, so that in the matter of rank and lineage I am equal to you and to any lord of vassals in the whole vicinity.<sup>41</sup>

“You say that I am the vassal of another, and that is true, for we cannot all be lords, because the eldest son of a lord inherits his estate and the other brothers remain as subjects. But it is also true that neither my lord Anilco nor his father or grandfather have treated me or my family as vassals, but as near relatives, being descendants of the second son of their house and their own flesh and blood. Being such, we have never served him in minor and servile offices, but in the most important ones in his household. In my own case you know that I had scarcely reached the age of twenty when he chose me for his captain-general, and a little later he named me his lieutenant and governor for his whole state and seigniory. Thus for twenty years, in peace and war, I have been the second person of my lord Anilco. You know that since I became his captain-general I have won all the battles that I have fought against his enemies.

“I triumphed signally in a battle against your father and later over all the captains that he sent against me. And now recently, since you inherited your estate six years ago, you joined all your forces and went in search of me for the sole purpose of revenging yourself on me. I went out to meet you, joined battle, and overcame you, capturing at that time you and two of your brothers, and all the nobles and rich men of your country.

“If I had so desired, I could then have deprived you of your state and taken it for myself, for there was no one in it to oppose me, and the common people among your vassals would perhaps have been pleased rather than hostile if I had done so. But I not only did not seize your state, nor even consider doing so, but I entertained and served you in prison as if you had

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<sup>41</sup>This passage speaks of native nobility inherited through the male line, in a manner comprehensible to the European observers. Though it is impossible to emphatically rule this out, it is much more likely that nobility was inherited primarily through females, as in other South-eastern chiefdoms, in which case these Spaniards lacked the subtleties of communication necessary to understand this manner of inheritance in their efforts at translation.

been my lord rather than my prisoner, and I did the same with your brothers, vassals, and servants, down to the least of them. In the capitulations under which you and your people were released, I interceded for you, and it was due to my efforts that you left the prison, for without placing much confidence in the assurances [*palabras*] and promises that you made then, I was your guarantor and security for them. Thus when you broke them, as you did this past summer, I had the intention of returning you to prison, as I shall do when the Spaniards have gone. With their protection, they not understanding your evil purpose, you went to violate the temple and burial place of my lord Anilco and his ancestors, and to burn his houses and chief pueblo. You shall be called to account for it, I promise you.

“You say also that it is not fitting to accord the honor and esteem that is due a lord of vassals to him who is not so. You are right when he deserves to be a lord, but you know also that many subjects deserve to be lords, and that many lords are not even fit to be vassals and servants of others. If you had not inherited the rank of which you are so proud, you would never have been man enough to win it, and I who was born without it could have assumed it by taking it away from you if I had so desired. Inasmuch as it is not the part of men, but of women, to quarrel with words, let us resort to arms and prove which of the two deserves to be lord of vassals by reason of his virtue and strength.

“You and I will enter a canoe alone. They [the waters] go down the Río Grande to reach your country, and by another river that enters it seven leagues from here they go to mine; he who overcomes the other on the way will take the canoe to his own house. If you kill me, you will have avenged your injuries like a man, for you will fall heir to the advantages that my good fortune has given me, and to the honor and favor that these Castilians have done and are doing me, and also you will have satisfied the unreasonable envy and ill will that you hold against me. If I kill you, I shall prove to you that the merits of men do not consist in being very rich, nor in having many vassals, but in deserving them through their own virtue and courage.

“I make this reply to the words that you speak so unreasonably against my honor and ancestry, without my having offended you in any way unless you take offense at my having served my lord Anilco loyally and successfully. See whether there is anything in which you can contradict me, for I submit to proof so that these Spaniards may know that what I have said is true. If you are man enough to accept my challenge for us to go in the canoe, say whatever you like to me, and I will take satisfaction there for everything you have said against me.”

## XI

### THE SPANIARDS WOUND AN INDIAN SPY, AND THE COMPLAINT THAT THE CURACAS MADE ABOUT IT

The cacique Guachoya made no reply to all that the captain-general Anilco said to him, but he showed by the expression on his face that he was ashamed and put out of countenance at having started the discussion (for very often it happens that he who attempts to affront another is himself offended). Thus the governor and those who were with him inferred that what Anilco had said was true, and thenceforth they regarded him even more highly.

General Luis de Moscoso, having considered that the enmity of the caciques would result in damage and prejudice to him if he allowed it to go on—because, in making war on one another, they would not continue to supply the things needed for building the brigantines—told them that, since they were both his friends, it was not reasonable for them to continue to be hostile to one another, because the Castilians would not know to which one to go in making friendly advances. Thus he begged them to forget the enmity that had existed between them and be friends.

The curacas replied that it gave them pleasure to obey his lordship and promised him to say no more about the matter. The governor, however, not confiding in the friendly promises that Guachoya had made, feared that he might set an ambush on the road when Anilco should go to his house, in order to take revenge on him. Thus four days after the events we have described, when Anilco wished to leave, he ordered thirty cavalry to escort him until he reached safety. Although Anilco refused it and showed so little fear of his adversary that he said he did not need the cavalry, he took them on that occasion out of obedience to the governor, but many other times he came and went to his house with only ten or twelve Indians to accompany him so as to let the Spaniards understand that he had little or no fear of his enemies.

While these things were going on in the Castilians' camp, the curaca Quigualtanqui and his fellow conspirators did not cease their evil machinations, but in pursuit of them they sent many messengers, by day and by night, with presents and false messages. After having delivered them, they would walk all through the Spanish camp, feigning friendliness, observing attentively how the Christians kept watch at night, how they kept their

arms, and where the horses were, so as to make use in their treachery of any carelessness that our people might show. They paid no attention to the fact that the governor had ordered them repeatedly not to come at night. They came even more freely, because it seemed to them that, being friends, as they pretended to be, they were privileged to do all these things.

Gonzalo Silvestre, whom we have mentioned on other occasions, was exasperated by these actions of the Indians. Like the rest of the Spaniards, he had been ill and often at the point of death, but finding himself now convalescent and being on guard and sentry duty one night at one of the gates of the pueblo, standing the second watch, just at midnight by the light of a clear moon that was shining, he saw two Indians approach with long plumes on their heads and their bows and arrows in their hands. Having crossed the moat of water by a fallen tree that served as a bridge, they went directly to the gate. Gonzalo Silvestre said to the companion who was watching with him, who was named Juan Garrido, a native of the land of Burgos: "Here come two Indians, and I intend to stab in the face the first one who enters the gate, so that they will not come so shamelessly at night after the governor has forbidden it."

The Castilian replied: "Leave him to me, for I am somewhat stronger and you are weak and debilitated." Gonzalo Silvestre said: "Any attack that is made on them will be enough to frighten them." So saying, he prepared to receive the Indians, who were approaching. Seeing the gate, which was a small postern, standing open, they entered it without asking permission or speaking a word, as if they were going into their own house. The Spaniard's anger was doubled at seeing their boldness and fearlessness, and he stabbed the first one who entered in the forehead, from which he fell to the ground. He had scarcely fallen when he jumped up and, recovering his bow and arrows, he turned his back and ran, unable to fight any more. Gonzalo Silvestre did not wish to kill him, though he could have done so, because it seemed to him that what had been done was enough to frighten the Indians. The Indian companion of the wounded man, hearing the blow, began to run without waiting to see what had happened to his comrade. Gaining the tree across the moat, he passed over it and came to the place where he had left his canoe in the Río Grande. Without waiting for his friend, he jumped into it and crossed the river, giving the alarm to his people.

The wounded Indian, with the blood that was flowing in his eyes or in the fear he must have felt that they were pursuing him to finish killing him, jumped into the water of the moat and swam across it, shouting as he went to his companion, who had already reached safety. The Indians on the other

side of the river, hearing the shouts of the wounded man, went to his aid, shielding him and carrying him away with them.

On the next day at sunrise four principal Indians came to see the governor to complain in the name of Quigualtanqui and all the neighboring caciques that he should have violated the peace and friendship that had been formed among them with such an affront and insult to all of them generally, because they said that the wounded Indian was one of their chief men, closely related to them by marriage. Therefore they begged his lordship, for the satisfaction of them all, to order the soldier or captain who had done it to be executed publicly, for the Indian was mortally wounded.

At noon four other Indian chiefs came with the same demand, and said that the Indian was dying. At sunset four others came with the same complaint, saying that the Indian was now dead, and that they asked satisfaction for his death through that of the Spaniard who had killed him so unjustly.

## XII

### THE ACTIVITY OF THE SPANIARDS IN BUILDING THE BRIGANTINES, AND A MOST REMARKABLE FLOOD ON THE RÍO GRANDE

General Luis de Moscoso replied on all three occasions that he had not ordered the Indian to be wounded, because he desired to maintain the peace and friendship that he had made with Quigualtanqui and the other curacas; but that a soldier who was very proud of his profession and punctilious in observing military regulations had done so as a matter of duty. If he should attempt to punish him in order to give satisfaction to the caciques, the other soldiers and captains would not consent to it, because in strict justice and according to military rules the soldier had not been to blame in having performed his duty well. The wounded or dead Indian who had entered without speaking to the sentries, and the caciques who had sent him at that hour after being warned not to send messages at night, were to blame. Though there was now no remedy for what was past, in the future the caciques must do as they had been told to avoid conflicts that would break the peace and destroy the friendship that existed among them.

The ambassadors left with this reply, highly incensed, and gave it to the caciques, inciting them to greater wrath and anger at the audacity and dis-

dain of the Spaniards. Therefore all of them agreed that they would disregard the offense received in order to avenge it at the proper time and would further hasten the execution of the plot they had formed against them.

Nor was there lacking a captain among our men who upheld the Indians' quarrel, saying that it was a mistake not to punish the murder of a principal Indian, thereby giving the friendly caciques occasion to rebel against them. There would have been fine quarrels among the Spaniards over this opinion if the cooler and less passionate heads had not prevented them, for it had arisen from a certain secret grudge that existed among some of them.

It was already the beginning of March when the things that we have told took place, and to the Castilians in their eagerness to leave that country the days seemed like years. They never ceased to hasten their work on the brigantines, and most of those who labored at the forges and in the carpenters' shops were very noble gentlemen, who had never thought to perform such offices. They were the ones who proved most skillful in them because their better natural abilities and the great need of more skilled workmen had made experts of those who had never learned these trades.

We sometimes call these ships under construction brigantines and again caravels, after the usual custom of those Spaniards, who called them thus, but in reality they were neither the one nor the other. They were simply some large barks made in accordance with the few, poor and scanty resources that our people had for building them.

The captain-general Anilco was the moving spirit of this work because of the magnificent provision that he made of everything they requested for the brigantines. He supplied it so abundantly and so promptly that the Christians themselves admitted that, if it had not been for the favor and assistance of this good Indian, it would have been impossible for them to leave that country.

Other Spaniards who did not know how to work in iron or wood, they used for other things equally necessary, such as seeking food for all of them. These made special efforts to kill fish in the Río Grande, because it was Lent and they needed them. They made large and small hooks for the fishing, some of them managing to do it so skillfully and delicately that they seemed to have been engaged in this all their lives. They threw them into the water during the first night watch, baited and attached to long packthreads, and when they examined them in the morning they found extremely large fish caught on them.

There was one fish thus caught on a hook whose head alone weighed forty pounds, of sixteen ounces to each [pound]. With the industry of the



fishermen, who on most days caught an excess of fish, and with the abundance of maize, vegetables, and dried fruit that the Spaniards found in the two pueblos called Aminoya, they had plenty of food during all the time they were in that province, and they even had enough left over to take away later in the brigantines.

While the work on the caravels was proceeding, Quigaultanqui and the other curacas of the neighborhood were not idle. Each one of them separately mustered all the warriors he could in his own country so that they would be able to assemble between them thirty or forty thousand fighting men to make a surprise attack on the Spaniards. They hoped to kill them all or at least to burn all the supplies and equipment that they had prepared for the boats, so that they could not leave their country at that time. It seemed to them that later, by waging continuous warfare against them, they could wear them out gradually without any difficulty, because they saw already that there were few horses, which were their principal strength, and the men were now so few that they had been informed that two-thirds of those who had entered La Florida were gone. And they knew that their captain-general Hernando de Soto, who was worth all of them, was now dead. This information increased their desire to carry out their evil intentions, and they awaited only the day they had set for their treason.

This day must already have been near, because some of the Indians who were accustomed to bring the presents and false messages from the curacas, on meeting alone some Indian women who were servants of Captains Arias Tinoco and Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, said to them: "Be patient, sisters, and rejoice at the news that we are giving you. Very soon we shall rescue you from the captivity in which these thieving vagabonds are holding you, because you must know that we have planned to cut their throats and put their heads on every lance for the honor of our temples and burial places, and their bodies will be quartered and hung in the trees, for this is no more than they deserve." The Indian women immediately told their masters what these Indians had said to them.

Besides these signs, on clear nights the noise that the Indians made in various places was heard on the other side of the river, and many fires were visible, separated from one another. It was understood clearly that these were war parties that were assembling to carry out their treason.

For the time being God, our Lord, prevented this by a most excessive flood on the Río Grande. On those same days, which were about the eighth or tenth of March, a powerful flood of water began to come down. At first it began to cover some sand beaches that were between the channel of the river

and its banks; soon it was rising slowly over them until they were completely submerged. Then it began to overflow into the fields very rapidly and copiously, and as the land was flat, without any hills, there was no impediment to prevent its inundation.

On the eighteenth of March 1543, which that year fell on Palm Sunday, as appears from the calculations [made] before the ten-day rectification of the calendar year [a reference to the Gregorian calendar]—while the Spaniards were marching in the procession they formed, in spite of all their labors, to celebrate the entrance of our Redeemer into Jerusalem, in accordance with the observances of the holy Roman church, our Mother and Lady—the river rose so furiously and with such a rush that it entered the gates of the pueblo of Aminoya, and two days thereafter one could not go through the streets except in canoes.

It was forty days before this rise reached its greatest height, which was on the twentieth of April. It was a most wonderful thing to see what had been woods and fields made into a sea, because the river extended over more than twenty leagues of country on either side of its banks, and all this expanse was navigated in canoes. Nothing could be seen except the new growth at the top of the tallest trees. Telling of the flood on the river, Alonso de Carmona says at this point: “And we remembered the good old woman who prophesied this flood to us.” These are his own words.

## XIII

### THEY SEND A SPANISH CAPTAIN TO THE CURACA ANILCO FOR ASSISTANCE IN FINISHING THE BRIGANTINES

Because of such inundations this Río Grande and others that we have named in our *History* occasion with their floods, the Indians endeavor to settle on high places where there are hills, and where there are none they make them artificially, principally for the houses of their lords, both out of respect for their rank and so that they may not be inundated. They build the private houses three or four estados up from the ground mounted on thick beams that serve as pillars. These are joined together by other, crosswise beams that form the ground floor. Above this wooden foundation they erect the dwelling with its balconies on all four sides where they put their food

and other valuables, and there they take refuge during the great floods.<sup>42</sup> These do not occur every year, but depend upon the amount of snow in the previous winter, and rain in the following summer in the regions where the rivers have their sources. Thus the flood of that year 1543 was very great because of the large amounts of snow that we said had fallen during the previous winter, if it were not, as the old woman said, that the floods came every fourteen years. This can be ascertained when the land is conquered, as I expect it to be.

During the overflow of the river it was necessary to send out a squadron of twenty soldiers who went in four canoes, joined together two by two, for if they had gone singly, they might have been upset against the submerged trees that they might run against. The soldiers were to go to the pueblo of Anilco, which was twenty leagues from Aminoya, to ask for old blankets from which to make tow for caulking the brigantines, and for ropes for rigging, and for resin from trees for pitch. Although they had collected supplies of all these things they did not have enough to finish the work.

The twenty soldiers chose Gonzalo Silvestre to go with them as commander, both because he was a very good soldier and captain and because a few days before he had done a great service and favor for the curaca Anilco. This was that on the expedition that Governor Hernando de Soto made against the pueblo of Anilco in the preceding year, as we have said above, where the Indians of Guachoya committed such cruelties and burned the pueblo, Gonzalo Silvestre had captured a boy twelve or thirteen years old who happened to be the son of the cacique Anilco himself. He had taken him with him over the whole route that the Spaniards had traveled to the country that we call that of the Vaqueros, and had brought him back to the province of Aminoya where they then were. Of the five Indian servants whom he had taken with him on that journey, this boy alone remained, having escaped the recent illness. When the Spaniards returned to the Río Grande the curaca Anilco had made inquiries about his son, and learning that he was alive, being a friend of the Spaniards, he asked for him. Because of the many favors that the cacique had done them, Gonzalo Silvestre had given him up very willingly, though the boy, like a boy, had refused to go

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<sup>42</sup>This singular passage describing houses built on stilt pilings in the Mississippi Valley has been used to interpret certain archaeologically discovered post hole patterns in the same area and belonging to the Late Mississippian period. John M. Connaway, *The Wilsford Site (22-Co-516), Coahoma County, Mississippi: A Late Mississippian Period Settlement in the Northern Yazoo Basin of Mississippi*. Archaeological Report no. 14 (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1984).

with his people when he was turned over to them, because he was now attached to the Spaniards.

Because of this service that Gonzalo Silvestre had done the curaca Anilco, the governor chose him [for this task], as it seemed to him that, having placed the curaca under obligations to him by the restitution of his son, he could obtain more favors from him than anyone else in the army.

Silvestre set out with the twenty men of his party, and they took some of Anilco's own Indians for guides and oarsmen. On reaching the pueblo, he found that it had become an island and that the inundation of the river had spread five or six leagues farther, so that at that place it had gone twenty-five leagues beyond its bed.

As soon as the cacique Anilco knew that the Castilians were in his pueblo and who their commander was and what he had come to ask, he ordered his captain-general Anilco to be summoned and said to him: "Captain, show the desire and willingness that we have to serve the Spaniards by ordering that they be entertained and feasted more than I myself would be, and by giving them the supplies that they request for the brigantines as readily as if they were for ourselves, because of the love that we have for all of them and the particular obligation under which this captain has placed us by the restoration of my son. Note that I confide this to your person rather than to my own because I know that you will attend to it better than I, as you do everything I entrust to you."

Having given this order, he had Gonzalo Silvestre summoned, and directed that none of his men come with him, because he said that, since he had not received them as friends the first time they had come to his country, he was so chagrined and ashamed that he would feel all his life the regret and sorrow of that disgrace and reproach that he had brought upon himself, and that, because of this dereliction, he did not dare appear before the Spaniards.

He came out of his house to receive Gonzalo Silvestre and embraced him very affectionately, and took him to his apartment, being unwilling for him to leave it during all the time that the Castilians were in his pueblo. He enjoyed greatly talking with him and learning of the things that had happened to the Spaniards in that great kingdom, and which and how many provinces they had traveled through, and what battles they had fought, and many other things that they had experienced in that discovery. They entertained themselves in this manner during the days that Gonzalo Silvestre remained there, and the cacique's son, whom he had brought back to him, served as interpreter.

Among these conversations and others that they were accustomed to have, on one of the last days that Gonzalo Silvestre was with him the cacique said to him: "Well, Captain, neither Guachoya nor any of his people had ever had enough courage or boldness to set foot in any part of my state and seigniory, but he dared with the Castilians' protection to come to my pueblo and enter my own house, and pillage it shamelessly, with total lack of the respect that he ought to have had for me. He committed other insolences and cruelties upon the children and aged in such revenge as he had never hoped to take for his injuries. Not content with what he did to the living, he went on to insult the dead by taking the bodies of my parents and grandparents from their sepulchers and throwing them on the ground, dragging, trampling, and kicking the bones that I so revere. Finally, he dared to set fire to my pueblo and house, against the governor's will and that of all his Spaniards, for I am well informed about everything that happened then. I have no more to say about it except that you will leave this country, and we shall remain in it, and perhaps some day I shall even accounts for that lost game."

These are the very words that the cacique said to Gonzalo Silvestre, and he spoke them with all the feeling of outrage and anger that he could express. Thus it was understood why this curaca had shown and was showing such friendship for the Castilians; first because they had not been inclined to favor Guachoya against him, and second because, in order to avenge their insults, he desired that the Spaniards leave that country promptly. Therefore he had given and would give them so liberally the supplies that they requested for the brigantines, and thus he made every exertion and effort possible to grant their last petition, and soon gave them a supply of the blankets, ropes, and resin that they asked for in larger quantities than they had requested, or expected, for the Spaniards had been fearful when they came that through lack of the things they needed the cacique would be unable to give them enough.

Along with these supplies he gave them twenty canoes, and Indian warriors and servants and a captain to serve them and carry the baggage. On taking leave, he embraced Gonzalo Silvestre, and told him to make his excuses to the governor for not having gone in person to kiss his hands; and he said that, with regard to the league of Quigualtanqui and his confederates, he would advise him in time of what they were plotting against the Castilians. Gonzalo Silvestre returned to the governor with this message and gave him an account of what had happened to him on that journey.

## XIV

### EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE DURING THE RISING AND RECEDING OF THE RÍO GRANDE, AND THE WARNING THAT ANILCO GAVE OF THE LEAGUE

During all the time that the flood in the Río Grande lasted, which was forty days, the Spaniards did not cease to carry on the work on the brigantines, though the water hindered them. But they went up into the large houses that we said they had built high above the ground, which they called dockyards, and there they labored with such dexterity and industry in all the crafts that they made even the charcoal for the forges inside those houses, in the wooden garrets overhead. They made it from branches that they cut from trees that stood up out of the water, as there was then no other wood, or firewood, all of it being under water. Those who aided most notably in these labors, not only as assistants, but as if they had been master workmen in iron work, carpentry, and caulking, were two gentlemen who were brothers, named Francisco Osorio and García Osorio, very close relatives of the house of Astorga. In Spain, Francisco Osorio was a lord of vassals.

Though they were of such high rank, they applied themselves to all this necessary labor with the same promptness, skill, and dexterity that they had always shown when it was necessary to fight, and their good example inspired all the other Spaniards, nobles or otherwise, to do the same, for work always inspires imitation more readily than giving orders.

