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A Narrative of De Soto's Expedition  
Based on the Diary of  
Rodrigo Ranjel, His Private Secretary

by Gonzalo Fernandez  
de Oviedo y Valdés

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE<sup>1</sup>

LET not the reader marvel that the historian goes over in exact detail the days' marches and rivers and crossings that this Commander and Governor Hernando de Soto encountered in these provinces and regions of the north, because among those gentlemen who were with the army all the time there was one named Rodrigo Ranjel, of whom mention has been made and will be made in the future, who served in this army and who, desiring to keep in mind what he saw and the course of his life, wrote down day by day at the end of his labours, every thing which happened, like a wise man, and also as a diversion, and also because every Christian ought to do so, to be able to confess, and to recall to memory his faults, especially those who are engaged in war; and also because those who have toiled and endured such heavy labours find comfort afterwards, as eye-witnesses, in sharing their experiences with

<sup>1</sup> From Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, lib. XVII. cap. XXVI.

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their friends, and in giving an account of themselves as they ought to. And so this Rodrigo Ranjel, after all these things had happened, which have been and shall be narrated, came to this city of Santo Domingo, in the Island of Española,<sup>2</sup> and gave an account to the royal audiencia of all these things, and it asked him and charged him that he should tell me in writing and give an account of everything in order that, as chronicler of their Majesties of these histories of the Indies, there might be gathered together and included in them this conquest and discovery in the North, that it might be known; since so many novelties and strange matters would be a delight for the judicious reader and a warning to many who are likely to lose their lives in these Indies following a governor who thus has control over the lives of others, as is apparent by these studies and writings of mine.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence makes it possible to fix the date before which Oviedo secured his material, for he left Santo Domingo in August, 1546.

## RELATION OF RANJEL

### CHAPTER I <sup>1</sup>

HOW HERNANDO DE SOTO WAS APPOINTED TO GOVERN  
CUBA AS CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THEIR MAJ-  
ESTIES, AND WITH THE TITLE OF ADELANTADO  
OF FLORIDA.

THE Emperor, our lord, appointed as his Governor and Captain-General of the Island of Cuba and of the Province of Florida and the adjacent regions in the northern mainland, which had been discovered by the commander Johan Ponce de Leon, Hernando de Soto, who was one of the soldiers of the Governor Pedrarias de Ávila, of whom in the history of Terra-Firma <sup>2</sup> there has been frequent mention, since he was one of the pioneers in those parts and was in the lead in the capture of Atabaliba <sup>3</sup> when he was one of those who obtained a large share of the spoils. He brought so much to Spain that it was reported that he found himself in Castile with over one hundred thousand pesos de oro,<sup>4</sup> where, for his services and merits, he was very

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XXI. of Book XVII. of the *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* of Oviedo. Vol. I., pp. 544ff.

<sup>2</sup> South America.

<sup>3</sup> Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru.

<sup>4</sup> The peso de oro was one-sixth of an ounce, and approximately equivalent to three dollars,



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well received by the Emperor, our lord ; and he made him Knight of the Order of St. James and bestowed other honours and made him Governor and Captain-General, as has been related.

And while he was in Castile he married one of the daughters of the Governor Pedrarias Dávila, whose name was Doña Isabel de Bovadilla, and, who, like her mother, was a woman both good and great and truly noble in mind and bearing. With her De Soto went to the island of Cuba where he arrived in the month of [June <sup>5</sup>] in the year 1539.<sup>6</sup> And after he had viewed the island and its settlements, and made the provision needful for its well being and for the preservation of the land, he gave orders to arm and to pass over to the mainland to conquer and settle and reduce to peaceful life those provinces which his Majesty had bestowed upon him ; and in this enterprise the events took place which will be narrated in the following chapters.

<sup>5</sup> Blank in the text. A letter from the audiencia of Santiago de Cuba gives the date as June 7. The document itself is wrongly dated 1539, instead of 1538. (B. Smith's *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, 288.)

<sup>6</sup> So in the original, but it should be 1538. See Vol. I. Ch. V.

## RELATION OF RANJEL

### CHAPTER II

OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE GOVERNOR, HERNANDO DE SOTO, FROM THE ISLAND OF CUBA OR FERNANDINA FOR THE NORTHERN MAINLAND; AND OF THE FLEET AND THE SOLDIERS WHICH HE TOOK FOR THE DISCOVERY; AND OF THE LABOUR OF LANDING AND HOW MANY HORSES AND OTHER THINGS HE TOOK; AND HOW THEY RESCUED A CHRISTIAN CALLED JOHAN ORTIZ, WHO HAD BEEN LOST AND WENT NAKED LIKE THE INDIANS.

ON Sunday, May 18, 1539, the Governor Hernando de Soto departed from the City of Havana with a noble fleet of nine vessels, five ships, two caravels and two brigantines; and on May 25, which was Whitsuntide, land was seen on the northern coast of Florida; and the fleet came to anchor two leagues from shore in four fathoms of water or less; and the Governor went on board a brigantine to view the land, and with him a gentleman named Johan de Añasco and the chief pilot of the fleet whose name was Alonso Martin, to discover what land it was, for they were in doubt as to the port and where to find it;<sup>1</sup> and not recognizing it, seeing that night was approaching, they wished to return to the ships, but the wind did not suffer them for it was contrary; therefore they cast anchor near

<sup>1</sup>The port Juan de Añasco had found earlier during his reconnoissance. See Vol. I. p. 20.

#### NARRATIVES OF DE SOTO

the land and went on shore, where they came upon traces of many Indians and one of the large cabins that are seen in the Indies and other small ones. Later they were told that it was the village of Oçita.

The Governor and those with him were in no small peril, since they were few and without arms; and no less was the distress of those left in ships to see their General in such an evil case, for they could neither succour nor assist him if there were need. In fact, to take such great care, was really heedlessness and excessive zeal, or a lack of prudence on the part of the Governor; for such work belongs to other persons and not to him who has to govern and rule the army, and it is enough to send a captain of lower rank for such a reconnoissance and the protection of the pilot who has to go to examine the coast. And the ships there were in sore travail and the whole fleet too, in which there were 570 men, not counting the sailors; including them the number was fully 700. The next morning, Monday, the brigantine was far to the leeward of the ships and labouring to come up to them and was no wise able to. Seeing this, Baltasar de Gallegos shouted to the Admiral's ship that the Lieutenant-General, who was a knight named Vasco Porcallo, should go and see what had best be done.

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and, when he heard him not, to bring aid to the Governor he ordered a large caravel to weigh anchor in which that gentleman went as captain, and which put out in the direction where the brigantine appeared; and although the Governor regretted it, yet it was well done since it was in his service and to succour his person. Finally the caravel came up to the brigantine, much to the satisfaction of the Governor.

In the meantime the harbour was recognized and the other brigantine stationed in the channel as sign for the ships, and the Governor's brigantine approached to station the caravel also in the channel of the harbour; and he ordered that it should take a position on one side of the channel and the brigantine on the other so that the ships might pass between them. This they now began to do under sail, for they were four or five leagues off. The Governor had to be there to show them the way, because the chief pilot was in the brigantine and because there were many shallows. In spite of all their pains two of the ships scraped bottom, but, as it was sandy, they received no damage. This day there were hard words between the Governor and Johan de Añasco, who came as the King's auditor, but the Governor restrained his feelings and was patient.

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The ships entered the harbour constantly sounding the lead, and sometimes they scraped bottom, but, as it was mud, they passed on. This took up five days, during which they did not land except that some men went ashore and brought water and forage for the horses. Finally, since the ships with their loads could not, on account of the shoals, proceed to where the village lay, they anchored about four leagues farther back.

On Friday, May 30, they began to put the horses ashore. The place where they disembarked was due north of the Island of Tortuga, which is in the mouth of the Bahama channel. The chief of this land was named Oçita,<sup>2</sup> and it is ten leagues west of the Bay of Johan Ponce.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as some of the horses were on shore, General Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa and Johan de Añasco and Francisco Osorio rode off to see something of the country; and they lighted upon ten Indians with bows and arrows who, in their turn, were coming as warriors to get a look at these Christian guests and to learn what manner of folk they

<sup>2</sup> Ucita in the Portuguese narrative.

<sup>3</sup> Tampa Bay. The landing place of De Soto is usually identified as Tampa Bay. On the uncertainty of the identification of De Soto's route see Lowery (*Spanish Settlements in the United States*, 461ff.).

#### RELATION OF RANJEL

were, and they shot two horses and the Spaniards slew two Indians and put the rest to flight.

There were in that expedition two hundred and forty-three horses. Of these nineteen or twenty died on the sea, but all the rest were put ashore. The General and some foot soldiers went in the brigantines to see the village; and a gentleman named Gomez Arias returned in one of them and gave a good report of the country and likewise told us how the people had gone away.

On Trinity Sunday, June 1, 1539, this army marched by land toward the village, taking as guides four Indians that Johan de Añasco had captured when in search of the harbour; and they lost their bearings somewhat, either because the Christians failed to understand the Indians or because the latter did not tell the truth. Thereupon the Governor went ahead with some horsemen, but since they were unfamiliar with the land they wearied the horses following deer and floundering in the streams and swamps for twelve leagues till they found themselves opposite the village on the other side of the roadstead of the harbour, which they could not pass around. And that night worn out they slept scattered about and not at all in order for war. During all that week the ships gradu-

#### NARRATIVES OF DE SOTO

ally approached the village, being unloaded little by little with boats, and in that way they took ashore all the clothes and provisions which they carried.

Some paths were found, but no one knew or was able to guess which to take to find the natives of the country. The four Indians understood very little, and then only by signs, and it was not easy to guard them as they had no fetters. Tuesday, June 3, the Governor took possession of the country in the name of their Majesties, with all the formalities that are required, and despatched one of the Indians to persuade and allure the neighbouring chiefs with peace. That same night two of the three Indians that remained ran away, and it was only by great good luck that all three did not get away, which gave the Christians much concern.

On Wednesday the Governor sent Captain Baltasar de Gallegos with the Indian that was left to look for some people or a village or a house. Toward sunset, being off their road, because the Indian, who was the guide, led them wandering and confused, it pleased God that they descried at a distance some twenty Indians painted with a kind of red ointment that the Indians put on when they go to war or wish to make a fine appearance. They wore many feathers and had their bows

#### RELATION OF RANJEL

and arrows. And when the Christians ran at them the Indians fled to a hill, and one of them came forth into the path lifting up his voice and saying, "Sirs, for the love of God and of Holy Mary, slay not me; I am a Christian like yourselves and was born in Seville, and my name is Johan Ortiz."

The delight of the Christians was very great in God's having given them a tongue and a guide, of which, at that time, they were in great need; and, with every one very much elated, Baltasar de Gallegos and all the Indians who came with him, returned that night very late to the camp; and the Spaniards of the army were greatly wrought up, believing it was something else, and seized their arms; but seeing what it was, great was the joy that they felt, for they believed that by means of that interpreter they could accomplish much more. Without loss of time, on the Saturday following, the Governor resolved to go with that Johan Ortiz, interpreter, to the chief<sup>4</sup> that had held him who was called Mocoço, to make peace and to induce him to make friends with the Christians. And he awaited them in his village with his Indians, his wives and his sons, not one missing, and he made complaint to the Governor of the

<sup>4</sup>The word *caçique* has been uniformly rendered "chief."



#### NARRATIVES OF DE SOTO

chiefs Orriygua, Neguarete, Capaloey, and Eçita, all four of whom are chiefs of this coast, saying that they threatened him because he accepted our friendship and saw fit to give up this Christian as an interpreter to the Christians. The Governor made this same interpreter to say that he should have no fear of these chiefs or of others, since he would protect him; and that all the Christians and many more that were to come soon would be his friends and help him and show him favour against his enemies.

That same day Captain Johan Ruiz Lobillo went up into the country with about forty foot soldiers and came upon some huts, but were able to take only two Indian women. To rescue them, nine Indians followed him, shooting at him for three leagues; and they slew one Christian and wounded three or four, yet without his being able to do them any harm, although he had arquebusiers and crossbow-men, because these Indians are as agile and as good fighters as can be found among all the nations of the world.

## RELATION OF RANJEL

### CHAPTER III

HOW WAR BEGAN TO KINDLE AND WAS WAGED CRUELLY; AND HOW THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL RETURNED TO THE ISLAND OF CUBA; AND HOW THE GOVERNOR SET OUT FROM THAT PORT OF SPIRITU SANCTO INLAND, AND WHAT BEFELL HIM AND HIS FOLK UP TO AUGUST 10, 1539.

THIS Governor was much given to the sport of slaying Indians, from the time that he went on military expeditions with the Governor Pedrarias Dávila in the provinces of Castilla del Oro and of Nicaragua; and likewise he was in Peru and present at the capture of that great Prince Atabalipa, where he was enriched. He was one of the richest that returned to Spain because he brought to Seville, and put in safe keeping there, upwards of one hundred thousand pesos of gold; and he decided to return to the Indies to lose them with his life and to continue the employment, blood-stained in the past, which he had followed in the countries I mention.<sup>1</sup>

So then, continuing his conquest, he ordered General Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa to go to Oçita because it was reported that people had come together there; and this captain having

<sup>1</sup>This paragraph records Oviedo's personal views of De Soto, which were distinctly less favourable than those of "The Gentleman of Elvas."

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gone there, he found the people departed and he burned the village and threw an Indian, which he had for a guide, to the dogs. The reader is to understand that *aperrear* (to throw to the dogs), is to have the dogs eat him, or kill him, tearing the Indian in pieces, since the Conquistadores in the Indies have always used to carry Irish greyhounds and very bold, savage dogs. It is for this reason that reference was made above to the chase<sup>2</sup> of Indians. In this way this Indian guide was killed because he lied and guided badly.

