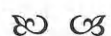


AMERICAN JOURNEYS COLLECTION



Account of Florida,
1566-1568

by Juan Pardo

DOCUMENT NO. AJ-139



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62. In the bottom margin is written: *va testada una p y enmendada una t.*
63. In the bottom margin is written: *va enscriptos los margenes y al pueblo la villa y testada una s.*
64. In the bottom margin is written: *va testado do dize be [slash] no vala.*
65. There appears to be an *ojo* in the margin, but it is not very distinct.
66. In the bottom margin is written: *va enmendado do dize que vala.*
67. In the bottom margin is written: *va enmendado do dize cien [slash] dia mes [slash] vala y testado do dizia [slash] quenta [slash] no vala / y va escripto entre renglones do dize [slash] son.*
68. An alternative reading is *yentencumbe*.

Introduction

Herbert E. Ketcham began a translation of this document about 1950. He had become interested in it while completing his Ph.D. in French at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, during the late forties.¹ After preparing a rough translation of some 90 pages in length, he filed his typescript with the photostats of the document and did not touch it again.

The Ketcham translation is a faithful and somewhat idiomatic translation that I found accurate in many respects but generally inaccurate in the transcription of the Indian names. My initial concern was to check that aspect of the translation, but I soon found other small discrepancies. Further, the Ketcham translation seemed unnecessarily formal. Thus in the end, I have completely revised Ketcham's work.

The translation that follows, while owing much to Ketcham's text, drops out almost all of the formula "the said" before proper names and provides interpolations where necessary to fully convey the meaning of the Spanish. Where the original Spanish is needed to clarify the meaning, I have provided it in parentheses. In addition, I have made revisions in sentence structure, generally splitting the endlessly linked phrases of the original by suppressing the conjunction "and" and applying appropriate punctuation and capitalization. I have also scrupulously followed the orthography of the Spanish text for all Indian names and words. Portions of the text that were underlined in the original have been italicized, as in the transcription. I believe that the result is an accurate rendering in idiomatic modern English.

Several conventions used in my retranslation of the text should be noted.

1. PLACE/village: The Spanish term translated with these words is *lugar*. In Spanish juridical terminology, a *lugar* is a collection of houses that is a satellite of a hamlet (*aldea*) or village (usually *pueblo*). Because the Spanish term conveys no exact idea of size or organization, I have used the English "place" in preference to "village," which implies size and organization. Where Bandera actually said *pueblo* in his text, I have used

the English word “village” and followed it with the Spanish in parentheses. Ketcham used “village” throughout his text.

2. TO DO: The Spanish term is *cumplir*. I have generally used the English “to do” instead of the verbose “to carry out,” which is the literal meaning of this word. “To do” is more forceful and seems to better convey the meaning.
3. PERMISSION: The Spanish is *licencia*. The English cognate “license” suggests a formal document, which is not necessarily what the Spanish term suggests. It suggests both the formal documented act and the informal “OK” carried by a person obviously authorized to order something.
4. TO GO TO / TO RENDER TO: The Spanish is *acudir a*. The sense is to go up to with a load and suggests a very physical action as well as the fulfillment of an obligation.

Translation

COVER TEXT

1569

The Lieutenant Governor of Florida

FOLIO I

Santo Domingo, April 1, 1569

Juan Pardo 34 Folios

{Proceedings for the account which Captain Juan Pardo gave of the entrance which he made into the land of the Floridas} In the very noble and loyal city and the forts of the Point of Santa Elena which is in the Provinces of Florida, the first day of the month of April [in the] year of the birth of Our Savior Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary of this city and point and of its district and [in the presence] of the witnesses listed below there appeared the very excellent gentleman, Juan Pardo, captain of the Spanish infantry for His Majesty, *contino* of his house, lieutenant of the governor of the provinces of Florida, who said that in the year just past of 1567, His Grace with the greater part of his company left this city and forts with an order from the very illustrious gentleman Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, captain general of the provinces and adelantado of them in His Majesty's name, for the interior of Florida, in the direction of New Spain, in which journey he was commanded by the adelantado that with all possible care he should try to pacify (*allanar*) and calm (*quietar*) the caciques or Indians of all the land and to attract them to the service of God and of His Majesty and likewise to take possession of all the land in his royal name, for which effect the adelantado commanded me, the said notary, since I was notary of this point and port of Santa Elena and of its district, to go with the captain on this

journey, and to write and set down that which might be done and happen in my presence in due form, with the solemnities that are required in order for it to be shown to His Majesty when necessary. All of which [record] it was suitable for the captain to have in his power in order to give an account to His Majesty or to whomever might request it in his name. Therefore he gave and asked me, the notary, to give him a clearly written copy signed and sealed in public form and in a manner which attests to all that which he effected in the service of God and of his Majesty that was done on the journey, which I, the notary, gave him as I was requested to do, together with an approval which the Adelantado made before me, the notary, of all that which was done on the journey [together] with a solemn oath which he received from the captain and from other persons who were found present at all of it and likewise with an order which the Adelantado gave to me, the notary, and another to the captain. The tenor of the above, one after the other, is as follows:

{Instruction as to what Juan de la Bandera is to do on this journey that he is making with Captain Juan Pardo to the interior and the road to the mines of San Martín and Zacatecas.}

Firstly, to any cacique who arrives, you are to remind the said captain, [that] he treat with the chiefs as to whether they would like to be Christians, and give obedience to the pope and to His Majesty. If they would like to have monks to teach them to be Christians, they will be sent to them. If they would like to give the possession of the land to His Majesty, it will be taken in his royal name with all formalities. Of all of these [matters] testimonies will be taken in due form so that at the proper time they can be given to His Majesty.

Having arrived at the land of Zacatecas and the mines of San Martín, at the first village of Christians the captain is to send you to the royal audiencia of New Galicia and to the Viceroy of New Spain for the purpose of informing them of your journey and of the other things which seem to you to be suitable to the service of His Majesty. You will make this trip with all the diligence and fidelity which is expected of you, and may Our Lord give you a prosperous trip. In this fort of San Felipe and point of Santa Elena, May 28, 1567. Pedro Menéndez

{Instructions as to what you, Captain Juan Pardo, are to do on this present trip to the interior to procure the friendship of the caciques in order that they come to a knowledge of our Holy Catholic faith and to obedience to His Majesty.}

In the first place, you will leave this port of Santa Elena and Fort of San Felipe at the beginning of September of this present year with as many as one hundred and twenty soldiers, harquebusiers and crossbowmen, and you will take the road which seems to you most convenient and direct to go to Zacatecas and the mines of San Martín trying to make all friendship with the caciques who may be on and along the way, delaying two or three or four days, as seems best to you, in suitable places in order that the caciques of the surrounding country may go to see you. FOLIO 1 VERSO Be very friendly with them, trying to persuade them to the obedience of His Majesty and to remain and give their word as to whether monks should go to tell them the things of God, Our Lord, and as they will be Christians they will treat

them [the Indians] very well. Wherever you arrive where there is a principal cacique leave a cross and Christians who may teach them the Christian doctrine.

You will see that the persons whom you take live in a Christian manner and in very good discipline, as is right, and rest and take recreation. Do not work them on the road, making a halt in the places and parts which seem suitable to you in order that they may be refreshed and rested, in order that they may well conserve and have [their] health on the going as well as the return.

On arriving at any village of Christians of the mines of San Martín or Zacatecas you will make a halt and will inform the viceroy of New Spain and the audiencia of New Galicia of your arrival and of the journey which you have made. If it is necessary, let them give some monk, wise and of good spirit and life, in order that on the return to this fort you may leave him in the part which seems suitable to you with some people in order that, being there, he may try to attract the Indians to the service of God, Our Lord, and to the obedience of His Majesty. You will do [this].

You will try to be back in this fort of San Felipe in the course of the month of March if it is possible so that if by chance the French should come to it next summer, they can be resisted and [the fort] defended.

And on the return trip, if it seems suitable to you to return by the road on which you went you will do so and if not you will return by the way which seems best to you.

The persons whom you will take, and whom you will find and who will be given over to you [of those] who have left these provinces without my order, you will bring with you and if anyone goes away from you or absents himself or wishes to leave or absent himself you will punish him according to the crime. I give you full [legal] power to do so according to that [power] which I hold from His Majesty.

On the part of His Majesty, I ask and require and on my part I ask as a favor of all and whichever justices of His Majesty wherever you will arrive that they give you every favor and aid that you ask of them and which you may need. May Our Lord by his goodness give you a prosperous and successful trip. Done in San Felipe and the point of Santa Elena, May 25, 1567.

In all the places at which you arrive you will take possession of the lands and sites which the caciques may give to you, in His Majesty's name and before a notary who may give testimony of it, which testimonies you will bring signed and authorized in due form. Pedro Menéndez. By the command of His Lordship, Juan de Zuiniga.

{Journey} In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the glorious, always-stainless virgin, Holy Mary, his most blessed mother, in the honor and reverence of whom and in his holy name and for the service of His Holiness and of the King Don Philip, our lord, may all those who see this writing know how that, being in the city and point of Santa Elena which is in the provinces of Florida, Monday the first day to the month of September in the year of the birth of Our Savior Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera notary for these provinces, and of the witnesses that are written below, the said

captain appeared and said that inasmuch as today he is to depart from this city in order to make a certain trip through the interior of the land of Florida by order of the very illustrious gentleman Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, adelantado of these provinces in His Majesty's name, attracting and pacifying the Indians of Florida until arriving at some part of New Spain, [that therefore] he carries in his company Guillermo Rufin [Guillaume Rouffi], a Frenchman and interpreter for much [of the] land of Florida. From whom His Grace, in my presence and that of the said witnesses, took an oath on the sign of the cross, by God and by Holy Mary in due form de jure in order that the above mentioned, being a person who is an interpreter of the said Indians and ordinarily understands them all, since this journey is made in the service of God and His Majesty, should always perform and tell the truth-

FOLIO 2 in everything that will be treated and agreed upon with the Indians in order that of all of it a very extensive report may be given to His Majesty and if he does it thus, God, Our Lord, will aid him in this world in his body, and in the other in his soul where it will endure longer, and doing the contrary, it will be demanded of him and dearly as of one who swears and perjures himself swearing His Holy name in vain. Of which I, the notary, am a witness. To the oath Guillermo Rufin said, promising, as he promised, to tell the truth, "Yes, I swear" and "Amen," and he signed it with his name. Señor Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign for the captain, Juan Pardo, and Pedro de Hermosa and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company and many other soldiers of it were present as witnesses at what is said. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Likewise the captain commanded me, the notary, to write and set down how from the said city to the village that is called GuiomaE, which is forty leagues, His Grace does not wish to set down in detail the villages and their caciques which are in the forty leagues because the land is rough and full of swamps and in addition to this because the caciques and Indians {Look} of the forty leagues are very subject and obedient to the service of His Majesty and also because it appears to him, as it has appeared, that it is a thing and jurisdiction subject to the city of Santa Elena whence, whenever some command is sent to the caciques and Indians they do it very carefully and quickly, which I, the notary, attest. Present as witnesses at what is said where Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa and Pedro Guterrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the glorious, always stainless Virgin His blessed mother, the *first* day of the month of December in the year of the birth to Our Savior Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and sixty-six, the very magnificent gentlemen Estebano de las Alas, governor in the said provinces, and Juan Pardo, *contino* and captain of Spanish infantry, lieutenant for the gentleman Estebano de las Alas, being in the city and point of Santa Elena, which is in the provinces of Florida, the captain with an order from the very illustrious gentleman Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, captain general and adelantado in the said provinces in

the name of his Majesty, set out together with Alberto Escudero de Villamar, his ensign, and Hernando Moyano, his sergeant, [and] with the soldiers of his company into the interior of the land of Florida to subject (*subjetar*) and pacify (*al-lanar*) the caciques and Indians of the land in order that they may be under the dominion and obedience of His Holiness and of the king, Don Philip, our lord. With this order and motive he made the journey subjecting and attracting the caciques and Indians to the said obedience until arriving, as he arrived, at a place which is called *Joara*, where His Grace, with his company built a fort, *San Juan* by name, from which to the city and point of Santa Elena it is one hundred and twenty leagues. While he was building the fort an Indian arrived with a letter written and signed by Estebano de las Alas, governor, in which [letter] he informed him that in the city and point of Santa Elena there was need of help from his person and company because it was suitable to the service of His Majesty. The captain, having seen the letter and the grave necessity for returning with his company to the city and point of Santa Elena, left in the fort of San Juan, Hernando Moyano, sergeant, with thirty men of his company as the garrison of it. Then he returned with his ensign and the other people of his company to the city and point of Santa Elena where he arrived on March 7, 1567. He was in it with his company until September 1, 1567, whence on the said day he went out continuing the journey with an order which the Adelantado gave him in the month of May just past of the year of sixty-seven. {*EmaE Orata, a great lord.*} Continuing the journey as is said, he arrived at a place which is called *GuiomaE* where its cacique, who is called EmaE Orata, had built a large house for His Majesty which he had made as a result of what he had been commanded by the captain in His Majesty's name, and now today, Monday the eighth day of the month of September of the said year, which was when the captain together with his company arrived a second time at the place called *GuiomaE*, where, having seen the said house, His Grace summoned, by means of Guillermo Ruffin, interpreter of that tongue, who he carried with him in his company, EmaE Orata, to whom through the interpreter, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, it was declared and said that in the service of God, Our Lord, and in the obedience which is owed to His Holiness and to His Majesty, it was fitting that he and the Indians who were subject to him should become Christians and, in addition to this, that he should gather a certain amount of maize and have a house built where it might be put, to which maize he should not come except with permission from His Majesty or of one who has the authority which the captain had. This said, EmaE Orata said and through the interpreter declared that as to what was said concerning [the fact] that he and the Indians who were his subjects should become Christians, that he was happy to do so whenever the captain wished it and that as for having the maize gathered and brought and having the house to hold it built, that he has already gathered the maize and that when the maize is cured he will make the house which is to hold it, and from it neither he nor any other for him will take out any amount except with the said permission. As a demonstration that he carries out that which he is commanded by the captain in His Majesty's name, he asked the

captain's permission that he might take out of the maize that he has gathered for His Majesty a canoe [load] of it in order to give something to eat to the captain and to his people. FOLIO 2 VERSO