As the inundation caused by the floodwaters of the Río Grande was so excessive, all the warriors whom the caciques of the league had raised against the Castilians were dispersed, because it was necessary and imperative for all of them to go to their pueblos and houses to arrange and put in a safe place everything that was in them. Thus for the time being our Lord prevented these Indians from carrying out their evil purpose, of killing the Spaniards or burning their boats. Though their men were dispersed, the curacas did not abandon their evil purpose, and to conceal it they continually sent messages of pretended friendship. The governor replied to them with all the dissimulation possible, leading them to believe that he was ignorant of their treachery. But with all this he did not cease to be cautious and watchful in all necessary matters, so that his enemies would not harm him.

At the end of April the river began to recede as slowly as it had risen, and even on the twentieth of May the Castilians could not walk through the

pueblo except in their bare feet and bare-legged, because of the water and mud in the streets.

This going barefoot was one of the hardships that our Spaniards felt most of all among those that they endured on this discovery. For after the battle of Mauvila, where their extra clothing and footwear were burned, they were forced to go without shoes. Though it is true that they made some, they were of untanned leather and of deerskins, with soles of the same that became a shapeless mass as soon as they were wet. Though they might have used the abilities they showed in other, more important and difficult things in making hemp sandals such as the Spaniards in México and El Perú and other places make, they could not do so on this expedition to La Florida because they found no hemp or other material of which to make them. The same thing happened to them with regard to clothing, for as they found no blankets made of wool or cotton, they dressed in deerskin, and a single short garment served them as shirt, doublet, and coat. Since they had to march and cross rivers and work in the rain, having no woolen clothing to protect themselves from it, they were forced to go about almost continuously wet, and as we have seen they were often perishing of hunger, eating herbs and roots because they had nothing else. From the little that we have told in our *History* and shall tell before it is ended, any discerning person can infer the innumerable, and never sufficiently described or even half-told labors that the Spaniards endured in the discovery, conquest, and settlement of the New World, so profitless to themselves and their sons, for as one of the latter I can testify well to it.

At the end of May the river was back in its bed, having gathered up its waters, which had been so widely dispersed and extended over those lowlands. As soon as the country could be traversed, the caciques again called to the field the warriors whom they had made ready and went out with the determination of executing their enterprise and evil plans promptly. When the good captain-general Anilco learned of it he went to visit the governor, as was his custom, and on his own behalf and that of his cacique he secretly gave him a very detailed account of everything that Quiguatlanqui and his allies had planned to the detriment of the Spaniards. He said that on a certain future day each curaca would send his ambassadors separately, and they would do this so that their league and treason would not be suspected, as it might be if they should all come together. As further proof that he was speaking the truth and knew the caciques' secret plans, he told what each ambassador would say on his mission and the gift and present he would bring in sign of friendship. Some would come in the morning, others at

noon, and others in the evening, and these embassies would continue for four days. This was the time that the allied caciques had set and designated for assembling the last of the warriors and attacking the Spaniards. Their intention was to kill all of them, and if they could not accomplish this purpose, at least they would burn the boats so that they could not leave their country. They planned to exterminate them later at their leisure with the continuous warfare that they would wage against them.

General Anilco, after having told everything pertaining to the treason of the curacas, said: "Sir, my cacique and lord Anilco offers your lordship eight thousand warriors, chosen men and feared by all their neighbors, with whom your lordship can resist and attack your enemies, and I offer to come with them personally and [if need be] die in your service.

"My lord says also that, if your lordship desires to withdraw to his country, he offers it immediately for everything that may be conducive to your service, and he begs your lordship very affectionately to accept his friendship and his state and seignior, and to make use of all of it as if it were your own. Your lordship may be assured that, if you go to the state of my lord Anilco, you will be safe from attacks by your enemies. Meanwhile your lordship can order that which seems best to you."

## XV

### THE PUNISHMENT THAT WAS GIVEN TO THE AMBASSADORS OF THE LEAGUE AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SPANIARDS UNTIL THEY EMBARKED

The governor, having heard the warning that the captain-general Anilco gave of the caciques' treachery, and the offers that he made him on behalf of his cacique and himself, thanked him earnestly for both and told him with very affectionate words that he would not accept the assistance of fighting men, in order that his curaca Anilco might not incur the hatred and enmity of the other curacas and Indians of the vicinity in the future because of having favored the Castilians so openly. Furthermore, because he was intending to leave so soon and go down the river, it was not necessary to make war against the enemy. For the same reasons he would not accept the good company of his person as captain-general, though he knew of his great brav-



ery, and how important his support and assistance would be to the Spaniards if they had to overcome their enemies by fighting. Inasmuch as he must go, he did not wish to leave him hated by and at enmity with his neighbors, or that they should know anything about his having warned them against the league. For the same reason, and because for the time being it was not convenient for him to make an establishment in that kingdom, he refused to withdraw to his country. But although he could not take advantage of the offers that he and his cacique made him, at least he accepted the good intentions of both of them, to remember them and the obligation that their words and deeds had placed upon him and the whole Spanish nation. He would endeavor to repay it if the occasion should ever be offered him, and a report and memorial of it would be duly given to his lord the king of Castilla, who was emperor and chief of all the Christian kings, lords, and princes. He should know what they had done for his vassals and servants the Castilians, and he would order a memorandum to be made of it in writing for the gratification of his Majesty or the kings his descendants. He left his pledge and promise to them and their sons and successors as repayment for the benefits they had conferred upon them. With these words the governor took leave of Captain Anilco and was ready for what might come in the future, having consulted about it with his captains and principal soldiers.

Four days after the warning, which was at the beginning of June of the year 1543, the ambassadors of the caciques of the league arrived, in the same order and manner that Anilco had said, some in the morning, others at noon, and others in the evening. They brought the same verbal messages and the same gifts that Anilco had mentioned as a sign of their treason.

This being seen by the governor, he ordered that they be seized and each one put in a place by himself to be questioned about their league and conspiracy. When this was done the Indians did not deny it, but confessed very openly all the preparations they had made to kill the Spaniards and burn their boats.

So that the punishment that had to be inflicted upon the Indian ambassadors would not fall upon so many of them as would be the case if they should wait for all of them to arrive, the general ordered that it be carried out promptly upon those whom they had taken that day. They would give the word to the rest that their treachery was found out, and they would not send more ambassadors.

Their confessions having been taken, on the same day that they came they visited upon them the punishment for their caciques' wrongdoings. The reward for their embassy was to cut off the right hands of thirty of them.

They came up so patiently to receive the punishment that was given them that one severed hand was scarcely removed from the block when another was placed there to be cut off. This aroused the pity and compassion of those who saw it.

The punishment of the ambassadors broke up the league of their curacas, because they said that since the Castilians knew of their hostile plans they would be on guard and prepared so as not to be harmed. Thus each cacique returned to his own country, vexed at not having carried out his evil intentions. They kept these [intentions] in mind to show them again on some future occasion, and because they knew they were more powerful on the water than on land, they planned among themselves that each one would make ready as many men and canoes as he could to pursue the Spaniards when they should go down the river, where they were planning to kill them all.

Having seen that the great league and conspiracy that the curacas had formed against them was an actuality, the governor and his captains thought it would be well to leave their lands as soon as they could, before the enemy should form another, worse one. In this determination they hastened the work of completing the brigantines even more than before, though up to that time they had not been lazy.

Our Spaniards built seven little caravels, and since they did not have enough nails to cover them entirely, they covered one space at the stern and another at the prow on which they could place the ship-stores. They laid some loose planks across the center to make a deck, and by raising one of them up they could draw out the water that they might have taken in.

With the same industry that they had shown in building the boats, they collected the supplies they thought would be needed, asking the friendly caciques Anilco and Guachoya for stores of Indian corn and other grains and dried fruits that were in their country.

They butchered the hogs, which they had hitherto kept for breeding in spite of all their past hardships, and they still reserved eighteen of them, because they had not lost hopes of making a settlement near the sea if they should find a good situation. They gave three, two females and one male for breeding, to each of the friendly caciques. The meat of those that they killed was salted for the journey, and they used the lard in place of oil for softening the resin obtained from trees, so as to make it thin and liquid enough to run, it being used to pitch the brigantines.

They provided canoes to carry the horses that they had remaining, these being a few more than thirty. The canoes were fastened together by twos, so

that the horses could be carried with their fore feet in one and their hind feet in the other. Besides the canoes for the horses, each brigantine carried one at the stern to serve as a ship's boat.

Alonso de Carmona says here that they killed twenty of the fifty horses that remained, these being the ones that were lame and most useless, and that in order to kill them they tied them one night to separate stakes and opened their veins, allowing them to bleed to death. This was done with much sadness on the part of their masters and to the grief of all of them because of the good service the horses had performed. The meat was par-boiled and put in the sun to preserve it, and thus they kept it as ship-stores for their voyage. The things that we have told being finished, they launched the brigantines into the water on the day of the great precursor St. John the Baptist, and in the five days until the eve of [the day of] the princes of the church—St. Peter and St. Paul—they busied themselves in embarking the ship-stores and the horses, and in dressing the brigantines and the canoes with boards and skins of animals as a defense against arrows. Two days before they embarked, they took leave of the cacique Guachoya and the captain-general Anilco so that they could go to their own countries; they begged them to be true friends, and they promised that they would be. Then on the same day of the Apostles they embarked, having ordered to go as captains of the seven brigantines those whom we shall name in the following book and chapter.



SIXTH BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF LA FLORIDA,  
BY THE INCA

*It contains the election of the Captains for the voyage; the multitude of canoes that opposed the Spaniards; the order and manner of their fighting, which lasted eleven days without ceasing; the death of forty-eight Castilians because of the rashness of one of them; the return of the Indians to their homes; the arrival of the Spaniards at the Sea; an encounter they had with the people of the coast; the events of their fifty-five days of navigation until they reached Pánuco; the many quarrels that they had there among themselves, and the reason for them; the good reception that the imperial City of México gave them; and how they were scattered through various parts of the World.*

*It contains twenty-two chapters.*



# I

## THEY CHOOSE CAPTAINS FOR THEIR CARAVELS, AND THE SPANIARDS EMBARK ON THEIR VOYAGE

Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado embarked on the caravel that served as flagship, being governor and captain-general of them all, as he was on land. Juan de Alvarado and Cristóbal Mosquera, the governor's brothers, were captains of the vice-admiral. They called these two brigantines or caravels by the names of flagship and vice-admiral; the others they called simply the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. The accountant Juan de Añasco and the factor Biedma were captains of the third caravel. Captain Juan de Guzmán and the treasurer Juan Gaytán were captains of the fourth brigantine; Captains Arias Tinoco and Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, of the fifth. Pedro Calderón and Francisco Osorio were captains of the sixth brigantine. Juan de Vega, a native of Badajoz who has been mentioned on other occasions, and García Osorio embarked in the seventh and last caravel as its captains. All these gentlemen were of noble blood and famous for their exploits, and had conducted themselves accordingly in the incidents of this journey and discovery. Two captains were named for each brigantine so that, when one might go ashore for some purpose, the other could remain in the caravel to manage it.

Under the command and direction of the captains just named, there embarked with them 350 Spaniards, rather less than more, nearly a thousand having entered that land. As many as twenty-five or thirty Indians, men and women, embarked with them, having been brought in their service from distant countries. They alone had escaped from the sickness and death that they had experienced during the past winter. All the rest of the more than eight hundred had died, and these thirty embarked and went with the Spaniards because they did not wish to stay with Guachoya or Anilco, because of the love they had for their masters. They said they preferred dying with them to living in foreign lands, and the Spaniards did not force them to remain, for it seemed very ungrateful and not in accordance with the love the Indians showed for them, as well as a great cruelty to abandon them so far from their homes.

On the same day of the Apostles—a day of such solemnity and gladness for all Christendom, though sad and lamentable for these Castilians because of the momentous thing that they did on it, which was to abandon and give

up for lost all the fruits of the many labors that they had undergone in that land, and the reward and recompense for the great exploits that they had performed—they set sail, at sunset. They navigated by sail and oar all that night and the following day and night without any molestation from the enemy.

Each brigantine had seven oars to a side, with which all those who were in the boat rowed by turns for their assigned time, without excepting anyone unless it were the captains. The distance by the river that our Spaniards navigated during the two nights and the day was understood to coincide with the district and limits of the province of Guachoya, which as we mentioned above extended down the river. Inasmuch as Guachoya had shown himself to be a friend of the Spaniards, the Indians had not wished to attack them while they were traveling within his territory. Or perhaps it was due to some superstition and observance connected with the crescent or waning moon, which was near its conjunction, such as the Germans had, as Julius Caesar writes in his *Commentaries*. The exact reason they did not pursue them those first two nights and day is not known.

But on the second day there arrived at dawn a most handsome fleet of more than a thousand canoes, which the curacas of the league had assembled against the Spaniards. Because those of this Río Grande were the largest and finest that our people saw in the whole of La Florida, it will be well to give here a particular description of them, since from now on we shall have battles on the water to describe, rather than those on land.

## II

### DIFFERENT KINDS OF RAFTS THAT THE INDIANS MADE FOR CROSSING RIVERS

In the language of the Indians of the island of Española and its vicinity a *canoa*<sup>43</sup> is the same thing as a bark or small caravel without a deck. They call them all by the same name unless it is in the Río Grande of Cartagena, where, because they are larger, they call them pirogues. The Indians of every part of the New World, particularly in the islands and maritime countries, make them large or small according to the materials they have at hand. They

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<sup>43</sup>From the Arawakan word *canoa*, borrowed by the Spaniards, comes the English “canoe.”



seek the thickest trees they can find, shape them like a trough, and make them all in one piece, because their invention does not extend to making a boat with planks nailed to its ribs, one above the other. Neither do they have iron, nor know how to make nails; much less do they have forges, or understand caulking, or seeking pitch or tow, or making sails, rigging, cables, anchors, and the many other things that are necessary for the construction of ships. They only make use of what nature (in the things their own ingenuity does not attain) points out to them with her finger. Thus for crossing rivers and navigating the sea, the little that they do navigate it, where they do not find timber as large as is required for canoes (that is, throughout El Perú and its coast), they make rafts of a light wood similar to that of fig trees, which the Indians say grows in the provinces near Quito. They take it from there by order of the Incas to all the large rivers of El Perú, and they make the rafts of five logs joined together. The log in the center is longer than the others, the first two on either side are somewhat shorter, and the second two shorter still, for they can go through the water better thus than with the front [of the raft] entirely even. I crossed on some of them that were still in use from the time of the Incas.

They also make them of a thick bundle of reeds as large as the body of a horse, the bundle being tied very firmly and tapered to a sharp point projecting upward in front like the prow of a bark, so that it will cut the water. In the back it has a breadth of two tercias. On the upper part of the bundle of reeds they make a flat space or small platform where they put the cargo or the man who is to cross over the river. They charge him very strictly that he is by no means to move from the position in which they place him on the raft, secured by its fastenings, nor to raise his head from where it is placed face down on the raft, nor even to open his eyes to look at anything.

Once when I was crossing a large and swift river in this manner (it is on such rivers that the Indians caution their passengers as told above, rather than on the small and gently flowing streams, with which they do not concern themselves), because of the excessive warnings that the Indian boatman gave me not to open my eyes—for I being a boy he tried to make me fear that the earth would sink in or the heavens fall—I had an irresistible desire to look and see whether I could catch sight of some enchantment or something from the other life, and thus when I felt that we were in the middle of the river I raised my head a little and looked up at the water. And indeed it seemed to me that we were falling down from the sky, which was because of giddiness caused by the exceedingly swift current of the river and because of the fury with which the raft was cutting through the water, going with the

current. It forced me to close my eyes and confess that the Indians are right in ordering that they shall not be opened. Only one Indian goes on each of these reed rafts. In order to navigate it, he bestrides the extreme end of the stern and, throwing himself on his chest on the raft, he paddles with both hands and feet and guides the raft along with the current until he puts it across the river. In other places they make rafts of matted calabashes fastened together until they form a flat surface a vara and a half square, more or less. In front they fasten a sort of breast-strap like that on a horse's saddle through which the Indian boatman puts his head and begins to swim, carrying the raft and its cargo above him until he crosses the river, bay, creek, or arm of the sea. If necessary he has one or two Indians go behind to help him, who swim and push the raft.

In other places where the rivers do not permit navigation because of their strong and furious currents, and where there are no places to embark and disembark because of the many rocks and cliffs and the absence of beaches, they run a thick cable from one side of the river to the other and fasten it to large trees or strong projecting rocks. A large basket with a wooden handle the size of one's arm runs back and forth on this cable. It has a capacity of three or four persons and carries two ropes, one on either side. They pull the basket with these to draw it from one side of the river to the other. As the cable is long and has a large curve or drop in the center, it is necessary to release the basket a little at a time, lowering it to the middle of the cable, and then to pull it up by main strength along the other half from the other side. There are Indians for this purpose, whose business it is to take travelers across, and those who go in the basket help lower and raise it by catching hold of the cable. I remember having crossed by this means two or three times, as a boy less than ten years old, and on the roads the Indians carried me on their backs. The Indians take their cattle across by this method, with much labor, for they hobble them and put them into the basket. They do the same with the smaller animals from Spain, such as sheep, goats, and hogs, but the large animals, such as horses, mules, asses, and cows, because of their strength and weight, are not carried in the baskets. They take them over other crossings such as bridges or fords. This method of crossing by the cable and basket is only for people on foot, and it is not found on the main highways, but on the private ones that the Indians have between their pueblos.

These are the methods of crossing rivers that the Indians have in El Perú, in addition to the bridges that they make of willows and reeds or rushes, as we shall tell in the appropriate place, if God is pleased to give us life.

But throughout the land of La Florida that our Spaniards traversed, because of the great abundance of large trees there suitable for canoes, the Indians do not use any other means of crossing the rivers except these, though as we have seen the Spaniards made rafts at certain places.

### III

#### THE SIZE OF THE CANOES AND THE OSTENTATION AND ORDER THE INDIANS OBSERVED WITH THEM

Returning, then, to the subject of our *History*, we said that among the many canoes that were found to be following the Spaniards at dawn on the second day of their navigation, some extraordinarily large ones were seen that caused amazement. Those that were flagships and others similar to them were so large that they had as many as twenty-five oars per side, and in addition to the oarsmen, they carried twenty-five or thirty warriors, stationed in their order from bow to stern. Thus there were many canoes with a capacity of seventy-five or eighty men, who went in them placed in such manner that they could all fight without getting in one another's way. The oarsmen also took their bows and arrows in the canoes for munitions. These [canoes], even though so large, are made in a single piece, and it is to be noted that there are such fine trees in that country.

From these largest ones that we have mentioned, the size of the canoes diminished down to the small ones that had fourteen oars to a side, there being none in this fleet smaller than these. The oars usually are a fathom long, rather more than less, and the blades of the oars are three handbreadths long and a *tercia* in width. They are made all in one piece and are so smooth and highly polished that even horsemen's lances could not be more so. When one of these canoes goes with all hands rowing hard it is so swift that a horse running full speed hardly has the advantage of it.

For rowing evenly and in time, those Indians have made up various songs with different tunes, quick or slow, according to their speed or slowness in rowing. The themes of these songs are the exploits their ancestors or other foreign captains have performed in war, with whose memory and recollection they are incited to battle and to triumph and victory therein.

There is another remarkable and unusual peculiarity to tell concerning the canoes that were flagships of this fleet and those which belonged to the rich

and powerful men. This is that each one individually was painted inside and out, even to the oars, with a single color, as for example blue, or yellow, white, red, green, rose, violet, black, or some other color, if there are any more than those mentioned. This was in accordance with the blazon or the fancy of the captain or curaca or rich and powerful man to whom the canoe belonged. Not only the canoes, but also the oarsmen and their oars, and the soldiers, down to the plumes and the skeins of thread that they wore wound about their foreheads as a headdress, and even their bows and arrows, were all tinted with this one color, without the admixture of any other. Even bands of horsemen who intended to take part in a tournament with reed spears could not have come out more meticulously arrayed than these Indians came in their canoes. As they came in such numbers and with so many different colors, and maintained such good order and arrangement, and as the river was very wide and they could spread out in every direction without disturbing their order, they presented a most beautiful sight to the eye.

In this grand and imposing manner the Indians followed the Spaniards on the second day until noon, without molesting them in any way, so that they could thus see and enjoy better the sight of their handsome and powerful fleet. They followed behind them rowing to the sound of their songs, and among other things that they said (according to the interpretation of the Indians whom the Spaniards had with them) was to praise and aggrandize their own strength and bravery and to condemn the weakness and cowardice of the Castilians. They said that now the cowards were fleeing from their arms and forces, and that the thieves feared their justice, and that it would do them no good to flee from the country, for all of them would soon die in the water; and that, if they would soon be food for birds and dogs on land, in the river they would make them food for the fishes and marine animals, and thus their iniquities and the vexation that they were giving the whole world would be ended. They came saying these and other similar things, and they rowed to the sound of them. At the end of every song they raised a great shout and outcry.

## IV

### THE MANNER IN WHICH THE INDIANS FOUGHT THE SPANIARDS WHILE DESCENDING THE RIVER

The Indians, having examined the Spaniards' fleet, small in number but great in quality and force, followed it until noon without molesting it in any way; after that hour the canoes divided into three equal parts, forming a vanguard, a center, and a rear guard. Among those in advance in the first party went the canoes of the curaca Quigualtanqui, captain-general of the leagues of the caciques on water and on land. It was not known for certain whether he himself came in one of them, but in the songs they sang and in the other shouts they gave the Indians called out his name very distinctly.

The canoes, divided into three groups, all followed the right bank of the river, going downstream. Those in the vanguard, forming a long and narrow squadron, advanced upon the Castilians' caravels, not for the purpose of attacking them, but in order to pass in front of them, leaving them to their left, so as to be able to discharge arrows at them more advantageously. Thus they crossed the river obliquely from one bank to the other and sent a shower of arrows upon the caravels, in such quantities that the boats were covered with them from top to bottom, and many Spaniards were wounded, the oblong and round shields they carried proving to afford them little protection.

The first canoes, having passed and reached the left bank of the river, immediately went ahead to the right to resume their former position. Meanwhile the canoes of the second division engaged the brigantines in the same order that the first ones had done, and having discharged their arrows and reached the left bank, they immediately returned to the right and took up their position ahead of the first canoes.