While Vasco Porcallo was doing what has been related, the Governor despatched another Indian as a messenger to the chief Orriparacogi,<sup>3</sup> and he did not return because an Indian woman told him not to, and for this reason she was thrown to the dogs. There were among those in this army divers opinions whether it would be well to settle there or not, because the soil seemed to be barren, and such in fact is its repute. For this reason the Governor resolved to send Captain Baltasar de Gallegos to Orriparagi with eighty horse and one hundred foot, and he set out on Friday, June 20.

And the Governor likewise sent Johan de

<sup>2</sup> *Monteria*, translated "sport," p. 59 above.

<sup>3</sup> This name, which reappears in varying forms, is the same as the Paracoxi of the "Gentleman of Elvas."

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Añasco in the ship's boats along the shore with some foot soldiers to disperse a gathering of the Indians, or to see and hear what was up. He found them on an island, where he had a fray with them and killed with the small cannons<sup>4</sup> that he carried nine of ten Indians and, they in turn, shot or cut down as many or more Christians. And since he could not dislodge them from the island he sent for help, and the messenger was a hidalgo named Johan de Vega, and he asked for horsemen to take possession of the mainland at the place where they were likely to come away; since with the force that he had and with the increase he expected to land and fight the Indians.

The Governor sent Vasco Porcallo with forty horse and some foot, but when this reinforcement arrived the Indians had gone; and the Spaniards, not to have come in vain, raided the land and captured some women whom they took to the camp. Vasco Porcallo, upon his return from this raid, had something of a clash with the Governor (which is concealed in this narrative)<sup>5</sup> nor was the historian able, on account of certain considerations, to find any one who could inform him what he said to him. And it

<sup>4</sup>*Versos de la artilleria.*

<sup>5</sup>Apparently Oviedo's note.

#### NARRATIVES OF DE SOTO

was accepted as a good settlement that Vasco Porcallo should return to Cuba to look after the affairs of the government there, and to provide the Governor and his army when it should be necessary with what they might have need of. The departure of this cavalier was regretted by many since he was a friend of good men and did much for them.

The Governor had ordered Baltasar de Gallegos even though he found no good land, that he should write good news to encourage the men; and, although it was not his nature to lie since he was a man of truth, yet to obey the order of his superior and not to dismay the men, he always wrote two letters of different tenor, one truthful, and the other of falsehoods, yet falsehoods so skilfully framed with equivocal words that they could be understood one way or the other because they required it; and in regard to this, he said that the true letter would have more force to exculpate himself than the false one evil to harm him.<sup>6</sup> And so the Governor did not show the true letters, but announced beforehand that what he did not show was very secret information which later on would be made clear for the great advantage of all. The ambiguous and deceptive letters he

<sup>6</sup>*I. e.*, the Governor. This sentence is blind in the original.

#### RELATION OF RANJEL

showed and made such declarations as seemed best to him.

Those letters, although they promised no particular thing, gave hopes and hints that stirred their desires to go forward and emerge from doubts to certainty; wherefore as the sins of mankind are the reason that falsehood sometimes finds reception and credit, all became united and of one mind and requested the invasion of the land, which was just what the Governor was contriving; and those that were ordered to stay behind with Captain Calderon were heavy in spirit, and there were of them forty horse and sixty foot left in guard of the village and the stuff and the harbour and of the brigantines and boats that were left, for all the ships had been despatched to Havana.

The Governor, gratified at this agreement, set out from the village and harbour of Spiritu Sancto (so called from the day when the Governor and his fleet arrived). This departure took place on Tuesday, July 15, 1539, and that night they bivouacked on the river of Mocoço, and they took with them a large drove of pigs which had been brought over in the fleet to meet any emergency. They made two bridges where the army crossed the river. The next day they were at the lake of the Rabbit, and they gave it this name be-

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cause a rabbit suddenly started up in the camp and frightened all the horses, which ran back over a league, not one remaining; and all the Christians scattered to recover the loose horses; and if there had been any Indians around, even a few, they would have had the Spaniards at their mercy and, in return for their lack of caution, a shameful ending of the war would have been prepared for them.

The horses having been recovered, the next day they reached St. John's Lake, and the next day under a grievous sun they came to a plain, and the soldiers arrived much exhausted and a steward of the Governor's, who was named Prado, died of thirst; and many of the foot soldiers were hard pressed, and others must needs have followed the steward if they had not been helped with the horses. The next day they came to the plain of Guagoco, and the soldiers went into the corn fields and gathered the green corn<sup>7</sup> with which they cheered themselves not a little, for it was the first they had seen in that country.

The next day, early, they came to Luca, a little village, and there Baltasar de Gallegos came to meet the Governor. The Monday following, July 21, they were joined by

<sup>7</sup>The Indian word *mahiz*, maize, "Indian corn," has been uniformly rendered corn in accordance with common American usage.

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the soldiers that Baltasar de Gallegos had, and the Governor sent a messenger to Urriparacoxi, but no reply was received; and on Wednesday, July 23, the Governor set out with his army and came to Vicela<sup>8</sup> and went beyond it to sleep. On Thursday they slept at another village called Tocaste which was on a large lake. And this same day the Governor went on with some horsemen along the road to Ocale<sup>9</sup> because he had great reports of the riches he expected to find there. And when he saw the roads broad he thought he had his hands already on the spoil and ordered one of his knights, named Rodrigo Ranjel, because, besides being a good soldier and a man of worth, he had a good horse, to return to the camp for more soldiers to accompany him; and this esquire did so, although not without misgiving of what might happen, since for the Governor to stay with only ten horsemen seemed to him too few; and he sent that gentleman alone and through a land of enemies and bad trails and where, if any found him, he must die or rush through, if he was not to return without response; and since he felt ashamed to ask for company he bowed his head and obeyed. But I do not praise him for that determination since, indeed,

<sup>8</sup>Acela in the Portuguese narrative.

<sup>9</sup>Or Ocali.



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in matters that are necessary and obvious, it is allowable that with reason one should submit to the prince who provides in order that he may be well served and his orders best carried into effect. What befell this messenger horseman on that day he did not wish to say, because what he said would be about himself. Suffice it to say that he well proved his resolution to be a brave man, and that he fell upon Indians enough that were on the trail of the Governor and got through. When he arrived at headquarters the Master of the Camp<sup>10</sup> gave him fourteen horse with which the number with the Governor was increased to twenty-six.

The next day, Friday, they moved the headquarters along the trail of the Governor, and on the road they came up with two horsemen whom the Governor had sent to the master of the camp, who was a knight named Luis de Moscoso, to order him not to

<sup>10</sup> The Spanish *Maestre de Campo* was a kind of adjutant-general, and had charge under the commanding officer of the administrative duties of the army. Cf. the "Gentleman of Elvas," Vol. I. p. 47. The *Maestre de Campo* was often placed in charge of an independent command, and his rank would then be equivalent at least to that of Brigadier-General. The Anglicized "Master of the Camp" has the sanction of Hakluyt and the other old translators.

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move, and they returned to where they started from to sleep, because they had a brush,<sup>11</sup> which is the same as a skirmish, with the Indians who killed a horse belonging to Carlos Enriquez, the husband of the Governor's neice, a native of Xerez de Badajoz, and wounded some Christians. And there was much suffering from hunger so that they ate the ears of corn with the cobs or wood (which is *cassi*) on which the grains grow.

The next day, Saturday, the Governor found the roads broader and the aspect of the country fine, and he sent back two horsemen for thirty others and gave orders for the camp to follow him. And the Master of the Camp sent Nuño de Tovar with thirty horse and moved the headquarters as the Governor had ordered. The Governor, with the twenty-six horse that were with him, on St. Anne's day reached the river or swamp of Cale. The current was strong and broad and they crossed it with great difficulty, and where there was no need of a bridge they waded through the water up to their necks, with clothes and saddles on their heads, a distance of more than three cross-bow shots. The thirty horsemen that Nuño de Tovar took had crossed the following Sunday and the current carried off one horse which was drowned. Seeing

<sup>11</sup> Guaçabara.

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that, the rest crossed with ropes just as those had done who were with the Governor.

These soldiers and the Governor came to the first village of Ocale, which was called Uqueten, where they took two Indians. Next the Governor sent back some of the horsemen with mules, that had been brought from Cuba, loaded with corn and other provisions for those that were behind, since he had come upon an abundance. This succour came in good time for they found them in that swamp eating herbs and roots roasted and others boiled without salt, and what was worse, without knowing what they were. They were cheered by the arrival of the food and their hunger and need gave it a relish and flavour most acceptable. From this refreshment their energies revived and strength took the place of weakness, and on the following Tuesday, the last of those lagging behind arrived at the Governor's camp. But some soldiers who had strayed had been wounded, and a crossbow-man named Mendoça had been slain. The camp was now at Ocale, a village in a good region for corn, and there, while they were sent to Acuera for provisions, the Indians, on two occasions, killed three soldiers of the Governor's guard and wounded others, and killed a horse; and all that through bad arrangements, since these Indians, al-

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though they are archers and have strong bows and are skilful and sure marksmen, yet their arrows have no poison, nor do they know what it is.

## CHAPTER IV

HOW THE GOVERNOR, HERNANDO DE SOTO, FOLLOWING UP HIS CONQUEST WENT ON, AND HOW THE INDIANS DESIRED TO SLAY OR TO TAKE HIM BY GUILLE TO FREE A CHIEF WHOM HE CARRIED WITH HIM; AND HOW A CHIEF GAVE THE GOVERNOR A BUFFET THAT BATHED HIS TEETH IN BLOOD; AND OF OTHER MATTERS APPROPRIATE TO THE NARRATIVE OF THE HISTORY.

ON August 11, the Governor set forth from Ocale with fifty horse and one hundred foot in search of Apalache, since it was reputed to be populous; and Luis de Moscoso remained behind with the remainder of the camp until it should appear how the advance section got on. That night they slept at Itaraholata,<sup>1</sup> a fine village with plenty of corn. There an Indian crowded up to Captain Maldonado and badly wounded his horse and he would have snatched his lance from his hands, had not the Governor by chance come up, although Maldonado was a good knight and one of the most valiant in that army; but the

<sup>1</sup>*Ytara* in the Portuguese narrative. See Vol. I. p. 38.

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Indians of that land are very warlike and wild and strong.

The next day they were at Potano, and the the next, Wednesday, they reached Utinamocharra,<sup>2</sup> and from there they went to the village of Bad Peace.<sup>3</sup> This name was given to it because when Johan de Añasco had captured on the way thirty persons belonging to that chief, he, in order that they might be surrendered, sent to say that he wished to make peace, and sent in his stead to treat, a vagabond, who was believed to be the chief himself, and his people were given to him. The sequel was that this Indian, escaping from the Christians another day, took refuge among the mass of Indians which were in a dense wood; and a blooded Irish greyhound which came up at the call, went in among the Indians, and, although he passed by many, he seized no one in the crowd except that fugitive; him he took by the fleshy part of the arm in such a way that the Indian was thrown and they took him.<sup>4</sup>

The next day the Christians arrived at a fair-sized village where they found much food and many small chestnuts dried and very delicious, wild chestnuts; but the trees that bear

<sup>2</sup> Utinama in the Portuguese narrative.

<sup>3</sup> *Mala-Paz*.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 39.

#### RELATION OF RANJEL

them are only two palms high and they grow in prickly burrs. There are other chestnuts in the land which the Spaniards saw and ate, which are like those of Spain, and grow on as tall chestnut trees; and the trees themselves are big and with the same leaf and burrs or pods, and the nuts are rich and of very good flavour. This army went from there to a stream which they named Discords, and the reason therefor he desired to conceal who prepared this narrative, because as a man of worth, he did not purpose to relate the faults or weaknesses of his friends.

On that day they built a bridge of pines which abound there, and the next, Sunday, they crossed that stream with as much or more toil than was the case with the Ocale. The next day, Monday, they arrived at Aguacaleyquen,<sup>5</sup> and Rodrigo Ranjel and Villalobos, two gentlemen, equestrians, yet gentlemen (I say equestrians because there were cavalry in that army) captured an Indian man and an Indian woman in a corn field; and she showed where the corn was hidden, and the Indian man took Captain Baltasar de Gallegos where he captured seventeen persons, among them the daughter of the chief, in order that it might impel her father to make peace; but he would have liked to free her without it,

<sup>5</sup> Caliquen. See Vol. I. p. 40.

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if his deceptions and shrewdness had not been less than those of these conquerors.

On August 22, a great multitude of Indians appeared, and the Governor, seeing the land proved to be more populous and better supplied with provisions, sent eight horse in all haste to summon the Master of the Camp, Luis de Moscoso, to join him with all the force; and the Master of the Camp, took no small pains to comply with this order and arrived where the Governor was on September 4, and all rejoiced to be united once more, because, as they held the chief captive, there was alarm lest the Indians should make haste to get together, which was not far wrong, as presently appeared.

On September 9 they all departed in a body from Aguacaleyquen, taking with them the chief and his daughter, and an Indian of rank named Guatutima as guide, because he professed to know much of the country beyond and gave abundant information. And they made a bridge of pines to cross the river of Aguacaleyquen, and reached a small village for the night. The next day, Friday, they were at Uriutina, a village of pleasant aspect and abundant food, and there was in it a very large cabin with a large open court in the middle. The population there was considerable. When they left Aguacaleyquen

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messengers were coming and going from Ucachile, a great chief, playing upon a flute for ceremony. On Friday, September 12, these Christians came to a village which they named Many Waters, because it rained so much that they could not go on either Saturday or Sunday; the Monday following, the 15th, they proceeded and came upon a very bad swamp and all the way was very toilsome, and they slept at Napituca, which is a very pleasant village, in a pretty spot, with plenty of food.