Moreover the speech which is declared [above] was made to *Pasque Orata*, cacique, who was present, who in the presence of me, the notary, said and declared through Guillermo, interpreter, that he was ready to do all that which he was commanded by the captain in His Majesty's name and that he also has gathered the maize which has been declared to him for which he will build a house in which it may be kept when it is cured, to which neither he nor any other for him will come except with the said permission. In demonstration of this he asked the captain's permission to take out a canoe [load] of the maize in order to feed the captain and his people. The captain, in view of the above, and that it was suitable to the service of His Majesty to give the permission to the caciques to take out the maize since, after all, it was for the sustenance of the people of his company, he gave it to them. In addition to this, in the presence of me, the notary, he gave to each one of the caciques an axe and certain enameled (*altajía*) buttons with which the caciques remained very content. At all of what is said there were present as witnesses Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro Hermosa and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. The captain signed it with his name [as did] Guillermo Rufín, interpreter and I, the notary. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

And after this in the presence of me, the notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey, on September 11, 1567, arrived at a place which is called *Canos* where he found a large house with a certain quantity of maize, which [house] by command of His Majesty had been made, as the captain had ordered, by Canos Orata, Ylasi Orata, Sanapa Orata, Unuguqua Orata, Vora Orata, Ysaa Orata, Catapa Orati, {*Here many lords gathered, as the letter declares.*} Vehidi Orata, Otari Orata, Uraca Orata, Achini Orata, Ayo Orata, [and] Canosaca Orata, very principal chiefs, without [counting] many others who are subjects and under the dominion of some of the above mentioned, which the above-mentioned captain found together in the place called Canos and thus in the presence of me, the notary, and of the witnesses noted below, he had them all summoned together by Guillermo Rufín, interpreter of their language, and through him it was declared to them how they already knew that before now it had been declared and said unto them by the captain how they were to make the house and maize which they had for His Majesty, and that it was suitable for them to turn Christian and be under his dominion and that from this they were not to vary a point and that now that His Grace saw that they actually fulfill the things stated above, it is necessary that in the presence of me, the notary, they ratify and approve it. They, in the presence of me, the notary, and through the interpreter declared and said that they will be very happy to do that which has been commanded and declared to them by the captain in His Majesty's name and as such, remaining as they remained under the said dominion, they made the "Yaa," which I, the notary, attest. {*Yaa means "I am content to*

do what you command me to do."} They promised not to consume or take out any quantity of the maize for any reason except with permission of His Majesty or of one who might have his authority. Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company were witnesses of what is said and of how the captain gave to each of the caciques a hatchet and a little colored taffeta and certain enameled [*altajía*] buttons as a sign of good friendship, with which [gifts] the above mentioned remained very content, which fact I, the notary, attest.

Moreover, this said day, month, and year, before me, the notary, and in the presence of the captain, there appeared Ylasi Orata, cacique named above, and through the interpreter he declared and said that notwithstanding [the fact] that he helped build the house of the place called Canos, that the maize which for his part he is to give and the house in which he keeps it, he has built, and gathered the said maize for His Majesty in his village, to which [store] he promised that neither he nor any other would come except with the permission of His Majesty or of one who might have his authority. Witnesses were the said ensign and the above-mentioned men. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Ruffin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the trip on September 13, 1567, arrived at a place which is called Tagaya. Its cacique is called *Tagaya*, who had built a good new house for His Majesty in that place. The captain, having seen the house, in my presence summoned Tagaya before him by {*Tagaya, chief, lord.*} means of Guillermo Ruffin, interpreter, and through him he made the customary speech. He replied through the interpreter that he was ready to do that which he was commanded to do by His Grace, which I, the notary, attest. At which there were present as witnesses, Alberto [Escudero] de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Ruffin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

And after this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey on September 14, 1567, arrived with his company at a place which is called Gueca in which the cacique was (*estaba*) who is called Gueca Orata. Notwithstanding [the fact] that he was among the caciques who built the house of Canos, there was found built in his village a new wooden house rather large. [This] having been seen by the captain, in his presence and mine, the cacique said and declared through Guillermo Ruffin, interpreter, who was present, that he had built the house for the service of His Majesty. This being said by the [cacique] through the interpreter there was declared and said to him the accustomed speech. The cacique replied that he was very happy to fulfill it thus. In addition to this there were in that place, Unharca Orata and Herape Orata and Suhere Orata and Suya Orata and Uniaca Orata and Sarati Orata and Ohebere Orata all caciques of other places different from the above mentioned, to whom it was said and declared through the interpreter that it was suitable for them as well as for all the others that they have a reckoning and [take] care that each one of them attend to His Majesty

with the quantity of maize that each one could [give] according to his possibilities, which [quantity] they should put and carry to a house which is built for His Majesty in the village of Canos where there is a certain amount of maize that other caciques have given, and if they do not have maize, he who does not have any shall be obliged to go to the said house with some deer skins and if they do not have them, let them attend [to His Majesty], by the [same] order² and in the above-mentioned place with the amount of salt which each can [supply]. These [caciques], having heard and understood what was said above through Guillermo Rufín, interpreter, all replied with one voice, “Yaa,” which means that they were ready to fulfill it as it had been declared and commanded, which I, the notary, attest. At which there were present as witnesses Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary. FOLIO 3

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey on September 15, 1567, arrived with his company at a place which is called Aracuchi, in which the captain found built a good new wooden house and inside it an elevated room with a certain quantity of maize. The captain having seen it, by means of Guillermo Rufín summoned the cacique of the place, who was called Aracuchi Orata. Through the interpreter he said and declared to him how the house with the maize was for His Majesty. In addition to this there was made to him the customary speech. The cacique declared through the interpreter that for that very reason he had made the house and gathered the maize. As for the rest of the speech, in sign of obedience he made the “Yaa,” which means that he is ready to do it and not to consume or take away any amount of the maize except with the permission of His Majesty or of one who has his power. To [all] of this I, the notary, attest. Witnesses present at what is said were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey on September 17, 1567, arrived with his company at a village which is called Otari in which the captain found a new wooden house which the cacique of that place, who is called Otari Orata, had built for His Majesty. The captain having seen it, summoned the cacique, to whom he made the customary speech through Guillermo Rufín, interpreter. The cacique replied and said “Yaa,” which means that he is ready to do it and he promised to come with what he had and could bring to His Majesty, which I, the notary, certify. Witnesses present at what was said were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary. FOLIO 3 VERSO

Likewise on the aforesaid day, month and year Captain Juan Pardo being with his company in the village called Otari, there came Guatari Meco and Orata Chiquini,

cacicas from a place which is {*Meco is a great lord. Orata Chiquini [is] a lesser lord.*} called Guatari where there are a cleric and two Spanish boys teaching the doctrine to the Indians of the country. These [cacicas], through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, said that they came to say that they had a house built in the said village for His Majesty according to that which earlier they were commanded by the captain and to learn what henceforth they were to do in the service of His Majesty. The captain, seeing the above, made them the customary speech through the interpreter. Having understood it, they said "Yaa," which means that they are ready to do it, which I, the notary, attest. Witness were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company.

Likewise, through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, the cacicas declared that they have authority over thirty-nine caciques, who helped them to build the house, and they, as their leaders, promised to fulfill that which the thirty-nine caciques ought to do in His Majesty's service and thus they promised together with the caciques from today, the declared day, to collect and have collected two rooms (*camaras*) of maize in performance of what is due to His Majesty, which I, the notary, attest. Likewise, for more satisfaction that this house is built for that end, because we, the captain and I, the notary, could not see it, being on the road continuing the journey, I, the notary, in the presence of the captain, took and received an oath in legal form from Antón Muñoz and Francisco de Apalategui, FOLIO 4 soldiers of the company, who for the last three months, at the command of the captain, have been in the village called Guatari Mico until today, when they came to the company, in order that they might say and declare whether it was true that the cacicas had the house built. Which [men] under charge of the oath said and declared that the cacicas, together with their caciques, in the presence of the above mentioned [men] had built the said large house of new wood and [had] completely covered [it] within with matting, which is the truth because of the oath which they have taken and they signed it with their names. I, the notary, attest how the captain gave to the cacicas, to each one of them an axe and likewise to the other caciques who before now are declared, to those understood to be principals, to each one an axe and to the others, subject to them, to some a chisel and to others enameled buttons and some red taffeta. Witnesses were the [afore] said. Juan Pardo, Antón Muñoz, Francisco de Apalategui, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, continuing the journey, on September 20, 1567, arrived with his company at a village which is called Quinahaqui in which the captain found the cacique, who is called Quinahaqui Orata who had built a house of new wood for His Majesty. The captain, having seen the house, lodged in it with his company. He summoned Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, through whom, in His Majesty's name, he made the customary speech to the cacique. The cacique, having understood that which had been declared to him through Guillermo Rufin, replied "Yaa," which means that he is ready to do it. The captain, having seen the obedience of the cacique, gave him

two chisels and a knife, before me, the notary, and witnesses, with which the cacique remained very happy FOLIO 4 VERSO and promised not to make any changes in the house or the maize without permission of His Majesty or of one who would have his power, rather, through the interpreter, he promised and obligated himself to hasten with the maize to the place called Otari, which I, the notary, attest. Present as witnesses were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Likewise in the village of Quinahaqui, Ytaa Orata, a very important cacique, and Cataba Orata, also a very important cacique, and Uchiri Orata, cacique, came to see and visit the captain. They, in the presence of me, the notary, said and declared through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, who was present, that they came to learn and understand from the captain what it was that he commanded them to do in His Majesty's service. The captain, in view of the obedience of the caciques, said and declared to them through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, the customary speech. Having learned, heard, and understood the speech, they replied and said "Yaa," which means that they are ready to do it. Likewise Ysaa [sic] and Cataba Oratas promised and obliged themselves, each one as concerns what he is to [do] to carry and go with the said maize to the village called Otari, which [maize] they will not consume without permission from His Majesty or from one who might have his power. Likewise Uchiri Orata promised and obligated himself that he will put the maize which he is to bring within a village called Canos [and that] he will not consume it without permission from His Majesty or from one who might have his authority, which I, the notary, attest. There were present as witnesses Alberto [Escudero] de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain continuing the journey, on September 21, FOLIO 5 1567, arrived with his company at a place which is called Guaquiri in which the captain found a house built of new wood which the cacique had built for the service of His Majesty. Having seen it, the captain, by means of Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, summoned the cacique, who is called Guaquiri Orata, to whom he made and said through the interpreter the customary speech. The cacique, having heard and understood it, said "Yaa," which means that he is ready to do it and that the maize which the captain orders him to gather, he is ready to gather in the house and not to come to it without permission from His Majesty or of one who might have his authority. The captain, in view of the obedience of the cacique, gave him two wedges (*cuñas*), with which the cacique remained content, which I, the notary, attest. Witnesses [were] the ensign and the others listed above. Guillermo Rufin, Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

In the noble and loyal city of Cuenca and fort of San Juan which is in a place which is called Joara which is at the foot of the range of mountains which the very magnificent gentleman, Juan Pardo, *continuo* and captain of Spanish infantry for His