The canoes of the second squadron had scarcely finished passing by the brigantines when those of the third attacked in the same manner and order as the others. After discharging another shower of arrows, they went back to the right bank and placed themselves in front of the second squadron.

As the caravels did not cease navigating (though the Indians were molesting them), they now reached the place where the first canoes were. The latter, seeing them in a good position, attacked them a second time, repeating their first performance; then the second and third divisions did the same

thing, always returning to their position at the right bank after discharging their arrows.

In this manner, as if in a very well-executed tournament with reed spears, advancing to discharge their arrows and then falling back to their positions, the Indians pursued the Castilians that whole day, not allowing them to rest a moment. At night they did the same, though not as continuously as during the day, for they contented themselves with making only two assaults, one during the first watch and the other just before dawn.

When the Indians first attacked them, the Spaniards, notwithstanding that they had the canoes that were carrying the horses fastened behind [their boats], stationed men in them to defend them, believing that the fighting would be hand to hand. Seeing, however, that they could do no good because the enemy would not come within reach of their swords but wounded them with arrows from a distance, and seeing that the Christians who were in the canoes were being badly injured because of their exposed position, they took them back into the brigantines, leaving the horses with the poor defense of the large shields and the shelters they had made for them with the skins of animals.

This same battle and strife the Indians had with the Spaniards on the first day and night proceeded continuously for ten days and nights with no change or innovation whatever. We shall not write of them in detail in order to avoid tediousness, and also because nothing extraordinary took place other than the things described in connection with the first day. It must be told only that during this time they killed almost all the horses with arrows, no more than eight remaining, which happened to be better protected.

Though all of them were wounded, not one escaping, the Spaniards defended themselves from the Indians with their oblong and round shields, and fired upon them with some crossbows they carried. They had used up all the harquebuses in making nails for the brigantines, because aside from the fact that their need of iron forced them to do so, they had been of little use throughout this expedition and discovery because of the little practice and experience that our harquebusiers then had. To this were added the poor facilities they had for making powder after the battle of Mauvila, because the supply they had brought was burned there. For these reasons the Indians not only had not feared the harquebuses but were contemptuous and made fun of them. Therefore our people did not bring them.

## V

### WHAT HAPPENED ON THE ELEVENTH DAY OF THE SPANIARDS' NAVIGATION

After the ten days of continuous warfare and fighting that the Indians had with the Spaniards, they desisted from it and withdrew their canoes a little more than half a league from the brigantines. Our people passed on, proceeding with their voyage, and saw near the riverbank a small pueblo of some eighty houses. As it appeared that the Indians had now left them and that they ought already to be near the sea, because they believed that they had traveled more than two hundred leagues during those days, as they had always navigated with both sails and oars (though contending with the enemy) and the river made no turns that would have detained them, they thus desired to provide themselves with food for the sea voyage. Word was sent to all the brigantines that all those who wished to go to the pueblo for maize should go with the commander who had been chosen.

A hundred soldiers went ashore and took the eight horses that remained so that they might rest and recover themselves and be ready for fighting if the necessity arose.

The Indians of the pueblo, seeing that the Spaniards were coming to it, abandoned it and raised the alarm, calling for help with many shouts and outcries and fleeing through the fields. Our men reached the houses after a hasty march. They were about two harquebus-shots from the river, and they found in them much maize, an abundance of several kinds of dried fruit, a large quantity of white deerskins and also some tinted in all colors, and many mantles made of different kinds of skins very well dressed. Among the latter they found a strip of extremely fine marten-skins eight varas long and four tercias wide. It was folded crosswise, making it double-faced and about the width of silk. It was decorated all over at intervals with strings of pearls and seed pearls, each one a separate tuft made like a tassel and placed in a regular design. It was believed to be a standard or some insignia used in their festivals, celebrations, and dances, because it was not suitable for personal adornment nor for a bed or a dwelling. Gonzalo Silvestre took this piece, he being the commander of those who went ashore, and with it and all the maize, fruit, and deerskins that they could carry on their backs they hurriedly returned to the brigantines, from which the trumpets had been summoning them very insistently. At the shout raised by the Indians of the

pueblo, calling for help, both those in the canoes and those in the fields had come running to their assistance, and as there were few of them ashore, many had come from the canoes to join them and strengthen their forces and spirits for the battle.

Thus the enemy came up with great impetus and ferocity, by water and by land, to defend the pueblo and attack the Spaniards. The latter embarked in their canoes as hastily as they had gone ashore, and in their hurry to reach the brigantines they were forced to abandon the horses, because the swiftness and fury of the Indians made it impossible to embark them without all of them being cut off and killed. They were in such danger that, if the Indians on the river or on the shore had advanced a hundred paces more, none of them would have been able to embark in the brigantines, but God succored them and saved them from death that day.

Seeing that the Spaniards had reached safety, the enemy turned their fury against the horses they had left on land. Taking off their headstalls and halters so that they would not prevent their running, and the saddles so that they would not protect them from arrows, they turned them into the fields and then, as if they were deer, they shot arrows at them until they saw that they were down, with extreme joy and satisfaction.

Thus on this day the last of the horses perished that had entered La Florida for its discovery and conquest. They had numbered 350, and on none of the expeditions that have been made to the New World up to the present have so many and such good horses been seen together.

On seeing their horses killed when they were unable to help them, the Castilians felt the greatest grief and wept for them as if they had been their children. But seeing themselves saved from a similar fate, they gave thanks to God and proceeded on their voyage. This happened on the twelfth day of their navigation.

## VI

### THE INDIANS ALMOST CAPTURE A CARAVEL, AND THE MAD ACTION OF A RECKLESS SPANIARD

The Indians, having found out that however they might pursue the Spaniards they did not accomplish what they desired, which was to kill all of them, but on the contrary caused them to navigate in better order and con-



cert, without separating from one another, made use of a stratagem of war. This was that they drew off from the brigantines or caravels in the hope that they would become careless and separate from each other, thus giving an opportunity of destroying them when they were divided. With this scheme they stayed upstream, letting it be understood that they were leaving the caravels alone; the latter were then sailing with a favorable wind. Proceeding thus with their voyage, one of them separated from the others, without any reason whatsoever, and fell out of the order in which all of them were sailing, remaining less than a hundred paces behind.

The Indians, seeing that their strategy and cunning were not without result, did not want to lose the occasion that was offered them, and thus they advanced swiftly upon the caravel from all directions and came alongside to subdue and capture it by main force.

The other six that were going on ahead, on noting the carelessness of their companion, lowered their sails and rowed back as fast as possible to its aid. Though the distance was short, since it was against the current of the river they ascended with much difficulty and labor, and when they reached the brigantine they found the Castilians who were in it so hard-pressed by this deluge of Indians that had fallen upon them that they were defending themselves with their swords. They could not get to all the places where they were needed, by which the enemies were entering the caravel. Some of them were already in it and many others had hold of it, but upon the arrival of our men they withdrew to a distance, taking with them the canoe that was fastened to the caravel's stern, containing five of the pigs they had reserved for breeding if they should make a settlement somewhere. This is what happened on the thirteenth day of the Spaniards' navigation. Attributing it to the mercy of God that they had not lost the caravel, they gathered themselves together and cautioned one another anew that all of them be careful not to fall behind or get out of order, so as not to incur another such attack and danger. Thus they navigated two more days, and the Indians always came less than a quarter of a league behind them, waiting for our people to commit some other imprudence in order to take advantage of it.

Our Spaniards navigated very cautiously and vigilantly, seeing how alert the Indians were not to lose an occasion for attacking them. But all the care they took was not enough, because on the sixteenth day of their voyage a misfortune and loss took place that caused much grief and sadness. It was even more lamentable in that the cause was foolish and absurd and not occasioned by any danger that forced or impelled them to risk the lives of forty-eight of the best and bravest men in the fleet, who were lost [on this occa-

sion]. But there is no authority that can prevent the foolish actions of a reckless person, because a madman can destroy more than what a hundred sensible ones can build up. So that the misfortune of our people may be better understood, permit me to tell it fully as it happened, and to tell who was the cause of so much trouble and damage.

Among the Spaniards in this fleet there was one named Esteban Añez, a rustic who was a native of Villanueva de Barcarrota. He had brought to La Florida a horse that though of crude proportions was strong and stout, for which reason, or more probably because no arrows struck him in a vital spot, he had served until the end of the expedition and was one of the few that the Castilians embarked in the brigantines for the voyage of which we are telling.

Inasmuch as Esteban Añez, then, had always traveled on horseback and had taken part in many of their past dangers, though he had done nothing notable in the course of them, he had won and maintained a reputation for bravery. With this, helped along by his rustic and ordinary nature, he had become presumptuous and foolish. As proof of his madness he left his caravel and got into the canoe that it carried at the stern, saying that he was going to talk to the governor, who was ahead. Five other Spaniards went with him, whom he had deceived by telling that all six of them were to perform an exploit that would be the most famous and notable of all those that had taken place on the whole discovery. They were easily persuaded because they were all young, and among them was a gentleman twenty years old, a natural son of Don Carlos Enríquez, who died in the battle of Mauvila. He had the same name as his father and was of as graceful person and handsome face as it was possible for a human being to be. Even at this early age he had shown himself both in skill with arms and in the virtues of his life and habits to be a worthy son of such a father. Ambitious to win the honor that Esteban Añez promised them, this gentleman and four others entered the canoe, and under pretext of going to talk with the governor they left the caravel. When they were at a distance from it they charged toward the Indians, shouting loudly: "Toward them, for they are fleeing!"

The governor and the other captains of the caravels, on seeing the foolish thing that these six Spaniards were doing, hastily ordered the trumpeters to sound the assembly and shouted and made signs to them to watch out for the danger into which they were going, telling them to return to their caravel. But the more our men shouted to him the more Esteban Añez persisted in his rash madness and refused to come back. On the other hand he signaled for all the caravels to follow him.

Seeing this madman's disobedience, the governor ordered that thirty or forty Spaniards go after him in the canoes that the brigantines carried at their sterns, with the determination to order him hanged as soon as they should bring him back. But it would have been better to have left him to the Indians for punishment, who would have cured his madness, as they did, and not to send many others to their deaths to be lost for one who was lost already.

## VII

### THE INDIANS KILL FORTY-EIGHT SPANIARDS BECAUSE OF THE IMPRUDENCE OF ONE OF THEM

In response to the governor's commands, forty-six Spaniards quickly jumped into their canoes to bring back Esteban Añez. One of them was Captain Juan de Guzmán, who was very fond of going in a canoe and managing it himself. Although all the soldiers in his caravel begged him to stay, he would not consent to do so but was angered by their importunities, especially by those of Gonzalo Silvestre, who, as his best friend, was the one who most opposed his going and offered to go in his place. He replied angrily, saying: "You have always opposed and now oppose my liking for traveling by canoe, prophesying some misfortune for me in doing so. Well, for that [reason] only I must go, and you are to stay, for I do not wish you to go with me." So saying, he jumped into the canoe, and another gentleman from Badajoz, named Juan de Vega, the first cousin of the Juan de Vega who was captain of one of the caravels, and a great friend of Juan de Guzmán, followed him.

The Indians had constantly followed the caravels with their canoes formed into a squadron, there being so many of them that they covered the river from one bank to the other, and for a quarter of a league back the water could not be seen. Seeing the first canoe of Esteban Añez, which was going toward them, and the three that followed behind it, they did not go on from where they were, but on the contrary they all rowed backward very smoothly and in good order so as to separate the Spanish canoes from their brigantines. The latter having lowered their sails, they struggled with their oars very laboriously, as they were going against the current, to reach their canoes in order to assist them.

Esteban Añez, blind in his recklessness, on seeing the Indians rowing

backward, instead of becoming cautious was made even more daring and pushed on in his canoe to overtake the enemy. He shouted louder than ever, saying : "They are fleeing, they are fleeing, toward them, for they are fleeing!" He thus obliged the other three canoes that were coming after him to hurry more in order to detain or assist him if they could.

Seeing the Castilians near them, the enemy parted their squadron in the form of a new moon, always rowing backward, to induce and make way for the Christians to enter and get between them. When they saw that they were now so far in that they could not withdraw again even if they wished to do so, the canoes on the right wing closed in and attacked the four of the Christians with such impetus and fury that, taking them broadside, they capsized them and threw everyone in them into the water. As such a multitude of canoes was passing over them all the Spaniards were drowned, and if one happened to appear swimming they killed him with arrows and blows on the head with the oars.

In this manner, forty-eight of the Spaniards who had gone in the four canoes perished miserably that day without being able to make any defense; of the fifty-two who went, only four escaped. One was Pedro Morón, a mestizo and a native of the island of Cuba, whom we mentioned above, and an expert swimmer and very skillful in rowing and managing a canoe, as a person who was born and bred in them. Though he had fallen into the water, his skill and strength enabled him to recover his canoe and escape in it, taking with him three others, among them a most valiant soldier named Alvaro Nieto (of whom we said at the beginning of the expedition that he was on the point of killing the interpreter Juan Ortiz by mistake, having gone for him to the pueblo of Mucoço with Captain Baltasar de Gallegos). Finding himself in his present danger, like the good soldier that he was he fought alone in his canoe (after a manner of speaking) against the whole Indian fleet, in imitation of the famous Horatio at the bridge and of the valiant centurion Sceva in Dirachio, and detained the enemy while Pedro Morón managed the canoe, to bring it to safety. But the strength and valor of the one and the diligence and skill of the others would have availed them nothing if they had not found near them the caravel of the brave Captain Juan de Guzmán. Inasmuch as its captain had gone to the skirmish, this boat had made greater efforts in rowing than the rest in order to assist him if they could, because of his soldiers' affection for him. Thus it went in advance of all the others and was able to rescue and save the lives of the two valiant companions Pedro Morón and Alvaro Nieto, who had many wounds,

though they were not mortal, and they saved two other Spaniards with them.

That caravel also picked up poor Juan Terrón, concerning whom was told above the story of his contempt for the fine pearls he was carrying. He managed to reach the caravel by swimming, but he expired by the side of it before he could get aboard in the arms of those who had given him their hands to lift him up. He had more than fifty arrows driven into his head, face, neck, shoulders, and back.

Juan Coles says that almost sixty men took part in this disastrous exploit and died therein along with Captain Juan de Guzmán, and that he himself was in one of the three canoes. He says that it was forty-odd feet in length and more than four feet across, and he says that he escaped with two arrow wounds that passed through the coat of mail he was wearing. All these are his own words.

This was the sad and costly result, for him and his companions, of the vain arrogance and presumption of Esteban Añez, who considered himself a brave man. It caused the useless and unfortunate death of forty-eight Spaniards who were better than he, most of them being nobles and in fact braver men than he was, and being such they had offered to succor a madman.

The governor gathered up his caravels as best he could and, placing them in order, resumed his voyage, much grieved over the loss of his men.

All the most notable events that we have told about the navigation of these seven brigantines Alonso de Carmona mentions in his *Peregrination*. He speaks particularly of the danger that we mentioned of one of the brigantines being lost; and adds that the Indians had gained everything up to the deck at the stern, and that on driving them away from the brigantine with the reinforcements, they stabbed thirty of them to death, and that the rest jumped into the water and were picked up by the canoes. He tells how they abandoned the horses because of their haste in embarking. He recounts the death of Captain Juan de Guzmán and that of Juan Terrón, saying that it occurred aboard the caravel, though he does not name him. He says, finally, that [the Indians] followed them until they reached the sea.

I am glad to present these two eyewitnesses whenever they give me occasion to do so in their accounts, because they took part in this same expedition. Each one tells in his account little more than what I have said and shall say about them, because they wrote very briefly concerning only the most notable things that they experienced and could remember, and thus in all the many instances that I do not mention them it is because they have not a word to say.

## VIII

### THE INDIANS RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AND THE SPANIARDS NAVIGATE UNTIL THEY COME IN SIGHT OF THE SEA

After this good stroke that they delivered to their own advantage, which was on the sixteenth day of the Spaniards' navigation, the Indians followed them all that day and the next night, constantly shouting and clamoring at them as if triumphing over them because of their victorious exploit. On the seventeenth day, when the sun rose, they worshiped it with a solemn salutation consisting of a great shouting and outcry and the music of trumpets, drums, fifes, shells, and other noise-making instruments. Having given thanks to the Sun as their god for the victory that they had won over their enemies, they withdrew and returned to their own country, as it seemed to them that they had gone very far away from it. It was believed that they had followed and pursued our Spaniards four hundred leagues down the river with the continuous fighting and assaults that they gave them day and night. In their songs and at other times and in their shouts and outcries, they always called the name of their captain-general Quigualtanqui and never of any other cacique, as if they were saying that that great prince was the only one who was waging all that war. Therefore when the Spaniards afterward reached México and made a report to Don Antonio de Mendoza, who was then viceroy of that kingdom, and to his son Don Francisco de Mendoza, who was afterward generalissimo of the Spanish galleys, giving them an account of the events of this unhappy discovery, and particularly when they told of the perils through which they had passed on this Río Grande and the terrible persecution that his people had given them in the name of that famous Indian, Don Francisco de Mendoza always said to them jokingly, though sententiously, during these conversations and elsewhere, whenever he happened to meet any captain or soldier of importance: "Truly, gentlemen, Quigualtanqui must have been quite a man." This saying recalled anew this Indian's exploits and perpetuated his name.

When they saw that the Indians had left them, our Spaniards understood that they were already near the sea and that this was the reason the Indians had withdrawn and returned to their homes. At that place the river was now so wide that, from its center, land could not be seen on either side. Only

some very tall rushes were visible, which resembled forests of large trees and in fact were so.

At that place the river was more than fifteen leagues wide, as well as could be judged from the sight of it, and for all this our men did not dare approach its banks or leave the center of the channel for fear of striking some marshes or sandbanks where they might be lost. They did not know whether they were now in the sea or whether they were still sailing on the river.

They navigated in this uncertainty for three days with sail and oar, having a favorable wind, these being the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days of their navigation. At dawn on the twentieth day they saw clearly that they were at sea. On their left as they went they saw extremely large amounts of driftwood, which the river carried to the sea with its floods. It was heaped up in such a manner that it looked like a large island.

Half a league beyond the driftwood was an uninhabited island, which our people judged would be the one that large rivers ordinarily form when they enter the sea, and this proved that they were now in it. Since they did not know what place it was or how far it might be from there to a Christian country, they decided to inspect their brigantines or caravels before entering the sea. Thus they busied themselves with unloading them, and put their cargoes on the driftwood island, in order to careen them if it were necessary or to examine the seams to see whether they needed repairs. They also butchered nine or ten hogs that were still alive. They spent three days doing these things, though it is true that they spent them more in resting from their past hardships and gaining vigor and strength for the future than in working on the caravels, because there was very little to do to them. Our Castilians' greatest need was for sleep, for because of the continuous vigil that the Indians had forced them to keep day and night they were overcome with drowsiness, and thus they slept during those three days like dead men.

It is impossible to say exactly the number of leagues that our Spaniards navigated down the river in the nineteen full days and one additional night that their voyage to the sea lasted, to the place where they then were, because their continuous fighting with the Indians left them no time for calculating the number of leagues that they navigated. But when they found themselves free of the enemy they at once discussed it among themselves, and later in México in the presence of persons who had experience in navigating the sea and rivers. There were many opinions and assertions, because some said that in a day and a night they traveled twenty leagues, others thirty, others forty, and others more or less. But most of them finally agreed to assign twenty-

five leagues to each day and night, because they always navigated with both sails and oars, and the wind never failed them nor did the river have turns that would have detained them.

According to this calculation, our Spaniards found that they had navigated from the place where they embarked to the sea a little less than five hundred leagues. In making this calculation everyone can use his own judgment and assign the number of leagues that he may see fit, noting beforehand that besides the help they had from the wind our men did what they could with the oars in order to pass on and leave the land of enemies who were so anxious to kill them.

Juan Coles says that they went seven hundred leagues, and he must have had the opinion of those who assigned thirty-five leagues of navigation to each twenty-four hours.

## IX

### THE NUMBER OF LEAGUES THAT THE SPANIARDS PENETRATED INTO THE INTERIOR

There will be some who will be amazed to see that our Spaniards advanced so far into the interior country as has been said, and perhaps they will doubt it. We say to them not to wonder at it, for they went much farther, because they arrived at the very sources of this Río Grande. Where they embarked afterward in the province of Aminoya, near that of Guachoya, it was nineteen fathoms deep and a quarter of a league wide, as was said when they sounded it in order to cast into it the body of the governor and adelantado Hernando de Soto. Those who claim to understand something of cosmography say that it was three hundred leagues from where they embarked to the source of the river, and others say many more. I accept the smaller number, so that it would give the river a course of eight hundred leagues to the sea, and these Spaniards went all that distance into the interior of the country.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>In interpreting this comment, it will be noted that the Spaniards evidently deduced that the Tennessee River, encountered in the area of Chiaha, was an upper course of the Río Grande, i.e., the Mississippi. Biedma, for example, calls the Tennessee River at Chiaha the "River of Espíritu Santo," which since the days of Pineda's coastal exploration had been considered the primary drainage along the northern Gulf Coast. The chronicles of the later Tristán de Luna expedition call it the same thing. See also the configuration of the Tennessee River on the so-called De Soto Map in Swanton, *Final Report*, 343.



When God is pleased for that land to be won, they will find out by going by way of this river how far our people went from the sea. For the present I cannot verify this account further than I have done already, and it has been a great deal [of effort] even to bring to light this little after so many years have passed and [from the accounts of] people whose purpose was not to go through the land marking out its confines, though they were discovering it, but to seek gold and silver. Therefore I may be admitted here the excuse that I have given elsewhere for other deficiencies in this *History* with regard to cosmography. I should have liked to write it very fully to give a better and more complete notice of that country, because my principal intent in this labor of mine, which has not been small, has been none other than to give an account to my lord the king and to the commonwealth of Spain of what the Spaniards themselves have discovered so nearby, so that they would not allow their predecessors' labors to be lost but would be encouraged and animated to win and settle a kingdom so large and so fertile.<sup>45</sup> First of all [they should do this] for the augmentation of the Catholic faith, for there is a large field that can be sown among people who, because of the few heathen abuses and ceremonies that they would have to abandon, are disposed to receive it with facility. The Spaniards are obligated to this preaching more than are the other Catholic nations, since God in His mercy elected them to preach his gospel in the New World and they are already its rulers. It would be a great affront and insult if other peoples should win them ahead of us, even though it were for this same purpose of preaching.