There the Indians employed all their deceptions and devices to recover the chief of Aguacaleyquen, and the affair reached a point that put the Governor in great peril; but their deceptions and tricks were seen through, and he played them a greater one in this fashion. Seven chiefs from the vicinity came together, and sent to say to the Governor that they were subjects of Ucachile, and that by his order and of their own will, they wished to be friends of the Christians and to help them against Apalache, a mighty province hostile to Ucachile and to themselves, and that they had come to him persuaded and requested by Aguacaleyquen (the chief that the Christians had in captivity), and that they were afraid to enter the camp and to be detained; therefore, let the Governor bring



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Aguacaleyquen with him and go with them to a large plain that was there to negotiate this business. Their dealings were understood, and the message accepted and the Governor went forth to speak with them; but he gave command to the Christians to arm and to mount their horses and at the sound of the trumpet to rush upon the Indians. And having gone to the plain with only his guard and a saddle to sit upon, and accompanied by the chief of Aguacaleyquen, hardly was the Governor seated and the discourse begun, than he saw himself suddenly surrounded with Indians with bows and arrows. From many directions countless others were coming, and immediately the peril was obvious, which the Governor anticipated; and before the trumpet sounded the Master of the Camp, Luis de Moscoso, struck the legs of his horse, shouting "Come on, Knights, Sanctiago, Sanctiago, at them!" And so in a jiffy the cavalry were thrusting many Indians with their lances; and their stratagem was of no use to them and enabled our men to get the start of them in the fighting; yet notwithstanding that they fought like men of great spirit and they killed the Governor's horse and also that of a gentleman named Sagredo, and they wounded others.<sup>6</sup> And after the fighting had

<sup>6</sup>This account differs considerably from that of

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lasted a considerable time, the Indians took flight and sought refuge in two ponds; and the Spaniards surrounded one, but the other they could not, and they held that enclosure, watching all the night and until morning, when the Indians surrendered, and they took out from there three hundred and five or six chiefs among them.

Uriutina remained to the last and would not go out until some Indians of Uçachile swam in to him and pulled him out, and as he came out he asked for a messenger for his country. When the messenger was brought before him, he said: "Look you, go to my people and tell them that they take no thought of me; that I have done as a brave man and lord what there was to do, and struggled and fought like a man until I was left alone; and if I took refuge in this pond, it was not to escape death, or to avoid dying as befits me, but to encourage those that were there and had not surrendered; and that, when they surrendered, I did not give myself up until these Indians of Uçachile, which are of our nation, asked me to, saying that it would be best for all. Wherefore, what I enjoin upon

the "Gentleman of Elvas." See Vol. I. p. 42. The account in Garcilaso would seem to be quite imaginary. Cf. Irving's reproduction of it (*Conquest of Florida*, Ed. 1851, pp. 105ff.).

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them and ask is, that they do not, out of regard for me or for any one else, have anything to do with these Christians who are devils and will prove mightier than they; and that they may be assured that as for me, if I have to die, it will be as a brave man."

All of this was immediately reported and declared to the Governor by Johan Ortiz, the interpreter, that Christian who was found in the land, as the history has related. The Indians that were taken in the manner described were carried and put in a wigwam with their hands tied behind their backs; and the Governor went among them to recognize the chiefs, encouraging them in order to induce them to peace and harmony; and he had them released that they might be treated better than the common Indians. One of those chiefs, as they untied him, while the Governor was standing by, threw back his arm and gave the Governor such a tremendous blow that he bathed his teeth in blood and made him spit up much. For this reason they bound him and the others to stakes and shot them with arrows.<sup>7</sup> Other Indians did many other deeds

<sup>7</sup>The divergence between the "Gentleman of Elvas" and Ranjel in relating this incident is considerable. Cf. Vol. I. p. 43. Juan Coles, whose written recollections Garcilasco quoted, says that De Soto lost two teeth by this blow (*La Florida*, 67).

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which cannot be fully described, as the historian said, who was present. Wherefore, the Governor seeing that the Christians with so few Indians and without arms were so hard pressed, not being less so himself, spoke as follows: "Would to God that those lords of the Council were here to see what it is to serve his majesty in this country!" And it is because they do know it, says the Chronicler,<sup>8</sup> that they have ordered the tyrannies and cruelties to cease, and that the pacification of the Indians shall be carried on in a better way, in order that God our Lord and his Imperial Majesty may be better served, and the consciences of the conquerors be more at peace, and the natives of the country no longer maltreated.

Tuesday, September 23, the Governor and his army departed from Napituca and came to the river of the Deer. This name was given to it because there the messengers from Uçachile brought thither some deer, of which there are many fine ones in that land; and across this river they made a bridge of three great pine-trees in length and four in breadth. These pines are well proportioned and as tall as the tallest in Spain. After the whole army had finished crossing this river, which was on the 25th of this month, they passed through on

<sup>8</sup> *I. e.*, Oviedo.

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the same day two small villages and one very large one, which was called Apalu, and they came by nightfall to Uçachile. In all these villages they found the people gone, and some captains went out to forage and brought in many Indians. They left Uçachile on the following Monday, the 29th, and having passed by a high mountain, they came at nightfall to a pine wood. And a young fellow named Cadena went back without permission for a sword, and the Governor was going to have him hanged for both offences; and by the intervention of kind persons he escaped. Another day, on Tuesday, the 30th of September, they came to Agile,<sup>9</sup> subject to Apalache and some women were captured; and they are of such stuff that one woman took a young fellow named Herrera, who staid alone with her and behind his companions, and seized him by his private parts and had him worn out and at her mercy; and perhaps, if other Christians had not come by who rescued him the Indian woman would have killed him. He had not wanted to have to do with her in a carnal way, but she wanted to get free and run away.

On Wednesday, the first of October, the Governor Hernando de Soto, started from Agile and came with his soldiers to the river

<sup>9</sup>Axille in the Portuguese narrative.

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or swamp of Ivitachuco,<sup>10</sup> and they made a bridge; and in the high swamp grass on the other side there was an ambushade of Indians, and they shot three Christians with arrows. They finished crossing this swamp on the Friday following at noon and a horse was drowned there. At nightfall they reached Ivitachuco and found the village in flames, for the Indians had set fire to it. Sunday, October 5, they came to Calahuchi, and two Indians and one Indian woman were taken and a large amount of dried venison. There the guide whom they had ran away. The next day they went on, taking for a guide an old Indian who led them at random, and an Indian woman took them to Iviahica,<sup>11</sup> and they found all the people gone. And the next day two captains went on further and found all the people gone.

Johan de Añasco started out from that village and eight leagues from it he found the port where Pamphilo de Narvaez had set sail in the vessels which he made. He recognized

<sup>10</sup> Uitachuco in the Portuguese narrative. Garcilaso made Vitachuco the Indian hero of his account of the attempted destruction of the Spaniards, and also the one who struck De Soto in the face.

<sup>11</sup> Anhayca Apalache in the Portuguese narrative, and Iniahico in Biedma's Relation. Possibly Oviedo or his editor misread v for n. The place is supposed to have been not far from Tallahassee.

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it 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.

They spent the winter there, and remained until the 4th of March, 1540, in which time many notable things befell them with the Indians, who are the bravest of men and whose great courage and boldness the discerning reader may imagine from what follows. For example, two Indians once rushed out against eight men on horseback; twice they set the village on fire; and with ambuscades they repeatedly killed many Christians, and although the Spaniards pursued them and burned them they were never willing to make peace. If their hands and noses were cut off they made no more account of it than if each one of them had been a Mucius Scaevola of Rome. Not one of them, for fear of death, denied that he belonged to Apalache; and when they were taken and were asked from whence they were they replied proudly: "From whence am I? I am an Indian of Apalache." And they gave one to understand that they would be insulted if they were thought to be of any other tribe than the Apalaches.<sup>12</sup>

The Governor decided to go further inland,

<sup>12</sup> See the extracts from the *Peregrinacion* of

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because an Indian lad gave great reports of what there was in the interior; and he sent Johan de Añasco with thirty horse for Captain Calderon and the soldiers left in the harbour; and they burned the supplies which they left and the village; and Captain Calderon came by land with all the soldiers, and Johan de Añasco came by sea with the brigantines and boats to the harbour of Apalache.

On Saturday, November 19,<sup>13</sup> Johan de Añasco arrived at the harbour and immediately Maldonado was despatched along shore with the brigantines to discover a harbour to the west. At the same time Captain Calderon arrived with all his force, less two men and seven horses, that the Indians killed on the way. Maldonado discovered an excellent harbour and brought an Indian from the province adjacent to this coast which was called Achuse, and he brought a good blanket of sable fur. They had seen others in Apalache but none like that. Captain Maldonado was sent to Havana and left Apalache the 26th of February, 1540, with the instructions and Alonzo de Carmona on the Apalache indians, p. 151, below.

<sup>13</sup> November 19, 1539, came on Wednesday. This is the first error in chronology noted in Ranjel's narrative. Apparently the date given by the "Gentleman of Elvas," Sunday, December 28, is the correct one. See Vol. I. p. 49.



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command of the Governor that he should return to the port that he had discovered and to that coast where the Governor expected to arrive. The Province of Apalache is very fertile and abundantly provided with supplies with much corn, kidney beans, pumpkins, various fruits, much venison, many varieties of birds and excellent fishing near the sea; and it is a pleasant country, though there are swamps, but these have a hard sandy bottom.

## CHAPTER V

HOW THE GOVERNOR, HERNANDO DE SOTO, AND HIS ARMY SET OUT FROM IVIAHICA IN SEARCH OF CAPACHEQUI; HOW THE GUIDE THAT THEY CARRIED, WHEN HE KNEW NOTHING FURTHER ABOUT THE ROAD, MADE BELIEVE THAT HE WAS POSSESSED OF THE DEVIL; AND ALSO ABOUT VARIOUS OTHER NOTABLE INCIDENTS.

THE departure from Iviahica in search of Capachequi began on Wednesday, March 3, 1540, and by night the Governor came to the river Guacuca; and departing from there they came to the river Capachequi, where they arrived early the following Friday; and they made a canoe or barge to cross it. And the river was so broad that Christopher Mosquera, who was the best thrower, was not

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able to throw across it with a stone. And they took the chains in which they were bringing the Indians, and with some "S" hooks of iron, fastened them together and made one chain of them all. They fastened one end of the chain to one bank and the other to another in order to take over the barge, and the current was so strong that the chain broke twice. Seeing this, they fastened many ropes together and made of them two, and they fastened one to the stern and the other to the bow and drawing the barge first one way and then the other, they got the people and the baggage across. To get the horses over they made long ropes and tied them about their necks and although the current carried them down, by pulling on the ropes they drew them over, yet with toil and some were half drowned.

On Wednesday, March 9,<sup>1</sup> the whole force finished crossing the river Capachequi and went on to sleep in a pine wood. The next day, Thursday, they came to the first village of Capachequi, which contained an abundance of supplies. They passed through much undergrowth or land closely covered with bushes, and then came by nightfall to another village further along where they struck a bad swamp close to the village with a strong current, before they arrived. And they crossed

<sup>1</sup> Wednesday was the 10th.

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a great stretch of water up to the girths and saddlepads of the horses; and it was not possible for all the force to get across that day, on account of the hard passage. And there a hundred<sup>2</sup> soldiers with swords and bucklers strayed off, and as many Indians beset them and killed one of them and would have killed all if they had not been rescued.

On the 17th of March they left Capachequi and at nightfall came to White Spring. This was a very beautiful spring with a large flow of good water and containing fish.<sup>3</sup> The next day they came at nightfall to the river Toa<sup>4</sup> where they made two bridges; and the horse belonging to Lorenzo Suarez, son of Vasco Porcallo was drowned. On the following Sunday, March 21, they came to cross the river Toa, and they twice made a bridge of pines and the strong current broke them.

Another bridge was made with timbers criss-

<sup>2</sup> Evidently there is an error of transcription in Oviedo's text; *cinco* should be substituted for *cient*. See the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 52. Garcilaso de la Vega, who uniformly indulges in large numbers, mentions only seven, of whom six were killed. (*La Florida*, 109, Ed. 1723. Irving, *Conquest of Florida*, 1851, 194.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bartram's description of one of the large springs in this region. (*Travels through North and South Carolina*, etc., Ed. 1793, 229.)

<sup>4</sup> Toalli in the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 52.

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crossed in a way suggested to them by a gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, at which everybody laughed; but it was true what he said, and after it was made they passed over very well by that means; and Monday all the force got across and came by nightfall to a pine wood, although separated into many sections and in bad order. On Tuesday morning they arrived early at Toa, a large village, and the Governor wanted to go on further, but they would not suffer him. On Wednesday, the 24th, the Governor went off 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. And they went on all that day until night, when they came to a bad passage of water quite deep. Although it was night, they got over it, and that day they went twelve leagues. And the next day, in the morning, which was Holy Thursday, they arrived at the settlement of Chisi<sup>5</sup> and they crossed a branch of a big river, very broad, wading and a good part of it swimming. And they came to a village, which was on an island in this river, where they captured some people and found some provisions; and, as it was a perilous place, before canoes should appear, they turned to go back the way they came; but

<sup>5</sup>Achese in the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 54.