Majesty, discovered in the present year 1567, on September 24, 1567, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, on the said day, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey, arrived at the place called Joara to which he gave the name of city of Cuenca because His Grace is a native of the city of Cuenca that is in the kingdom of Spain and at the foot of a range of mountains, surrounded by rivers, as is the place called Joara. Likewise His Grace gave to the fort called San Juan, which previously His Grace had had built FOLIO 5 VERSO by his company in His Majesty's name, the name of San Juan because the captain is named Juan and also because the year before this present one he arrived with his company at the place called Joara on the day of San Juan, Apostle and evangelist. [Joara] is one hundred and twenty leagues from the city and point of Santa Elena which is in the provinces of Florida. Also [he made the fort] because His Grace saw that the mountain range was full of snow which could not be passed, and because for the service of His Majesty it was convenient for His Grace to return to the city of Santa Elena, [so that] what they had done and worked until the place called Joara should not remain a wilderness, he had built by his company the fort called San Juan in which, in order that it should remain with the strength which was suitable, he left Hernando Moyano, his sergeant, with thirty men of his company. Thus he returned to the city of Santa Elena with all the other people, where he remained until the first day of the month of September when he began a second time to pursue the journey. Pursuing these daily travels, with all [of them] he arrived on the said day at the place called Joara where he found built a new house of wood with a large elevated room full of maize, which the cacique of the village, who is called Joda [sic] Mico, had built by the command of the captain for the service of His Majesty. The captain summoned the cacique by means of Guillermo Ruffin, interpreter. When he had come, in the presence of me, the notary, there was declared to him through Guillermo Ruffin how it was suitable to His Majesty's service that ordinarily he should have and go with an amount of maize to the house for the support of a certain number of soldiers whom His Grace, for the present, leaves in the fort called San Juan. In addition to the above, he made him the customary speech. FOLIO 6 The cacique having heard and understood what was said by Guillermo Ruffin, the interpreter, replied saying "Yaa," which means that he is ready to do it. The captain, in view of the obedience of the cacique, in addition to a little battle axe on a handle which previously he had given him in my presence, now he gave him an axe and for him and other caciques, his subjects, eight small long wedges like chisels and eight large knives, and a piece of satin and another of red taffeta, with which the cacique and the others were very content, which I, the notary, attest. Likewise, the captain having seen that it was suitable for His Majesty's service that the fort remain with the force of people that was necessary and also some munitions and the necessary foods, left in the fort, as governor of it, Lucas de Caniçares, corporal of his company, a person in whom are gathered the qualities [demanded by the] law, to whom he commanded and charged that which is suitable to His Majesty's service, and together with him for the fortress certain soldiers and a certain quantity of

maize with certain munitions,³ those which were enough for the soldiers, which I, the notary, likewise attest. At all of what is said there were present as witnesses Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Pedro Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey on October 1, 1567, arrived with his company at a place which is over the top (*desecabo*) of the ridge [of mountains] and FOLIO 6 VERSO which is called TocaE in which the captain stopped for four hours. While he was there, he summoned the cacique of the place, who is called TocaE Orata, by means of Guillermo Rufin, interpreter and by other interpreters, to whom by command of the captain, was declared and said the customary speech by Guillermo Rufin and the other interpreters. The cacique having heard and understood, replied "Yaa," which means that he is ready to do what he is commanded now and for all time. The captain, in view of the obedience of the cacique, gave him a small wedge and a large knife and a little green taffeta, with which the above mentioned remained very content, which I, the notary, attest. Likewise there came to the place a cacique who is called Uastique Orata, from a distance of seventeen days journey to the west of the place. In the presence of me, the notary, the captain went and commanded Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, to declare to the cacique what he was to do in His Majesty's service. The cacique having understood it replied through the interpreters that he was very happy to do what he was commanded because for that reason he had come seventeen days journey in order to carry out and do that which was suitable to His Majesty's service now and in all time, and to everything he made the "Yaa." The captain, having seen this obedience, gave him a small wedge and a large knife and a large conch shell⁴ and a little green taffeta, with which the cacique was very content, which I, the notary, attest. Likewise, there came to that place four other caciques from the neighborhood of the place, who were called Enuque Orata, and Enxute Orata, and Xenaca Orata, and Atuqui Orata. They, in the presence of me, the notary, appeared before FOLIO 7 the captain and through Guillermo Rufin and the other interpreters, they said that they came to learn what they were commanded by the captain. The captain, in view of what has been said above, commanded Guillermo Rufin and the other interpreters to declare to the caciques what it was suitable for them to do in His Majesty's service, which is the customary speech. All four together made the "Yaa," letting it be understood that they are ready to fulfill it. The captain, in view of the obedience of the above mentioned, gave them seven small wedges and a piece of green taffeta with which the caciques were very content, which I, the notary, attest. At all of which there were present as witnesses Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, and Luis Ximenez, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey, on October 2, 1567, arrived at the place which is

called Cauchi in which he found built a new house of wood and earth, which the cacique of the place, who is called Cauchi Orata, had built for His Majesty because previously he had been ordered [to do so] by the captain when the captain was in the place which is called Joara where the said cacique went to reconnoiter. The captain, having seen how the cacique had built and completed that which His Grace had previously commanded him, had him summoned by Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, FOLIO 7 VERSO and through him and the other interpreters there was declared and said to him the customary speech and the cacique replied saying "Yaa." The captain in view of this obedience gave him a small wedge and a large knife and a little green and red taffeta with which the above mentioned was very content, which I, the notary, attest. Likewise, this said day, in the presence of me, the notary, five other caciques {Look} who were called Neguase Orata, and Estate Orata, and Tacoru Orata, and Utaca Orata, and Quetua Orata, came to subjection and submission before the captain. To them was declared and said through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, and the other interpreters, what they were to do in the service of God and of His Majesty and they, all five together, said "Yaa," which means that they were ready to do it now and in all time. The captain, in view of this obedience, gave them certain small wedges and a little green and red taffeta and some enameled [altajia] buttons with which the above said were very content, which I, the notary, attest. Witnesses of what is said were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares and Luis Ximenez, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillero Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After what has been said above, on October 3, 1567, the captain, being in the place called Cauchi, saw an Indian walking among the Indian women with an apron before him as [the women] wear it and he did what they did. The captain, having seen this, summoned Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, and the other interpreters and when FOLIO 8 they were thus called, the captain, before many soldiers of his company, told them to ask why that Indian went among the Indian women, wearing an apron as they did. The interpreters asked the above mentioned of the cacique of the place and the cacique replied through the interpreters that the Indian was his brother and that because he was not a man for war nor carrying on the business of a man, {Look} he went about in that manner like a woman and he did all that is given to a woman to do. The captain, having learned the above, commanded me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, to write it in the above form in order that it may be known and understood how warlike are the Indians of these provinces of Florida in order to give it as truth and testimony whenever I am asked for it. I attest all that has been said, because all that has been said happened in my presence, and [in that] of many soldiers of the company. Juan de La Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, FOLIO 9 VERSO notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey left the place called Olameco (*sic*) on called Tanasqui, which was situated on a certain piece of solid ground, like an island surrounded by water because the place was like that, *surrounded by two copious rivers, which join one with the other*, at a tip of the said island, which is

where the site of the village (*lugar*) is and by the road on which the captain came, which is that which leads to the said place, by which, in order to enter into it the captain with his company, crossed on foot one of the rivers which was FOLIO 8 VERSO a great labor because it was navel-deep, and rather more than less. There was a good distance [from] the spot where the captain with his company crossed the river to get to the village (*lugar*) and on that side the cacique and Indians of *the place had built a wall with three towers for its defense*. As the captain with his company arrived in it [the village], he summoned the cacique of the place, who is called Tanasqui Orata, by means of Guillermo Rufín, interpreter, and other interpreters. His Grace asked him through the interpreters why he had built the wall in that part where his Grace entered rather than in another place. To which question the *cacique replied that [he did it] for defense from his enemies, who, if they came to do him harm, had no place by which to enter his town (pueblo) except by that place*. The captain, in view of the good reason which the cacique gave him, commanded Guillermo Rufín and the other interpreters to tell the cacique what he should do in the service of God, Our Lord, and of His Majesty. The interpreters made the customary speech to the cacique and the cacique replied making the “Yaa,” by which he gave [one] to understand that he was very content to do and carry out what he was commanded. The captain, in view of the obedience of the cacique, gave him a large wedge and a half yard of London cloth and a yard of linen and to the three principal Indians of the cacique, to each a small wedge, with which the cacique and the Indians were very content, which I, the notary, attest. Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, and Lufs Ximenez, soldiers of the company were witnesses to what is said. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary. FOLIO 9

After this, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey on October 7, 1567, arrived at *a place which is called Chiaha. In order to enter it, the captain with his company crossed three copious rivers* and entered into the place. It is on an excellent, strong site because it is an island surrounded by copious rivers. He was in the place with his company for eight days because it was a large place and in it [were] many Indians and because he was well received by the cacique and the Indians. When the captain was in the place then immediately, by means of Guillermo Rufín, interpreter, he summoned the cacique who is called Ola Mico to whom through Guillermo Rufín and other interpreters, by the command of the captain, there was said at great length what he ought to do in the service of God and of His Majesty. The cacique, having understood the above, made the “Yaa,” letting it be understood that he was very content to do what he was commanded. The captain, in view of the obedience of the cacique, gave him an axe and a little piece of London cloth and a vara of linen and a little red taffeta with which the cacique remained very content. In addition to this he gave to three principal Indians of the place, to each one a small wedge and certain enameled (*altajia*) buttons, which I, the notary, attest. Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant, and Pedro de Her-

mosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company were present as witnesses at what is said. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, FOLIO 9 VERSO notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey left the place called Olameco (*sic*) on October 13, 1567, and on this day went with his company five leagues from the said place [to a spot] which was in the countryside (*campaña*), where he stopped for the night and slept. Being there, three caciques who were called Otape Orata, Jasire Orata, Fumica Orata, and a principal Indian with them came to bring food for the company. They gave him to understand, through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, that they came to learn what the captain in His Majesty's name wished to command them to do. The captain, Juan Pardo, in view of the above, commanded that the customary speech be made and said to them; which [speech] was said to them. The caciques having understood it, made the "Yaa," by which they gave one to understand that they were very content to do what they were commanded. The captain, in view of the obedience of the above mentioned, gave to each of the three caciques a small wedge and a piece of green taffeta and some passements⁵ of white and red silk and to the principal Indian who came with them a large wedge (*cuñuela*) with which the above mentioned were very content, which I, the notary, attest. Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company were witnesses to the above. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the journey on October 14, 1567, departed from the spot where he had slept and on this day he went with his company five leagues further by a very rough way, FOLIO 10 where, climbing a very high mountain he slept on the other side. Being at the top of it he *found a small reddish stone and having found it, he summoned* before him Andrés Suarez, a smelter of gold and silver, to whom he showed the said stone. He saw it and having seen it, he said that the appearance which the stone had gave one to understand that it might be silver, which I, the notary, attest. Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company were present as witnesses at this. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the trip on October 15, 1567, arrived with his company at a place called Chalahume, where he made a halt and slept that night. Immediately he called the cacique of the place, who is called Chalahume Orata. Through Guillermo Rufin he was given the customary speech. The cacique made the "Yaa," in which he let it be understood that he was ready to do it. The captain, having seen the obedience of the above mentioned, gave him an axe and a necklace, with which the cacique was very content, which I the notary, attest. Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano sergeant of the company, were present as witnesses to it. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary. FOLIO 10 VERSO

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the trip on October 16, 1567, arrived at a place which is called Satapo where he was well received. This day he made a halt and stayed in the place. Then immediately he summoned the cacique of the place, who is called Satapo Orata, to whom, through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, the customary speech was made. The cacique, having understood it, made the "Yaa," letting it be understood that he was ready to do as he was commanded. The captain, in view of the obedience *which the cacique showed, gave him an axe and a mirror and a necklace* in order to content him because there *the captain was informed that many other Spaniards who before now have come through these parts* on foot as well as on horseback, have been killed by the cacique and the Indians who are subject to him. In addition to this, the captain gave to a mandador⁶ and two principal Indians of the village to each a small wedge and a necklace, with which, thus, the cacique and Indians remained very content, which I, the notary, attest. Witnesses present at what is said were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this, this said day, the sixteenth day of this said month and year, in the afternoon, when it was beginning to grow dark, the sentinels having been posted which they were accustomed FOLIO 11 to put as guard and protection (*amparo*) of the company, two of them who were posted at two high parts of the place reported how they had heard a very great noise of Indians outside of the place. The captain having understood this, commanded and advised his company to be alert because he distrusted a certain gathering and number of Indians who were outside of the place, close to it, at such an hour. Thus the company was very alert all night, which I, the notary, attest.