Furthermore, almost all the nations who are our neighbors being, as they are, infected with the abominable heresies of these unhappy times, it is greatly to be feared that they may sow it among those peoples who are so simple, managing to make an establishment among them, as they have already attempted to do.

Jesus Christ, our Lord, and His spouse the Roman church, our Mother and Lady, having given us the seed of the truth and the faculty and power for disseminating it, as has been done for 110 years in these parts and as is being done in the most and the better part of the New World, it would be a count and charge against the Spanish nation if now, through its carelessness and because it has fallen asleep, the enemy should sow discord in this great kingdom of La Florida, so important a part of the New World, which is hers.

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<sup>45</sup>By the time this was written, apparently unknown to Garcilaso, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had long since founded permanent colonial outposts in La Florida, including St. Augustine. In Book I, Chapter IV, Garcilaso excuses himself for his imperfect knowledge of the exploits of that individual.

Aside from what is due religion, the Spaniards of today ought, especially for their own honor and profit, to make an effort to conquer this empire, where there are such broad, extensive, and fertile lands, so well adapted for human life as we have seen. It is not possible that the gold and silver mines that are so desired would not be found if they were sought for systematically, for since they have not been lacking in any province of the New World, neither would they be absent here. While they were being discovered, it would be possible to enjoy the wealth of pearls, so plentiful, large, and fine as we have told; and to produce silk, facilities for which we have noted in the large number of mulberry trees; and to raise and prepare for use all kinds of cattle, there could not be desired more-abundant pasturage or more-fertile lands than this country contains.

For all of this we pray that the Lord may animate these Spaniards so that they will not be careless regarding this region nor relax their good intentions, since in all the rest of the New World they are discovering and conquering every day new kingdoms and provinces more difficult to win than those of La Florida. For entering and conquering it, navigation from Spain is easy. The same ship can make two voyages a year. Horses can be had throughout the whole country of México, where they are plentiful and very good. For assistance, if it should be needed, they could apply to the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo and those near them, and to New Spain and Tierra Firme, and with the facilities afforded by the Río Grande, which would accommodate any fleet, they could ascend by way of it easily whenever they liked. For my own part I say that if the Lord had given me the wealth in accordance with my will and desire, I would spend it joyfully, along with my life, in this heroic enterprise. But this must wait for some more fortunate person, for he who does it will be such, and then the errors of my *History*, for which I have so often asked pardon, will be corrected. With this let us return to it, for in my concern and desire to see it finished I have not shirked the labor that is intolerable to me, nor spared my poor health, which is now very feeble, nor let anything else stand in my way, so that Spain, to which I owe so much, may not be without this account if I should die before publishing it.

## X

### CONCERNING A BATTLE THAT THE SPANIARDS FOUGHT WITH THE INDIANS OF THE COAST

As we said, the Spaniards spent three days in repairing their caravels and in recovering their own strength, their chief need being for sleep, as they were very fatigued. On the last day, after noon, they saw seven canoes emerge from among some rushes and come toward them. In the first one came an Indian as large as a Philistine and as black as an Ethiopian, very different in color and appearance from those that they had left in the interior.

The reason why the coast Indians are so black is because they constantly go about in the salt water fishing, for because of the sterility of the country they depend upon fishing for their subsistence. The heat of the sun also helps to make them black, as it is more intense on the coast than in the interior. Standing in the bow of his canoe, the Indian said to the Castilians in a gruff and haughty voice: "Thieves, vagabonds, idlers without honor or shame, who go along this shore disturbing its natives, you are to leave this place immediately by one of those two mouths of this river, if you do not want me to kill all of you and burn your boats. See that I do not find you here tonight, or not a man of you will escape with his life."

They could understand what the Indian said by the gestures that he made with his arms and his body, pointing to the two mouths of the Río Grande that the island formed, which we said was ahead of them, and by many words that the Spaniards' Indian servants explained. Having said this, he went back into the rushes without waiting for a reply.

Here Juan Coles adds the following words that the Indian spoke, besides those already given: "If we had large canoes like yours (he meant the ships), we would follow you to your country and take it, for we also are men like you."

The Spaniards, having considered the Indian's words and the arrogance that he had shown in them and in his appearance, and seeing that canoes appeared from time to time among the rushes and then went back, as if they were in ambush, agreed that it would be a good thing to make the Indians understand that they were not afraid of them, so that they would not be encouraged to come and shoot arrows at them and set fire to the caravels. They could do this better at night than in the daytime, being a people who

were well acquainted with the sea and the land thereabouts and who could attack and run away safely, while the Castilians were ignorant of it.

Having so decided, a hundred men entered the five canoes that remained for the service of the brigantines, and, taking Gonzalo Silvestre and Alvaro Nieto as commanders, they went in search of the Indians. They found large numbers of them behind some rushes, ready with more than sixty small canoes that they had brought together against our men.

The latter, although they saw so many Indians and canoes, were not dismayed, but on the contrary they engaged them with all good spirit and courage. By good fortune they capsized three canoes in the first encounter, wounded many Indians, and killed ten or twelve, because they carried twenty-two crossbowmen and three archers. One of these was a Spaniard who had lived in England from infancy to the age of twenty years, and the other was a native Englishman. Being skillful with the weapons of that kingdom and expert in the use of bows and arrows, they had been unwilling to use any other arms except these throughout the discovery, and thus they were carrying them on this occasion. The other archer was an Indian who had been the servant of Captain Juan de Guzmán, having been captured soon after he entered La Florida. He had become so fond of his master and of the Spaniards that he always fought with his bow and arrows as one of them against his own people.

With the skill and dexterity of the marksmen and with the courage of the whole party, they scattered the enemy canoes and made them run away. But our men did not come out of the battle so well that most of them were not wounded, the two captains among them. One Spaniard was wounded by a weapon that the Castilians in the Indies call a long arrow [*tiradera*], which we shall call more accurately a dart [*bobordo*] because it is shot with a strip [*amiento*] of wood or a cord.<sup>46</sup> The Spaniards had not seen this weapon in all the places they had been in La Florida until that day. In El Perú the Indians use it a great deal. It is a weapon a fathom long made of a firm rush, though spongy in the center, of which they also make arrows. They make heads for them of deer horn, fashioned in all perfection with four points or harpoons of palm or other wood that they have, as strong and heavy as iron. So that the part of the arrow or dart made of the rush will not be split by the barb when it hits its mark, they make a knot where the head or harpoon joins it, and another one at the other end, which the crossbowmen call *batalla* on

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<sup>46</sup>This weapon was a spear thrower, or atlatl, primarily used by coastal natives of the Southeast during the early historic era.

their darts, where it receives the cord of the bow or the stock with which they shoot it. The stock is of wood two tercias long, and they shoot the dart with it with extreme force, so that it has been known to pass through a man armed in a coat of mail. The Spaniards in El Perú feared this weapon more than any other the Indians had, for their arrows were not so terrible as those of La Florida.

The dart or long arrow with which they wounded our Spaniard of whom we were speaking had three barbs in the place of one, similar to the three largest fingers of the hand. The barb in the center was a handbreadth longer than the two on the sides, and thus it went through the thigh from one side to the other. The two side barbs were lodged in the middle of the thigh, and in order to get them out, it was necessary to cut away a great deal of flesh from the poor Spaniard's leg, because they were harpoons and not smooth points. The butchery was such that he expired before they dressed his wound, the poor fellow not knowing whether to complain more of the enemy who had wounded him or of the friends who had hastened his death.

## XI

### THE SPANIARDS SET SAIL, AND THE INCIDENTS OF THE FIRST TWENTY-THREE DAYS OF THEIR NAVIGATION

Since we have not yet left the Río Grande, whose canoes we have described at length in the past chapters, it will be well to tell here of the dexterity and skill that the natives of the whole country of La Florida show in righting a canoe when it is turned bottom up in naval battles or in their fishing or in some other manner; we neglected to note this in the proper place. In such cases, since they are most expert swimmers, they take it between twelve or thirteen Indians, more or less, according to the size of the canoe, and again set it right side up. As it comes up full of water, all the Indians together tilt the canoe to one side, the water thus beginning to run out in that direction, and then they quickly tilt it to the opposite side, thus throwing the water out, so that after two such movements not a drop of water remains in the canoe, and the Indians again get into it. They do all this so quickly and easily that the canoe has scarcely capsized when they have it righted again. Our men admired this skill greatly, for however they tried they never managed to imitate it.

While the hundred Spaniards went in the canoes to fight the Indians, those who remained loaded the caravels with the things that they had taken out of them. They could do so without the aid of the canoes because the brigantines were tied up to the driftwood that we said formed an island, which made no other movement except to rise and fall with the motion of the sea.

The Spaniards who had gone to the fight came back to their people victorious, having driven the enemy out of the rushes, but fearing that they might return at night and set fire to them or do some other damage, they all embarked in the caravels and went to the uninhabited island at the mouth of the Río Grande. They anchored and went ashore, and walked over all of it, but found nothing remarkable there.

That night they slept in the anchored caravels, and at daylight they decided to set sail and go toward the west in the direction of the coast of México, always keeping the mainland of La Florida to their right, not drawing away from it. When they hoisted the anchors one of the cables broke; as it had been repaired in many places, very little was needed to break it. The anchor was lost, as they had not thrown out a buoy, and since it was so necessary to them, they did not wish to go without it. The best swimmers among them went into the water, but all their efforts to find it were of no avail until three o'clock in the afternoon, when they found it at the end of nine or ten hours of diving.

At that hour they set sail. They did not dare go out into the gulf because they did not know where they were or in what direction to sail in order to cross to the islands of Santo Domingo or Cuba, as they had no sailing chart or compass or astrolabe with which to take the altitude of the sun, nor a forestaff for finding that of the north star. They only knew that by constantly following the coast toward the west they must eventually reach the coast and territory of México. With this purpose they navigated all that evening and the following night, and until nearly sunset of the second day. In all that distance they found fresh water from the Río Grande, and our people were amazed that it should be found so far out at sea.

At this point Alonso de Carmona says the following, which is copied literally:

Thus we navigated, following the coast more or less closely, for the Indians had burned our instruments of navigation, or we ourselves had done so, when we set fire to Maubila. Captain Juan de Añasco was a very careful man and he had recovered the astrolabe and kept it. As it was of metal it had not been

much damaged. He made a sailing chart on a piece of deerskin and fashioned a forestaff from a ruler, and we set course by it. The mariners and others with them who knew that he was not a seaman and had never been at sea in his life until he embarked for this journey ridiculed him, and when he learned how they were jeering at him he threw all the instruments except the astrolabe into the sea. Another brigantine that was coming behind picked them up because the chart and the forestaff were fastened together. Thus we traveled, or rather navigated, seven or eight days, when we took shelter from a storm in a cove.

Thus far Alonso de Carmona.

Our Castilians navigated fifteen days more with good weather for their voyage, without anything of note happening except that during these fifteen days they went ashore five times to get water. They had no large vessels in which to carry it, only small jars and pitchers that were soon emptied. This was one of the chief causes, along with the lack of navigating instruments, for their not having dared to cross to the islands or to separate themselves from the mainland, because they needed water every three days.

When they found no river or spring from which to take it they dug in the ground ten or twelve paces from the sea and found at a depth of less than a vara a plentiful supply of fresh water. Thus they were never without water throughout their voyage.

At the end of the fifteen days of navigation they reached a place where there were four or five islets not far from the mainland, where they found innumerable waterfowl. These bred there and had their nests on the ground, and they were so numerous and so close together that our men could not find a place to set foot. When they returned to the brigantines they were loaded down with eggs and with fledglings, which were so fat that they could not eat them. Both they and the eggs tasted very much like fish.

On the following day they anchored to take water on a very pleasant beach that was clear of rushes, there being on it only many large trees separated from one another, which formed a beautiful open forest without shrubs or any kind of undergrowth.

Some of the Spaniards went ashore to gather shellfish on the beach, and they found there some slabs of black bitumen almost like pitch, which the sea washed up among its refuse. It might have come from some fountain of that liquid that entered the sea or had its origin in it. The slabs weighed eight, ten, twelve, or fourteen pounds, and there were large numbers of them.

The Castilians, seeing this assistance that good fortune offered them in

their necessity—because the caravels were already leaking, and they feared that they would continue to do so increasingly until they foundered, and as they did not know how much more navigation was before them or have any other hope of reaching Christian lands except by means of the brigantines—decided to repair them, since they had the means and a good beach where they could bring them ashore.

With this purpose they spent eight days at that place, and every day they unloaded a brigantine and pulled it ashore by main strength, pitched it, and launched it in the water again in the evening. To soften the bitumen, which was dry, they used the fat from the little bacon that they were bringing to eat, thinking it better to use it on the boats than for their own subsistence, for they knew that they would be the means of saving their lives.

## XII

### THE NAVIGATION CONTINUES TO ITS FIFTY-THIRD DAY, AND A STORM THAT OVERTOOK THEM

In the eight days that our people occupied in careening their boats, on three different occasions eight Indians came up to them, advancing peacefully, and gave them ears of maize or Indian corn of which they brought a large quantity, and the Spaniards gave them in return some of the deerskins that they had with them. Notwithstanding all these friendly exchanges between them, the Spaniards did not ask them what land that was, or the name of the province, for they had no other desire except to reach the territory of México; thus it is impossible for us to know what region that might have been. All three times the Indians came with their bows and arrows and showed themselves to be very friendly, and they were always the same ones.

After the eight days that they spent in pitching the caravels, our Castilians left that pleasant shore and beach and continued on their voyage, always taking care to go from one point of land to another, so that a north wind, such as those that blow very furiously at times on that coast, would not carry them to the high seas. They also did this because, as we have seen, they had to take water every three days.

Where they found a good place they busied themselves in fishing, for after they had repaired the caravels and used up their bacon they had nothing else to eat except maize. Forced by necessity, some of them fished in the



water with their hooks, and others went ashore to hunt for shellfish, and they always brought back a good supply. Also they were obliged to rest from their hard labor at the oars by fishing, because whenever the sea would permit, all those who were in the caravels, except the captains, took turns at them. They spent twelve or thirteen days from time to time in fishing, for wherever they found a good supply they stayed two or three days.

In this manner these Spaniards sailed many leagues (but we cannot say how many), with great eagerness to sight the Río de Palmas, which in view of the distance they had sailed it seemed to them could not be far away. Those who prided themselves on being cosmographers and expert mariners held out and affirmed this hope, but as a matter of fact the wisest among them did not know in what sea or what region they were navigating, except that it seemed undeniably true to them that by continuing their voyage from one cape to another they would reach the lands of México, unless the sea should devour them. This certainty was what gave them strength to suffer and endure the excessive hardships that they experienced.

Fifty-three days had passed since our Spaniards had left the Río Grande and entered the sea. They spent thirty of them in navigation and twenty-three in repairing the brigantines and in resting while they fished. On the last day the north wind rose after noon with the ferocity and force with which it blows on that coast, more than in any other place, and it blew them out to sea, which was what they had always feared.

Five of the caravels that were proceeding together, the governor's being among them, had seen the storm coming, and before it arrived they drew near the shore, and thus they navigated with their oars touching it, looking for a shelter where they could protect themselves from the bad weather. The other two caravels, which were those of the treasurer Juan Gaytán who had remained the sole captain of it after the death of the good Juan de Guzmán, and of Captains Juan de Alvarado and Cristóbal Mosquera, which had not observed the weather as closely as the other five, were some distance from the shore. Because of this carelessness they passed that whole night [in] a fierce storm, the force of the wind increasing hourly, so that they went with the Creed on their lips. The treasurer's caravel was in greater danger than the other, because a gust of wind displaced the mainmast and it came out of a wooden mortar in the keel in which it was encased, and they put it back in only with much labor and difficulty. Thus the two caravels struggled all night, forcing their way against the storm, so as not to get out of sight of land. At dawn (our people thought the wind would fall when daylight came) it blew even more furiously and strongly, and kept them on the point of

drowning without its force abating, until noon. At this hour the two caravels saw that the other five were ascending a creek or river and had now reached a safe place, free from that storm in which they were found. Thereupon they persisted anew in trying to go against the wind to see whether they could reach the place where the others were. But in spite of their efforts they could not do it because the wind blew directly against them and was extremely strong, so that all their attempts to reach the river failed. On the other hand their persistence placed them in greater danger, for the caravels were often on the point of capsizing, but still with all this they struggled against the storm until three o'clock in the afternoon. Seeing that their labors were not only useless but that their peril was increasing, they agreed that it would be less dangerous to allow themselves to run forward along the coast where they might find some help.

Having so decided, they steered the boats toward the west and sailed with a side wind, it not having abated for them at all.

Our Spaniards went without any clothing except trousers, because so much water from the waves fell on the caravels that it kept them half drowned. Some worked to trim the sails, and others to bail out the water, for, as the brigantines had no decks, all that the waves washed in remained, and our men walked in it thigh-deep.

## XIII

### A SEVERE STORM THAT THE TWO CARAVELS PASSED THROUGH, AND HOW THEY WERE CAST ASHORE

The two caravels ran through the storm for twenty-five or twenty-six hours, as we have said, without its abating in the least; on the contrary it seemed to those who were in it to be increasing hourly. All this time our Spaniards were battling the waves and the wind without sleeping or eating a mouthful, for the fear of death, which was so close to them, drove away hunger and sleep. Nearly at sunset they sighted land ahead, which was found to be of two kinds.

That which was seen ahead and extending to the right of the direction in which our people were going was a white coast that appeared to be of sand, because with the hard wind that was blowing they saw many hillocks of it moving easily and rapidly from one place to another. The coast that ex-

tended to their left appeared to be as black as pitch. At this moment a youth named Francisco, twenty years old, who was in the caravel of Captains Juan de Alvarado and Francisco Mosquera, said to them: "Sirs, I know this coast, for I have navigated along it twice while serving as cabin boy on a ship, though I do not know the land, nor whose it is. That black coast that appears on our left is a land of flint and a rough coast that extends a long way until it reaches La Vera Cruz. There is no port on the whole of it nor any haven where we can take shelter; there are only broken cliffs and flint promontories where, if we are cast ashore, we shall all die, pounded to pieces between the waves and the rocks.

"The other land that is ahead extending to the right is a sandy coast and therefore appears white. It is all clear and smooth and thus it will be well for us to endeavor to reach this white coast before night comes on, because if the wind separates us from it and casts us on the black coast we have no hope left of escaping alive."

Captains Juan de Alvarado and Francisco Mosquera ordered that notice be given immediately to Captain Juan Gaytán's caravel of the information given by the youth Francisco, so as to warn them against the impending danger, but the waves were so high that they would not permit those of the two caravels talking to or even seeing each other. They made themselves understood as well as they could by signs, however, and by shouts given at intervals now and again as the caravels happened to come in sight over the waves so that they could see and talk with one another. They agreed by common consent to run ashore on the white coast. Only the treasurer Juan Gaytán, acting in his capacity as treasurer rather than as captain, opposed it, saying that it was not well to lose the caravel, which was valuable. At his words, the soldiers rose up and said all together: "What more do you have in it than any one of us? On the contrary you have less, or nothing at all, for presuming on your position as the emperor's treasurer you would not cut the wood or dress it, or make charcoal for the forges, or help there to beat the iron into nails, or work at the caulking, or at anything else of importance. You evaded all the labor that we endured under pretext of your royal office. This being so, what will you lose if the caravel is lost? Will it be better to lose the fifty men that are in it?" And there was not lacking someone who said, "It is a pity that he who gave you this stab in the neck did not cut it all the way across!"

Having spoken thus very freely, in order to prevent any reply being made or the captain presuming to give orders at that juncture, the chief soldiers busied themselves in trimming the sails, and a Portuguese named Domingos

de Acosta grasped the rudder or helm, and they all turned the prow of the boat toward the shore. They made ready with their swords and shields for whatever they might find there, and tacking from side to side so as not to fall upon the black coast, they made the white coast with much danger and labor a little before the sun went down.

Because we mentioned the sword-wound of the treasurer Juan Gaytán, it will be well, though it has nothing to do with our *History*, to tell here how the incident happened. For this purpose it must be known that our Juan Gaytán was the nephew of the captain Juan Gaytán who, because of the marvelous exploits he performed in all parts with his sword and cape, won renown for his excellence in the proverb, "The sword and cape of Juan Gaytán." This one, his nephew, took part in the war in Tunis when our lord the emperor took it from the Turk Barbarossa in the year 1535 and gave it to the Moor Muley Hacen, who was his friend. In a quarrel over the division of the spoils Juan Gaytán had taken in that sack, he exchanged thrusts with another Spanish soldier whose sword must not have been inferior to that of his uncle. This man gave him a deep wound in the neck from which he nearly died. Finally he recovered, but he was left with a scar two finger-breadths deep. One of those who came up to pacify the quarrel reproached the one who had wounded him, saying that he had done ill in so mistreating the nephew of Captain Juan Gaytán; that he ought to have respected him because of his uncle's reputation. The soldier, unrepentant for his action, replied: "It is too bad that he was not the nephew of the king of France; I would have taken even more pleasure in having wounded or killed him, because it would have meant so much more honor and fame for me." The treasurer Juan Gaytán himself told this as a witty saying of the person who had wounded him.

## XIV

### WHAT THE CAPTAINS AND SOLDIERS OF THE TWO CARAVELS ORDERED

Returning to our story, it happened that Captain Juan Gaytán, feeling that the caravel had touched bottom, either because of his anger at the opposition the soldiers had made to him, or because he thought he knew from experience that in such situations it was less dangerous to enter the water by

way of the stern rather than any other part of the boat, threw himself from it into the water. On coming up, his back struck against the rudder, and as he wore no clothes, he was badly hurt and wounded. All the rest of the soldiers stayed aboard the caravel. The first time it struck the shore, since the waves were so large, it was left more than ten paces beyond the water when they receded back to the sea. But when the waves returned to the combat they turned it on its side.