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first they breakfasted on some fowl of the country, which are called *guanaxas*<sup>6</sup> and some strips of venison which they found placed upon a framework of sticks,<sup>7</sup> as for roasting on a gridiron. And though it was Holy Thursday there was no one so strict a Christian that he scrupled to eat flesh; and there the lad Perico, whom they brought from Apalache as a guide, took them, and they passed on to other villages and to a bad passage through a swamp where some horses nearly got drowned. The horses swam with their saddles, while their masters crossed on a beam stretched over the channel, and in so crossing, one Benito Fernandez, a Portuguese, fell off the log and was drowned. This day they came to a village where some principal Indians appeared as messengers from Ichisi; and one of them addressed 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 skins, the blankets of the country, which were the first gifts as a sign of peace. All of this took place on Holy Thursday and

<sup>6</sup> Turkeys.

<sup>7</sup> *En barbacoa*. The *barbacoa*, whence the word "barbecue," was usually a kind of scaffold or framework on posts, used for drying meat, for a burial place, or as a look-out. It is also used for our familiar corncrib. *Cf.* Vol. I. pp. 44, 53.

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on the Day of the Incarnation. To the questions of the Indian the Governor replied that he was a captain of the great King of Spain; that in his name he had come to make known to them the holy faith of Christ; that they should acknowledge him and be saved and yield obedience to the Apostolic Church of Rome and to the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of God, who lived there; and that in temporal affairs they should acknowledge for king and lord the Emperor, King of Castile, our Lord, as his vassals; and that they would treat them well in every thing and that he would maintain toward them peace and justice just the same as towards all his Christian vassals.

Monday, March 29, they went from there to Ichisi; and it rained very hard and a small stream rose so much that if they had not made great haste in crossing all the army would have been in danger. This day Indian men and women came forth to receive them, and the women were clothed in white and made a fine appearance; and they gave the Christians corn cakes and some bunches of young onions just like those of Castile, as big as the end of the thumb and larger. And from now on, this food was of great assistance to them and they ate the onions with the cakes roasted and boiled and raw, and they

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were a great refreshment, for they are very good. The white clothing, with which the Indian women were clothed, were mantles, apparently of homespun linen and some of them were very thin. They make the thread of them from the bark of the mulberry tree, not the outside, but the intermediate layers; and they know how to make use of it and to spin it, and to dress it as well and to weave it. They make very fine mantles, and they wear one from the girdle down and another fastened on one side with the end over the shoulders like those Bohemians, or gypsies, who wander sometimes through Spain; and the thread is of such a quality that one who was there assured me that he saw the women spin it from that mulberry bark and make it as good as the best thread from Portugal that women can get in Spain for their work, and finer and somewhat like it and stronger. The mulberry trees are quite like those of Spain, just as tall and larger, but the leaf is softer and better for silk, and the mulberries are better eating and larger than those of Spain, and they were very frequently of great advantage to the Spaniards for food.

That day they came to a village of a chief, a subject of Ichisi, a small village with abundant food; and he gave of what he had with good will. They rested there Tuesday

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and on Wednesday the last of March the Governor set out with his army and came to Great River, where they took many canoes, in which they crossed easily and came to the village of the lord, who was one-eyed and he gave them much food and fifteen Indians as porters. As he was the first that came to them in peace they did not wish to burden him overmuch. They were there Thursday, the first of April, and they set up in the mound of the village a cross and interpreted to them the holiness of the cross, and they received it and worshipped it devoutly to all appearance. On Friday, April 2, the army departed from that place and slept in the open country. On the next day they came to a considerable stream and found deserted cabins, and there messengers came from Altamaha and took them to a village where they found an abundance of food; and a messenger came from Altamaha with a present and the next day they brought many canoes and the army crossed very comfortably. And from there the Governor sent to call the chief Camumo, and they told him that he always ate and slept and went about armed; that he never laid aside his arms because he was on the borders of another chief named Cofitachequi, his enemy; and that he would not come without them; and the Governor replied and said: that



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he might come as he pleased; and he came, and the Governor gave him a large plume adorned with silver. And the chief took it very gladly and said to the Governor: "You are from Heaven, and this plume of yours which you have given me, I can eat with it; I shall go to war with it; I shall sleep with my wife with it;" and the Governor said, yes, he could do all that. And this Camumo and the others were subjects of a great chief whose name was Ocute. And the chief with the plume asked the Governor to whom he should give tribute in the future, whether to the Governor or to Ocute; and the Governor suspected that this question was put with cunning; and he replied that he regarded Ocute as a brother and that he should pay his tribute to Ocute until the Governor ordered otherwise.

From there he sent messengers to summon Ocute, and he came thither; and the Governor gave him a cap of yellow satin and a shirt and a plume; and he set up a cross there in Altamaha and it was well received. The next day, Thursday, April 8, the Governor departed from that place with his army and took with him Ocute, and they passed the night in some cabins; and Friday he came to the village of Ocute; and the Governor was angry with him and he trembled

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with fear. Soon a large number of Indians came with supplies and offered as many Indians as porters as the Christians needed; and a cross was set up and they received it very devoutly to all appearances and worshipped it on their knees as they saw the Christians do. Monday, April 12, they departed from Ocute and reached Cofaqui and the leading men came with gifts. This chief Cofaqui was an old man, with a full beard, and his nephew governed for him. Hither came the chief Tatofa and another principal Indian; and they gave their present, both food and tamemes, all that they had need of. And in that language tameme means the same as carrier. Thursday, the 15th of this month, Perico, who was the Indian lad whom they took for a guide from Apalache, began to lose his bearings because he no longer knew anything of the country. And he made believe that he was possessed of the devil, and he knew how to act the part so well that the Christians believed it was real, and a priest whom they brought with them named Friar John, the Evangelist, said it was so. The upshot of it was that they had to take guides that Tatofa gave them to go to Cofitachequi through a desert country some nine or ten days' march.

I have wondered many times at the venture-

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someness, stubbornness, and persistency or firmness, to use a better word for the way these baffled conquerors kept on from one toil to another, and then to another still greater; from one danger to many others, here losing one companion, there three and again still more, going from bad to worse without learning by experience. Oh, wonderful God! that they should have been so blinded and dazed by a greed so uncertain and by such vain discourses as Hernando de Soto was able to utter to those deluded soldiers, whom he brought to a land where he had never been, nor put foot into, and where three other leaders, more experienced than he, had ruined themselves: Johan Ponce, Garay, and Pamphilo de Narvaez, any one of whom had more experience than he in the affairs of the Indies, and inspired more confidence than he; for he neither in the islands nor in the mainland of the north had knowledge except of the government of Pedrarias, in Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua, and in Peru, which was quite another sort of embroilment with Indians. He thought that that experience in the South was sufficient to show him what to do in the North, and he was deceived as the history will tell. Let us return now to the narrative and the march of this captain or Governor, whom I knew very well, and with whom I talked and

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associated, as well as with the other three mentioned above, and with the Lawyer Ayllón.<sup>8</sup>

On Friday, the 16th of the month, this Governor and his army spent the night by a small stream on the way to Cofitachequi; and the next day they crossed a very large river, divided into two branches, wider than a long shot from an arquebuse. And the fords were very bad, with many flat stones, and the water came up to the stirrups and in places to the saddlepads. The current was very strong and none of the horsemen dared to take a foot soldier on the croup. The foot soldiers crossed the river further up where it was deeper in this way. They made a line of thirty or forty men tied together and so they crossed over supporting each other; and although some were in much danger, it pleased God that none was drowned, for the horsemen helped them with their horses and gave them the butt of the lance or the tail of the horse, and in that way they all got out and passed the night on a hill. That day they lost many pigs of those which they had brought tame from Cuba, as they were carried down by the current.

The next day, Sunday, they came to an-

<sup>8</sup> This paragraph presents the views of Oviedo, not of Ranjel. Judged by his actual achievement, De Soto far outranks Ponce, Garay, or Pamphilo de Narvaez as an explorer.

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other hill or grove to stop, and the next day, Monday, they marched without any trial and crossed another very large river. Tuesday they passed the night beside a small stream and Wednesday reached another very large river and hard to cross which was divided into two streams which were very difficult to enter and worse to get out of. The Christians now were without provisions and with great labour they crossed this river and reached some huts of fishermen or hunters. And the Indians whom they carried had now lost their bearings and no longer knew the way; nor did the Spaniards know it, or in what direction they should go; and among them were divers opinions. Some said they should turn back; others said they ought to go on in a different direction; and the Governor proposed, as he always had done, that it was best to go on, without knowing, either himself or they, what they were aiming at or whither they were wandering. And being at a loss in this labyrinth, on Friday, the 23d of April, the Governor sent to look for roads or villages in the following manner: Baltasar de Gallegos was to go up the river northwest, and Johan de Añasco was to go along the river southeast, each with ten horsemen<sup>9</sup> and rations of

<sup>9</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega says that these scouting parties were each accompanied by one thousand In-

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ten days. And on that day other captains returned from searching and they had found nothing. And on Saturday the Governor sent Johan Ruiz Lobillo with four horsemen to the north, with ten days' rations, and he ordered that some of the grown pigs in the army should be slaughtered, and they gave as rations to each man a scant pound of flesh and with it herbs and blite<sup>10</sup> that they gathered. And so as best they could they supplied their needs, not without great struggle and toil, the horses without any food; they and their masters dying of hunger; with no trail, drenched with continual rain, the rivers always rising and narrowing the land, and without hope of villages or knowledge where to find them, lamenting and calling on God for mercy. And our Lord did bring the succour in the following manner. That Sunday, April 25, Johan de Añasco came with news that he had found a village and food, and he greatly cheered the soldiers, and he brought an interpreter and guide. And so they stopped the rations of flesh and each one helped himself out as he could with unknown herbs and blite that the flesh might be left for a reserve.

dians, an interesting example of his romancing (*La Florida*, 119. Irving, *Conquest of Florida*, 212).

<sup>10</sup>*Bledo*. Blite is the English equivalent, but perhaps "greens" is sufficiently exact. Wild spinach was one of the plants called blite.

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And the Governor decided immediately to set out, and writing some letters and putting them in some pumpkins he buried them in a secret place and wrote on a tall tree some directions where to find them. And so they set out with Johan de Añasco on Monday, April 26. That day the Governor, with some of the horse, although a few, reached the village which was called Hymahi;<sup>11</sup> and the army remained two leagues behind, the horses exhausted. There was found in the village a barbacoa covered with corn and more than thirty bushels of *pinol* prepared, which is parched corn. And the next day the main force arrived and rations of corn and *pinol* were distributed. And there was no end of mulberries, because there were many trees and it was their season; and this was a great help. And likewise there were found in the plains some berries such as in Italy grow on vines close to the ground and are like madroños, [strawberries] very savoury, palatable, and fragrant and they also grow abundantly in Galicia. In the Kingdom of the Naples this fruit is called *fraoles* [strawberries] and it is a finer delicate fruit and highly thought of. And besides those, they found there along the trails countless roses growing wild like those

<sup>11</sup>Aymay in the Portuguese narrative, see Vol. I. p. 63.

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in Spain; and although they have not so many leaves since they are in the woods they are none the less fragrant and finer and sweeter. This village they named Succour.

The next day Captain Alonso Romo came who likewise had been out reconnoitring, and he brought four or five Indians, and not one would show any knowledge of his lord's village or discover it, although they burnt one of them alive before the others, and all suffered that martyrdom for not revealing it. The next day Wednesday, Baltasar de Gallegos came with an Indian woman and news of a populated region. The next day Lobillo returned with news of trails, and he had left behind two companions lost; and the Governor rated him soundly and without suffering him to rest or to eat made him go back to look for them under pain of death, if he brought them not back. And that was a better order and a better deed and judgment than burning alive the Indian that Alonso Romo brought for not consenting to reveal his lord; for to such a one as him the Romans set up a memorable statue in the Forum; and to Christians no such cruelty is allowable toward any one and especially toward an Indian who was ready to die to be loyal to his country and to his lord. But later on the account was squared.



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### CHAPTER VI

HOW THE GOVERNOR HERNANDO DE SOTO CAME TO THE VILLAGE OF JALAMECO; HOW THE WOMAN CHIEF, LADY OF THIS LAND, WELCOMED HIM AND PLACED UPON HIS NECK A STRING OF PEARLS THAT SHE WORE AROUND THE NECK; AND HOW THEY FOUND MANY OTHER PEARLS; AND HOW, BY THE FAULT OF THE GOVERNOR, THEY FAILED TO FIND ALL THAT THEY WANTED TO; AND HOW LATER PEARLS WERE FOUND IN STREAMS OF FRESH WATER; AND MANY OTHER DETAILS, APPROPRIATE TO THE COURSE OF THIS NARRATIVE.

. . . . .

LET us return to the sequel and continuation of what we have in hand and are here narrating. Friday the last day of April the Governor took some horse, those that were most refreshed, and the Indian woman that Baltasar de Gallegos brought for a guide, and went along the road to Cofitachequi, and spent the night near a large, deep river; and he sent on Johan de Añasco with some horsemen to secure some interpreters and canoes for crossing the river, and he got some. The next day the Governor came to the crossing opposite the village, and the chief Indians came with gifts and the woman chief,<sup>1</sup> lady

NOTE—The passage omitted is given as Oviedo's Preface, p. 47 above.

<sup>1</sup>*La Cacica*,

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of that land whom Indians of rank bore on their shoulders with much respect, in a litter covered with delicate white linen. And she crossed in the canoes and spoke to the Governor quite gracefully and at her ease. She was a young girl of fine bearing; and she took off a string of pearls which she wore on her neck, and put it on the Governor as a necklace to show her favour and to gain his good will. And all the army crossed over in canoes and they received many presents of skins well tanned and blankets, all very good; and countless strips of venison and dry wafers, and an abundance of very good salt. All the Indians went clothed down to their feet with very fine skins well dressed, and blankets of the country, and blankets of sable fur and others of the skin of wild cats which gave out a strong smell. The people are very clean and polite and naturally well conditioned.<sup>2</sup>

Monday, May 3, all the rest of the force came up; but all were not able to get across until the next day, Tuesday, nor then without the cost and loss of seven horses that were drowned, from among the fattest and strongest ones which struggled against the current.