Likewise that night, when it was about midnight, more or less, Guillermo Rufin, interpreter of the company, being asleep in a hut, there came to him an Indian of that place who knew him because for two or three days he had come with the company. He said to Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, that if he would arrange for the captain to give him an axe he would discover and tell a certain treachery that the Indians and caciques of the place and the Indians and caciques of Cosa, and of Uchi, and of Casque and of Olameco, who until now had gone with the company, had prepared. The said Guillermo Rufin, together with the Indian went to where the captain was and told him what the Indian had said to him. The captain having understood the above, gave an axe to the Indian. Then the Indian gave him to understand and said that Cosa, who had arrived there that night with many Indians, his vassals, and Olameco, and Uchi, and Casque, caciques, with all the Indians whom they had there, and the cacique of that place, with all his Indians, were accustomed to kill many Spaniards who before now had come through those parts and that they would have discussed no less and [had] agreed among themselves to make three ambushes and put them in FOLIO 11 VERSO a spot where the captain and his company had to pass on their way to Cosa and in addition to this that the

said Cosa and the other caciques had agreed earlier not to give [anything] to eat nor to bring anything to the captain with his company in any place of theirs unless it was paid for. The captain, having understood the above, thanked the Indian very much for what he had told him. As his company was alert, for that night he dissembled. The following day when the sun had come up, he summoned the cacique of the place and asked him to give him certain Indians who were needed to carry certain burdens. The cacique, dissimulating, made as if to go to seek the Indians and after a while he came and he did not bring a one, giving excuses which occurred to him, by which the captain understood and saw that what the Indian had told him was true because neither the Indians who until now had gone with His Grace nor those of the place appeared, but only the women and children of the town (*pueblo*). Thus he made appear and called before him Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa and Juan de la Vandra and Marcos Ximenez and Pedro Flores, and Juan de Salazar, and Miguel de Haro, and Gaspar Rodriguez, corporals of the company. Thus all being together, His Grace told them how he had learned that the cacique of that place and Olameco, who until then had gone with him, and Cosa and other caciques with their Indians had agreed to kill him and his company and for that [purpose] they had placed certain ambushes on the road by which he was to pass, that the said ensign, and sergeant, and corporals FOLIO 12 might consider if it would be good for what was suitable to the service of His Majesty to go ahead or to return from there. With this he withdrew. The ensign and sergeant and corporals having heard what is said, each one in turn said what he thought. They agreed on neither the one nor the other, but rather returned to meet with the captain and each one gave his opinion as to what seemed good to him. After all of this the captain, together with the ensign, sergeant, and corporals agreed that for the service of God and of His Majesty that from there they should return directly to Olamico which was three days' journey from there, by another different road from that which they had followed until there and that in Olamico there should be built a fort and that in it there should remain the number of persons and munitions which seemed suitable to the captain. Thus with this opinion the captain together with his company returned directly to Olamico, by very rough roads and mountains in order to take his company safely, on which road he slept two nights in the countryside (*campaña*) which was crossed with very hard work. On the nineteenth day of the said month he arrived at a place which is called Chiaha where he summoned the cacique of the place, who is called Chiaha Orata. The customary speech was made to him and the cacique made the "Yaa," letting it be understood that he was ready to do what he was commanded. The captain gave the cacique an axe, with which he was very content. Pedro de Olivares, and Luís Ximenez, and Juan García de Madrid, soldiers, and many other soldiers of the company were present as witnesses at all that is said. It was signed by the captain and ensign and sergeant and the corporals FOLIO 12 VERSO who knew how to write. Juan Pardo, Alberto Escudero de Villamar, Fernando Moyano de Morales, Pedro de Hermosa, Juan de Salazar, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above on October 17, 1567, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the very magnificent gentleman, Captain Juan Pardo, appeared and asked me and required that I give him certification and testimony how yesterday, which was the sixteenth day of the present month, he arrived with his company at a place which is called Satapo with the intention and will of continuing the journey and of finishing it as he had been ordered to do by the very illustrious gentleman, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, adelantado of the provinces of Florida in the name of His Majesty; and how because of learning and understanding that the caciques and Indians of the places through which he was to pass from there on were irritated, and wished to kill him and the people of his company, and that if this should not be that in none of the villages (*lugares*) would they let him enter or give him food unless he paid for it and that in addition to this on the said day a great number of Indians were waiting for him in three places on the road by which he was to pass in order to kill him and destroy his company; and how for those reasons and for many others which were notorious in his company, His Grace returned on this day from [that] place, directly toward the city of Santa Elena with the intention of making and building in a place which is called Olamico, which by another name is called Chiaha, {Look} a fort where he intended to leave a number of people in order to pacify and keep safe that which until now, in the service of His Majesty, he has conquered and the rest that from here he might [conquer] because thus it was suitable to the service of His Majesty. I, the notary, FOLIO 13 having understood what was asked me by the captain in order better to verify the above and to give him as [written] testimony what His Grace asks of me, with the express authority which he gave me for it and enough legal authority, took and received an oath from some soldiers of the company who had talked with some Indians and understood what was asked of me. Their names are as follows. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Then immediately I, Juan de la Bandera, notary, by virtue of the legal authority and license which is written above, took and received an oath in due form de jure from Alonso Velas, a soldier of the company, who, having sworn and being questioned concerning the above, said that what this witness knows is that being in a place which is called Satapo, which is where the company had been, he began to talk and he talked with an Indian who came with the company as an interpreter, who is a native of Oluga. This witness asked him what he felt or understood that the Indians of Satapo were treating or discussing, and as the Indian interpreter understood this witness, he replied to him that the Indians said that a grand cacique who was called Cosa, [who lived] on the way the captain had to pass, would not consent to the company entering his town (*pueblo*) nor would he give them food unless they paid for it and that before the captain would arrive at Cosa, many Indians would go out to meet the captain in war and not in peace and that it would trouble the Indian very much to go because in Cosa and in other places round about [it] this Indian had five brothers, captives, whom they captured while his brothers were in another company whose captain was called Soto and thus his brothers remained as slaves

because that captain and the people FOLIO 13 VERSO were lost because the Indians of Cosa and the other places round about [it] killed them and this is what this witness knows and the Indian said, under the oath which he has taken. He did not sign it because he said that he did not know how to write. He declared that he was twenty-six years of age more or less. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

{*Witness*} Likewise, I, Juan de la Bandera, notary, for greater certification of the above took and received an oath in due form de jure from Diego de Morales, a soldier of the company, who, having sworn and being questioned concerning the above, said that what he knows is that, when this witness was talking with an Indian in the place of Satapo, because the Indian understood some things of those that he was saying, he said to this witness that if the captain was to go through Cosa with his company, they were not to receive them in the place, nor give him food for his people if they did not pay very well for it and that he heard this and nothing else, which is true and is what he knows, by the oath which he took. He did not sign it because he said that he did not know how to write and that he is twenty-four years of age, more or less. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

{*Witness*} Likewise, on this day, October 17, 1567, I, Juan de la Bandera, notary, for better certification of what is said took and received an oath in due form de jure from Juan Perez de Ponte de Lima, a soldier of the company, who having sworn in due form and being questioned, said that what he knows is that this witness on the night of this past Sunday, which was the nineteenth [*sic*] of the present month, being in a place which is called Chiaha where the captain arrived on that day with his company, [and] being on guard making the first [posting], an Indian came to him of those from the place and began to talk with this witness FOLIO 14 so that he understood him [to say] that Satapo, who had two sons, “a scundidos Españoles que Chafahane,” which means that he is deceitful (*bellaco*) and that he and Cosa “aguacamu E ypeape,” which means that they were going to kill him. This is what he knows and understood and nothing else, by the oath which he took. He did not sign because he said that he did not know how. He said that he was twenty-eight years of age, more or less. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Likewise, I, the notary, attest that in agreement with what the witnesses have said, the reason that the captain returned from Satapo is certain. That night, in which the captain was in the place with his company, I, the notary, was on guard with my squad as corporal of a squad of the company, and I saw the gathering of Indians which was outside of the place [while] making the rounds of it. The day after the gathering not a single Indian appeared in the village (*lugar*). [Therefore] I say and testify that what the captain says is a positive fact and it happened thus as I was asked and thus, I, the notary, gave it to him as testimony, Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company, being witnesses of the request and giving of it. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Likewise on this day, October 17, 1567, the captain, Juan Pardo, asked and commanded me, the notary {*Look*} to set down how Guillermo Ruffin, interpreter,

came before His Grace and with him an Indian, a native of Satapo, [and that while] they [were] speaking of several things touching the journey which the captain was going to make, the Indian through the interpreter let it be understood that the journey would be much better going via a river which passed beside Olameco (*sic*), which by another FOLIO 14 VERSO name is called Chiaha, rather than going by that road directly to Cosa. Because by virtue of this and the other things declared above His Grace returned, as it was agreed that he should, I, the notary, wrote it as he commanded me and I signed it. Likewise it was signed by the captain and Guillermo Rufin, interpreter. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on October 20, 1567, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, continuing his return with his company, arrived at the place called Olamico which by another name is called Chiaha. As soon as he arrived, on this day, he laid out the fort which it was agreed should be built in Olamico. Thus it was begun to be built then and after four days it was finished. When it was finished the captain left in the fort Marcos Jimenez, a corporal in his company, with twenty-five men, soldiers of the company, in order that they should be there and guard the fort. He entrusted and commanded Marcos Jimenez to concern himself with what ought [to be done] in the service of His Majesty and that he should not go out of nor depart from the fort except with license from His Majesty or of one who in his name might command it. As more security for the above, in the presence of me, the notary, he took from him a solemn oath that he would guard the above. The said Marcos Jimenez, acquitting [himself] of the oath, promised to do it in [this manner] under pain of perjury and of infamy and of falling into less value. The captain, in view of the above, understanding as he understood that it was necessary that in the fort there should be left some munitions for the defense of the people, it being necessary, he delivered and gave to Marcos Jimenez a Biscayan socketed axe and a FOLIO 15 hoe and a shovel and sixty pounds of powder and fifty pounds of matchcord and eighty-five pounds of [lead] balls, which I, the notary, attest. Likewise I attest of how in my presence the captain, in order to leave the cacique and mandador of the place grateful and content, in addition to the other tools and things which he had given them, on this day gave to the cacique a large Biscayan axe and to the mandador and a principal Indian of the place a large wedge apiece, and to Marcos Jimenez, corporal, two dozen chisels and knives in order that he might have [something] with which to content some Indians that it would be necessary [to please]. At all of what is said Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company were present as witnesses. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

{#} After the above, on October 22, 1567, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the return on this day, left the place called Olamico with his company and on the twenty-seventh day of the month arrived at a place which is called *Cauchi*. As soon as he arrived in it, he laid out a fort, which he named San Pablo. He gave an order

and commanded that it should be built in order better to preserve the friendship of the Indians of the land, which was done and [it was] finished on October 30. The captain, seeing that [and] understanding as he understood, that it was fitting to His Majesty's service that in the fort he should leave a dozen men of the soldiers of his company and with them a person who might rule, govern, and administer in the things FOLIO 15 VERSO which were suitable to the service of God and of His Majesty, and also so that the friendship of the Indians might be preserved, left Pedro Flores, a corporal of his company, and with him ten soldiers of it, whom His Grace commanded to obey and consider Pedro Flores as their superior henceforth. And he recommended and commanded that Pedro Flores take great account and care to guard the fort and not to leave it without the license of His Majesty or of one who might command it in his name and also [to take great care] of the government of the soldiers and the preservation of the friendship of the Indians and for all of this he gave him his complete legal authority, as His Grace has it from His Majesty. After it had been given, in the presence of me, the notary, on a sign of the cross which he made with his right hand, he took and received an oath by God and by Holy Mary, according to law, from the said Pedro Flores, corporal, that faithfully and loyally he would guard the fort and would do the things which he was commanded and would not break them nor would he leave the fort without the license of His Majesty or of one who might command it in his name. Pedro Flores, acquitting himself of the said oath said "Yes, I swear" and "Amen" and he promised to fulfill it thus under pain of perjury and the infamy of falling into less worth. The captain, in view of the above and understanding as he understood that Pedro Flores had a need for some munitions for the service of the fort and for what might be necessary, left him thirty-six pounds of lead balls and twenty-two pounds of powder and twenty-four pounds of matchcord and a socketed Biscayan axe, which, I, the notary, attest. Likewise he left him two dozen chisels and knives to give to some Indians as might be necessary. Present as witnesses of what is said were Alberto Escudero de FOLIO 16 Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Likewise, on October 27, 1567, when the captain arrived, returning, to the place called Cauchi, he gave to the mandador of the village and to a brother of his, because the cacique was not there, a large wedge and a necklace and a chisel with which they were very content and to a cacique who was from another place which was called Canosaqui Orata, a wedge and a chisel and a necklace with which he was very content. Then, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, the captain being with his company in Cauchi, five [*sic*, seven] caciques came to see and visit him, who were called Utahaque Orata, Anduque Orata, Enjuete Orata, Guanuguaca Orata, Tucha Orata, Guaruruquete Orata, [and] Anxute Orata, to whom, His Grace, seeing the obedience with which they came, gave five chisels and two wedges and two necklaces and a piece of green taffeta. The customary speech was said and declared to them through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter. All said the "Yaa,"

by which they gave [him] to understand that they were ready to do it, which I, the notary, attest. Present as witnesses at what is said were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary. FOLIO 16 VERSO