Those who were on it at once jumped into the water, as they wore no clothing to prevent their moving about in it. Some went on one side and others on the other to right the caravel and turn it so that the force of the waves would not sink it. Others busied themselves in unloading the maize and taking out the cargo. Others carried this ashore. With such activity they had it entirely unloaded within a very short time, and as it was now light they easily got it ashore, aided by the blows of the waves against it. They lifted it almost entirely from the ground and shored it so as to be able to launch it again if it should be necessary.

The same thing that happened to the caravel of the treasurer Juan Gaytán occurred also in that of Captains Juan de Alvarado and Cristóbal Mosquera, which was grounded at a distance of about two harquebus-shots from the other one. Its company unloaded it with the same rapidity and diligence and brought it ashore. The captains and soldiers, finding themselves free of the storm and the perils of the sea, immediately sent to visit one another to find out what had happened during their shipwreck. The messengers started out at the same moment, as if by agreement, and they met in the middle of the road. Exchanging their messages, questions, and replies, they both returned to their companions with a good report of everything. At this both parties rejoiced greatly and gave thanks to God for having saved them from so much hardship and danger. But not knowing what had happened to the governor and the rest of their companions gave them new cause for anxiety and care, for it is characteristic of human nature that we have scarcely emerged from one misery when we find ourselves in another.

To discuss what they ought to do in that necessity, the three captains and the chief soldiers of both caravels met at once, and all of them agreed that it would be well for some diligent soldier to go immediately that night to find out about the governor and the caravels that they had seen ascending that creek or river, and tell him what had happened to the two brigantines. But considering the excessive labors that they had undergone during the storm, and that for more than twenty-eight hours since it began they had not eaten or slept, and that since coming out of the sea they still had not rested even

half an hour, they did not dare name anyone to go. For it seemed to them a great cruelty to choose him for further labor, and no less reckless to send him when he [would be] in such manifest danger of perishing on the way, because on that same night he would have to travel thirteen or fourteen leagues that apparently lay between them and the place where they had seen the caravels going inland. He would have to go through an unknown country, ignorant of whether there were other rivers or creeks on the road or whether it was safe from enemies, because, as has been said, they did not know in what region they were.

The confusion of our captains and soldiers and the difficulties of the proposed hardships and dangers were overcome by the generous and courageous spirit of Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo, whom we mentioned particularly on the day of the great battle of Mauvila. Standing before his companions, he said: "Notwithstanding our past hardships and those in prospect at present, along with imminent risk to my life, I offer to make this journey out of the love that I have for the general, because I am his countryman, and in order to bring you out of your present perplexity. I propose to travel all night and not to stop until I reach the governor in the morning, or die in the attempt. If there is anyone who wishes to do so, he may go with me, otherwise I say that I shall go alone."

The captains and soldiers were very gratified to see his good spirit, which was matched by that of another valiant Castilian, named Francisco Muñoz, a native of Burgos. Stepping out from among his companions and placing himself at the side of Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo he said that he would accompany him on that journey, whether he lived or died. Immediately, without any delay, they gave them some small knapsacks containing a little maize and bacon, both poorly cooked, because they had not even had time to cook it well. With this fine preparation and equipped with their swords and shields, and barefoot, as we have said all of them were, these two courageous soldiers set out at one o'clock that night. They marched all night with the seashore for their guide, because they knew of no other road. We shall leave them there to tell what their companions were doing meanwhile.

As soon as the two soldiers had been sent off, the others returned to their caravels and slept in them with sentries posted because they did not know whether they were in the land of enemies or of friends. As soon as it was light, they assembled again and chose three corporals, each of whom was to go with twenty men in a different direction to explore and see what land that might be. They were called corporals and not captains because of the few men they had with them. One of them was named Antonio de Porras, who

went forward along the coast to the south; another, who was named Alonso Calvete, went north along the same coast; and Gonzalo Silvestre went inland toward the west. All carried orders that they were not to go very far so that those who stayed behind could help them if they should need it. Each of them went with a great desire of bringing good news.

## XV

### WHAT HAPPENED TO THE THREE EXPLORING CAPTAINS

The captains who went in either direction along the coast, each having marched more than a league over it, returned to their people. One party brought half of a white earthen plate, of the very fine sort that is made in Talavera, and the others brought a broken crock of gilded and painted earthenware such as is made in Malasa [Málaga?]. They said that they had not found anything else, and that these were very good signs and indications of their being in a Spanish country, for both pieces of earthenware were from Spain and were a proof of their statement. All our people rejoiced greatly at this and were extremely happy, holding these signs to be certain and propitious, according to their desires.

Gonzalo Silvestre and his party, who went into the interior, were more fortunate. Having advanced a little more than a quarter of a league from the sea and crossed over a little hill, they saw a lagoon of fresh water that extended for more than a league. On it were four or five canoes of Indians who were fishing, and so that the Indians would not see them and raise an alarm the Spaniards got behind some trees and marched through them a quarter of a league parallel with the lagoon, spread out in a line as if they were hunting hares. They advanced in this manner, looking carefully and attentively on all sides. They saw two Indians ahead (about the distance of two arquebus-shots from where they were going) who were gathering fruit under a large tree called a *guayavo* in the language of the island of Española and *savintu* in my language of El Perú.

When the Spaniards saw them they passed the word along to drop down on the ground so as not to be seen, and gave orders to surround them, some on one side and some on the other. They were to go like lizards, crawling along the ground, and encircle the Indians so they could not get away, and those who stayed behind were not to raise up from the ground until the ones ahead had got on the other side of the Indians.

With these orders they all went with their chests to the ground, and the ones ahead went on all fours almost three arquebus-shots to come in ahead of the Indians. Each one of the Spaniards was put on his honor not to let the quarry get past him. When they had them surrounded all raised up at the same time and charged at them, but for all their trouble one of the Indians got away, jumped into the water, and escaped by swimming.

The Indian who remained a captive shouted loudly, repeating many times the word *brezos*. The Spaniards, in their haste to return to their people before the Indians should come to take away their prisoner, paid no attention to what the Indian was saying, but were concerned only with leaving that place quickly. They hastily picked up the two baskets of guayavas that the Indians had gathered, and a little maize that they found in a hut, and a turkey such as are found in México—which they do not have in El Perú—and a cock and two hens like those of Spain, and a small quantity of conserve made from the prickly leaves of a tree called maguey, which are like the spikes of a thistle. The Indians of New Spain make many things from this tree, such as wine, vinegar, and syrup made from a sweet liquor that the leaves yield when taken from the stalk at a certain time of the year. The tender spikes when cooked and put in the sun are good to eat and similar in appearance to preserved pumpkin, though they do not equal its flavor. Of these same spikes, which are like those of a thistle, when they mature on the tree, the Indians make a fiber that is very strong and good. The maguey stalk, only one of which grows on each plant after the manner of the giant fennel of Spain, and which has a spongy wood like it though the outside is hard, they use to roof their houses where better wood is lacking.

The Castilians took with them everything we have said they found in the hut, and they took the captured Indian well bound so that he would not escape them. They questioned him by signs and with Spanish words, asking him what land this was and what his name was. The Indian understood from the gestures they made to him, as if he were mute, that they were questioning him, but he did not understand from their words what they were asking him. Not knowing how to reply, he repeated the word *brezos*, and many times; pronouncing it badly, he said “*bredos*.”

As he did not answer to the purpose, the Spaniards said to him: “Go to the devil, you dog, what would we want with *bledos* [amaranth]?” The Indian was trying to say that he was the vassal of a Spaniard named Cristóbal de Brezos, and as in his disturbed state he could not manage to say Cristóbal, and sometimes said *brezos* and again *bredos*, the Castilians could not understand him. Thus they carried him off hurriedly, before he should be taken



away from them, in order to ask him later at more leisure the things they wished to find out.

In connection with the Spaniards' questionings and the Indian's unintelligible replies (because they did not understand one another), we had inserted here the derivation of the name *Perú*, which those Indians do not have in their language. It came from another such incident as this, and inasmuch as the printing of this book has been delayed longer than I had ever imagined, I took it away from here and put it in its proper place [a reference to Garcilaso's *Commentarios Reales*]. There it will be found in full along with many other names included by way of illustration, because, by Divine favor, in this year 1602 we are now in the last quarter of it and expect to finish it speedily.

## XVI

### THE SPANIARDS LEARN THAT THEY ARE IN THE TERRITORY OF MÉXICO

Gonzalo Silvestre and the twenty men of his party, along with the Indian whom they had captured, traveled swiftly. They asked questions that were poorly understood by the Indian, and his replies were worse interpreted by the Spaniards. Thus they marched until they reached the coast, where the rest of their companions were holding a great celebration and rejoicing over the pieces of the plate and crock that the other explorers had brought back. But as soon as they saw the turkey and the hens and the fruit and the rest of the loot that Gonzalo Silvestre and his men carried they could not restrain themselves from making signs of extreme joy, jumping and leaping like crazy men. For the greater satisfaction of all of them it happened that the surgeon who had treated them had been in México and knew something about the Mexican language. He spoke to the Indian in it, saying, "What are these?" and indicating some scissors that he had in his hand.

Having recognized that these people were Spaniards, the Indian had now come to himself somewhat and replied in Spanish, "Tiselas" [*tiseras*, or in modern Spanish, *tijeras*: scissors]. This word, though badly pronounced proved conclusively to our men that they were in the territory of México, and in their joy at learning it they insisted on embracing and congratulating Gonzalo Silvestre and the members of his party, and they raised them up on

their shoulders and marched around with them, extolling and praising them without stint or restraint, as if every one of them had brought the seigniory of México and its whole empire.

This most solemn festival of rejoicing having passed, they questioned the Indian more quietly and to better purpose, asking what land that was and what river or creek the governor had entered with the five caravels.

The Indian said: "This land belongs to the city of Pánuco and your captain-general entered the Río de Pánuco, which flows into the sea twelve leagues from here. The city is twelve leagues farther up the river, and it is ten leagues from here by land. I am a vassal of a vecino of Pánuco named Cristóbal de Brezos, and about a league from here is an Indian lord of vassals who knows how to read and write, having been brought up from infancy by the priest who instructs us in the Christian doctrine. If you wish that I go summon him, I will go for him; I know he will come at once and will inform you about everything that you wish to know most."

The Spaniards were very pleased with the Indian's intelligent remarks and they entertained him and gave him presents from the things they had with them. They sent him immediately for the cacique and directed him to bring or send a supply of paper and ink for writing.

The Indian traveled with such haste and diligence that he came back with the curaca in less than four hours. The latter, learning that some Spanish ships had been stranded in his country, desired to visit them personally and carry them some present. Thus he brought eight Indians laden with chickens like those of Spain, and bread made of maize, and fruit and fish, as well as ink and paper, because he prided himself on being able to read and write and considered it a great accomplishment.

He presented everything he brought to the Spaniards and very affectionately offered them his person and his house. Our men thanked him for his visit and for the presents, and gave him in return some of the deerskins that they brought. They immediately dispatched an Indian to the governor with a letter in which they told him everything that had happened to them up to that time, and asked him for orders as to their future actions.

The cacique remained with the Spaniards all that day, questioning them about the events and adventures of their discovery, being very pleased to hear of them. He wondered at seeing them so black, spare, and worn in their persons and clothing, which showed clearly the hardships they had endured. When it was nearly night he returned to his house, and in the six days that the Spaniards stayed on that beach he visited them every day, always bringing them presents of the things that were in his country.

## XVII

### THE SPANIARDS ARE REUNITED IN PÁNUCO. BITTER QUARRELS ARISE AMONG THEM, AND THE REASONS FOR THESE

Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo and his companion Francisco Muñoz, whom we left marching along the coast, did not pause all night, and at dawn they reached the mouth of the Río de Pánuco, where they learned that the governor and his five caravels had entered safely and were going up the river. Encouraged by this good news, they did not want to stop and rest, but though they had marched twelve leagues that night without resting, they hastened their journey still more and traveled three leagues farther. At eight o'clock in the morning they reached the place where the governor and his men were, very sad and anxious in their fears that the two caravels they had left in the great storm at sea had been lost. It was still raging, nor did it cease for another five days thereafter.

But with the presence and the report of these two good companions, their grief and anxiety was changed to content and joy, and they gave thanks to God who had saved them from death. On the following day they received the letter that the Indian brought them, to which the governor replied that after they had rested as long as they wished they were to go to the city of Pánuco where he would await them, so they could all put their lives in order.

Eight days after the shipwreck all our Spaniards had assembled with the governor in Pánuco, and they numbered almost three hundred.<sup>47</sup> They were very well received by the vecinos and inhabitants of that city, who, though they were poor, showed them all the courtesy and good hospitality that they could. For among them were very noble gentlemen, and it aroused their pity to see them so disfigured, black, lean, wasted, barefoot, and unclothed. They wore no other garments except those of deerskin, cowhide, and the skins of bears and lions and other wild animals, so they looked more like wild beasts and brutish animals than human beings. The *corregidor* at once advised the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, who resided in México, sixty leagues from Pánuco, how almost three hundred Spaniards had come out of

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<sup>47</sup>The Gentleman of Elvas gives the number of survivors as 311. Ignacio Avellaneda considers the latter figure accurate, and he has accounted for 257 of these by name. Ignacio Avellaneda, *Los Sobrevivientes de La Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition* (Gainesville: University of Florida, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 1990).

La Florida, of the thousand who had entered it with the adelantado Hernando de Soto. The viceroy sent to order the corregidor to entertain and treat them as his own person, and that when they were ready to travel he was to supply them with everything they needed and send them to México.

Following this message, he sent shirts and sandals and four pack mules laden with conserves and other delicacies and medicines for the sick, for our Spaniards, in the belief that they were ailing. But they were in perfect health though they lacked everything else necessary for human life.

At this point the accounts of Juan Coles and Alonso de Carmona say that the *Cofradía de la Caridad* [Brotherhood of Charity] of México sent these gifts by order of the viceroy.

It must be told now that when General Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado and his captains and soldiers found themselves reunited and had rested ten or twelve days in that city, the most prudent and informed among them observed attentively the mode of life of its inhabitants, which was then miserable enough, because they had no mines of gold or silver or any other wealth of which to avail themselves. They had only such scanty foods as the land afforded, and raised a few horses to sell to those who came from other places to buy them. Most of them dressed in ordinary cotton cloth, very few wearing clothing from Castilla, and the richest vecinos and principal lords of vassals had no wealth except what we have mentioned, though some were beginning to raise cattle in very small numbers. They busied themselves in planting mulberries for silk-culture and in setting out other fruit trees from Spain in order to enjoy their fruits in the future. The rest of their possessions and household equipment corresponded to the things that have been described. All the houses in which they lived were poor and humble, most of them being made of straw. In short, our Spaniards noted that everything they had seen in the pueblo represented no more than the beginnings of settling and cultivating miserably a country that was not as good as the one that they had left behind them and abandoned. They saw that in place of the cotton clothing that the vecinos of Pánuco wore, they could have dressed in very fine deerskins of many and varied colors, such as those they brought with them, and could have worn mantles of marten-skins and other very beautiful and elegant pelts, of which as we have said they have most handsome ones in La Florida. They would not have been forced to plant mulberries for growing silk, since they had found them in such quantities as has been seen, along with the other timber such as three varieties of walnuts, plums, live oaks, and oaks, and the abundance of grapevines that grow in the fields.

In thus comparing these things with the others, the memory of the many and fine provinces that they had discovered was emphasized. Those named alone amount to forty, not counting the others that have been forgotten and still others whose names it has been impossible to learn. They remembered the fertility and abundance of all of them, their advantages for producing crops of grain and vegetables that could be introduced from Spain, and their facilities in the form of pasture grounds, commons, woodlands, and rivers for the breeding and increase of the cattle that they might wish to put into them.

Finally, they carried the memory of the great wealth of pearls and seed pearls that they had despised, and the grandeurs that they had dreamed of for themselves, because each one of them had seen himself the lord of a great province. Comparing now, therefore, those abundances and seigniories with the present miseries and poverty, they told one another their imaginings and sad thoughts, and in their great heaviness of heart and pity for themselves, they said: "Could not we have lived in La Florida just as these Spaniards are living in Pánuco? Were not the lands that we left better than these where we are? If we wished to stop and settle, would we not be better off there than are our present hosts here? Perhaps they have more silver and gold mines than we found, and more riches than those we disdained? Is it not a fine thing that we have come to receive alms and hospitality from others who are poorer than we, when we could have entertained everyone from Spain? Is it just or becoming to our honor that, from the lords of vassals that we could have been, we have come to beg? Would it not have been better to die there than to live here?"

With these words and similar ones arising from their regret over the good things they had lost, they became enraged with one another, in such fury and anger that, desperate with grief at having abandoned La Florida where they might have won so much wealth, they fell to stabbing one another in their rage and desire to kill. Their greatest ire and wrath was directed against the officials of the real hacienda and against the captains and soldiers, nobles and others from Sevilla, because these had been the ones who, after Governor Hernando de Soto's death, had insisted most strongly that they leave La Florida and abandon it. They also had been most persistent in forcing Luis de Moscoso to make that long journey that they made to the province of the Vaqueros. On that road, as was seen at the time, they suffered so many inconveniences and hardships that a third of them and of the horses died. The lack [of horses] was the final cause of their all being lost, because it forced and impelled them to leave the country quickly. They could not stay

or ask for the reinforcements that the adelantado Hernando de Soto had planned to request by dispatching the two brigantines that he had proposed to send down the Río Grande to give notice in México, in the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and in Tierra Firme of what he had discovered in La Florida, so that they might send him assistance for settling the country. This aid could have been given them very easily because of the capaciousness of the Río Grande, by which any ship or fleet could enter and leave.

All these things being now clearly seen and considered by those who had held the contrary opinion and had wished to carry forward the proposals of Governor Hernando de Soto and to settle and establish themselves in La Florida, and seeing now from experience that they had been right in desiring to remain, and their present cause for indignation against the officials and those of their faction, their fury blazed up in such manner that, losing all respect for them, they went in pursuit of them with knives, so that some were killed and wounded. The captains and royal officials did not dare come out of their lodgings, and the soldiers were so enraged against one another that all the people of the city were unable to pacify them. These and other results arise from decisions made without prudence or counsel.

## XVIII

### HOW THE SPANIARDS WENT TO MÉXICO, AND THE WARM WELCOME THAT FAMOUS CITY GAVE THEM

The corregidor of Pánuco, seeing such discord among our Spaniards and that it was increasing day by day, being unable to stop it, sent a report to the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. He ordered that they be sent immediately to México in bands of ten or twenty, directing that those who went in each group should be of the same party and not opposed, so that they would not kill one another on the way.

In accordance with this order and command, they set out from Pánuco twenty-five days after they had entered it.

Along the road both Castilians and Indians came out in great multitudes to see them, and they wondered at seeing Spaniards, on foot, dressed in the skins of animals and bare-legged, for the best provided among them had managed to get little more than the sandals that they gave them out of charity. They were astonished to see them so black and disfigured, and said that

their appearance showed clearly the hardships, hunger, misery, and persecutions that they had suffered. Rumor, performing its office, had already spread great reports about these things throughout the kingdom, and therefore Indians and Spaniards entertained them very affectionately and attentively, and served and regaled them all along the road until, proceeding in bands as they did, they entered the most famous city of México, which because of its grandeurs and wonders today, has the name and preeminence of being the best city in the world. They were received and entertained there by the viceroy as well as by the other vecinos, gentlemen, and rich men of the city, who regarded them so highly that they insisted upon taking them in groups of five or six to their houses and entertained them as if they had been their own sons.

Juan Coles says at this point that a leading gentleman and vecino of México, named Xaramillo, took eighteen men to his house, all being from Extremadura, and that he dressed them in fine cloth [*pañó veintiguatrexo*] from Segovia, and gave each one of them a bed with a mattress, sheets, blankets, and pillows, and a comb, brush, and all the rest needed by a soldier. He said that the whole city was moved by compassion at seeing them dressed in deerskin and cowhides, and that they accorded them this honor and charity because of the many hardships that they knew they had endured in La Florida. On the other hand they had been unwilling to do any favors for those who had gone with Captain Juan Vázquez Coronado, a vecino of México, to discover the Seven Cities, because they had returned to México without any necessity whatever, not being willing to make a settlement. These people had gone out a little before ours. All these statements are from the account of Juan Coles, a native of Zafra, and that of Alonso de Carmona agrees with it in every respect. He adds that among those whom Xaramillo took to his house was a relative of his; it must have been our Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo.

So that it may be seen how closely these two eyewitnesses conform with one another in many parts of their accounts, it seems fitting for me to include here the words of Alonso de Carmona, as I have included those of Juan Coles. They are as follows:

I have said already that we left Pánuco in bands of fifteen or twenty soldiers, and thus we entered the great city of México. We did not enter in one day, but in four, because each party went in separately. They accorded us such charity in that city that I do not know how to tell of it here, for when a band of soldiers entered the city those citizens immediately came out to the plaza, and

he who reached them first considered himself fortunate. Each one wanted to do more than the rest, and thus they took them to their houses and gave them their own beds, and then ordered enough stuff to be brought to dress them in fine black cloth from Segovia. They clothed them and gave them everything else they needed, which included shirts, doublets, caps, hats, knives, scissors, head cloths, and hoods, and even combs with which to comb their hair. After dressing them, they took them to mass on Sunday, and after eating with them, they said: "Brothers, the country is large, and you can make a place for yourselves, each one seeking his own fortune." A vecino from Extremadura was there whose name was Xaramillo. He went out to the plaza and found a band of twenty soldiers, and among them a relative of his, and he treated them all so well that no one could rival him. All the members of my group decided to go and kiss the hands of Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, and though other vecinos invited us to their houses we did not wish to go with them. After we had kissed his hands, the viceroy ordered that food be served to us, and we were lodged in a large room. They gave each one a bed with mattress, sheets, pillows, and blankets, all of them new. He ordered that we should not leave until we were clothed, and after we were dressed we kissed his hands and left his house, thanking him for the favors and charity that he had granted us. We all went to El Perú, not so much because of its wealth as because of the disturbances that were taking place there when Gonzalo Pizarro began to make himself governor and ruler of the country.

With this Alonso de Carmona ends the account of his peregrination, and all these are his own words, copied literally.