<sup>2</sup> Cofitachequi has usually been identified with Silver Bluff on the Savannah River, about twenty-five miles south of Augusta, Ga. Cf. Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, 228).

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The thin ones that let themselves go with the stream got across better. On Friday, May 7, Baltasar de Gallegos, with the most of the soldiers of the army, arrived at Ilapi to eat seven barbacoas of corn, that they said were there stored for the woman chief. That same day the Governor and Rodrigo Ranjel entered the mosque and oratory of this heathen people, and opening some burying places they found some bodies of men fastened on a barbacoa. The breasts, belly, necks and arms and legs full of pearls; and as they were taking them off Ranjel saw something green like an emerald of good quality and he showed it to the Governor and was rejoiced and he ordered him to look out of the enclosure and to have Johan de Añasco called, the treasurer of their majesties; and Ranjel said to him: "My lord, let us not call any one. It may be that there is a precious stone or jewel?" The Governor replied, somewhat angry, and said: "Even if there should be one, are we to steal it?" When Johan de Añasco came they took out this emerald and it was glass, and after it many beads of glass and rosaries with their crosses. They also found Biscayan axes of iron from which they recognized that they were in the government or territory where the lawyer Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón came to his ruin. They took away from there some two

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hundred pounds of pearls; and when the woman chief saw that the Christians set much store by them, she said: "Do you hold that of much account? Go to Talimeco, my village, and you will find so many that your horses cannot carry them." The Governor replied: "Let them stay there; to whom God gives a gift, may St. Peter bless it." And there the matter dropped. It was believed that he planned to take that place for himself, since it was the best that they saw and with the land in the best condition, although there did not appear to be much people or corn, nor did they delay to look for it there. Some things were done there as in Spain, which the Indians must have been taught by the followers of the lawyer Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón; since they make hose and moccasins and leggings with ties of white leather, although the leggings are black, and with fringes or edging of coloured leather as they would have done in Spain. In the mosque, or house of worship, of Talimeco there were breastplates like corselets and head-pieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields. This Talimeco was a village holding extensive sway; and this house of worship was on a high mound and much revered. The *caney*, or house of the chief, was very large, high and broad,

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all decorated above and below with very fine handsome mats, arranged so skilfully that all these mats appeared to be a single one; and, marvellous as it seems, there was not a cabin that was not covered with mats. This people has many very fine fields and a pretty stream and a hill covered with walnuts, oak-trees, pines, live oaks, and groves of liquidamber, and many cedars. In this river, Alaminos, a native of Cuba (although a Spaniard), was said to have found a trace of gold, and rumour of this spread abroad among the Spaniards in the army, and from this it was believed that it was a land of gold and that good mines would be found there.

Wednesday, May 13,<sup>3</sup> the Governor went on from Cofitachequi, and in two days came to the territory of Chalaque; but they were not able to come upon the village of the chief, nor was there an Indian that would reveal it. And they bivouacked in a pine wood, whither 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 sent a letter to Baltasar de Gallegos with some Indians to the barbacoas where, as has been said above,

<sup>3</sup>The date should be Thursday, May 13, or Wednesday, May 12.

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they had gone to eat the corn, requesting him to come on behind the Governor. On Monday, the 17th of this month, they departed thence, and spent the night at a mountain; and on Tuesday they came to Guaquili, and Indians came forth in peace and gave them corn, although little, and many fowls roasted on a barbacoa, and a few little dogs which were good eating. These are dogs of a small size that do not bark; and they breed them in their homes for food.<sup>4</sup> Likewise they gave them tamemes, which are Indians to carry their burdens. On Wednesday, the next day, they came to a region full of reeds, and Thursday to a small plain where one of the horses died, and some of the foot soldiers who had been with Baltasar de Gallegos came up to inform the Governor that he would come soon. The next day, Friday, they were at Xuala,<sup>5</sup> which is a village in a plain between two rivers, and the chief was so prosperous that he gave the Christians whatever they asked—tamemes, corn, dogs, *petacas*, and as much as he had.

<sup>4</sup> Conjectured to be opossums.

<sup>5</sup> Ordinarily located in northern Georgia, but James Mooney places it in western North Carolina near the head of the Broad River. Cf. Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, 230, and note to map opposite p. 480).

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*Petacas* are baskets covered with leather and likewise ready to be so covered with their lids, for carrying clothes or whatever they want to. And on Saturday Baltasar de Gallegos came there with many sick and lame who must needs be restored whole, particularly in view of the mountain ranges before them. In that Xuala region it seemed that there were more indications that there were gold mines than in all the country they had traversed and viewed in that northern region.

Tuesday, May 25, they left Xuala, and on that day went over a very high range<sup>6</sup> and at nightfall they encamped at a little mountain; and the next day, Wednesday, in a plain where they suffered from severe cold, although it was the 26th of May. There they crossed the river, wading up to their shins, by which later they were to depart in the brigantines they had made. This, when it reaches the sea, the chart indicates to be the Rio del Spiritu Santo (River of the Holy Spirit), which, according to the maps of the geographer Alonso de Chaves, empties into a great bay; and the mouth of this river, where the water is salt, is in 31 degrees north of the equator.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Blue Ridge.

<sup>7</sup> The map of Alonso de Chaves, which was con-

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Returning to my narrative, from this place where, as was said, they waded across the river, the woman chief of Cofitachequi, whom they carried with them in return for the good treatment which they had received from her, escaped; and that day there remained behind, it was supposed intentionally, Mendoza de Montanjes and Alaminos of Cuba. And since Alonso Romo kept that day the rear-guard 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 Xalague was left a comrade whose name was Rodriquez, a native of Peñafiel; and also an Indian slave boy from Cuba, who knew Spanish, and belonged to a gentleman named Vi-

structed in 1536, is no longer extant. It is described by Oviedo, whose data are summarized by HARRISSE (*Discovery of North America*, 633-34). J. G. Shea (in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II., 247) assumed that De Soto had this map and studied it; but in the judgment of the present editor the remarks in the text about Chaves' map are by Oviedo, and not derived from Ranjel's diary, and consequently by no means warrant the notion that De Soto and his officers "pored over the cosmography of Alonso de Chaves." The river which Oviedo erroneously identified as the Mississippi is supposed to have been either the Chattahoochee or the Coosa. Cf. Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, 231).



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llegas; and there was also 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 Rodriquez was the first, and the rest deserted further on from Xalague. The next day they passed the night in an oak grove, and the day following along a large stream, which they crossed many times. The next day messengers of peace appeared and they arrived early at Guasili, and they gave them many tamemes, many little dogs and corn; and since this was a fine stopping place, the soldiers afterwards in throwing dice called out "the house of Guasuli," or, a good throw.

Monday, which was the last day of May, the Governor left Guasili and came with his army to an oak wood along the river; and the next day they crossed by Canasoga, and at night they slept in the open country. Wednesday they slept near a swamp, and that day they ate an enormous amount of mulberries. The next day, Thursday, they went along a large stream near the river which they had crossed in the plain where the woman chief went off. It was now very large. The next day, Friday, they came to a pine wood on the stream, where appeared peaceful Indians from Chiaha and brought

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corn. The next day, Saturday, in the morning the Spaniards crossed one arm of the river, which was very broad, and went into Chiaha, which is on an island in the same river.

It was Saturday, the 5th of June, that they entered Chiaha,<sup>8</sup> and since all the way from Xuala had been mountainous and the horses were tired and thin, and the Christians were also themselves worn out, it seemed best to tarry there and rest themselves; and they were given an abundance of corn, of which there was plenty of good quality, and they were also given an abundance of corn cakes,<sup>9</sup> and no end of oil from walnuts and acorns, which they knew how to extract very well,<sup>10</sup> which was very good and contributed much to their diet. Yet some say that the oil from nuts produces flatulence. However, it is

<sup>8</sup> In northern Georgia. Formerly placed near Rome, but by Mooney near Columbus. Lowery, 231.

<sup>9</sup> *Maçamorras*. The editor of Oviedo explains it as a kind of mush or porridge. For the various kinds of corn cakes made by the Southern Indian cf. C. C. Jones' *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, 45 and 316; also see Bartram (*Travels*, 239), for a kind of jelly made from the roots of the China briar.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bartram (*Travels*, 380) for the process. The Indian name was hiccory milk.

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very delicious. 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 very much 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.

Monday, June 28, the Governor and his soldiers departed from Chiaha, and, passing through five or six villages, they spent the night in a pine grove near a village. There they had much labour in crossing a river which flowed with a strong current, and they made a bridge or support of the horses in the following manner, so that the foot soldiers should not be endangered, and it was this way: They put the horses in the river in line, head and tail, and they were as steady as they could be, and on each one his master, and they re-

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ceived the force of the stream, and on the lower side, where the water was not so violent, the foot soldiers forded, holding on to the tails and stirrups, breast-pieces, and manes, one after the other. And in this way the whole army got across very well.

The next day, Tuesday, they passed through a village and took corn and went beyond to sleep in the open country. Wednesday they passed over a river and through a village and again over the river and slept in the open country. On Thursday the chief of Coste came out to receive them in peace, and took the Christians to sleep in a village of his; and he was offended because some soldiers provisioned themselves from, or, rather, robbed him of, some barbacoas of corn against his will. The next day, Thursday, on the road leading toward the principal village of Coste, he stole away and gave the Spaniards the slip and armed his people. Friday, the 2d of July, the Governor arrived at Coste. This village was on an island in the river, which there flows large, swift, and hard to enter.

And the Christians crossed the first branch with no danger to any of the soldiers, yet it was no small venture, and the Governor entered into the village careless and unarmed,

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with some followers unarmed. And when the soldiers, as they were used to do, began to climb upon the barbacoas, in an instant the Indians began to take up clubs and seize their bows and arrows and to go to the open square.

The Governor commanded that all should be patient and endure for the evident peril in which they were, and that no one should put his hand on his arms; and he began to rate his soldiers and, dissembling, to give them some blows with a cudgel; and he cajoled the chief, and said to him that he did not wish the Christians to make him any trouble; and they would like to go out to the open part of the island to encamp. And the chief and his men went with him; and when they were at some distance from the village in an open place, the Governor ordered his soldiers to lay hands on the chief and ten or twelve of the principal Indians, and to put them in chains and collars; and he threatened them, and said that he would burn them all because they had laid hands on the Christians. From this place, Coste, the Governor sent two soldiers to view the province of Chisca, which was reputed very rich, toward the north, and they brought good news. There in Coste they found in the trunk of a tree as good honey and even better than could be had in Spain.

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In that river were found some mussels that they gathered to eat, and some pearls. And they were the first these Christians saw in fresh water, although they are to be found in many parts of this land.

Friday, July 9, the commander and his army departed from Coste and crossed the other branch of the river and passed the night on its banks. And on the other side was Tali, and since the river flows near it and is large, they were not able to cross it. And the Indians, believing that they would cross, sent canoes and in them their wives and sons and clothes from the other side, away from the Christians; but they were all taken suddenly, and as they were going with the current, the Governor forced them all to turn back, which was the reason that this chief came in peace and took them across to the other side in his canoes, and gave the Christians what they had need of. And he did this also in his own land as they passed through it afterwards, and they were there Saturday and were given carriers and they set out Sunday and passed the night in the open country.

Monday they crossed a river and slept in the open country. Tuesday they crossed another river and Wednesday another large river and slept at Tasqui. During all the days of their march from Tali the chief of

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Tali had corn and mazamorras<sup>11</sup> and cooked beans and every thing that could be brought from his villages bordering the way. Thursday they passed another small village, and then other villages, and Friday the Governor entered Coça.<sup>12</sup>

This chief is a powerful one and a ruler of a wide territory, one of the best and most abundant that they found in Florida. And the chief came out to receive the Governor in a litter covered with the white mantles of the country, and the litter was borne on the shoulders of sixty or seventy of his principal subjects, with no plebeian or common Indian among them; and those that bore him took turns by relays with great ceremonies after their manner.

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. They remained there in Coça some days, in which the Indians went off and left their chief in the power of the Christians with some principal men, and the Spaniards went out to round them up, and they took many, and they put them in iron collars and chains. And

<sup>11</sup> Cf. above, p. 107.

<sup>12</sup> Generally placed in Talledega County, Ala.

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verily, according to the testimony of eye-witnesses, it was a grievous thing to see. But God failed not to remember every evil deed, nor were they left unpunished, as this history will tell.

On Friday, August 20, the Governor and his people left Coça, and there stayed behind a Christian named Feryada, a Levantine; and they slept the next night beyond Talimachusy, and the next day in a heavy rain they went to Itaba, a large village along a fine river, and there they bought some Indian women, which were given them in exchange for looking-glasses and knives.

Monday, August 30, the Governor left Itaba, and came by nightfall to an oak wood; and the next day they were at Ulibahali, a very fine village close to a large river. And there were many Indians lying in wait for them planning to rescue the chief of Coça from the Christians because they were his subjects, and in order that the land should not rise in revolt nor refuse them supplies they took him with them, and they entered the village very cautiously.