After the above, on November 1, 1567, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the return, arrived at a place which is called Tocahe (*sic*) where the captain was well received by the mandador and principal men of the said town (*pueblo*) to whom the captain gave two chisels and two necklaces and a piece of red taffeta with which the above mentioned were very content. On the following day [while] the captain was resting with his company in Tocahe, Cauchi Orata came there. He had taken certain captive Indian [women] to Joara by the command of the captain. His Grace gave him a large wedge, with which the cacique was very content. He returned to his village. Of which I, the notary, am witness. Present as witnesses at what is said were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above on October 29, 1567, which is when the captain was in the place called Cauchi, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, there came before the captain Cauchi Orata, Canasahaqui Orata, Arasue Orata, Guarero Orata, Joara Chiquito {*YnihaEs are like what we might call justices or Jurados⁷ who command the people.*} Orata, Arande Orata, and two ynahaes oratas and through Guillermo Rufín, interpreter, they said and declared that the captain [should] tell them FOLIO 17 where he wished them to go with the tribute that they were obliged [to give]. The captain, having understood through Guillermo Rufín, declared to them and said that they already knew how His Grace left there a principal man of his company with ten other soldiers of it [and] that they should take care that as for the food which they were obliged to bring to His Grace, that from this day onward they should bring it to the said principal man and soldiers that he left in Cauchi and that as concerns deer skins that they should go to Joara to another Guançamu, who was his brother, who was there, because by doing so His Majesty would be served. The caciques having understood the above, all made the “Yaa,” which I, the notary, attest. Present as witnesses at what is said were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company.

After the above on November 3, 1567, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing his return, on this day departed from TocaE and arrived with his company five leagues from the said place in the countryside (*campaña*) where he made a halt and slept. While he was there, five caciques from thereabouts came to bring food to the company. The captain gave them five small wedges with which they were very content and he did not say anything to them about the submission because before this day it was said to them and they are in the same submission as the others.

Witnesses were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers FOLIO 17 VERSO of the company. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of witnesses noted below, the captain, continuing his return, on November 4, 1567, departed with his company from the spot where he had slept the night before. On this day he arrived five leagues further, near a stream in a ravine, where he made a halt and slept. While he was there, a cacique came who was called Atuqui, who brought food for the company. The captain, having seen this, gave him a piece of green taffeta, with which he was very content. Present as witnesses of what is said were Messers Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After this in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the return, on November 5, 1567, departed with his company from the site and place where he had slept the previous night. On this day he arrived with his company four leagues further, where he halted and that night the company slept. While he was there, Joara Mico, cacique, came to bring food. Witnesses were Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Hernando Moyano, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the FOLIO 18 captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the return, on November 6, 1567, arrived with his company at the city of Cuenca and fort of San Juan which in the Indian tongue is called Joara, where he made a halt and remained twenty days because the people of his company were tired and poorly provided, that they might have a place to rest and to provide themselves. On this day the captain gave to a principal Indian of the said city, a son of the old cacica of it, a large wedge and to the cacica a chisel and a mirror, with which the above-mentioned were very content. While he was in the city on November 16, there came to it to make the "Yaa," which is the obedience, five caciques who were called Quinahaqui Orata, the two Catapes Orata, Guaquiri Orata, and Ysa Chiquito Orata, with some principal Indians. They brought food to the men. The captain, having seen this, gave them seven small wedges and three necklaces and some pieces of red cloth with which the above mentioned were very content. Being, as is said, in the city, on November 20, there came to it eighteen caciques to make the "Yaa," which is obedience, as before now they were accustomed to do, and to bring maize and other food for the men. [These] caciques were called Atuqui Orata, Osuguen Orata and his mandadores, Aubesan Orata, Guenpuret Orata, Ustehuque Orata, three Pundahaques Oratas, TocaE Orata, Guanbuca Orata, Ansuhet Orata, Guaruruquet Orata, Enxuete Orata, Utahaque Orata, Anduque Orata, Jueca Orata, Qunaha Orata, [and] Vastu Orata and together with them Joara Mico, cacique of the said city. The captain, in order better to attract them to the service of FOLIO 18

verso His Majesty and to keep them more content, gave to Joara Mico, as the most important one, a large wedge and some pieces of red cloth and to five other caciques of the above mentioned, also principal [men], to each a wedge, and to the other caciques and to their mandadores sixteen chisels, with which the above mentioned were very content. I, the notary, attest all of the above. Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign of the company, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, and Luís Ximenez soldiers of the company were present as witnesses at what is said. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above on November 24, 1567, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, being in the city of Cuenca and fort of San Juan, which in Indian language is called Joara, with his company, having considered it and seen that he had to go from the city with his company and that in fort San Juan it was necessary for a number of persons to remain for the security of the land and in his own place Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, in order, that, as such, he should judge and have a care of the conservation of the friendship of the caciques and Indians of all the land and in order that he might visit and govern the forts and governors and soldiers of them which are from the place called Chiaha to the city of Cuenca and from the city of Cuenca to the Point of Santa Elena, which [forts and garrisons] are: in the place of Chiaha, the fort of San Pedro, which is fifty leagues from the city on the west; and in the place of Cauchi, the fort of San Pablo, which FOLIO 19 is twenty-eight leagues, between north and west; and from this part of the said city in the place called Guatari, the fort of Santiago, which is forty leagues from it between north and east; and from Guatari to the place called Canos, the fort of Santo Tomas, which is forty-five leagues from Guatari to the east between east and south; and from the place called Canos to the Point of Santa Elena, [which is] fifty-five leagues to the south. With the above-mentioned consideration, in the presence of me, the notary, he charged and commanded Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, to take great account and care of the above mentioned, since he knew and understood how much it was convenient to the service of His Majesty and for it he gave him complete [legal] authority that [legal authority] which the captain had from His Majesty. The ensign promised to do it thusly and they signed it with their names. Present as witnesses at what is said were Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant of the company, and Pedro de Hermosa and Pedro de Olivares, and Luís Ximenez, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Alberto Escudero de Villamar, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Likewise, I, the notary, attest to how in my presence and in that of the witnesses noted below, the captain left Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, the following things in the name of His Majesty for the needs which might arise:

First, sixty-eight pounds of matchcord
Further, one hundred pounds of lead balls
Further, eighty-five pounds of powder

Further, thirty-four pounds of nails
Further, forty-two azolejos [i.e., *azulejos*], like chisels
Further, three iron shovels
Further two socketed axes
FOLIO 19 VERSO
Further, four iron wedges and two hoes, and two pickaxes.

Likewise, this day, November 24, 1567, before the captain and in the presence of me, the notary, two caciques who were called Chara Orata and Adini Orata came to the city to bring food for the company. They were accustomed to be subject to Guatari and now wished to come to make the "Yaa" at Joara. The captain ordered them to go where they were accustomed to. In order to content them in this, he gave them three chisels, with which they were very content and they promised to do what the captain commanded them. Witnesses were Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant, and Pedro de Hermosa, and Pedro de Olivares, soldiers of the company. I, the notary, attest all of this. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing his return on November 24, 1567, departed with his company from the city of Cuenca, which, in the Indian language is called Joara. On this day he made a halt in a certain unpopulated place and slept that night. On the following day he reached a small place (*lugarejo*) five leagues beyond there which belongs to a mandador of Yssa, who is called Dudca. There he made a halt and slept that night. The following day, which was the twenty-sixth day of the month, marching with his company directly to Yssa, a distance of a quarter of a league further on, he passed along a left-hand bend of the road and another [bend] to the right a little further on, as he was guided by Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant of his company, and Andrés Suarez, silversmith, who by command of the FOLIO 20 captain, on the seventh day of the said month had come by that road to examine a crystal mine which was on it. In the presence of me, the notary, they showed the captain the beginning of the mine which I, the notary, saw, [and] how it had begun to be dug, which I attest. In view of what has been said, Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant, said that he, as a person who before now had seen the mine, was registering and registered it and was obligating and obligated himself with license from His Majesty to exploit and work the said mine and in conformity with the laws which His Majesty has placed on the Indies to render up the part for which he is obligated and henceforth he asks His Majesty or whoever will command in his name that every time there should be a division of land he should get the said crystal mine because he, as he has said, will exploit and work it and will take to His Majesty that to which he is obligated and [will do so] jointly with the illustrious gentleman Esteban de las Alas, governor in the provinces of Florida and the captain, Juan Pardo, [(who, as he has said, on the seventh day of this month being lodged in the city of Cuenca with his company, commanded him to come to the place of Dudca to examine the mine and on the eighth day of the month he

returned to the city of Cuenca with some rocks of the crystal which he had obtained with the point of a mattock from the said mine and he showed and gave them to the captain, and this day, he made the claim before me, the notary, which I attest[)] and Andrés Suarez, silversmith, and me, the notary, and Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign of the captain, Juan Pardo. [He further said that] it is his will and he wished that all five be and go to the division of the mine equally with him and that all six, each one for himself, one as well as the other and the other as he, carry and have the equal part that would be equal parts so that with stronger energy and speed the FOLIO 20 VERSO said mine could be worked and exploited. In order to carry this out, one as well as the other, who is contained in this writing, he pledged his person, and movable goods and foundations, those which he has and may have, in order not to break or contradict it now or in any time and although he may wish to contradict it he may not do so. He renounced all and every law, privilege (*fuero*) and right which in his favor may or can be in order that they might not be valid or benefit him in anything. He signed it with his name, there being present as witnesses at all of what is said Pedro de Hermosa, Francisco Corredor, and Francisco Hernández de Tenbleque, and Luís Ximenez, soldiers of the company. Hernando Moyano de Morales. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above on this said day, November 26, 1567, while the captain, Juan Pardo, was marching with his company, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, having gone *a quarter of a league beyond the mine which is declared above, on the right side of the road he found other crystal stones* which were, it seemed, the site of the beginning of another mine. As soon as he found it, he appeared before me, the notary, and showed me the stones and site and in my presence and in that of the witnesses noted below he said that he was registering and registered it and it was his wish to put and he did put in the shares of the mine Señor Esteban de las Alas, Governor of the provinces of Florida, and Alberto Escudero de Villmar, his ensign, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, his sergeant, and Andrés Suarez, silversmith, and me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, in order that all five, as they are named and declared, together with him, one as well as the other and the other as he may take and have as much part as he [has] and may aid him to exploit and work the mine whenever by His Majesty or by someone in his name he FOLIO 21 may be commanded to do so, in order that all six, as they are named and declared, may render to and give to His Majesty that which pertains to him according to the laws and ordinances of the Indies. So that he will carry out what is discussed and contained in this writing he said that he was binding and bound his person and movable goods and foundations [those that he] had or was to have and [that] he was renouncing and renounced any laws which might be in his favor so that they might not avail or {#} profit him anything at any time. He signed it with his name, witnesses being Pedro de Hermosa and Francisco Hernández de Tenbleque and Luís Ximenez, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing his return on November 28, 1567, arrived with his company

at a place which is called Yssa, in which he was well received. As soon as he arrived he lodged in a large new house of wood and earth which the cacique of the place had built for the service of His Majesty as he had previously been commanded by the captain. In addition to this, on the following day two Indians came from their place, which is called Guatari Mico, on behalf of the cacique of the place. The captain received them well and gave them two socketed axes to take to the said cacique in order that he might have cut a quantity of wood for a fort that the captain was to build in the village (*lugar*). Being in Yssa, on December 5, 1567, there came to the village Subsaquibi Orata, cacique, and with him some Indians to bring food for the company. The captain, having seen this, FOLIO 21 VERSO had the customary speech made to him through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter. In order to keep him more grateful and content, he gave him a large knife and a mirror, with which he was very content. Likewise he gave to an Indian who on this day came to the village, because he is an interpreter of Guatari, a chisel and a necklace. On the following day the mandador of Cauchi came to the place with certain letters for the captain, to whom His Grace gave a large knife, with which he was very content. Moreover, on the ninth day of the said month of December of the said year, the captain gave to Yssa, cacique, and to his mandadores an axe and two large knives and two chisels and four necklaces, because he was in the place with his company twelve days. The cacique remained very content, which fact I, the notary, attest. Witnesses were Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, Lucas de Canezares and Luís Ximenez, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on this day, December 9, 1567, Andrés Suarez, silversmith, appeared before the very magnificent captain, Juan Pardo, and in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, said that he was asking and asked His Grace as the captain that he is for His Majesty and lieutenant for the very illustrious gentleman Esteban de las Alas, governor and lieutenant for the captain general in the province of Florida, to command that no one nor any person dare, under grave penalties which His Grace may put for it, to dig for the distance of a half league and more around about [a spot which is] a quarter of a league beyond [Dudca] directly toward a place which is called Yssa, as one comes from a place which is called Dudca, where His Grace coming marching with his company found a certain sign and stones of a crystal mine and Hernando Moyano de Morales sergeant FOLIO 22 of his company [also] because the said Andrés Suarez has shares in the said mine with the captain and the sergeant and what he asked His Grace was in the interest of the said Andrés Suarez and his companions who are partners in the said mines until His Majesty might command something else. He asked it by [written] testimony and of those present that they be witnesses of it and he implored the office of the said captain. Andrés Suarez, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above on this said day, month, and year before the captain there appeared Hernando Moyano de Morales and said that he was making and made the