The viceroy, being such a good prince, seated all of our men who came to eat at his table with much attention, making no difference between captain and soldier and between a gentleman and him who was not, because he said that, since all had been equal in exploits and hardships, they ought to be [equal] also in the little honor that he was able to show them. He not only honored them at his table and in his house, but he ordered proclaimed throughout the city that no other magistrate except himself was to take cognizance of the cases that might come up among our people. He did this, aside from wishing to honor and favor them, because he knew that an *alcalde ordinario* had arrested and put in the public prison two soldiers of La Florida who had stabbed each other because of the quarrels that had arisen among them all in Pánuco, and that flared up again in México with more smoke and fire of wrath and ill-feeling because they saw the esteem in which the gentlemen and principal men of wealth in that city held the things that they brought out of La Florida, such as the fine deerskins of all colors. For it is



true that as soon as they saw them they made very elegant trousers and doublets from them.

They also valued highly the few pearls and some strings of seed pearls that they had brought, because they commanded a high price.

But when they saw the mantles of marten-skins and other pelts that our men brought, they esteemed them above all the rest. Although, because they had been used for mattresses and blankets, for lack of other bed-clothing, they were full of resin and pitch from the ships, and soiled with dust and mud that came from being walked on and dragged on the ground, they had them washed and cleaned, for they were extremely fine. They lined their best clothing with them and wore it to the plaza as very elegant and ornamental attire, and he who was unable to obtain a fur lining for his whole cape or cloak contented himself with a collar of marten-skins or other pelts, which he wore outside with the frill of his shirt as a valued and much prized adornment. All these things were the cause of greater desperation, regret, and anger to our people, seeing that such important and rich men thought so highly of that which they had despised. They remembered that they had inconsiderately abandoned lands that they had discovered at such cost to themselves, where these things and others as good existed in such abundance. They recalled the words that Governor Hernando de Soto had said to them in Quiguate about the mutiny that had been plotted in Mauvila with the intention of going to México, abandoning La Florida. Among other things he had said to them: "Why do you wish to go to México? To show the cowardice and weakness of your spirits, when you could be lords of so great a kingdom where you have discovered and traversed so many and such beautiful provinces, you have thought it better (in abandoning them through your pusillanimity and cowardice) to go and lodge in a strange house and eat at another's table, when you could have your own in which to entertain and do good to many others?" It seems that these words were a very accurate prophecy of the regret and sorrow that tormented them at present, for which reason they stabbed one another to death without regard for or memory of the companionship and brotherhood that had existed among them. In the course of these quarrels there occurred in México also, as well as in Pánuco, some deaths and many wounds.

The viceroy pacified them with all gentleness and suavity, seeing that they were beside themselves, and to console them he promised and gave his word to make the same conquest if they desired to go back to it. And it is true that having heard of the advantages of the kingdom of La Florida he desired to make the expedition, and thus he gave many of our captains and soldiers

subsidies and gratuities, and offices and employments with which to maintain and occupy themselves while preparations were made for the expedition. Many accepted these, and many did not wish to do so, in order not to obligate themselves to return to a country they had abhorred, and also because they had fixed their eyes on El Perú, as appears from the following incident that took place about that time. It happened thus.

A soldier named Diego de Tapia—whom I knew afterward in El Perú, where he served his Majesty very well in the wars against Gonzalo Pizarro, Don Sebastián de Castilla, and Francisco Hernández Girón—while they were making him a suit, went about through the city of México dressed entirely in skins, just as he had come out of La Florida. As a wealthy citizen saw him in that garb and as he was of small stature and appeared to be one of the very destitute, he said to him: “Brother, I have an *estancia* for cattle raising near the city, where, if you wish to serve me, you may live a quiet and peaceful life, and I will give you good wages.” Diego de Tapia, with an expression like a lion or a bear, in whose skin he was perchance dressed, replied: “I am going now to El Perú, where I expect to have more than twenty *estancias*. If you want to go with me and work for me, I will accommodate you with one of them, so that you can come back wealthy in a very short time.” The citizen of México departed without saying another word, it seeming to him that, with a few more [words], he would not come out of the business very well.

## XIX

### THEY GIVE AN ACCOUNT TO THE VICEROY OF THE MOST NOTABLE THINGS THAT OCCURRED IN LA FLORIDA

Among the principal vecinos and gentlemen of México who entertained our men in their houses, it happened that the factor Gonzalo de Salazar, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this *History*, took Gonzalo Silvestre to his house. Talking with him about many things that took place during this discovery, they came to discuss the beginning of their navigation and what occurred on the first night after they left San Lúcar, and how the two generals found themselves in danger of being sunk. During this conversation the factor learned that Gonzalo Silvestre was the one who had ordered the two

cannon-shots fired at his ship for having gone ahead of the fleet and placed itself to the windward of the flagship, as we described at length in the First Book of this *History*. For this reason from that time on he honored him even more, saying that he had acted like a good soldier, though he said also that it would have gratified him to see Governor Hernando de Soto in order to talk to him about what happened that night.

The factor learned later, from other soldiers, of the good fortune that Gonzalo Silvestre had had in the province of Tula in cutting an Indian in two at the waist with one stroke, and on seeing the sword, which was an old one of the sort that we now call *viejas*, he asked for it to place in his cabinet as a very choice ornament. When he learned that he had given the strip or banner of fine marten-skins decorated with pearls and seed pearls—which we said he got in the pueblo where they obtained food on their way down the Río Grande, where they abandoned the horses because the Indians hurried them so—to his host in Pánuco in return for the hospitality that he had accorded him, he was very regretful, saying that he would have given him 1,500 pesos for it, solely for the pleasure of having such a curiosity as this banner in his room, for the factor was truly most interested in such things.

On the other hand, the whole city of México in general and the viceroy and his son Don Francisco de Mendoza in particular enjoyed greatly hearing about the incidents of the discovery of La Florida, and thus they asked that they be told to them as they occurred. They were astonished when they heard of the many cruel torments that his master Hirrihigua had given to Juan Ortiz, of the generosity and admirable spirit of the good Mucoço, of the terrible pride and bravado of Vitachuco, and of the constancy and fortitude of his four captains and of the three young sons of lords of vassals whom they pulled out of the lake almost drowned. They noted the ferocity and indomitable spirit that the Indians of the province of Apalache showed, the flight of their crippled cacique, and the strange things that took place in the armed encounters in that province, as well as the very laborious journey that the thirty horsemen made in going from and returning to it.

They marveled at the great wealth of the temple of Cofachiqui, its grandeur and sumptuousness, and the abundance of various kinds of arms, with the multitude of pearls and seed pearls that the Spaniards found in it; and the hunger that they endured in the wilderness before arriving there. It pleased them to hear of the courtesy, discretion, and beauty of the lady of that province of Cofachiqui, and of the curaca Coça's kindness and generosity in offering his state as a site for a Spanish establishment. They were astonished to hear of the gigantic size of the cacique Tascaluça and his son, who was like

his father, and of the bloody and obstinate battle of Mauvila, and of the surprise of Chicaça and the mortality of men and horses in these two battles and in that of the fort of Alibamo. They were interested in hearing about the laws against adultery. They were grieved by the want of salt that our people experienced, and the horrible deaths caused by lack of it; and by the very long and useless peregrination that they made because of the secret discord that arose among the Spaniards, which was the reason for their not making a settlement. They were very gratified by the adoration of the cross that was performed in the province of Casquin, and by the pleasant and comfortable winter that the Spaniards spent in Utiangue. They abhorred the monstrous deformity that those of Tula gave their heads and faces by artificial means, and the ferocity of their spirit and nature, corresponding to their appearance.

The death of Governor Hernando de Soto grieved them very much, and they mourned over the two burials that his people gave him. On the contrary, they were much gratified to hear of his exploits, his invincible spirit, his promptness in attacks and alarms, his patience in hardships, his courage and valor in fighting, and his discretion, wisdom, and prudence in peace and in war. When they told the viceroy of his death having cut short his plans for sending two brigantines down the Río Grande to ask assistance from his Excellency, and how (from what they had seen in their navigation to the sea) he could have given it very easily, he was very regretful and blamed greatly the general and captains who remained for not having proceeded with and carried forward the proposals of Governor Hernando de Soto, for they were of such advantage and honor to all of them. He swore with great oaths that he himself would have gone to the mouth of the Río Grande with reinforcements so that they would have been better and more promptly aided. And all the gentlemen and principal men of México said the same.

The viceroy was also pleased to hear of the beauty and fine appearance the natives of La Florida usually have; of the Indians' strength and courage, the ferocity and skill they show in shooting with their bows and arrows, the very wonderful and admirable shots that they make with them; the daring spirit that many of them exhibit individually, and that they all have in common; the perpetual warfare that they wage upon each other; the punctiliousness in affairs of honor they found in many of the caciques; the fidelity of the captain-general Anilco; the defiance that the cacique Guachoya made; the league of Quigualtanqui with the ten caciques who conspired with him; the punishment that they gave his ambassadors; the labors that our men underwent in building the seven brigantines; the great flood on the Río

Grande; the Spaniards' embarkation; the fine spectacle afforded by the multitude of canoes that appeared before them at dawn; and the cruel persecution that they gave them until they drove them entirely beyond their boundaries.

The viceroy also desired particularly to learn of the nature of the lands of La Florida. He was much pleased to hear that there was such an abundance of fruit trees like those of Spain in them, such as various kinds of plums and three varieties of walnuts, one with nuts so oily that the oil ran out when the kernel was pressed between the fingers; such quantities of acorns from oaks and live oaks; such an abundance of fine mulberries, and so many productive vines bearing very good grapes. Finally, the viceroy was very gratified to hear of the extensiveness of that kingdom, the advantages that it had for raising all kinds of cattle, and the fertility of the soil for crops of grain, fruit, and vegetables. All these things increased the viceroy's desire to make the conquest, but despite his efforts he was unable to induce the men who had come out of La Florida to remain in México in order to return there. On the contrary, within a few days after their arrival they were scattered in various places, as we shall soon see.

## XX

### OUR SPANIARDS ARE SCATTERED THROUGH VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE EFFORTS OF GÓMEZ ARIAS AND DIEGO MALDONADO TO OBTAIN NEWS OF HERNANDO DE SOTO

The accountant Juan de Añasco, the treasurer Juan Gaytán, and Captains Baltasar de Gallegos, Alonso Romo de Cardeñosa, Arias Tinoco, and Pedro Calderón, and others of less importance returned to Spain, choosing to go there poor rather than to remain in the Indies, because of their abhorrence of them, as well as because of the hardships they had suffered there and of what they had lost from their estates, they themselves having been the cause in most cases of the one and the other being wasted without any advantage whatever. Gómez Suárez de Figueroa returned to the house and estate of his father, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa y de la Cerda.

Others who were more discreet entered religious orders, following the good example that Gonzalo Quadrado Xaramillo gave them, he being the first to take the habit. He chose to heighten his nobility and his past exploits

by becoming a true soldier and nobleman of Jesus Christ our Lord, enlisting under the banner and standard of such a maese de campo and general as the seraphic father St. Francis, in whose Order and profession he died, having shown by his works that the true nobility and consummate courage that please and gratify God are acquired in religion. Because of this action, which as it had been performed by Gonzalo Quadrado, was much more observed and noted than if it had been done by anyone else, many of our Spaniards did the same, entering various religious orders so as to honor all their past lives by making such a good end.

Others, and these were fewest, remained in New Spain. Among them was Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, who married in México a rich and important woman who was a relative of his.

Most of them went to El Perú, where in all the events of the wars against Gonzalo Pizarro and Don Sebastián de Castilla and Francisco Hernández Girón, they conducted themselves in the service of the Crown of Spain like men who had passed through the hardships we have described. Even so it is true that we have not told a tenth part of what they actually endured.

In El Perú I knew many of these gentlemen and soldiers, who were very esteemed and acquired a great deal of property, but I do not know that any of them have managed to obtain repartimientos of Indians such as they could have had in La Florida.

In order to finish our *History*, which through the favor of the heavenly Creator we see now approaching its end, nothing more remains for us to tell except what Captains Diego Maldonado and Gómez Arias did after Governor Hernando de Soto sent them to La Havana with orders as to what they were to do in that summer and the following autumn, as was told in its place. Therefore it will be well to tell here what these two good gentlemen performed in compliance with their orders and their own obligation, so that their generous spirits and the loyalty they showed for their captain-general may not be forgotten, but recorded as an honor to them and an example to others.

Captain Diego Maldonado, as we said above, went with the two brigantines under his orders to La Havana to visit Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, the wife of Governor Hernando de Soto. He was to return with Gómez Arias, who had made the same voyage shortly before, and the two captains were to take between them two brigantines and the caravel and such other ships as they could buy in La Havana, laden with provisions, arms, and munitions. In the following autumn, which was in the year 1540, they were to take them to the port of Achusi which Diego de Maldonado himself had discovered.

Governor Hernando de Soto was to come out there, having made a large circle in exploring the interior country. This was not done, on account of the discord and secret mutiny that the governor discovered his men had plotted. For this reason he withdrew from the sea and went inland, where nearly all of them were lost.

Thus now it must be told that when Gómez Arias and Diego Maldonado had joined one another in La Havana and paid the visit to Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, and sent a report throughout all those islands of what they had discovered in La Florida, and what the governor was asking for to begin a settlement in that country, they purchased three ships and loaded them with food, arms, munitions, calves, goats, colts, mares, sheep, and [seeds of] grain, barley, and vegetables, in order to make a beginning of raising animals and plants. They also loaded the caravel and the two brigantines, and, if they had had two more ships, there would have been enough cargo for all of them, since the inhabitants of the islands of Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, because of the good reports they had heard of La Florida and of their love for the governor, and for their own interests, had made an effort to assist him in every way they could. Diego Maldonado and Gómez Arias went to the port of Achusi with these things, to the place designated. Not finding the governor there, the two captains went out in command of the brigantines and coasted along the shore, one in either direction, to see whether the Spaniards might have come out at some other point to the east or west. Wherever they went they left signs on the trees and wrote letters, which they put into their hollow trunks, giving an account of what they had done and expected to do in the following summer. And when the severity of the winter would permit them to navigate no longer, they returned to La Havana with the sad news that they had none of the governor. But this did not keep them from returning in the summer of the year 1541 to the coast of La Florida and following it all the way to the lands of México and to Nombre de Dios, and along the eastern shore to the Tierra de Bacallaos, to see whether by some means or manner they could get news of Governor Hernando de Soto. Being unable to do so, they went back to La Havana in the winter.

Then in the next summer, of the year 1542, they went back to the same search, and having spent almost seven months in doing the same thing as before, they were forced by the weather to go back and winter in La Havana. At the beginning of the spring of the year 1543, though they had obtained no news whatsoever for the past three years, they set out again, persisting in their enterprise and search with the determination not to desist from it until

they died or got news of the governor. For they could not believe that the land would have consumed them all, but that some of them must have come out somewhere. They traveled on this quest all that summer as in the preceding ones, suffering the hardships and inconveniences that may be imagined. To avoid prolixity, we shall not tell of them in detail.

## XXI

### THE PEREGRINATION OF GÓMEZ ARIAS AND DIEGO MALDONADO CONTINUES

Traveling thus with such anxiety and care, they arrived at La Vera Cruz in mid-October of the same year 1543, where they learned that their comrades had left La Florida, that less than three hundred of them had escaped, and that Governor Hernando de Soto had died there, along with all the rest who had perished out of nearly a thousand who had entered that kingdom. They learned in detail of all the misfortunes that had befallen the expedition. With this sad and lamentable news those two good and loyal gentlemen returned to La Havana and gave it to Doña Isabel de Bobadilla. As the grief and anxiety that she had felt continuously for three years at not having heard from her husband were now increased by this new sorrow of his death and the failure of the conquest, and by the waste and loss of his property, the fall of his estate, and the ruin of his house, she died soon after learning of it.

This tragedy, lamentable because of the loss of the many and excessive efforts made by the Spanish nation without profit or benefit to the country, was the end and outcome of the discovery of La Florida, which the adelantado Hernando de Soto made at such expense to his own fortune, and with so much equipment of arms and horses and so many noble gentlemen and valiant soldiers as we have told elsewhere. In none of the other conquests of all those that have been made in the New World up to the present has there been assembled such a fine and brilliant company of men, so well armed and disciplined, nor so many horses as were collected for this one. All of this was consumed and lost without any gain for two reasons. First, because of the discord that arose among them, for which reason they did not make a settlement at the beginning. Second, because of the governor's untimely death; if he had lived two years longer, he would have repaired the past damage by



means of the reinforcements that he was going to request, and that could have been sent him by way of the Río Grande, as he had planned.

Thus it was possible that he could have laid the foundations of an empire that could compete today with New Spain and El Perú, because in the extent and fertility of the land and in its advantages for cultivation and cattle raising it is not inferior to any of the others. On the other hand it is believed that it has the advantage of them, for as to wealth we have already seen the incredible quantity of pearls and seed pearls that were found in only one province or temple, and the marten-skins and other rich furs that appertain solely to kings and great princes, aside from the other grandeurs to which we have referred at length.

There may be gold and silver mines, and I do not doubt that they would have been found if they had been sought for carefully. When they were won, neither México nor El Perú had the ones that they now have. Those of the Cerro de Potosí were discovered fourteen years after Governors Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego Almagro undertook their enterprise of the conquest of El Perú. The same thing could have been done in La Florida, and meanwhile they could have enjoyed the other wealth that we have seen is there, for gold and silver are not everywhere that people live.

Therefore I shall earnestly and repeatedly supplicate the king, our lord, and the Spanish nation not to permit that a land so good, which their people have traversed and of which they have taken possession, shall remain outside their empire and dominion, but that they make efforts to conquer and settle it in order to establish there the Catholic faith that they profess, as those of their own nation have done in the other kingdoms and provinces of the New World they have conquered and settled, so that Spain may enjoy this kingdom as well as the others, and so that it may not remain without the light of the evangelical doctrine, which is the chief thing that we should desire, and without the other benefits that can be conferred upon it, both in bettering its moral life and in improving it with the arts and sciences that flourish today in Spain. The natives of that country have great aptitude for these things, since without any teaching except that of their natural instincts they have done and said things so excellent as we have seen and heard. Often in the course of this *History* I have been apprehensive at finding them so civilized, magnificent, and excellent, fearing that it may be suspected that these things were inventions of my own and not virtues of the country. With regard to this, God, our Lord, is my witness that I not only have not added anything to the relation that was given me, but I confess to my own shame and confu-

sion that I have not been able to describe these wonders as they really occurred, as they were recited to me by those who saw them. For this I ask pardon of that whole kingdom and of those who may read this book.

This should be sufficient to cause due credit to be given to him who without claims of interest or hope of rewards from kings or great lords or from anyone else, except that of having told the truth, undertook the labor of writing this *History*, wandering from country to country in ill-health and with excessive discomfort solely in order to give in it an account of what has been discovered in that great kingdom, so that our Catholic faith and the Crown of Spain may be augmented and extended. These are my first and second purposes, and holding to them will assure Divine favor for those who may go on this conquest, which may our Lord direct for the glory and honor of His name, so that the multitude of souls who live in that kingdom without the truth of His doctrine may be converted to it and may not perish. And may He accord me His favor and protection so that hereafter I may employ what remains of my life in writing the history of the Incas, the former kings of El Perú; their origins and beginnings, their idolatry and sacrifices, laws, and customs—in short, their whole commonwealth as it was before the Spaniards won that empire. All the greater part of this is now set in the loom. I shall tell of the Incas and all the rest mentioned what I have heard from my mother and her uncles and ancient relatives, and all the rest of the common people of the country, and from what I managed to see of those antiquities, which were not yet so entirely destroyed in my childhood that some shadows of them did not remain. I shall tell likewise of the discovery and conquest of El Perú what I heard from my father and his contemporaries, who won it, and from the same sources I shall recount the general uprising of the Indians against the Spaniards and the civil wars that took place over the partition between Pizarros and Almagros, for they gave this name to those factions that arose among them for the destruction and punishment of them all.

With regard to the rebellions that took place later in El Perú, I shall state briefly what I heard from those who participated in them on one side or the other, and what I myself saw. Though only a boy, I knew Gonzalo Pizarro and his *maese de campo* Francisco de Carvajal and all his captains, and Don Sebastián de Castilla, and Francisco Hernández Girón, and I am informed of the most important things that the viceroys have done since then in the government of that empire.

## XXII

### THE NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS, SECULARS AND RELIGIOUS, WHO HAVE DIED IN LA FLORIDA DOWN TO THE YEAR 1568

Having given lengthy accounts of the death of Governor Hernando de Soto and of other principal gentlemen, such as the great and noble captain Andrés de Vasconcelos, a Portuguese Spaniard, and the good Nuño Tovar, an Extremaduran, and of the many other noble and valiant soldiers who died on this expedition, as could have been seen in detail in the *History*, it seems to me that it would be unbecoming not to record the names of the priests, clergy, and religious men who died with them, both those who were then in La Florida and those who have gone afterward to preach the faith of the Holy Mother, the Roman church, which is the reason why they ought not to remain in oblivion. For captains and soldiers as well as priests and religious men died in the service of Christ, our Lord, since one and all went with the same zeal for preaching His holy gospel, the gentlemen to compel the heathen with their arms to subject themselves and come to hear and obey the Christian teachings, and the priests and religious men to oblige and impel them with their good lives and example to believe and imitate them in their Christianity and religion. Speaking first of the seculars, we said that the first Christian who died in this quest was Juan Ponce de León, the first discoverer of La Florida, a gentleman from León who in his childhood was a page of Pedro Núñez de Guzmán, the lord of Toral. All those who went with him died as well, for, as they came out wounded by the Indians, none of them escaped. I was unable to ascertain their number, except that it exceeded eighty men. Then Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón went, and he also died at the hands of the Floridos, along with more than 220 Christians whom he took with him. Following Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Pánphilo de Narváez went with four hundred Spaniards, no more than four of whom escaped. The rest died, some at the hands of the enemy, some drowned at sea, and those who escaped the sea simply died of hunger. Ten years after Pánphilo de Narváez, the adelantado Hernando de Soto went to La Florida, taking a thousand Spaniards from all the provinces of Spain. More than seven hundred of them perished. Thus those Christians who have died in that country, along with their commanders up to the year mentioned, exceed fourteen hundred. It remains now to tell of the priests and religious men who have died there.