And the chief of Coça ordered the Indians to lay aside their arms, and it was done; and they gave them carriers and twenty Indian women and were peaceful. A gentleman of Salamanca named Mancano left them there,



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and it was not known whether he did so of his own will or whether he lost his way, as he kept by himself walking alone and melancholy. He had asked the other soldiers to leave him to himself before they missed him. This was not known for certain, but it was reported in the camp after he was gone. A negro, who spoke Spanish and who belonged to Captain Johan Ruiz Lobillo, was also missing.<sup>13</sup> His name was Johan Biscayan. The day that they left this village they ate many grapes as good as those grown in the vineyards of Spain. In Coça and further back they had eaten very good ones, but these of Ulibahali were the best. From this village of Ulibahali the Spaniards and their Governor departed on Thursday, September 2, and they passed the night at a small village near the river, and there they waited a day for Lobillo, who had gone back without permission to look for his negro. On his return the Governor rated him soundly. Sunday, they went on and spent the night in the open country, and the next day, Monday, they came to Tuasi, where they were given

<sup>13</sup> This negro and one of the other deserters lived among the Coças ten or twelve years, as the members of a Spanish expedition which came to the Coça country in 1560 were informed (Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 365).

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carriers and thirty-two Indian women. Monday, the 13th of September, the Governor departed thence, and they slept in the open country. Tuesday they made another day's march and again spent the night in open country, but Wednesday they came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong.

The next day, Thursday, they slept at a new village close by a river, where the Spaniards rested the following day. On the next day, Saturday, they were at Talisi and they found the chief and his people gone. This village is extensive and abounding in corn and near a large river. And there a messenger came to them from Tascaluça, a powerful lord and one much feared in that land. And soon one of his sons appeared and the Governor ordered his men to mount and the horsemen to charge and the trumpets to be blown (more to inspire fear than to make

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merry at their reception). And when those Indians returned the Commander sent two Christians with them instructed as to what they were to observe and to spy out so that they might take counsel and be forewarned.

September 25, came the chief of Talisi, and he gave what they asked, such as carriers, women, and supplies; and from that place they sent and released the chief of Coça, so that he might return to his land; and he went in anger and in tears because the Governor would not give up a sister of his that they took, and because they had taken him so far from his country.

Tuesday, October 5, they went on from Talisi and came to Casiste for the night. This was a small village by the river. The next day, Wednesday, they came to Caxa, a wretched village on the river banks on the direct line from Talisi to Tascaluça. And the next day, Thursday, they slept by the river; and on the other side of the stream was a village called Humati; and the next day, Friday, they came to another settlement, a new one named Uxapita; and the next day, Saturday, the force encamped in the open country, a league this side of the village of Tascaluça. And the Governor dispatched a messenger, and he returned with the reply that

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he would be welcome whenever he wished to come.

The historian asked a very intelligent gentleman who was with this Governor, and who went with him through his whole expedition in this northern country, why, at every place they came to, this Governor and his army asked for those tamemes or Indian carriers, and why they took so many women and these not old nor the most ugly; and why, after having given them what they had, they held the chiefs and principal men; and why they never tarried nor settled in any region they came to, adding that such a course was not settlement or conquest, but rather disturbing and ravaging the land and depriving the natives of their liberty without converting or making a single Indian either a Christian or a friend. He replied and said: That they took these carriers or tamemes to keep them as slaves or servants to carry the loads of supplies which they secured by plunder or gift, and that some died, and others ran away or were tired out, so that it was necessary to replenish their numbers and to take more; and the women they desired both as servants and for their foul uses and lewdness, and that they had them baptized more on account of carnal intercourse with them than to teach them the faith; and that if they held the

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chiefs and principal men captive, it was because it would keep their subjects quiet, so that they would not molest them when foraging or doing what they wished in their country; and that whither they were going neither the Governor nor the others knew, but that his purpose was to find some land rich enough to satiate his greed and to get knowledge of the great secrets this Governor said he had heard in regard to those regions according to much information he had received;<sup>14</sup> and as for stirring up the country and not settling it, nothing else could be done until they found a site that was satisfactory.

Oh, wicked men! Oh, devilish greed! Oh, bad consciences! Oh, unfortunate soldiers! that ye should not have understood the perils ye were to encounter, and how wasted would be your lives, and without rest your souls! That ye were not mindful of that truth which the blessed St. Augustine uttered in lamenting the miseries of this life, saying, this life is a life of misery, frail, and uncertain, full of toil and stain; a life, Lord, of ills, a kingdom of pride, full of miseries and terror, since it is not really life, nor can be called so, but rather death, for in a moment it is ended by various changes of fortune and

<sup>14</sup>*E. g.*, from Cabeça de Vaca. See Vol. I. p. 5.

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divers kinds of deaths! Give ear, then, Catholic reader, and do not lament the conquered Indians less than their Christian conquerors or slayers of themselves, as well as others, and follow the adventures of this Governor, ill governed, taught in the School of Pedrarias de Avila, in the scattering and wasting of the Indians of Castilla del Oro; a graduate in the killing of the natives of Nicaragua and canonized in Peru as a member of the order of the Pizarros; and then, after being delivered from all those paths of Hell and having come to Spain loaded with gold, neither a bachelor nor married, knew not how nor was able to rest without returning to the Indies to shed human blood, not content with what he had spilled; and to leave life as shall be narrated, and providing the opportunity for so many sinners deluded with his vain words to perish after him. See what he wanted most of what that queen or woman chief of Cofitachequi, lady of Talimeco, offered him when she told him that in that place of hers he would find so many pearls that all the horses in the army could not carry them off; and, when she received him so courteously, see how he treated her. Let us proceed, and forget not this truth which you have read, how as a proof of the number of pearls which were offered him, this Governor and his

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people took over two hundred pounds, and you will know what enjoyment they got out of them in the sequel.

## CHAPTER VII

IN WHICH IS RELATED WHAT HAPPENED TO THE COMMANDER HERNANDO DE SOTO, IN HIS INTERCOURSE WITH THE CHIEF OF TASCALUCA NAMED ACTAHACHI, WHO WAS SUCH A TALL MAN THAT HE SEEMED A GIANT; AND ALSO OF THE SKIRMISHES AND TOUGH BATTLES, AND THE ASSAULT MADE UPON THE CHRISTIANS IN THE VILLAGE CALLED MABILA AND FURTHER ON IN CHICAÇA. AND OTHER INCIDENTS NOTEWORTHY AND APPROPRIATE TO THE HISTORY NARRATED IN THIS CHAPTER.

SUNDAY, October 10, the Governor entered the village of Tascaluca, which is called Athahachi, a recent village. And the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square, his head covered by a kind of coif like the almaizal, so that his head-dress was like a Moor's which gave him an aspect of authority; he also wore a *pelote* or mantle of feathers down to his feet, very imposing; he was seated on some high cushions, and many of the principal men among his Indians were with him. He was as tall as that Tony of the Emperor, our lord's guard, and well proportioned, a fine and

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comely figure of a man. He had a son, a young man as tall as himself but more slender. Before this chief there stood always an Indian of graceful mien holding a parasol on a handle something like a round and very large fly fan, with a cross similar to that of the Knights of the Order of St. John of Rhodes, in the middle of a black field, and the cross was white. And although the Governor entered the plaza and alighted from his horse and went up to him, he did not rise, but remained passive in perfect composure and as if he had been a king.

The Governor remained seated with him a short time, and after a little he arose and said that they should come to eat, and he took him with him and the Indians came to dance; and they danced very well in the fashion of rustics in Spain, so that it was pleasant to see them. At night he desired to go, and the commander told him that he must sleep there. He understood it and showed that he scoffed at such an intention for him, being the lord, to receive so suddenly restraints upon his liberty, and dissembling, he immediately despatched his principal men each by himself, and he slept there notwithstanding his reluctance. The next day the Governor asked him for carriers and a hundred Indian women; and the chief gave him four hundred carriers and the rest



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of them and the women he said he would give at Mabila, the province of one of his principal vassals. And the Governor acquiesced in having the rest of that unjust request of his fulfilled in Mabila; and he ordered him to be given a horse and some buskins and a scarlet cloak for him to ride off happy. And now that the chief had given him four hundred carriers, or rather slaves, and was to give him in Mabila a hundred women, and what they were most in need of, see how happy he could be made with those buskins and the cloak and with riding on a horse when he felt as if he were mounted on a tiger or a most savage lion, since this people held horses in the greatest terror!

At last, Tuesday, October 12, they departed from that village of Atahachi, taking along the chief as has been said and with him many principal men and always the Indian with the sunshade attending his lord, and another with a cushion. And that night they slept in the open country. The next day, Wednesday, they came to Piachi, which is a village high above the gorge of a mountain stream; and the chief of this place was evil intentioned, and attempted to resist their passage; and as a result, they crossed the stream with effort, and two Christians were slain, and also the principal Indians who

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accompanied the chief. In this village, Piachi, it was learned that they had killed Don Teodoro and a black, who came from the ships of Pamphilo de Narvaez.

Saturday, October 16, they departed thence into a mountain where they met one of the two Christians whom the Governor had sent to Mabila, and he said that in Mabila there had gathered together much people in arms. The next day they came to a fenced village, and there came messengers from Mabila bringing to the chief much bread made from chestnuts, which are abundant and excellent in that region.

Monday, October 18, St. Luke's day, the Governor came to Mabila,<sup>1</sup> having passed that day by several villages, which was the reason that the soldiers stayed behind to forage and to scatter themselves, for the region appeared populous. And there went on with the Governor only forty horsemen as an advance guard, and after they had tarried a little, that the Governor might not show weakness, he entered into the village with the chief, and all his guard went in with him. Here the Indians immediately began an areyto,<sup>2</sup> which is their fashion for a ball with dancing and

<sup>1</sup> Placed somewhat above the head of Mobile Bay. Cf. Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, 233).

<sup>2</sup> A West Indian word for an Indian dance.

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song. While this was going on some soldiers saw them putting bundles of bows and arrows slyly among some palm leaves, and other Christians saw that above and below<sup>3</sup> the cabins were full of people concealed. The Governor was informed of it and he put his helmet on his head and ordered all to go and mount their horses and warn all the soldiers that had come up. Hardly had they gone out when the Indians took the entrances of stockade, and there were left with the Governor, Luis de Moscoso and Baltasar de Gallegos, and Espindola, the Captain of the Guard, and seven or eight soldiers. And the chief went into a cabin and refused to come out of it. Then they began to shoot arrows at the Governor. Baltasar de Gallegos went in for the chief, he not being willing to come out. He disabled the arm of a principal Indian with the slash of a knife. Luis de Moscoso waited at the door, so as not to leave him alone, and he was fighting like a knight and did all that was possible until, not being able to endure any more, he cried: "Señor Baltasar de Gallegos, come out, or I will leave you, for I cannot wait any longer for you." During this, Solis, a resident of Triana of

<sup>3</sup> See Bartram's *Travels*, 189-90, for a description of the cabins of the Alachua Indians, which had an open loft at one end.

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Seville, had ridden up, and Rodrigo Ranjel, who were the first, and for his sins Solis was immediately stricken down dead; but Rodrigo Ranjel got to the gate of the town at the time when the Governor went out, and two soldiers of his guard with him, and after him came more than seventy Indians who were held back for fear of Rodrigo Ranjel's horse, and the Governor, desiring to charge them, a negro brought up his horse; and he told Rodrigo Ranjel to give aid to the Captain of the Guard, who was left behind, for he had come out quite used up, and a soldier of the Guard with him; and he with a horse faced the enemy until he got out of danger, and Rodrigo Ranjel returned to the Governor and had him draw out more than twenty arrows which he bore fastened in his armour, which was a loose coat quilted with coarse cotton. And he ordered Ranjel to watch for Solis, to rescue him from the enemy that they should not carry him inside. And the Governor went to collect the soldiers. There was great valour and shame that day among all those that found themselves in this first attack and beginning of this unhappy day; for they fought to admiration and each Christian did his duty as a most valiant soldier. Luis de Moscoso and Baltasar de Gallegos came out with the rest of the soldiers by another gate.

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As a result, the Indians were left with the village and all the property of the Christians, and with the horses that were left tied inside, which they killed immediately. The Governor collected all of the forty horse that were there and advanced to a large open place before the principal gate of Mabila. There the Indians rushed out without venturing very far from the stockade, and to draw them on the horsemen made a feint of taking flight at a gallop, withdrawing far from the walls. And the Indians believing it to be real, came away from the village and the stockade in pursuit, greedy to make use of their arrows. And when it was time the horsemen wheeled about on the enemy, and before they could recover themselves, killed many with their lances. Don Carlos wanted to go with his horse as far as the gate, and they gave the horse an arrow shot in the breast. And not being able to turn, he dismounted to draw out the arrow, and then another came which hit him in the neck above the shoulder, at which, seeking confession, he fell dead. The Indians no longer dared to withdraw from the stockade. Then the Commander invested them on every side until the whole force had come up; and they went up on three sides to set fire to it, first cutting the stockade with axes. And the fire in its course burned the

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two hundred odd pounds of pearls that they had, and all their clothes and ornaments, and the sacramental cups, and the moulds for making the wafers, and the wine for saying the mass; and they were left like Arabs, completely stripped, after all their hard toil. They had left in a cabin the Christian women, which were some slaves belonging to the Governor; and some pages, a friar, a priest, a cook, and some soldiers defended themselves very well against the Indians, who were not able to force an entrance before the Christians came with the fire and rescued them. And all the Spaniards fought like men of great courage, and twenty-two died, and one hundred and forty-eight others received six hundred and eighty-eight arrow wounds, and seven horses were killed and twenty-nine others wounded. Women and even boys of four years of age fought with the Christians; and Indian boys hanged themselves not to fall into their hands, and others jumped into the fire of their own accord. See with what good will those carriers acted. The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an auger, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance.