same demand [as that] contained above and was asking and asked the same as the said Andrés Suarez, silversmith, asks and that no one should come to dig nor work for the space of the said half of a league of land around [the place] that is declared without the assent of all the persons who have a part in the said mines. He asked it and as far as was necessary he begged the office of the captain. Fernando Moyano de Morales, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Then immediately this said day, month, and year, the captain, in view of what was requested by Hernando Moyano de Morales, sergeant, and Andrés Suarez, silversmith, and that what they ask is without prejudice to any party but rather is a thing which is suitable to the service of His Majesty, said that he was commanding and commanded that no one nor any person dare to dig or work the said mines nor the distance of the said half league around [them,] which is [what is] requested of him, without the command and consent of all the persons who have shares in the said mines, on pain of death. Witnesses of the above were Francisco Hernández de Tenbleque and Gaspar Rodríguez and Lucas de Canizares, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on December 10, 1567, FOLIO 22 VERSO Captain Juan Pardo, being in a place which is called Yssa, was informed that a long {look} league from the place, down the river as you go from the said place, on the other side of the river on a hill some four or five hundred paces from the river near where Mati Yssa lives, who is the mandador of Yssa, a quarter of a league as you go from Yssa, before arriving at a {look} river of the said Mati, there were certain stones which showed that they were crystal. In order to know the truth of it, he commanded me, the infrascript notary, together with Hernando Moyano de Morales who was sergeant of the company and with Lucas de Canizares, a soldier of it, to go and with our own eyes to understand and see if it was a crystal mine. In fulfillment of the above I, the notary, together with the above mentioned on this said day, *went to see and we saw the site and place where the stones were and we understood and saw that they were crystal* and we marked the said place. The following day we returned to Yssa and we reported the above to the captain. His Grace, having heard the above, said that he was registering and registered the mine and Lucas de Canizares and Hernando Moyano de Morales said they were doing and did the same with the license of His Majesty and of the captain. The above-mentioned men together with him said that they were putting and put in the division of the mine, so that all together might have equal parts, one as much as the other and the other as the other, Señor Esteban de las Alas, lieutenant of the captain general in the provinces of Florida, and Alberto Escudero de Villamar, ensign, and Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Juan de la Bandera, corporal, in order that all seven as they are named and declared may exploit and work the said mine, or one who has power from them or from any of them, and render and give to His Majesty the part which justly and as a net balance (*liquidamente*) comes to him in conformity with the laws and ordinances which His Majesty has put on the Indies. FOLIO 23 So that they will carry out and do for certain what is contained in this paper, each as concerns

himself and as he is obliged to fulfill, they obligated their persons and movable and stationary goods which they had and will have and which they have and may have and they give legal power to His Majesty's justices to compel and oblige them to the fulfillment of the above just as in a case sentenced and passed as a judgment. In testimony of which they authorized this letter before the notary and witnesses noted below. Witnesses who were present at what is been said were Gaspar Rodriguez, corporal, and Francisco Hernández de Tenbleque, and Luís Ximenez, and Juan Gracia de Madrid, soldiers of the company. The captain and Hernando Moyano de Morales and Lucas de Canizares signed it in the register. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on this said day, month, and year, in the presence of me, the notary, there appeared before the captain Hernando Moyano de Morales and Lucas de Canizares and said that for their right and justice and for that of their companions it is suitable that no one approach the mine which they have registered, nor dig in it, nor for a distance of a quarter of a league around because the mine, according to the appearance of it, is of rocks different from others of crystal because they show that they are of another form, since they have sharp and faceted points. Therefore, they ask and require of the captain to command under grave penalties that no one nor any person dare to come to the mine nor within a quarter of a league around it to dig or make any other exploitation without the license and consent of all the partners. They asked for [a written] testimony and of those present that they be witnesses of it. Fernando Moyano de Morales, Lucas de Canizares, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above on this said day, month, and year FOLIO 23 VERSO the captain, having seen heard and understood what was asked by Hernando Moyano de Morales and Lucas de Canizares, said that he was commanding and commanded that no person dare to approach to dig or to make any other exploitation of the mine for a quarter of a league around it, without the consent of all the persons who have a part in the mine, under pain of death, until such time as something else may be provided by His Majesty. Thus he commanded it and signed it. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on December 11, 1567, the captain, in the presence of me, the notary, continuing his return, left the place called Yssa and on this day arrived with his company three leagues from there at another place which is also called Yssa because it belongs to the same [chief] Yssa. He was well received there. There the captain gave to the mandador of the place a chisel, with which he was very pleased, which I, the notary, attest. On the following day, which was December 12, 1567, he departed with his company from the place called Yssa and on this day continuing his return, he arrived five leagues farther at a place called Quinahaqui where he was well received. The following day, the thirteenth day of the said month, he rested in the place and he gave to the cacique of the place and to another who is called Otari yatiqui Orata and to his mandadores two chisels and four necklaces, with which they were very content. In addition to this, through Guillermo Ruffin, interpreter, there was declared and said to Quinahaqui and Guaquiri and Yssa, caciques,

because he had heard that they are discontented because they understand that he leaves them under the dominion of Joara Mico, that His Grace does not leave them nor does he wish that they be under the said dominion but rather that they go to make the “Yaa” to his ensign, whom he leaves in his place in FOLIO 24 Joara and that they render to him what they are obliged [to bring] and not to Joara. The caciques having understood the above made the “Yaa” many times, by which they gave it to be understood that the captain did them a very great favor and that they were very content to do what His Grace commanded them, which I, the notary, attest. Witnesses of all the above said were Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Lucas de Canizares, and Luís Ximenez, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain with his company continuing the return on December 14, 1567, left the place called Quinahaqui on the way to Guatari and on this day he went five leagues and at the end of them, which was in an uninhabited place, he made a halt and slept that night. On the following day, he left the countryside (*campana*) and on this day he arrived with his company at the place called Guatari Mico which is six leagues from the place where he slept. He was well received by the cacicas of the place. As soon as he arrived, he treated with the cacicas through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, that they should command to come to the village (*lugar*), all the caciques, their vassals, so that they could help him build a fort which he had to build in that place in order to leave in it certain Spaniards who might defend them from their enemies. The cacicas made the “Yaa,” letting it be understood that they were very content to do it thus. On the following day, which was December 16, 1567, some caciques began to come to the village. When they had come, which was very late in the morning, through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, the captain summoned the cacicas and in order to content them he gave to them and to two sons of theirs and to mandadores FOLIO 24 VERSO and five other caciques eight wedges and nine large knives and three chisels and three mirrors and four necklaces and some pieces of red taffeta, with which they were very content. Then immediately another cacique came to whom and to two of his mandadores the captain gave another wedge and to another cacique who came with him, a chisel and a knife, with which they were very content. This day he laid out the fort and they began to build two “bastards” [i.e., makeshift fortifications?] with very great haste so that if on the part of His Majesty there should come to the captain a command to leave for another place, which might be more necessary, the soldiers who remained in the place might have a defense from their enemies, if they have any. Thus it was made and finished in five days, after which the captain, having seen that there had been nothing unusual for which he should fail to finish all of the fort, ordered summoned all of the Indians subject to the place. They gathered in three days. When they were gathered together with the soldiers of the company, an order was given to finish the fort in which there were built four tall cavaliers [i.e., raised corner bastions] of thick wood and dirt and its wall of high

poling and dirt, with which it remained very strong. With the good order and haste which was made in the building, it was finished on January 6, 1568. In order that it remain with the strength and vigor which was suitable, he left as governor of the said fort Lucas de Canizares, corporal of the company, who is a person in whom are united all the qualities [required by] law and with him sixteen soldiers of those of the company. He charged and commanded them together with the said governor that they should not leave nor break the edicts which His Grace, in His Majesty's name, has commanded that they should guard and do in the fort. In addition to this, the captain, having considered FOLIO 25 and seen that it was suitable that Lucas de Canizares be given the legal power which His Grace had from His Majesty, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, he said that he was giving and gave his complete and sufficient authority as he has it and as according to the law was required to Lucas de Canizares, corporal, especially, so that for him and in his name as he himself, representing his own person, should be and should reside in the fort which is given the name of Santiago and [in] the place where it is situated, in our Castilian tongue [called] the city of Salamanca, and [that] he should rule and govern the sixteen soldiers. He ordered them to do and carry out that which might be suitable to the service of His Majesty and if they do not do it, or in any manner differ in much or little from what they might be commanded he [Canizares] can compel and punish them, as he will compel and punish them and as the captain would compel and punish them, according to the crime or crimes which any of the said soldiers might commit. In addition to this, in order that he govern and maintain at peace the caciques and Indians of Guatari and the others who are subject to it, so that they may always be in good quiet and peace and because for the service of His Majesty it is suitable that Lucas de Canizares, warder, should not leave the fort until His Grace, or someone in His Majesty's name should command it, the captain *{Look}* commanded him in the name of His Majesty, to do it thusly, and that no one should dare to bring any woman into the fort at night and that he should not depart from the command under pain of being severely punished. Likewise he commanded and charged the sixteen soldiers to do and guard what they were commanded by Lucas de Canizares because the captain left him as their superior, with complete and sufficient legal power as the said captain has it from His Majesty such that he gave and authorized it to Lucas de Canizares with its incidental rights, accessories, appurtenances, and annexed rights FOLIO 25 VERSO with a free and general administration in what has been said. So that it might be certain, he obligated his goods and gave power to His Majesty's justices to compel and oblige him to [do] what is said as a thing decided and passed in judgment. In testimony of this, he authorized this letter before the notary and witnesses noted below and he signed it with his name. Likewise Lucas de Canizares signed it. His Grace, on a sign of the cross which he made with his right hand, took and received from him an oath by God and by Holy Mary, in due form and by the words of the four Holy Gospels, that he would carry out what His Grace in His Majesty's name has commanded him. Lucas de Canizares, having

understood the above, acquitting the oath, said that he would carry it out thusly, under pain of perjury and infamy and of falling onto a condition of little value. Present at what is said, as witnesses were Pedro Guterrez Pacheco, corporal, and Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Luís Ximenez, soldiers of the company, and I, the notary noted below, attest the fact that I know the authorizing captain. He, considering and observing that it was necessary to leave munitions which might be necessary for the defense of the fort of Santiago and the soldiers of it, in the presence of me, the infrascript notary, gave and delivered to Lucas de Canizares fifty-one pounds of lead, and thirty-four pounds of matchcord and thirty-four pounds of powder, and some iron articles and various other things in order that he might please the caciques who might come to give obedience to His Majesty and two socketed axes for the necessary matters of the fort, which I, the notary, attest. Witnesses [were] Juan Pardo, Lucas de Canizares, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on January 7, 1568, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, with FOLIO 26 {X} his company continuing his return departed on this day from the city of Salamanca which in Indian language is called Guatari, returning toward Aracuchi. He went with his company five leagues and at the end of them he made a halt and slept in an uninhabited place. On the following day he left this place where he had slept, continuing his road onward, and he went five more leagues and at the end of them he made a halt and slept in the countryside (*campaña*). In this way he went three more days, sleeping for two of them in the countryside, with some labor because of the scant food that there was until at the end of the five days he arrived at the place called Aracuchi, where he was well received by the cacique. Thus he made a halt and slept that night. The captain, having seen the good will with which he was received, gave to the cacique and to his mandadores and to other caciques who came to that place a wedge, and a necklace, and a little red taffeta and five large knives and three chisels like wedges, with which the caciques and principal Indians remained very content. Witnesses were Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Pedro Gutierrez, corporal, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, former sergeant of the company. The captain signed it, and Guillermo Rufín, interpreter, and I, the notary. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on this day, January 11, 1568, before me, the notary, and the witnesses noted below, the captain appeared and said that as concerns the service of His Majesty, it is suitable that His Grace with his company, in spite of the fact that the road leads straight to the city and Point of Santa Elena, return [to them] taking a detour a distance toward the east, until arriving at a place which is called Ylasi, because he is informed that FOLIO 26 VERSO some caciques are to come to [promise] obedience to His Majesty, who before now have not come. But in order to spare his company some of the burden of the load, he wishes to send some soldiers with some Indians directly to a place which is called Canos, who will carry certain munitions because it is on the direct road to the city of Santa Elena. He asks me, the