Those for whom information is available are the ones who went with Hernando de Soto, and those who have gone there since. Of those who accompanied Juan Ponce de León, and the ones who went with Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón and Pánphilo de Narváez, there is no more mention in their histories than if they had never existed. Twelve priests went with Hernando de Soto, as we said at the beginning of this *History*, in Chapter 6. Eight of them were clergymen and four more were friars. Four of the eight clergymen died in the first year that they entered La Florida, and hence their names are not remembered. Dionisio de París, a Frenchman from the great city of Paris, and Diego de Bañuelos, a native of the city of Córdoba, both clerics, and Fray Francisco de la Rocha, a friar of the profession of the Most Holy Trinity and a native of Badajoz, died of illness in the lifetime of Governor Hernando de Soto. Since they had no physician or apothecary, if nature did not cure him who fell ill, there was no remedy through human skill. The other five, who were Rodrigo de Gallegos, a native of Sevilla, and Francisco del Pozo, a native of Córdoba, cleric priests, and Fray Juan de Torres from Sevilla, of the Order of the seraphic father St. Francis, and Fray Juan Gallegos of Sevilla, and Fray Luis de Soto, a native of Villanueva de Barcarrota, both of the Order of the divine St. Dominic, all of them of good life and example, died following the death of the adelantado Hernando de Soto, during those great hardships they experienced in going and returning on that long and ill-advised journey that they made in order to reach the lands of México, and in those which they suffered before embarking. Though because they were priests, their companions protected them in every way they could (where there was as great scarcity of comforts as there was an excess of hardships), they could not escape with their lives, and thus they all remained in that kingdom. These men, besides their piety and priesthood, were all nobles, and while they lived they performed their office in a manner well befitting religious men, confessing and inspiring to a good death those who were dying, and teaching and baptizing the Indians who remained in the service of the Spaniards. After the year 1549, five friars of the Order of St. Dominic went to La Florida. The emperor Charles V, king of Spain, sent them at his expense because they offered to go and preach the gospel to those heathen without taking soldiers with them, going alone in order not to alarm those barbarians. But the latter were still disturbed from the past expeditions, and would not listen to the religious' teachings. On the contrary, as soon as three of them set foot on the shore, they killed them with rage and cruelty. Among them died the good father Fray Luis Cáncer de Balbastro, who went as leader of his people, and had petitioned the emperor very insistently [to be

allowed to make] that expedition, in the desire of augmenting the Catholic faith. Thus he died for it like a true son of the Order of Preachers. I did not learn from what country he was, nor the names of his companions; I should like very much to record here the one and the other. In the year 1566, three religious men of the holy Company of Jesus passed to La Florida with the same zeal as those mentioned above. He who went as superior was Maestro Pedro Martínez, a native of the famous kingdom of Aragón. It is renowned through the world in that, being so small in extent, it should have been so great in the valor and courage of its sons, who have performed the great exploits that are recounted in its histories and in others. He was a native of a village of Teruel. As soon as he went ashore the Indians killed him. Two companions whom he took with him, one a priest named Juan Rogel and the other a brother named Francisco de Villa Real, went back to La Havana, much grieved at being unable to carry out their desires of preaching and teaching the Christian doctrine to those heathen.

In the year 1568, eight religious men of the same Company went to La Florida, two priests and six brothers. He who went as superior was named Bautista de Segura, a native of Toledo, and the other priest was called Luis de Quirós, a native of Xerex de la Frontera. I did not learn the native countries of the six brothers, whose names were as follows: Juan Bautista Méndez, Gabriel de Solís, Antonio Zavallos, Cristóbal Redondo, Gabriel Gómez, and Pedro de Linares. They took with them an Indian lord of vassals who was a native of La Florida. We ought to tell how he came to be in Spain. It happened that the adelantado Pedro Menéndez went to La Florida three times from the year 1563 to that of 1568 to drive away from that coast certain French corsairs who were attempting to establish and settle themselves there.<sup>48</sup> On the second of those voyages he brought back seven Florido Indians who came willingly, wearing the same dress that we have described, in which they go about in their own country. They also brought the very fine bows and arrows they make for use on state occasions. When the Indians were passing through one of the villages of Córdoba, as they were taking them to Madrid so that his Majesty the king, Don Felipe II, could see them, the author who gave me the relation of this *History*, who lived there, knowing that Indians from La Florida were passing that way, came out to the camp to see them and asked them from what province they were. So that they might know that he had been in that kingdom, he asked them whether they were from Vitachuco, or Apalache, or Mauvila, or Chicaça, or some

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<sup>48</sup>See note 45.

other where they had had great battles. Seeing that Spaniard was one of those who went with Governor Hernando de Soto, the Indians looked at him with hostile eyes and said to him: "Since you left those provinces in the ruinous state that you did, do you think that we are going to give you news of them?" They would not answer him further, and talking among themselves, they said (according to the interpreter who came with them) that each one of them would more willingly give him arrow-shots than the news he asked for. So saying (in order to show their desire to shoot the arrows and their skill in doing so), two of them discharged arrows into the air with such force that they were lost to view. In relating this to me, my author told me that he was afraid they were going to shoot them at him, in view of the mad and fearless nature of those Indians, especially in feats of arms and boldness. Those seven Indians were baptized here, and six of them died within a short time. The one who was left was a lord of vassals, and he asked permission to return to his own country, making great promises of what he would do as a good Christian in the conversion of his vassals to the Catholic faith, as well as the rest of the Indians of that whole kingdom. For this reason the religious men admitted him into their company, thinking that he would help them as he had promised. Thus they went to La Florida and entered many leagues into the interior country, crossing great swamps and marshes, and not wishing to take soldiers so as not to alarm the Indians with arms. When the cacique had them in his own country where he thought he could kill them at his pleasure, he told them to wait for him there, that he was going four or five leagues beyond to prepare the Indians of that province to hear the Christian teachings willingly and peacefully, and that he would return within eight days. The religious men waited for him fifteen days, and when they saw that he was not coming back they sent Father Luis de Quirós and one of the brothers to the pueblo where he had said he was going. Don Luis [the Indian] and many others of his people, seeing them in his presence, killed them with great rage and cruelty without saying a word to them, like an apostate traitor. Before the other religious ones should learn of their companions' deaths and go to some other, neighboring province for safety, they attacked them on the following day with great impetus and fury, as if they had been a squadron of armed soldiers. Hearing the noise of the Indians and seeing the weapons they carried in their hands, the religious men fell on their knees to receive the death that they were going to give them for preaching the faith of Christ, our Lord. The heathen gave it most cruelly, and thus they ended their present lives like good religious people, to enjoy eternal life. The Indians having killed them, they opened a chest they carried containing books of

the holy Scriptures, breviaries, missals, and ornaments for saying mass. Each one of them took the ornament that struck his fancy and put it on to suit himself, mocking and making light of that majesty and richness and holding it to be a mean and vile thing. While the others were leaping and dancing about in the ornaments, three of the Indians took out a crucifix that was in the chest, and while they were looking at it they suddenly fell dead. All the rest of them fled, throwing the ornaments in which they had dressed themselves on the ground. The father maestro, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, also wrote of this incident. Thus these eighteen priests, ten belonging to the four Orders that we have named and eight being clergymen, and the six brothers of the holy Company, making twenty-four in all, are the ones who have died in La Florida up to the year 1568 in preaching the holy gospel. There are in addition the fourteen hundred secular Spaniards who went to that country in four expeditions, whose blood I hope in God is not crying out and pleading for revenge like that of Abel, but for mercy like that of Christ, our Lord, so that those heathen may attain the knowledge of His eternal Majesty, under the obedience of our mother the holy Roman church, and thus it is to be believed and hoped that a land that has been watered so many times with so much Christian blood may bear fruit in accordance with this watering of Catholic blood that has spilled upon it. Glory and honor be to God, our Lord, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Three Persons and the only true God. Amen.

#### THE END

He left them in Córdoba in the power and custody of a printer, and busied himself with other matters in the interest of his Order, abandoning his accounts, which were not yet in proper form for printing. I saw them and they were in very bad condition, half of them having been consumed by moths and mice. They covered more than a ream of paper. [The above statement appears at the end of the last page of the text of the 1605 edition but is not included in the text in the 1723 edition. Apparently it refers to the accounts collected by Fray Pedro Aguado, mentioned in the “Preface to the Reader” at the beginning of the present volume—CS.]





# Appendix

## GENEALOGY OF GARCÍ PÉREZ DE VARGAS BY HIS DESCENDANT GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, CALLED THE INCA

*Translated and Edited by Frances G. Crowley*

### EDITORIAL NOTE

The manuscript of the *Genealogy of Garci Perez de Vargas by his descendant Garcilasso de la Vega, called the Inca*, original and autographed, Córdoba, 1596, contains approximately twenty-eight pages. It was published in Spanish by the Marquis del Saltillo under the title *The Inca Garcilasso and the Lassos in History*<sup>1</sup> in Madrid in 1929.

According to the Chronicles of King Ferdinand the Saint, Pérez de Vargas, with whom the genealogy begins, fought for Córdoba and Seville during the king's reign.<sup>2</sup>

For many years Garcilaso intended this to be Chapter 1 of *La Florida*; why is not clear. Perhaps because it showed how hidalgos such as De Soto had always fought for their kings; perhaps because some of De Soto's ancestry is articulated in this family tree. Perhaps because it was the best way of

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<sup>1</sup>The Marquis del Saltillo, "El Inca Garcilasso y los Lassos en la historia," *Revista de historia y genealogía española* (Madrid), 3, no. 16 (July–August 1929): 296–307.

<sup>2</sup>Raúl Porras Barrenechea, in "Report on the Genealogy of Garci Perez de Vargas," *Revista Archivo histórico del Cuzco* (Cuzco, 1959), 378–406.

Raúl Porras Barrenechea says that Garcilaso intended to dedicate his *Genealogy* to another Don Garcí Pérez de Vargas, a contemporary of Garcilaso and a descendant of the Pérez de Vargas with whom this account begins. A later decision induced him to change his dedicatory letter. He crossed out the previous dedication and substituted the one to Prince Theodosio of Portugal, which currently precedes the Princeps edition of *La Florida*. However, in the version we use he still dedicates the work to his contemporary, Garcí Pérez de Vargas.

In the actual manuscript the first pages are missing. To get the manuscript, this writer had to first call for the Porras Barrenechea article (cited at the head of this note) in order to identify the *Genealogy* manuscript as No. 18-109 in the Manuscript Room of the National Library, since there was some difficulty in locating it without the number.

getting the attention of the king, in order to emphasize Garcilaso's claim to being a Spaniard (on his father's side) and, therefore, deserving of royal favor. Why he eventually separated it from *La Florida* is also not very clear. Probably his publisher, Peter Crasbeeck, suggested that it be omitted, since its relation to *La Florida* is tenuous at best. However, in its four hundred-year history it has never been translated into English. We do so here because it has some parts that will be of interest to scholars of this period and because it is part of the provenance of *La Florida*.

The following translation is from the copy of Blas de Salazar, as found at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

# GENEALOGY OF GARCÍ PÉREZ DE VARGAS

[Preface?]

Although they are not small works to complete, for a major purpose I esteem these [pages] more than any other advantages Fortune could bring me were it prosperous and favorable, because I hope unto God that my works will bring me more honor and a better and more durable reputation than any other means of gaining wealth. For this reason, I am more Fortune's debtor than her creditor [the pronoun *her* may have a concealed antecedent that is not Fortune, but the lady who was executrix of some income Garcilaso had inherited], and, as such, I am grateful; and would be even more so, if happy to see me settled, she stopped persecuting me with these unpaid assignments, since I no longer ask her favors and mercies, having no good reason to do so. She pursues me, nonetheless. With this powerful lady it was not worth my while to pursue her, nor to try to escape her, because at all times she has been against me, even in the smallest things.

Because it is painful and not profitable to talk about her lack of favor and my disadvantage, it would be preferable to cease remembering them, as if they had never happened, and to resort to the sad consolation of the doctor who, for lack of a better remedy, dispenses to the patient a medicine that will make him forget his pain. To better forget mine, I will change from this subject to another about your [Don Garcí's] service [to your country], which makes up for all present and past adversities.

STORY OF THE DESCENDANCY OF THE FAMOUS  
PÉREZ DE VARGAS, WITH SOME PASSAGES WORTH  
REMEMBERING, DEDICATED TO  
DON GARCÍ PÉREZ DE VARGAS,  
HIS LEGITIMATE HEIR.

It seems impertinent of me to want to present you [Don Garcí Pérez de Vargas] with your genealogy and descendancy, of which you are so well

aware. Although it is known as being that of [your great and famous ancestor] Pérez de Vargas, I nonetheless consider placing it here to show my fondness for you, so it may be seen how your grandparents and mine had the same first and second [generations] and that we honor [them also as] being of your lineage and family tree. Although this is well known in Extremadura, it is not so well known outside of there. For this reason, I shall beg you to allow me to draw your family tree for you, so your descendants may be placed in its shade, each in the proper place, so all of them, perceiving their natural and inevitable obligation, should try to imitate your ancestors and their own; especially [should they seek to imitate] Pérez de Vargas. So zealous was he in the service of his king and in the propagation of the Catholic faith, as to risk several times losing his life for it by fighting against the Moors who occupied Andalucía. The emulation of these and other virtues of his will make his successors proud of being worthy sons and descendants of this excellent man, whose deeds are amply described in the Chronicles of King Ferdinand, called the Saint, who conquered the cities of Córdoba and Seville and all of Andalucía. About 348 years after Seville was conquered, the following popular verses are still generally sung [there]:

Hercules built me,  
 Julius Caesar surrounded me  
                   with towers and large walls,  
 The Holy King conquered me  
                   with Garcí Pérez de Vargas.

These verses are said to have been written on one of the doors of the city, from where the ravages of time consumed them, as they have done and will do to major works.

Recently Don Francisco Zapata de Cisneros, first count of Barajas, who was president of the Royal Council, while assistant in Seville, renewed them, not through his writings, but by that delightful work of the Alameda [a boulevard mall], which he carried out, because he was a great designer of the cities he governed, as can be seen by modern-day Córdoba and Seville.

In which Alameda he renewed and had dug up two stone columns of the many placed by Hercules in the foundation of that city [Seville]. He brought to life the histories of those times and lent reality to the fables of poets of years gone by about the columns of Hercules and of other written events. He placed in one of them, as is extant today, the statue of Hercules and in the other that of Julius Caesar, whom I admire, as founders of Seville. Three

water fountains with quantities of orange trees and poplars greatly beautified that great city, rich in gold and silver and precious stones, a yearly tribute from Peru, my homeland. [Seville is] a city more enriched by outstanding and high minds than could be produced by a special favor of celestial influences [a conjunction of favorable stars].

The Alameda appears more distinguished, delightful, and agreeable to those who, like myself, knew the place before the work was done, as it was [before that] extremely smelly and abominable. It was called the lagoon, because it collected rainwater and all the refuse and dead animals of the city, and it had become a pestilential lake of water and mud contaminating the whole neighborhood, whereas now it is the cause of its greatest delight.

Returning to the outstanding virtues of your ancestor, the famous Garcí Pérez de Vargas, one must keep them perpetually in mind: (1) to imitate them in maintaining and preserving the honor of the gentleman who guarded the Men [the king?]; (2) to remember how, as the armies made the mistake of turning toward the king out of fear of the seven Moors, whom they saw on their way, [Garcí Pérez] sustained his honor by not giving away who [the king] was, although Lorenzo Suárez questioned him during the absence and presence of the king. He always said he did not know him well, but he actually did see him daily. With his eyes, he enjoined his squire to imitate him, lest he be discovered and should lose his honor as a good knight.

I consider this one of his major accomplishments, as his use of self-control to protect another person's honor, [honor being] something a gentleman must have, singled him out as a better knight than the others. I do not mention any further action, as I do not wish to take any honor away from those of others surrounding that king called the Saint. All that is needed to arouse respect is the mention of his name and the imitation of his virtues. Without this imitation it seems wrong to value fathers and grandfathers, as outstanding as they may be, because it would be more of a disgrace [a mere lip service] than an honor.

*Chapter 4:* [crossed out: "There continues the descendancy of Garcí Pérez de Vargas toward those who have their primogeniture."]

## DESCENDANCY OF GARCÍ PÉREZ DE VARGAS

Pedro de Vargas, a gentleman of Toledo, descendant of the Goths, who remained in that city when Spain was lost, had as sons Garcí Pérez de Vargas and Diego Pérez de Vargas, nicknamed Machuca. He populated Xerez de la

Frontera from whom are descended the gentlemen of that name (whose name as that of many others does not need to be preceded by Don), famous for their arms and ability to play folk songs.

Garcí Pérez de Vargas had as a son Pedro Fernández de Vargas, who bore Lope Pérez de Vargas. His son was Alonso Fernández de Vargas, who lost the city of Burguillos by treason of a mayor.

[His son] Gonzalo Pérez de Vargas married María Sánchez de Badajoz, daughter of Mencia Vázquez de Goz and of Garcisánchez of Badajoz, among the most distinguished bearing this name in Extremadura.

[Although] it came from far away and from high estates, this name has been lost, because it has been joined with that of the Vargas and Figueroas, and the descendants have taken to calling themselves Sánchez de Vargas and Sánchez de Figueroa, for they had everything. It would have been right not to let go of the Badajoz name, as it was so ancient and noble. I have only seen it preserved until the arrival of that famous and constantly in love Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz, born in the very illustrious and generous city of Ecija (although his parents came to it from Extremadura). [The] Phoenix of Spanish poets, he was without equal, nor is there hope of another. So great were his works that I hold them in high esteem and veneration, the permitted ones in their written form, and the forbidden ones engraved in my memory as a sacred mandate, committed to it for so many years because they were most pleasant.

I have lived with this rich depository, eager to meet an outstanding poet-theologian who would express [to me] their real meaning, bearing for them the same affection I have, which in view of their spirituality could easily be done. I would like this divine transcription of that part of the Holy Scriptures forming the nine lessons for the dead returned to their pure spiritual meaning to prevent the loss of that most original and elegant, eminent and high-minded composition and Spanish verse. Considering this matter carefully, it would [not] be fair for the Spanish to imitate the Italians, the work being Spanish and so divine. Not unlike the Italians, who as soon as works are forbidden correct them and keep on printing them, lest the memory of the author be forgotten. The Spaniards should not allow his work to perish. They should not allow the others, unworthy of being disciples or servants of the one and only Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz, to take advantage of the fact that the work is forbidden and unprotected to plagiarize it to pieces, as they illustrate their own poems, incorporating his, as I saw it done by some poets who became rich and famous with the treasures of another.

Of this superior work, Christopher Castillejo, secretary of Emperor Ferdinand, as a man who understood it well, among many other stanzas written

against those who abandon Spanish metric combinations to adopt Italian ones, says the following about Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz:

Garcí Sánchez proved to be  
Somewhat angry, as he said:  
“It is not proper  
For a person born in Spain  
To make use of foreign lands.”  
Because in my lessons alone,  
Having observed his stanzas well,  
You will see such consonance  
That Petrarch and his songs  
Remain behind him in elegance.

To increase and widen the extent of my hope, I express this wish here, that soon some Spaniard, for the above-mentioned reasons, may take him [Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz] up as his own, and fulfill my wish [to see a new printing of his poetry]. He will thus do a work that will please people of high intelligence, and that will benefit his nation. As much as I wish to do this work, I am not a poet. I have not attempted it on my own, nor have I been able to look for the poet-theologian I seek to find because of this work [the *Genealogy*] and the past one about León Hebreo. Although it is true that I agreed with the Reverend Father and teacher Juan de Pineda, born in Seville, who was an outstanding professor of writing in the Jesuit College in Córdoba, that during the summer vacations of [15]94, his Paternity, and I as his instrument, should reduce those divine lessons to their spiritual and holy meanings. It was impossible for me to carry out even my first essay. Urgent needs of my own, caused by difficulties in securing food supplies from my small property, forced me shortly before my vacation to let go of my studies and of this work I was eager to start, as I needed to provide for the necessities of life. If God would provide them, I would return to my [first] purpose. Until now my efforts [to discover the meanings of these poems] have not served me. They have only caused me great pain and sorrow for having lost in the carrying out of such a desired enterprise the opportunity, the time and the promise of [working with] such an eminent gentleman as Father and teacher Juan de Pineda. When I returned to Cordoba, after taking care of my needs, his vacations were over. In testimony of this loss, I certify that this clause was added and written during this sad absence and these wanderings of mine, even while I made a clean copy of this foreword, because to save time I take my first drafts, practically all I own, with me wherever I go.

Returning to our original task, Gonzalo Pérez de Vargas and María Sánchez de Badajoz had as their progeny Juan de Vargas, Hernando de Vargas, and García de Vargas.

Juan de Vargas married Leonor Suárez de Figueroa, daughter of the Master of Santiago Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, whose children were Juan de Vargas and Mencia de Vargas.

Juan de Vargas died childless. His sister Mencia de Vargas married, in Xerez of Badajoz, Vasco Fernández de Silva, descendant of the house of C[ifuentes], whose progeny were Arias Pérez de Vargas and Juan de Silva. Arias Pérez de Vargas married María Ponce de León whose successors were Franco de Vargas, Luis Ponce de León, and Arias de Silva.

Francisco de Vargas married Doña Mayor de Figueroa y de la Cerda, native of Córdoba, lady-in-waiting of the Catholic Queen Isabel. They gave birth to Don Juan de Vargas and Doña Mencia de Vargas.

Don Juan de Vargas married Doña Juana de Figueroa, daughter of Juan de Figueroa Sotomayor, granddaughter of Hernando Sotomayor, and great-granddaughter of Pedro Suárez de Figueroa and of Doña Blanca de Sotomayor; her son was Francisco de Vargas. Don Francisco de Vargas married Doña Juana de Bohorques, daughter of Pedro García de Bohorques and of his wife Doña Isabel de Alfaro. Their sons were Don Garcí Pérez de Vargas and Don Diego de Vargas, who was a religious and died early.

Don Garcí Pérez de Vargas married Doña Teresa de Arellano Portocarrero, daughter of Don Alonso Pacheco and of his wife Doña Angela de Arellano. The paternal grandparents of said Doña Teresa were Don Pedro Portocarrero and his wife Doña Juana Pacheco, sister of the marquis de Alcalá, and maternal grandparents were Don Hernandarias of Saavedra, count of Castellar and his wife Countess Teresa Ramírez de Arellano y Cuñiga, sister of the count of Aguilar, descendant of Don Carlos de Arellanos, lord of Cameros [double-beds].