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On that day there died Don Carlos, and Francis de Soto, the nephew of the Governor, and Johan de Gamez de Jaen, and Men Rodriguez, a fine Portugues gentleman, and Espinosa, a fine gentleman, and another named Velez, and one Blasco de Barcarrota, and many other honoured soldiers; and the wounded comprised all the men of most worth and honour in the army. They killed three thousand of the vagabonds without counting many others who were wounded and whom they afterwards found dead in the cabins and along the roads. Whether the chief was dead or alive was never known. The son they found thrust through with a lance.

After the end of the battle as described, they rested there until the 14th of November, caring for their wounds and their horses, and they burned over much of the country. And up to the time when they left there, the total deaths from the time the Governor and his forces entered the land of Florida, were one hundred and two Christians, and not all, to my thinking, in true repentance.

Sunday, November 14, of the year already mentioned, the Governor left Mabila, and the Wednesday following came to a fine river. Thursday, the 28th,<sup>4</sup> their way lay over bad places and through swamps, and they

<sup>4</sup> This should be the 18th.

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found a village with corn which was named Talicpacana. The Christians had discovered on the other side of the river a village which appeared to them from a distance to be finely situated.

On Sunday, the 21st of November, Vasco Gonalez found a village half a league distant from this named Moulixa, from which they had transported all the corn to the other side of the river and had piled it in heaps covered with mats; and the Indians were across the river, and were making threats. A barge was constructed which was finished the 29th of the month, and they made a large truck to carry it to Moulixa; and when it was launched in the water sixty soldiers embarked in it. The Indians shot countless darts, or rather arrows. But when this great canoe reached the shore they took flight, and not more than three or four Christians were wounded. The country was easily secured, and they found an abundance of corn.

The next day, Wednesday, the whole force came to a village which was called Zabusta, and there they crossed the river in the boat and with some canoes that they had found in that place; and they tarried for the night in another village on the other side, because up above they found a fine one, and took the chief, whose name was Apafalaya, and carried



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him along as guide and interpreter; and this stream was called the river Apafalaya. From this river and town the Governor and his army set out in search of Chicaça on Thursday, December 9. The following Tuesday they arrived at the river of Chicaça, having traversed many bad passages and swamps and cold rivers.

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

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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; because I knew Soto very well, and, although he was a man of worth, I did not suppose that he was so winning a talker or so clever, as to be able to delude such persons. What was it that a man like him<sup>5</sup> wanted of a land unexplored and unknown? Nor did the Captain that took him know anything more than that in this land had perished Johan Ponce de Leon and the lawyer Lucas Vazquez de Allyón and Pamphilo de Narvaez and others abler than Hernando de Soto. And those that follow such guides have to go in that manner,<sup>6</sup> since they found regions where they were able to make a settlement and rest and gradually push in and make their inferences and learn the country. But let us proceed, for the toil of this knight is little compared with those that are dying and escape.<sup>7</sup>

The river of Chicaça they found overflowing its bed, and the Indians on the other side in arms with many white flags. Orders were

<sup>5</sup>*I. e.*, Osorio.

<sup>6</sup>There seems to be an ellipsis of something like this: but it need not have been so with a different leader since, etc.

<sup>7</sup>A respecto de los que mueren, sino se salvan.

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given to make a barge, and the Governor sent Baltasar de Gallegos with thirty horsemen, swimmers, to search the river up above for a good crossing place, and to fall suddenly upon the Indians; and it was perceived, and they forsook the passage and they crossed over very comfortably in the barge on Thursday, the 16th of the month. And the Governor went on ahead with some horsemen, and they arrived late at night at a village of the lord which had been deserted by all the people. The next day Baltasar de Gallegos appeared with the thirty that went with him, and they spent that Christmas in Chicaça,<sup>8</sup> and there was a snowstorm with a heavy fall of snow, just as if they had been in Burgos, and the cold was as severe, or more so. On Monday, January 3, 1541, the chief of Chicaça came proffering peace, and promptly gave the Christians guides and interpreters to go to Caluça, a place of much repute among the Indians. Caluça is a province of more than ninety villages not subject to any one, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded, and the soil is fertile in that section. In Chicaça the Governor ordered that half of his army make war on Sacchuma; and on their return the Chief Miculasa made peace,

<sup>8</sup> In Mississippi, near the headwaters of the Yazoo and Tombigbee rivers. Cf. Lowery, 236.

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and messengers came from Talapatica. In the meantime, while this war was going on, the time came to march, and they asked the chief for carriers; and the Indians raised such a tumult among themselves that the Christians understood it; and the settlement was that they would give them on the 4th of March, when they had to start, and that on that day they would come with them. On the evening of that day the Governor mounted his horse and found the Indians evilly disposed, and realizing their dangerous intentions he returned to the camp and said in public: "To-night is an Indian night. I shall sleep armed and my horse saddled." And they all said that they would do the same, and he called the Master of the Camp, who was Luis de Moscoso, and told him that they should take extra precautions that night in regard to the sentinels, since it was the last. The Governor as he went away from where he left those soldiers to whom he had given these warnings, lay down undressed on his couch, and neither was his horse saddled nor any other, and all those in the camp lay down to sleep without precautions and unarmed. The Master of the Camp put on the morning watch three horsemen, the most useless and with the poorest horses in the army. And on the day before mentioned, the 4th of March,

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when the Indian carriers had been promised them, at dawn, the Indians, fulfilling their word, entered the camp in many detachments, beating drums as if it had been in Italy, and setting fire to the camp, they burned and captured fifty-nine horses, and three of them they shot through both shoulders with arrows.

And the Christians were like heedless people on this occasion; and few arms, coats-of-mail, lances and saddles remained after the fire; and all the horses had run off, escaping the fire and the noise. Only the commander was able to mount his horse, and they did not fasten the horse's girth, nor did he buckle his coat of arms, and Tapia de Valladolid was with him; and he fell over the first Indian that he thrust at who had thrust at him, saddle and all,<sup>9</sup> and if the Indians had known how to follow up their victory, this would have been the last day of the lives of all the Christians of that army, and made an end of the demand for carriers.<sup>10</sup>

Next the Spaniards went to a plain, a league from that village where they were; and they had cabins and supplies, and they set up the

<sup>9</sup> Garcilaso characteristically makes De Soto fight an hour with the saddle girth unfastened! (*La Florida*, 167.)

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 153, for Alonso de Carmona's account of another narrow escape the Spaniards had three days later.

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camp on a sloping hillside. And they made haste to set up a forge, and they made bellows of bear skins, and they retempered their arms, and made new frames for their saddles, and they provided themselves with lances for there were in that place very good ash-trees. And within a week they had everything repaired. There were slain in Chicaça and burned alive twelve Christians.

Tuesday, March 15, the morning watch, the Indians returned upon the Christians, determined to finish them up, and attacked them on three sides; and as necessity had made them cautious, and, as they were informed and on the watch, they fought with them bravely and put the Indians to flight. And it pleased God that the Christians should not suffer much loss, and few Indians perished. Some Spaniards displayed great valour that day, and no one failed to do his duty. And unfortunate was he on that occasion who did not well defend his life and who failed to prove to the enemy the quality and arms of the Christians.

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### CHAPTER VIII

IN WHICH THE HISTORY NARRATES ANOTHER ENCOUNTER AT A BARRICADE, IN WHICH THE COMMANDER FOUGHT WITH THE INDIANS; AND HOW HE CAME TO A VERY LARGE RIVER WHICH THE CHRISTIANS CROSSED; AND OF THE NARRATION AND DISCOURSE WHICH THE CHIEF OF CASQUI DELIVERED IN FAVOUR OF THE CROSS AND THE FAITH IN THE PRESENCE OF THE COMMANDER AND THE CHRISTIANS; AND OF THE CONTENTION OF THIS CHIEF WITH ANOTHER, HIS ENEMY, NAMED PACAHA, AS TO WHICH OUGHT TO HAVE PRECEDENCE. THEIR DEPARTURE FROM UTIANGÜE, AND MANY OTHER NOTABLE INCIDENTS.

TUESDAY, April 26, in the year aforesaid, 1541, the Governor Hernando de Soto set out from the plain of Chicaça, and arrived at Limamu for the night; and there they searched for corn, because the Indians had hidden it, and they had to pass over a desert. And Thursday they came to another plain where the Indians had taken the position, having made a very strong barricade, and within it there were many Indian braves, painted red and decorated with other colours which appeared very fine (or rather, very bad, at least it meant harm to the Christians). And they entered the barricade by force, and with some loss by death and wounds on the part of the Commander and his army, and with a loss

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greater beyond comparison on the part of the conquered; and it would have been still more if the Indians had not taken flight.

Saturday, the last of April, the army set out from the place of the barricade and marched nine days through a deserted country and by a rough way, mountainous and swampy, until May 8, when they came to the first village of Quizqui, which they took by assault and captured much people and clothes; but the Governor promptly restored them to liberty and had everything restored to them for fear of war, although that was not enough to make friends of these Indians. A league beyond this village they came upon another with abundance of corn, and soon again after another league, upon another likewise amply provisioned. There they saw the great river.<sup>1</sup> Saturday, May 21, the force went along to a plain between the river and a small village, and set up quarters and began to build four barges to cross over to the other side. Many of these conquerors said this river was larger than the Danube.

On the other side of the river, about seven thousand Indians had got together, with about two hundred canoes, to defend the passage. All of them had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely inter-

<sup>1</sup> The Mississippi.



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woven with such thread that a cross-bow could hardly pierce them. The arrows came raining down so that the air was full of them, and their yells were something fearful. But when they saw that the work on the barges did not relax on their account, they said that Pacaha, whose men they were, ordered them to withdraw, and so they left the passage free. And on Saturday, June 8,<sup>2</sup> the whole force crossed this great river in the four barges and gave thanks to God because in His good pleasure nothing more difficult could confront them.<sup>3</sup> Soon, on Sunday, they came to a village of Aquixo.

Tuesday, June 21, they went from there and passed by the settlement of Aquixo, which is very beautiful, or beautifully situated. The next day, Wednesday, they passed through the worst tract for swamps and water that they had found in all Florida, and on that day the toil of the soldiers was very heavy.

The next day following, Thursday, they entered the land of Quarqui, and passed through small villages; and the next day, Friday, St. John's day, they came to the village of the Lord of Casqui, who gave food and clothing to the army. It was Saturday when

<sup>2</sup> This should be June 18.

<sup>3</sup> The crossing is supposed to have taken place below Memphis and above the mouth of the Arkansas.

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they 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. There the Christians planted the cross on a mound, and they received it and adored it with much devotion, and the blind and lame came to seek to be healed. Their faith, says Rodrigo Rangel, would have surpassed that of the conquerors if they had been taught, and would have brought forth more fruit than those conquerors did.

Sunday, June 26, they departed thence to go to Pacaha, an enemy of Casqui; and after passing several villages, they spent the night in one. And the following day they crossed a swamp over which the Indians had thrown a well-constructed bridge, broad and very cleverly built. On Wednesday they came to the village of Pacaha, a village and lord of wide repute and highly thought of in that country.

This town was a very good one, thoroughly well stockaded; and the walls were furnished with towers and a ditch round about, for the most part full of water which flows in by a canal from the river; and this ditch was full of excellent fish of divers kinds. The chief of Casqui came to the Christians when they

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were entering the village and they entertained him bravely. In Aquixo, and Casqui, and Pacaha, they saw the best villages seen up to that time, better stockaded and fortified, and the people were of finer quality, excepting those of Cofitachequi. The Commander and his soldiers remaining some days in Pacaha, they made some incursions further up country.

And the chief of Casqui, on one occasion, when he saw a chance for it, went off without seeking permission, on account of which the Governor tried to secure peace with Pacaha; and he came to the camp to recover a brother of his whom the Christians had taken when they entered the village; and an agreement was made with Pacaha that they should war against Casqui, which was very gratifying to Pacaha. But Casqui got wind of this resolve and came with fifty Indians of his in fine array, and he brought a clown for display, who said and did much that was amusing, making those who saw him laugh a good deal. The Governor assumed an air of irritation and sternness to please Pacaha, and sent word that Casqui should not come into the village. Casqui replied that he would not refrain from coming even if they cut off his head. Pacaha asked the Governor to allow him to give Casqui a slash in the face with a knife that he had in his hand, which the Christians had

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given him. But the Governor told Pacaha that he should do no such thing, nor do him any harm, for he would be angry at him; and he ordered Casqui to come so as to see what he wanted, and because he wished to ask him the reason why he had gone without his permission. Casqui came and spoke to the Governor as follows:—as it was reported by the interpreter Johan Ortiz and the other Indian interpreters that the Governor and the Christians had—“How is it, my Lord, possible, that after having given me the pledge of friendship, and without my having done any harm to you, or given any occasion, you desire to destroy me, your friend and brother? You gave me the cross for a defence against my enemies, and with it you seek to destroy me.” (This he said because the Indians of Pacaha, his enemy, that went with the Christians, against him, wore crosses on their heads, high up, that they might be seen.) “Now, my Lord,” said Casqui, “when God has heard us by means of the cross; when the women and boys and all those of my country threw themselves on their knees before it to pray for water to the God who you said suffered on it; and He heard us and gave us water in great abundance and refreshed our corn-fields and plantations; now, when we had the most faith in it and in your friend-

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ship, you desired to destroy these boys and women that are so devoted to you and your God. Why did you desire to use us with such cruelty without our deserving it from you? Why did you desire to destroy the faith and confidence which we had in you? Why did you desire to offend your God and us, when for Him, and in His name, you gave us assurances and received us for friends, and we gave you entire confidence and trust in the same God and His cross, and have it for our safeguard and protection, and hold it in the reverence and veneration which is proper? With what object or purpose were you actuated to do, or even to think of a thing so grievous against a people without blame, and friends of the cross and of yours?"