notary, to set it down thus and by sight to see the soldiers and munitions which he sends. I, the infrascript notary, having understood the above, saw how the captain sent thirty-four pounds of [lead] balls, and seventeen pounds of matchcord and a barrel of harquebus powder, in which there were twenty pounds, and two socketed axes and with these munitions, the following soldiers: Fernán Gomez, a Portugese, Pedro Alonso, a native of Xerez de la Frontera, Luís Ximenez, a native of Cuenca, Pedro de Barcena, a native of the Moral de la Reina. They departed with the stated munitions directly to the place called Canos, which [fact] I attest. Witnesses [were] Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco and Francisco Hernández de Tenbleque, soldiers of the company. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on January 12, 1568, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing to do what is suitable to His Majesty's service, on this day left Aracuchi with his company, returning toward Ylasi, where he stopped, usually going four leagues each day for five days, and in them there was much work because of the usual scarcity of food. After the said five days, he arrived with his company at the place called Ylasi, where he was well received by the cacique and Indians. He was there with his company four days because of the heavy rains while he was there and also to await, as he awaited, some caciques, who came to [make] obedience to His Majesty. In the said four days he gave to the cacique of the place FOLIO 27 and to his mandadores, because he found that he had built a large house for His Majesty's service and two elevated rooms with some quantity of maize, a large socketed axe and two necklaces and a piece of red cloth and four chisels, with which they remained very content. Moreover, being in the same place, and Tagaya Orata with some Indians having come with him, he made him cacique because before now he had not been one and because of the many services which he has done and daily does for the Spaniards. He gave him a chisel and a wedge with which he remained very content. Moreover while he was in Ylasi, there came to him a cacique from the coast who is called Uca Orata, to [give] obedience to His Majesty and Saruti Orata, for the same [purpose,] because before now they had not come. Through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, the customary speech was made to them and having understood it, they made the "Yaa," letting it be understood that they were very content to do and carry out what they were commanded. The captain, having seen and understood their obedience, gave to them and to their mandadores two wedges and seven chisels, with which they remained very content. Witnesses of all that is said were Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco, and Francisco Hernández de Tenbleque, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, with his company continuing the return [trip] on January 21, 1568, departed from Ylasi, returning toward Canos. On leaving the place following our direct road, we went the distance of about a league through a large swamp whose water was up almost to the knee and sometimes

higher, very full of so much ice that as a result of it FOLIO 27 VERSO many of the soldiers of the company came out very dangerously wounded, so much so that if they were not helped, I put the outcome in doubt. In the end, notwithstanding this work and the fact that all day other swamps were not lacking, they went five leagues, at the end of which a halt was made. We slept in an uninhabited place, with {Look} some difficulty, because of a scarcity of food. On the morning of the following day we departed from here and marched six leagues at the end of which we arrived at a place which is called Yca Orata, where we slept that night. On the following morning the captain with his company—notwithstanding that from here he sent a corporal with twenty men and twenty Indians directly to a place which is called GuiomaE where there was a certain quantity of maize, in order that in certain sacks which he gave them they might carry what they could of it to a place which is called Coçao where His Grace commanded Hernando Moyano de Morales, former sergeant of his company [to go], and be there and gather all the maize which there might be, and keep it, and be with it until such time as His Grace arrived there with his company, because from there it would be carried to the city of Santa Elena where, he was now informed, it was needed because of the scarcity of foods in that city and its forts—went out [and] arrived at Canos, about two leagues away, where a large house had been built for His Majesty and in it a large quantity of maize, in order that being there he might give, as he gave, an order concerning carrying the said maize down a river to GuiomaE, which is, as is said, whence, with Indians and soldiers, it is to be carried to the city of Santa Elena. As he arrived, notwithstanding the [fact] that the cacique of the place was not in it, he was well received. This cacique came on the twenty-sixth day of the said month. When he had come, the captain, having seen FOLIO 28 that he brought meat and maize for the sustenance of his company, gave him a necklace and a bit of red taffeta and some enameled buttons, with which he was very content. Then immediately His Grace gave an order to the cacique that he have some canoes brought to him, in order to transport part of the maize down the river to GuiomaE, which is whence his company was to carry it to the city of Santa Elena. Thus the cacique, together with other caciques who aided him, had some canoes brought in which, as soon as they came, the captain had put all the maize that was possible. Having put it there he commanded Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant of his company, to go with three soldiers in the canoes and carry the maize to the place called GuiomaE and there have it unloaded and put in an elevated house which was built in the place for that purpose and having unloaded and put it in the elevated house to remain in the place with the soldiers and with others who, when he arrived, would already be in the place, who were those who had previously gone to carry the maize which was in the village to Coçao. With this, the sergeant departed and went to the place of GuiomaE where he found the soldiers who had carried the first maize. He was there with them {look} until February 11, when the captain came with the rest of his company and some Indians with him by whom and by the soldiers of his company he had transported all the maize that was in the place, in many deerskin sacks which

the captain had had made for that purpose. With this, on the following day, which was February 12, the captain with his company and all the Indians who could FO-
LIO 28 VERSO be gathered—dismissing, as he dismissed, almost all the interpreters whom he brought, giving them as he did give them cloth and linen to dress themselves and axes and wedges and chisels and necklaces and enameled buttons without [counting] many other exchanges (*rescates*) which before now he had given them in the same manner, which I, the notary, attest, remaining as he remained with only Guillermo Ruffin, Castilian interpreter in the company, to whom, in addition to all the things which the captain has given to the interpreters, now that at last we arrived at the place of GuiomaE, he gave him a suit of blue cloth from the wardrobe of the said captain and a brown hat (*capelo*) and shirts and deer skins to make doublets and stockings, with which Guillermo Ruffin, as well as the other interpreters, was and remained very content, which likewise, I, the notary, attest—departed, on the route to the city of Santa Elena with great labor, because of the swamps and loads of maize and the scarcity of supplies. Continuing the return on February 14, he arrived at some fallen houses where a cacique, who was called Aboyaca Orata, used to reside. He came out to receive the captain with some meat and local roots which are called sweet potatoes (*batatas*) to eat, with which all the people of the company were very content, because they were in great need because of the scarcity of food there had been. To him, and to a mandador of his, the captain gave two painted Indian blankets,⁸ with which they remained very content, which I, the notary, attest. With this, on the following day, we left the place, continuing the return and on this day we suffered hard work because of the many FOLIO 29 swamps which there were, which were more than there had been on any day, very deep and very wide, so much so that in three of them, when we had passed them, we considered it certain that Our Lord had showed some manner of miracle in our having crossed them because, they being so difficult, and the people coming so loaded, no one had fallen, nor had the load fallen from anyone. Thus all the company together with the captain, gave many thanks to Our Lord, as was right. With the good order which we maintained we walked seven leagues, at the end of which, because it was late, we made a halt and slept that night in a certain uninhabited place. In this order on the following day we arrived at a place which is called Coçao where we found the cacique and one [who is] his mandador with many Indians to go with the captain and with some quantity of meat and sweet potatoes (*batatas*) and acorns in order that the people might eat, and likewise Orista Orata with thirty Indians, and Uscamacu Orata with other Indians, all in order to go with the captain. All of whom, as they were in Coçao, received the captain very well. The captain rejoiced greatly because he had understood, according to the plentiful fables which he had had from some caciques, that Coçao and Orista and Uscamacu had rebelled and fled from our friendship. As soon as he arrived, he gave to each of them a painted blanket from the inland Indians, with which they were very content. The captain, having seen and understood the great number of Indians, had baskets and deerskin sacks prepared so that they might carry all the maize

which he had gathered FOLIO 29 VERSO in the said Coçao, which would be about sixty bushels (*fanegas*) of maize. When the maize had been gathered and placed and put in the sacks, in order to carry it on this said day we left [and went] two leagues beyond Coçao where we made a halt and slept that night, placing in addition to the customary guard, the guard and sentinels necessary because of the maize and the many Indians who came with the captain. With this order and good collection (*recaudo*) on the following day we left that place, continuing the return [trip] and we went five leagues, at the end of which, because all the people of the company and part of the Indians were very tired, we halted and slept that night. The captain commanded that a ration of one handful (*almoçada*) of maize between two men be given and with this on the following day we arrived at a place which is called Ahoya which is seven leagues from the city of Santa Elena and it is where the captain had the intention of building a house and fort because the cacique of the place and his Indians had previously killed a corporal of the company and also because from that place to the city it is necessary to go by water and until now every time Spaniards or inland Indians have come with some collection for the city the cacique and Indians of Ahoya have been very rebellious about giving the aid which was necessary in order to approach the city. Thus because of all that has been declared as well as to have the cacique and Indians of the place FOLIO 30 under the royal dominion, the captain had the intention of building the fort. Now because the place appears to be uninhabited and burned and the cacique a prisoner in the said city and [because] Orista Orata having offered that the fort would be better in his village (*lugar*) because he and his Indians would serve the soldiers who were in it very willingly and that he would have a complete supply of canoes and Indians in order that whatever fulfills the service of His Majesty might be done, he [the captain] decided to abandon building the fort in Ahoya and to go down to build it in the village of Orista Orata. With this purpose, through Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, who was present, he told and commanded certain mandadores and Indians of Ahoya who came out to receive the captain that they immediately go to the Indians who were absent, since they were his brothers, and on his part command them to come to the place and live in it, since His Grace only considered as enemies those who have done a disservice to His Majesty, and not others, and thus, in any case they should come to live in their town (*pueblo*). If they did not do it thus, he would understand that they had been traitors to him and as such henceforward he would have to make war upon them. The said mandadores and Indians, having understood the will of the captain, made the “Yaa” many times, letting it be understood the favor which was done to them and that they would immediately make the Indians return and settle the place. The captain, having seen the goodwill of the mandadores and Indians, gave to each one of them a painted breechclout⁹ like a doily, with which they remained very content, which I, the notary, attest. Witnesses FOLIO 30 VERSO of all that is said were Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco, and Francisco Hernández {#} de Tenbleque, soldiers of the company. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufin, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, with his company, continuing the return and the building of the stronghouse on February 19, 1568, departed from the place named Ahoya, toward Orista, and, by means of all possible work from the soldiers of the company, had carried on their shoulders all the quantity of maize, which he brought from the interior for the support of the said people, for a league from Ahoya in order to embark it and carry it where it was necessary. As soon as he had finished bringing it to the port and place where it was to be loaded on the canoes in which it was to be brought, we embarked in the canoes and all the company with it. In this manner at about two o'clock in the afternoon we came to disembark a quarter of a league from Orista and from there we carried all of His Majesty's maize and munitions as best we could to Orista and we put it in a large house belonging to the cacique. With this we rested and slept that night. On the following day the captain gave an order to build the stronghouse and they began to cut and saw the necessary wood. On March 2, it was finished, to which, because it was the first that was built at the beginning of the FOLIO 31 interior, there was given the name "Nuestra Señora" and to the town (*villa*) {*The town*} "de Buena Esperança." The captain, having seen that it was suitable to leave as warder of the fort a man who will be concerned with the guard and defense of it and who will preserve in good friendship the caciques and Indians of the town and of its neighborhood, put and left as warder Gaspar Rodriguez, corporal of his company and with him, to do what the warder commanded them to do in the service of His Majesty, twelve soldiers of his company. To Gaspar Rodriguez he gave the legal power which His Grace has from His Majesty. In addition to the above, before me, the notary, he took and received from him an oath by God and Holy Mary in due form and in the words of the four Holy Gospels where they are most fully written, that he would keep and carry out what is said and declared and he would not break it under pain of perjury and infamy, and falsity and of falling into the case of being of little value. The said Gaspar Rodriguez, warder, acquitting himself of the oath said "Yes, I swear" and "Amen." Because he said that he did not know how to write he asked a witness to sign for him. The captain, having understood the above and having seen that for the defense of the fort it was fitting to leave some munitions and food for the people in it, before me, the notary, gave to the warder the following: eighteen pounds of powder, eighteen pounds of matchcord, eighteen pounds of lead, a socketed axe, a large hoe, a chisel, a drill, [and] provisions of corn for two months, allowing one handful (*albra*) FOLIO 31 VERSO of corn a day to each man. Witnesses who were present at all that is said were Hernando Moyano de Morales, and Antonio de Aguirre, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco, corporal of the company, being in the town of Buena Esperança. Juan Pardo. For witness, Antonio de Aguirre. Juan de la Vandra, notary.