Don Garcí Pérez de Vargas had two daughters, the elder being Juana de Vargas Bohorques and the second Doña Angela de Vargas y Arellano. She possesses today the rights of primogeniture [*mayorazgo*] of the town of Higuera de Vargas, rights derived from her famous antecedent Garcí Pérez de Vargas. She is head and oldest relative of all the Vargas [descendants] of Extremadura.

This is your [Mercy's] family tree, and the origin of the Vargas [branch] from Extremadura. Let me place here two of their branches to prove we are of your lineage.

[The heading of this unit, Chapter 5, reads: "Descendancy of Vargas men living in Mérida; first shoot of the lineage of Garcí Pérez de Vargas."]



Backtracking to pick up the first branch, it was stated that Gonzalo Pérez de Vargas married María Sánchez de Badajoz and had, as told, Hernando de Vargas as her son, to whom she bequeathed the primogeniture of Sierrabrava, which today belongs to his descendants who live in Mérida, the Spanish Rome of earlier times, according to the lovelorn Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz in his comparative complaints, which remained unfinished because of his sudden illness.

Hernando de Vargas married Beatrice of Tordoña who bore Alonso de Vargas. Alonso de Vargas married Doña Beatrice de Hinestrosa, daughter of Lope Alvarez de Hinestrosa Osorio, mayor “comendador” of León. They gave birth to Hernando de Vargas (whose descendants belong to the second branch) and Juan de Vargas and Doña Leonor de Vargas.

Fernando de Vargas married Doña Blanca de Sotomayor, daughter of Fernando de Sotomayor, whom we shall mention elsewhere; their sons were Alonso de Vargas, Juan de Vargas, Hernando de Sotomayor, Pero Suárez de Figueroa, and Gómez de Tordoña, who died in Peru in the so-called battle of Chupas, while he was field marshal of the imperial army, whose general was the lawyer Vaca de Castro who was governor of Peru during the battle against the mestizo Diego de Almagro.

The first born, Alonso de Vargas, had no male successors, only a daughter, Blanca de Vargas, who succeeded in the primogeniture of Sierrabrava, her first cousin being Doña Francisca de Vargas and Figueroa, who married Christopher de Xejas, mayor of Xerez de Badajoz, whose son was Alonso de Vargas of the war counsel and cavalry general in the Flemish wars, as well as a generalissimo in those of Aragón.

Doña Blanca de Vargas, who as only daughter inherited Sierrabrava, married Fernando de Vera, the eldest son, in Mérida. Their sons were Don Fernando, Don Alonso, and Don Antonio de Vargas. I knew the latter two gentlemen as captains in his Majesty’s infantry.

Don Juan de Vera y Vargas married Doña Teresa de Figueroa in Badajoz. She was the daughter of Don Jerónimo de Figueroa and bore Don Fernando de Vera y Vargas.

Don Fernando de Vera y Vargas married Doña Juana de Cuñiga, daughter of the marquis de Mirabel.

This is the branch and the descendancy of the Vargas who live in Mérida, descendants of the second son of Gonzalo Pérez de Vargas and María Sánchez de Badajoz.

[Chapter 6, “The second branch of the Garcí Pérez de Vargas family Tree.”]

To depict the second branch, in which I want to prove we are yours, let me track back to Alonso de Hínestrosa de Vargas, lord of Sierrabrava, and to Doña Beatrice de Hínestrosa, descendant of Garcí Pérez de Vargas by direct male lineage, as has been seen. In which attempt I shall pause with the descendancy of the Vargas [branch] to pen the descendancy of the Figueroas and the most distinguished house of Feria and of Sotomayor, of the not less outstanding house of Belalcaçar, which since God was so merciful will give us reason to publish it, not to take advantage of the name of relatives, as it is not decent for the poor, but to recognize them and serve them as natural lords, calling ourselves servants of their houses, not as mercenaries, but for being born in them. At least I always acted this way and was rewarded by men as generous as they were, and especially by two true ladies that I could never deserve in this world, the marquises de Priego, of the house of Feria and Aguilar, grandmother and granddaughter of glorious memory, both bearing the same first name, although with double last names, called Lady Catalina Fernández de Córdoba and Aguilar and Lady Catalina Fernández de Córdoba and Figueroa, examples of Christian religion, of princely greatness and magnanimity to confuse and shame those who will not emulate them.

For that descendancy it is necessary to know that Fernando Sánchez de Badajoz, owner of the pasture of the arches and other famous ones that are in that region, had as only daughter Mencia Sánchez of Badajoz, and he had her married to a second son of the house of Belalcaçar, named Juan de Sotomayor, whom her mother, after she became a widow, had marry Pedro Suárez de Figueroa, second son of Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, first count of Feria, and of Lady Elvira Lasso de la Vega, sister of Iñigo López de Mendoza, from whom the *duques* of the appanage [territory assigned to an infant] descended.

However, Suárez de Figueroa and Lady Blanca de Sotomayor had a son, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, nicknamed “hoarse,” a very respected name in Extremadura; they also had Hernando de Sotomayor, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa who was ambassador to the most powerful Venetian signoria. They connected each of these to a primogeniture [mayorazgo], which their descendants still own—as shall be seen they were a great generation! Leaving aside the firstborn, whose descendancy is that of my father and his brothers, I shall move [be moving] from the last to the first to fulfill my obligation toward them; in view of the fact that, because I am an Indian from the Antarctic [South American] region, the majority do not know about me and are [not?] witnesses of what I may say in my favor. I say that Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, who was the fourth son, had a

daughter, Lady Beatrice de Figueroa. She married Don Pedro de Fonseca and they had Don Juan de Fonseca and Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, and other gentlemen who live in Badajoz.

Garcilaso de la Vega [a captain in the Spanish army], who was the third son, had as sons Don Perolasso de la Vega and Garcilaso de la Vega [author of *La Florida*]. He was a model of gentlemen and poets, who as everybody knows and as he himself states, spent his life heroically wielding both the pen and the sword.

Don Pero Lasso de la Vega married Doña María de Mendoza in Toledo. They gave birth to Garcilasso de la Vega who was ambassador of his Catholic Majesty in Rome, and to Pedro González de Mendoza who was canon of the Holy Church in Toledo, and to Don Alvaro de Luna.

Garcilasso de la Vega married Lady Aldonza Niño; their sons were Don Perolasso de la Vega y Guzmán and Don Rodrigolasso de la Vega, Niño, who live today in Toledo.

Fernando de Soto, oldest second son of Pero Suárez de Figueroa and of Doña Blanca de Sotomayor, had Juan de Figueroa Sotomayor of whom we said that she married Fernando de Vargas, owner of Sierrabrava. Juan de Figueroa Sotomayor gave birth to Don Gerónimo and Doña Juana de Figueroa of whom we said she married Don Juan de Vargas, my lord and your grandfather, so that we are related through the Figueras, the Sotomayors, and the Vargas. Don Gerónimo de Figueroa [~~crossed out: "and Lady Juana de Figueroa"~~] had as children Don Juan de Figueroa who lived without successors, and Don Diego de Figueroa Azavedo who today lives in Badajoz, and Lady Teresa de Figueroa of whom we said that she married Don Juan de Veras y Vargas in Mérida.

Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, the "hoarse," the first son of Pero Suárez de Figueroa and of Doña Blanca de Sotomayor, married Doña Isabel Mosquera Enríquez, had two daughters, the first named Blanca de Sotomayor, like her grandmother, and the second Doña Teresa de Figueroa, who married comendador Juan de Céspedes. They had many sons and daughters, one of them being Doña Leonor Lasso de la Vega, an exemplary nun who today lives in the convent of Santa Clara in Montilla, aunt of Doña Isabel de Figueroa who was abbess in the same convent, and of brother Juan de Céspedes who was living the previous three years in San Pablo de Sevilla, as well as of other gentlemen who dwell in that distinguished city, and other cities in Extremadura, bearing the name Céspedes, grandchildren of the above-mentioned Juan de Céspedes and Doña Teresa de Figueroa.

Doña Blanca de Sotomayor, first-born daughter of Gómez Suárez de

Figueroa the “hoarse,” oldest sister of Doña Teresa de Figueroa, married Alonso de Hinestrosa de Vargas with whom we take a pause from our male descendancy of the Vargas, who had four sons and five daughters.

Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Vargas was the oldest son. He married Doña Caterina de Alvarado. His first-born son [was] Alonso de Hinestrosa de Vargas y Figueroa; [there were] as well other sons and daughters, who, although some were married, all died without having successors.

Alonso de Hinestrosa de Vargas y Figueroa married Doña Isabel de Carvajal, his first cousin. Their daughter, Doña Catalina de Figueroa, married Alonso de Hinestrosa de Vargas her uncle, first cousin of her father, about whom more will be mentioned; they also had Doña Teresa de Vargas and Doña Blanca de Sotomayor who today are nuns in Badajoz. [About eight lines here are crossed through and not legible.]

The second son of Alonso de Hinestrosa de Vargas and of Doña Blanca de Sotomayor was Don Alonso de Vargas, cavalry captain of Emperor Charles V, king of Spain, one of the captains who accompanied the person of our lord King Philip as his faithful guards from Genova to Flanders when he was sworn in as ruler of those states. He spent thirty-eight years engaged in continuous war in three parts of the Old World without leaving it, fighting against the Moors, Turks, and heretics, and against the enemies of the Spanish Crown. He was called Francisco de Placencia until he became captain and, as we said, took the trip with Captain Diego de Aguilera. Having returned to his country with permission of his Majesty, he married Doña Luisa Ponce de León in Montilla, of the very noble blood and descendancy of the knights of Argote and Ponce de León, of whom there are many in the royal city of Córdoba. Don Alonso de Vargas died childless and for this reason he adopted me, although I was not worthy of being his.

[Erased: “Chapter 7; The descendancy of Alonso Hinestrosa de Vargas continues; Some instances of Indian and Spanish history are pointed out.”]

The third son of Alonso Hinestrosa de Vargas and of Lady Blanca de Sotomayor was my father Garcilaso de la Vega. He spent thirty years of his life until it came to an end helping to conquer and populate the New World, especially the great kingdoms and provinces of Peru. There by word and deed he taught and instructed those gentiles in our holy Catholic faith, enlarged and magnified the Spanish Crown so greatly, richly, and powerfully that for that empire alone, which it owns among others, it is feared by the rest of the world. I was given birth by an Indian called Doña Isabel Chimpu Occlo. They are two proper names, the Christian, and the gentile by which Indians whether male or female, especially those of royal lineage, have been

accustomed to add their previous name after the name by which they were baptized. This serves them well in representing and keeping alive the names and royal titles that were theirs in their old majesty. These names could only be given to men and women descendants of the male lineage, and they remain such to their survivors.

Doña Isabel Palla Chimpu Occlo was the daughter of Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui and of Coya Mama Occlo, his legitimate wife. He was the brother of Huayna Capac Inca, who was the last natural king of the empire called Peru, as I said at length to his Catholic Majesty in the dedication of our [*Dialogues of*] León Hebreo and as shall be more amply told in the history of the origin of those Inca kings, about whom more shall be written [and was in *The Royal Commentaries*] if God gives me the health and I do not have the bad luck that usually prevents me from attacking my proposed goals.

The fourth of the above-mentioned brothers, Juan de Vargas, married Doña Mencia de Silva in Badajoz, had no children, and, although he arrived late after its discovery [Peru?], he had an early reversal according to the proverb, because after eight or nine years he spent in the service of his king, he entered the battle of Huarina on Diego Centeno's side as infantry captain, where he was shelled by four shots from a *harquebus*.

To these almost eighty years, during which my father and his two brothers served the Spanish Crown, I wish to add those few and useless ones that I served with the sword during my youth and the more useless present ones with the pen to boast and brag about the fact that I followed and imitated them in the service of my king, choosing as my reward (1) the fulfillment of our debt and obligation, although for all of it we possess no more than (2) the satisfaction of having spent them (3) as one should, and it is sufficient for us to have done our part. The contribution of great princes consists more in the benefits of the recipients than of the [their own] merits, nor do they depend on the liberality and magnificence of those who do them [these deeds], because it can be seen at every step that many who deserve well achieve nothing, and others without any merit, and by the hidden favor of their stars, more than by liberality or prodigality of the prince, receive them in abundance.

Of the five daughters of Alonso Hinestrosa de Vargas and of Doña Blanca de Sotomayor, the three youngest were nuns in the convent of Santa Clara in Cofra; the last one still lives and her name is Doña Blanca de Sotomayor, like her mother's.

The oldest daughter was Doña Beatrice de Figueroa, married to the famous captain Fernando de Guillada; they had as a son Alonso de Hinestrosa

de Vargas, about whom we said that he married their niece, Doña Catalina de Figueroa. They currently live in Badajoz. They had likewise Juan de Sotomayor who was presbyter and Francisco de Guillada who was the firstborn, and Doña Blanca de Sotomayor. They all died early and did not marry.

Doña Isabel de Vargas was the second daughter, married in Badajoz to Alonso Rodríguez de Sanabria, descendant by direct male line from that Men Rodríguez de Sanabria whose good advice King Peter [Pedro] the Cruel did not want to take, for which he died by hands of the king Don Henry [Enrique] his brother through the infidelity of a French captain. Because this is an agreeable historical anecdote within the scope of our pursuit, it will be well for us to tell it for those who do not know it.

King Henry was besieged by his brother Don Pedro in the castle of Monteil. The two brothers agreed to see each other alone, outside the castle. The mediator would be a famous French gentleman whose name was Mossem Beltrán de Chaclin, an aide of King Henry.

King Pedro informed Men Rodríguez de Sanabria, a most faithful servant who had been with him ever since his childhood and who was fond of him, that this agreement had been made. He [the servant] told him: "Sire, do not trust a Frenchman paid by your enemy, who will be more devoted to him than to your Royal person. If, the agreement having been made, you should not wish to go back on your word and should not want to retract it, take me with you, so I may be on your side. Since he is paid by the other, let us be two against two, because if anything happens during the meeting, you will have someone on your side to come to your rescue with loyalty and devotion."

As a brave and proud man, King Peter did not want to avail himself of such sound counsel; rather in confirmation of the first agreement, he and his opponent decided to meet alone, assisted by Mossem Beltrán for both parties.

During the meeting the two kings came to blows with hands and arms, and they say that King Peter, as the stronger and more robust, threw his brother to the ground; then the Frenchman entered the fray, saying, "I neither abandon a king, nor do I make a king, but I help my king." With these words, he confused the destinies of the contenders, making a winner out of the one who had fallen. Because King Henry did not know what to do at that moment, the Frenchman said: "Whoever is in such straits, let him not overlook his Girlfriend." He said this because King Henry always had with him his sword, called Girlfriend.

Then, taking hold of it with his hand, he killed his brother, King Peter. For which infidelity, among the recent nine men of fame, they paint Mossem

Beltrán's face turned backward. In other wars between France and England he [Mossem Beltrán] was extremely brave and, although he was a prisoner of the English, he was even braver in prison.

Men Rodríguez de Sanabria felt such pain and sorrow that his king had died for not believing him, that he donned sackcloth and tied it with a grass rope. He wore that habit the rest of his life, and his descendants incorporated in their coat of arms and the border of their shields the rope, which they wear as an emblem.

The said Doña Isabel de Vargas and Alonso Rodríguez de Sanabria had a son who was in the more than famous battle of Lepanto and who currently lives in Badajoz. They had also Doña Blanca de Vargas, currently abbess in Santa Clara de Cofra, and Diego de Sanabria who in arms, virtue, and human letters was a role model for the youth of his time. He and two of his sisters died in their early youth, nor were they married.

This is the briefest and clearest report that I have been able to glean from the wills and the marriage certificates of your predecessors with both branches derived from that tree and continuing down to the descendants still alive today, a daring endeavor for an Indian. I did not dare to pursue here other branches proceeding from this tree, such as the descendancy of the Vargas knights who live in Trujillo, because their line of succession is not as clear as this one. I ask them to forgive any trouble this may cause them, because much that I desired it, it was not possible. To remedy this, it must be noted that the tree has been planted and the garden opened. Anyone who wants to may come in and take a hold of any branch that is most pleasing and place it with any other and I shall be very happy.

[What follows was erased by Garcilaso and has not been included in the Saltillo version. The exclusion is of the greatest interest for this work, as it shows Garcilaso's intention to originally publish the genealogy with *La Florida*. The question that presents itself here is why the two works were eventually separated, and whether Pedro Crasbeeck influenced the separation. The part crossed out reads as follows: "And leaving apart such a great discussion, it will be reasonable for you to view the new building, badly traced and worked on more poorly, which I built of the history of Florida with my small strength and smaller ability to offer and dedicate it to you."

[This is followed by a paragraph from the dedication to Don Theodosio of Portugal in the *La Florida*, which reads as follows:]

"It is written in six Books, corresponding to the six years that were spent on the expedition. The Second Book and the Fifth are each divided into two parts; the Second so that it might not be so long as to weary the eye." The

division in books follows the same scheme as that of the later preface. The fifth book has been divided into two parts to maintain reader interest. [He has then changed “because I am Indian and I am yours” to “I am Indian.”]

[In the last paragraph Garcilaso asks for the Lord’s blessing. The book has been written in “Córdoba from this poor rented house the fifth day of May 1596.”]



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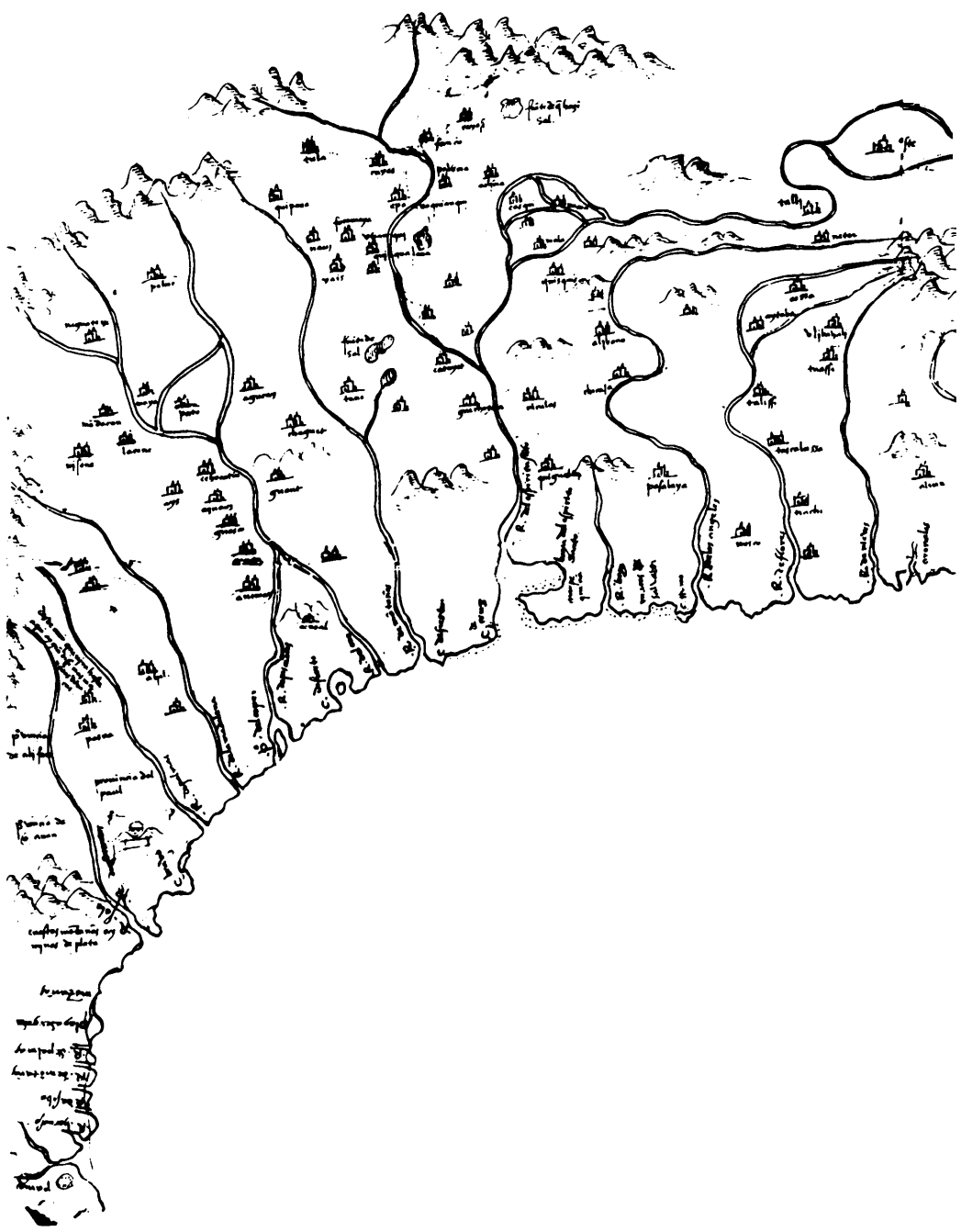
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THE "DE SOTO MAP." THIS IS A MODERN COPY OF A PEN-AND-INK-SKETCH MAP IN THE GENERAL ARCHIVE OF THE INDIES IN SEVILLE. THE ORIGINAL IS UNSIGNED AND UNDATED, BUT IT IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN DRAWN BY THE SPANISH ROYAL CARTOGRAPHER ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ, AMONG WHOSE PAPERS IT WAS ORIGINALLY FOUND. IT IS BELIEVED TO DATE AROUND 1544 AND IS THE EARLIEST KNOWN MAP GIVING ANY DETAIL ABOUT THE INTERIOR OF NORTH AMERICA. THE SOURCE OF THE INFORMATION WAS OBVIOUSLY ONE OR MORE OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION. THE RENDERING OF THE COAST COMES FROM OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, AND THE AUTHOR HAS ATTEMPTED, WITH LIMITED SUCCESS, TO MATCH THE COASTAL RIVER MOUTHS AND BAYS TO THE RIVERS CROSSED IN THE INTERIOR BY DE SOTO'S ARMY. (COURTESY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION)

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