This said, he held his peace. The Governor, his eyes melting and not without trace of tears, considering the faith and words of this chief, replied to him, through the interpreters, in the presence of many of the Christian soldiers, who, attentively, and not without tears, overcome by such goodness and faith, had heard what was said, and spoke as follows: "Look you, Casqui, we are not come to destroy you, but to do for you what you know and understand is the work of the cross and our God, as you tell me. And these favours, which it has bestowed upon you, are

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a small thing in comparison with many others and very great ones, which it will secure you if you love it and believe in it. Be assured of this, and you will find it so and realize it better every day. And when you ran off without my permission I thought that you held the teaching we had given you of little account, and for that contempt that you had for it I wanted to destroy you; supposing that in pride you had gone off, for that is the thing which our God most abhors, and for which He punishes us the most. Now that you have come in humility, be assured that I wish you more good than you think; and if you have need of anything from me, tell me of it and you will see, since we do what our God commands us, which is not to lie; and, therefore, believe that I tell you the truth, since to speak a lie is a very great sin amongst us. For this good-will be not grateful to me or mine, since if you hold what you say, God, our Lord, commands that we love you as a brother, and that we treat you as such because you and yours are our brethren, and such is the injunction of our God."

The Indians, as much as the Christians, had heard with wonder what Casqui had said. It was now the hour for dinner and the commander sat down and ordered both chiefs to be seated. And between them there

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was much contention, as to which of them should sit on the right hand of the Governor. Pacaha said to Casqui: "You know well that I am a greater lord than you, and of more honourable parents and grandparents, and that to me belongs a higher place." Casqui replied as follows: "True it is that you are a greater lord than I, and that your forbears were greater than mine. And since this great lord here tells us that we must not lie, I will not deny the truth. But you know well that I am older and mightier than you, and that I confine you in your walls whenever I wish, and you never have seen my country." Finally this was left to the Governor to settle and he ordered that Pacaha should be seated on his right hand because he was a greater lord and more ancient in rank, and he showed in his good customs more of the manners of the courtier after their fashion.

Casqui had brought a daughter, a fine young girl, to the Governor. Pacaha gave him one of his wives, blooming, and very worthy; and he gave him a sister and another Indian woman of rank. The Governor made them friends and embraced them and ordered that there should be merchandising and business between one country and the other, and they agreed to it. And after this the Governor departed thence the 29th of July.

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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 that 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 thus, like the Indians, live as adulterers.

Let us pass on. To my thinking it would have been better after baptizing a chief of so much intelligence as Casqui, and making him and his people Christians, to have remained there, than to go on to what the history will relate. Nor do I approve of their having gone further than to Cofitachequi, for the same reason, and on account of what was said of that land. However, this army and its Governor having departed, they came by nightfall to a village of Casqui. And the next day to the principal village of the same lord of Casqui, which they had already passed. And they departed from there Sunday, the last day of that month and came to a village of that province. And Monday, August 1, they came



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to another village, which is on the river of Casqui, which is a branch of the great river of Pacaha, and this branch is as large as the Guadalquivir. Thither came Casqui and assisted them across the river in canoes, August 2.

On Wednesday, they slept in a burned village. The next day, Thursday, in another near the river, where there were many pumpkins and an abundance of corn, and beans. And the next day, Friday, they came to Quiguate, which is the largest village which they saw in that country, situated on the river of Casqui; and it was later known that the banks of this river were thickly populated further down (although they did not find it out there) and along it they took the trail of Coligua which was not peopled in the intervening country.

Friday, August 26, they left Quiguate in search of Coligua and passed the night by a swamp, and from swamp to swamp they made a journey over four swamps and days' marches; and in these swamps, or pools, there was no end of fish, because all that country is flooded by the great river when it overflows its banks. And, Tuesday, they came to the river of Coligua, and, Wednesday, likewise, to the same river. And the next day, Thursday, September 1, to the town of Coligua; and

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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 very many wild ones.

Tuesday, the 6th of September, they left Coligua and crossed the river again, and Wednesday they passed some mountains and came to Calpista, where there was an excellent salt spring which distilled very good salt in deposits. The Thursday following they came to Palisma, and on Saturday, September 10, they went on to encamp by a water; and Sunday they came to Quixila, where they rested over Monday. Tuesday they went on to Tutilcoya, and Wednesday, to a village along a large river. And Thursday they encamped near a swamp. And the Governor went on ahead with some horsemen, and came to Tanico, and the next day they came to the same settlement of Tanico, which was built in a somewhat scattered fashion, but was very abundantly provided with supplies. Some would have it that it was Cayase, of which they had heard much, a large stockaded town, but they were never able to see that place or discover it; and subsequently they were told that they had left it near the river.

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From there the Governor, with thirteen horsemen and fifty foot, went on to see Tula, and he returned from there in a hurry, and the Indians killed one horse and wounded four or five, and he resolved to go there with the army. 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 very good flavour.

Wednesday, October 5, they departed from the station of Tanico, and came, Friday, to Tula, and found the inhabitants gone, but abundant provisions. On Saturday, in the morning, the Indians came to give them a brush, or a battle, and they had large, long poles, like lances, the ends hardened by fire, and they were the best fighting people that the Christians met with, and they fought like desperate men, with the greatest valour in the world. That day they wounded Hernandarias, the grandson of the marshal of Seville, and, thank God, the Christians defended themselves so valiantly that they did not receive much damage, although the Indians tried to round up the whole force.

Wednesday, October 19, the army and the Governor departed from Tula, and passed the

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night at two cabins. And the next day, Thursday, at another cabin, and Friday, at another, where Hernandarias de Saavedra, who had been wounded at Tula, died in convulsions; and he died like a Catholic knight, commending his soul to God. The next day they came to Guipana, which is between ridges of mountains near a river; and from there they went for the night to a place where they could cross over, and all the country was mountainous from Tula. The next day they left the mountain and came on to the plains and Monday the last day of the month, they came to a village called Quitamaya, and Tuesday, the 1st of November, they went through a small village; and Wednesday, the 2d of November, they came to Utiangüe, which was a plain well peopled and of attractive appearance.<sup>3</sup> . . . .

<sup>3</sup>The manuscript of Book XVII. of Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* breaks off at this point, leaving the chapter unfinished.

## NARRATIVES OF DE SOTO

### SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS XXIX. AND XXX., WHICH ARE NOT KNOWN TO BE EXTANT.

CHAPTER XXIX. (Chapter IX. as given in the text).  
—Of the death of the Governor Hernando de Soto,  
and how Luis de Moscoso was sworn in and obeyed  
in his place; and the story of the toils of the con-  
querors, and other matters. The challenge of the  
Chief Quigudta to the Christians.

Springs from which salt is made.

Hot streams and the salt made from the sand.

Savage and warlike people. How the Christians  
built seven brigantines to go away and leave the  
land. How they left it, and of the freshet in a  
river that lasted forty-three days.

CHAPTER XXX.—What happened to the people  
that survived the Governor Hernando de Soto, and  
other facts; of the animals of this country, and of  
the wonderful animal called Sawyer.

And of the fish, particularly that called Spade-  
fish; of the fruits of that country; of the liquid-  
amber trees, and the sable furs, and many other  
facts.

FRAGMENTS FROM ALONSO DE  
CARMONA AND JUAN COLES

Alonso de Carmona, in his *Peregrinacion*, remarks in particular upon the fierceness of the Indians of the Province of Apalache, of whom he writes as follows, his words being exactly quoted: Those Indians of Apalache are very tall, very valiant and full of spirit; since, just as they showed themselves and fought with those who were with Pamphilo de Nervaez, and drove them out of the country in spite of themselves, they kept flying in our faces every day and we had daily brushes with them; and as they failed to make any headway with us, because our Governor was very brave, energetic, and experienced in Indian warfare, they concluded to withdraw to the woods in small bands, and as the Spaniards were going out for wood and were cutting it in the forest, the Indians would come up at the sound of the axe and would kill the Spaniards and loose the chains of the Indians whom they brought to carry back the cut wood

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and take the Spaniards' scalp, which was what they most prized, to hang upon the arm of their bows with which they fought; and at the sound of the voices and of arms we would immediately repair thither, and we found the consequences of a lack of precaution. In that way they killed for us more than twenty soldiers, and this happened frequently. And I remember that one day seven horsemen went out from the camp to forage for food and to kill a little dog to eat; which we were used to do in that land, and a day that we got something we thought ourselves lucky; and not even pheasants ever tasted better to us. And going in search of these things they fell in with five Indians who were waiting for them with bows and arrows, and they drew a line on the ground and told them not to cross that or they would all die. And the Spaniards who would not take any fooling, attacked them, and the Indians shot off their bows and killed two horses and wounded two others, and also a Spaniard severely; and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians and the rest took to their heels and got away, for they are truly very nimble and are not impeded by the adornments of clothes, but rather are much helped by going bare." Thus Alonso de Carmona.—*La Florida del Inca*, 107.

ALONSO DE CARMONA

*Alonso de Carmona, on how the Indians were  
baffled in an attempt to destroy the  
Spaniards after the Disaster at Chicaça.*

“We were there three days, and at the end of that time the Indians resolved to return upon us and to conquer or to die, and of a surety, I make no doubt, that if that resolution had been carried into effect they would have cut us off to the last one on account of our lack of arms and saddles. But it was God’s good pleasure when they were about a quarter of a league off, getting ready for the attack, that there came a tremendous shower, which God sent from His sky, and wet their bow strings so that they could not do anything, and so they turned back. And the next day in going over the ground they found traces of them, and they took an Indian who explained to us all that the Indians were coming to do and that they had sworn by their gods to die in the attempt. And the Governor perceiving this, decided to move on and to go to Chicacilla, where, forthwith, in great haste, we made shields, lances, and saddles, for in such times necessity makes masters of all. We made bellows of two bear skins, and with the gun barrels we rigged up our forge and tempered our arms and made the best provision we could.”—*La Florida del Inca*, 170.



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### *Alonso de Carmona, on their Experiences in the Gulf of Mexico.*

At this point (*i. e.* when the Spaniards entered the Gulf of Mexico) Alonso de Carmona says these words, which are literally quoted: "And so we sailed along the coast feeling our way because all the apparatus for navigation was burned by the Indians or by ourselves when we set fire to Mauvila; and Captain Juan de Añasco was a very careful man, and he took the astrolabe and kept it, and as it was of metal it was not much damaged; and from a parchment of deer skin he made a chart, and from a carpenter's rule he made a fore-staff, and by it we directed our course. And when the sailors and others saw that he was not a seaman, nor had ever set sail in his life except for this expedition, they laughed at him; and when he knew how they laughed at him he threw the things overboard, except the astrolabe. And those on the other brigantine behind picked them up as the chart and the fore-staff were tied together. And so we marched, or rather sailed seven or eight days, and in bad weather we betook ourselves to some inlet."—*La Florida del Inca*, 250-51.

JUAN COLES

*The accounts by Juan Coles and 'Alonso de  
Carmona of the Reception of the Span-  
iards in Mexico.*

Juan Coles says, at this point, that a gentleman of importance, a citizen of Mexico named Xaramillo, took into his house eighteen men, all from Estremadura, and he clothed them with the fine broadcloth of Segovia, and that to each one of he gave a bed with mattresses, sheets, and blankets and pillows, a comb and brush, and every thing else needful for a soldier, and that all the city was greatly pained to see them come clothed with deer-skins and cow [buffalo] skins, and that they did them this honour and kindness for the many labours they knew they had undergone in Florida. On the other hand, they did not care to show any favours to those that had been with Captain Juan Vazquez Coronado, a resident of Mexico, to discover the Seven Cities, because, without any necessity, they had returned to Mexico without desiring to make a settlement. These had returned shortly before we did."

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*Alonso de Carmona.*

“I have already said that we came from Panuco in squads of fifteen to twenty soldiers, and in that way we entered the great City of Mexico, and we did not enter in one day, but in four, because each squad went in by itself; and so great was the kindness that was shown us in that city that I shall not know how to do it justice here. When a squad of the soldiers entered, those citizens would immediately repair to the Plaza, and he who got there quickest thought it great good fortune, because every one was desirous to outdo the others; and so they took them to their houses and gave to each one a bed for himself and ordered cloth enough brought to clothe them with the black broadcloth of Segovia, and they clothed them and gave them every thing else that was necessary, such as thick shirts, doublets, caps (gorras), hats, knives, scissors, cloths for mufflers and caps (bonnets), even combs to comb their hair. And after they had clothed them they took them with them on Sunday to mass and after they had eaten with them they said to them: ‘Brothers, the land is broad. Make good use of it, where you may; let each seek his own remedy.’ There was there a man of Estremadura whose name was Xaramillo, who went to the Plaza and found

ALONSO DE CARMONA

a squad of twenty soldiers and among them a relative and he treated him and all so very well that no one gave him (*i. e.*, the relative) odds.

All those of my squad decided to go to pay their respects to the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça, and although other residents were taking us to their houses we would not go with them. And he, after we had paid our respects, ordered that we should be given something to eat. And they lodged us in a large hall, and to each one they gave a bed with mattresses, sheets, pillows and blankets, all new. And he gave orders that we should not go hence until they clothed us. And after we were clothed, we paid him our respects and departed, thanking him for the favour and kindness which he had shown us. And we all went to Peru, not so much for its wealth as on account the contests there were there when Gonçalo Piçarro began to make himself Governor and lord of the land." With this Alonso de Carmona brought the narrative of his travels to a close and all these are his words literally quoted.—*La Florida del Inca*, 260.