After the above in the town of Buena Esperança, on February 28, 1568, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, having understood that in the forts and city of Santa Elena

there is very little food for the number of people whom he brings in his company and that greater service would be done to God and to His Majesty if his people separated and were in a place where they might support themselves and did not go to the city of Santa Elena where {look} because of the many people they might suffer great harm and detriment, he provided and commanded Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant of his company, to go to the city of Toledo and fort of Santo Tomás, which in the Indian language is called Canos, with thirty soldiers of his company and to be and remain there in the said city and fort as warder of it and to rule and govern and administer the said thirty soldiers and guard the fort and not to leave it without his permission or that of one who might order it on His Majesty's behalf. In addition to this, he enjoined and commanded him to take great care always to preserve the friendship of the cacique and Indians of Canos and of those around it FOLIO 32 and for all that is said and declared he gave him the legal authority which His Grace has from His Majesty, in order that he might punish any one of the soldiers who in any manner acts against the service of His Majesty, according to the crime which each one might commit. For the fulfillment of all that which is said he took from him an oath in due form that he would guard it and would not change it under pain of perjury, and infamy, and falsity. Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant and warder, acquitting himself of the oath said "Yes, I swear" and "Amen" and he promised to fulfill it thus. He signed it with his name, together with the said captain, there being present as witnesses Hernando Moyano de Morales, and Antonio de Aguirre, transients in the town. Juan Pardo, Pedro de Hermosa, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on February 28, 1568, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the very magnificent captain Juan Pardo appeared and asked and required that I, the notary, attest and give him [written] testimony that if His Grace left his ensign and some corporals of his company distributed in certain places with the soldiers who were necessary, as is well known and that if now he sends his sergeant with thirty other men of his company, it was and is because it was for the service of God, Our Lord, and of His Majesty, because of the security and strength which it is necessary to have in these provinces of Florida and because in the city and port of Santa Elena at present FOLIO 32 VERSO there is not enough food with which to support fifty men for two months, much less the number of persons that he has at present {Look} in his company, who are more than one hundred men. I, the notary, attest it. He said that he asked (*pedía*) and asked (*pidió*) me this in order to present it in the discharge which he will give to His Majesty if, perhaps, he is asked to give account of the reason he divides his company. I, the notary, having understood and seen that the said request is just, as has been seen and understood by the persons of all the company, gave the attestation {look} to the captain in [written] testimony as he requested it of me, on the said day, month, and year, there being present as witnesses, Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant, and Hernando Moyano de Morales, and Antonio de Aguirre, transients in the fort of Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperança, which is where it was requested of me. Juan Pardo. Passed before me, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Moreover on this said day February 28, 1568, before me the notary and the witnesses given below the captain gave an order and commanded Pedro de Hermosa, sergeant of his company, that from the people from the company whom he carries in his charge, he leave in the place of Madrid, which in the Indian language is called GuiomaE, Fernán Gomez, a Portuguese, and three other soldiers with him. He commanded this said Fernán Gomez to {look} have GuiomaE, cacique, and the other caciques who are his companions and friends make haste in building four canoes for which His Grace gave them an order and commanded them to build for FOLIO 33 the service of His Majesty. For the said purpose he gave to Fernán Gomez and to the caciques a socketed axe and an adze. By the same order he charged and commanded Alonso Bela, a soldier of his company, who is one of the persons who go in the charge of the said sergeant, to be greatly concerned and very careful in going to Ylasi Orata, which is where Alonso Bela resided for some days, and to command that cacique and the rest who are his subjects to build and to have built three canoes for which His Grace gave an order and [which] he commanded when he was in Ylasi that they might be built since for that [Purpose] His Grace gave to that cacique a large socketed axe, and now at present [he gives] another to Alonso Bela, which I, the infrascript notary, attest, since I knew and understood that it was suitable to do it thusly for the service of His Majesty. Moreover, in the presence of me, the notary, and of the witnesses noted below, on this said day the captain gave an order and commanded Antonio Diaz Pereyra, Portuguese, and Domingo de León, and Juan Toribio, soldiers, to go to Guando Orata which is where there is a house [full] of His Majesty's maize, and of that maize to try to bring, with [the aid of] the Indians of the said cacique, all that they could to the town of Buena Esperança, which in the Indian language is called Orista. For the said purpose, before me, the notary, he gave and delivered to them a certain number of sacks and he charged and commanded that it be done and that they do it with great diligence and care. Consequently he charged and commanded all of the above to try to have the said caciques FOLIO 33 VERSO and Indians with them sow a large quantity of maize because by all of this they would serve Our Lord and His Majesty very much. Present as witnesses at what is said were Hernando Moyano de Morales, former sergeant of his company, and Pedro Gutierrez Pacheco, corporal of it, transients in the town of Buena Esperança, and the captain signed it. Juan Pardo, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

And after the above in the town of Buena Esperança, which by another name is called Orista, on March 1, 1568, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, and of the witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, being present with his company, there came to the town of Buena Esperança four caciques, who were called Yetencunbe Orata, Ahoyabe Orata, Coçapoye Orata, [and] Uscamacu Orata and some principal Indians with them to bring food for the company, [all of] whom the captain received well. His Grace, having seen that willingly they brought from what they had, gave to the two most important ones two large painted blankets of catskin,¹⁰ and four painted breechclouts from the Indians of the interior, with which they were very content. Then immediately His Grace summoned Guillermo Rufin,

interpreter, through whom His Grace had the caciques and Orista Orata and all FOLIO 34 his principal Indians gather in a large hut where they were accustomed to meet. When all were together, he made them the customary speech and in addition to the speech, through Guillermo Rufín, interpreter, he said to them that they already knew that His Grace with his said company had built in Orista a stronghouse in which, to make them content, he left thirty men in order to teach them and let them know how they are to do service to God, Our Lord, and to His Majesty and so that these soldiers might defend them from their enemies. He asked them to treat them well and give them of what they had and in any case to sow for them a large piece of land with maize because it would give him great pleasure. The caciques and Indians made the “Yaa” many times by which they let it be known that they would fulfill it as His Grace commanded it. In addition to the above, through Guillermo Rufín, interpreter, there was declared and said to them how it was necessary, since they were brothers of the captain and vassals of His Majesty, henceforth to come to Orista and to bring what they might have and for all to obey Orista. On hearing what is said, Orista made the “Yaa” many times, letting it be understood the great favor which was done him, and the others, consequently, made the “Yaa” many times, letting it be understood that they were very content to do what they were commanded and to come to the said obedience. The captain, having seen this, thanked them very much. In addition to the above FOLIO 34 VERSO through Guillermo Rufín there was said and declared to them that they already knew that Ahoya Orata and other Indians of his had killed one of the Spaniards of his company and for that [reason] he has Ahoya in prison and his Indians have depopulated the place and burned it and have fled from it without having any reason, for which reason it is fitting that they again settle the said place and [that] all those who are in rebellion return to their houses and repose. In order that they understand that he will do well to those who are his good brothers, and consequently punish those who are not [his good brothers], that on the twentieth day from today they shall gather in Orista and that when they are gathered His Grace will declare to them and will tell them what they have to do, punishing those who are at fault and considering those who are not as his brothers, as they were before. To which all the caciques made the “Yaa” many times by which they let it be understood that the captain did them a very great favor and that thus they would see that all were present at the end of the twenty days and they would send to call His Grace, whom they asked to come. To which the captain replied to them that he was very content and thus he took his leave giving them to understand that on the following day he would like to leave together with his company and that he wished them to gather certain canoes which were necessary. All replied that they would do it. Present as witnesses at what is said were Hernando Moyano de Morales, former sergeant of the company, and Pedro Gutierrez FOLIO 35 Pacheco, corporal of it, and Luís Jimenez, soldiers of the company, transients in the town. Juan Pardo, Guillermo Rufín. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

After the above, on March 2, 1568, in the presence of me, the notary, and of the

witnesses noted below, the captain, Juan Pardo, continuing the return [trip], departed with his company directly to the point and city of Santa Elena where we arrived on the declared day and from which for the said purpose we departed. And returning, we arrived on this said day at about three o'clock in the afternoon with good fortune, notwithstanding the many difficulties which the captain with his company has passed and the fact that in six months and two days after he left with the intention of finishing and ending this journey in the service of God, Our Lord, and of His Majesty, although it is not finished, he has had no misfortune at all. Many thanks be given to Our Lord for such great mercy and may He by His holy and sacred passion give us grace that the things which we may do in His holy name, that He may lead us to, may have as good a beginning and end as this journey has had, amen. Dated as above and passed before me. Juan de la Bandera, notary.

{*Verification*} After the above, in the presence of me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, on March 31, 1569, being in the city of Santa Elena which is in the provinces of Florida, the very illustrious gentleman, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, governor and captain general of these said provinces, having seen what was done and accomplished by Juan Pardo, captain for His Majesty, on the journey and discovery of land through the provinces of Florida on the way to New Spain with the order of the said Adelantado in His Majesty's name, in order to learn and understand whether all that is written in the report of what was done on the said trip was done thus, wished to make and made a verification of it with soldiers, men of good faith and of credit, who were on the said journey, who are the captain, Juan Pardo, and Francisco Hernández de Tenbleque, corporal and Francisco Corredor, and Francisco de FOLIO 35 VERSO Cisneros and Antón Muñoz and Juan de Billola, soldiers of the company of the captain, Juan Pardo, from whom, His Lordship, in the presence of me, the notary, took an oath by God and by Holy Mary in due form de jure, concerning the above in order that under that oath they may say and declare whether that which is written in the report by me, the notary, occurred just as it is written. All [of them,] as they are said and declared, acquitting themselves of the said oath, with one voice said that all that which is written concerning the land and the speech which is made to the caciques of each place and how they remained under the dominion of His Majesty according to what on His Majesty's part was declared to them, is just as it is written in the report because at all of it they were present, which is the truth by the oath which they made. Those who knew how to sign signed it with their names and for the rest, who did not know how to sign, a witness signed together with His Lordship and with me, the notary, there being present as witnesses Alonso Garcia, ensign of the company of the said captain, Juan Pardo, who signed as witness, and Gaspar Rodriguez, corporal and the Ensign Gonçalo del Ribero and Garcia Martinez de Bolo, transients in the city of Santa Elena. Pedro Menéndez, Juan Pardo, Francisco de Cisneros, Antón Muñoz, as witnesses, Alonso Garcia, Juan de la Bandera, notary.

Because of the request and in order to correct and compare what is contained in this writing with the original, Alonso Garcia, warder of the fort of San Felipe and

ensign of the company of the captain, and Francisco Maldonado, and Luís Ximenez, soldiers, transients in the said Point of Santa Elena, have signed in the margin. The notary being I, Juan de la Bandera, notary for a large area of these provinces for the very illustrious gentleman Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, adelantado of them in His Majesty's name, was present together with the said witnesses and I attest the above, because it occurred before me. In testimony of truth I affix my sign [Rubric].

Notes

1. Ketcham, "Three Relations," 66–67.
2. That is, in accordance with the amount of tribute levied, which seems to have been proportionate to some base in each village, probably houses or possibly even a rough count of population supplied by the chief.
3. The Spanish is *municiones las que abastaban para los dichos soldados*.
4. The Spanish is *un caracol grande de la mar*, which is literally a large marine shell of the periwinkle type, i.e., a mollusk shell of the genus *Littorina* or genus *Thais*. Archaeological evidence from throughout the Southeast suggests that it was probably a large conch shell.
5. "Passaments": decorative braids, cords, tassels, fringes, etc. used on clothing.
6. Literally, a *mandador* is a "driver," possibly a war captain, or else a functionary with coercive powers.
7. A Jurado was a member of a special panel of officials elected and sometimes appointed to represent the public interest in various matters of city government. At Toledo they were the sworn defenders of the laws and privileges (*fueros*) of the city, had oversight of the judicial system, and saw to it that the city's patrimony was conserved and expanded and well administered (Gámero 1862:825–29). The term has nothing in common with the English jury, whose name in Spanish is the same.
8. These "painted blankets" could have been mulberry fiber matchcoats woven by the Indians (amply documented by the Soto chroniclers) or else skin matchcoats with designs painted on them.
9. Presumably these painted breechclouts were of the same stuff as the painted matchcoats. The reference to a "doily" is an attempt to describe what they looked like in terms of an object familiar to Spaniards: the often elaborate doilys placed under lamps or used as center decorations on tables.
10. These may have been matchcoats of cougar skins with designs painted on the inside.