

[REDACTED]

The History of a Voyage which [REDACTED] made the third time that he came to the Indies, when he discovered terra firma, and which he sent to their Majesties from the Island of Hispaniola.

MOST serene and most exalted and powerful Princes, the King and Queen, our Sovereigns. The Blessed Trinity moved your Highnesses to the encouragement of this enterprise to the Indies; and of its infinite goodness has made me your messenger therein; as ambassador for which undertaking I approached your royal presence, moved by the consideration that I was appealing to the most exalted monarchs in Christendom, who exercised so great an influence over the Christian faith, and its advancement in the world: those who heard of it looked upon it as impossible, for they fixed

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La historia del viage quel Almirante D. [REDACTED] hizo la tercera vez que vino á las Indias quando descubrió la tierra firme, como lo envió á los Reyes desde la Isla Espanola.

SERENÍSIMOS é muy altos é muy poderosos Principes Rey é Reina nuestros Señores: La Santa Trinidad movió á vuestras Altezas á esta empresa de las Indias, y por su infinita bondad hizo á mi mensagero dello, al cual vine con el embajada á su Real conspetu, movido como á los mas altos Principes de cristianos y que tanto se ejercisaban en la fé y acrecentamiento della; las personas que entendieron en ello lo tuvieron por imposible, y el caudal hacian sobre bienes de fortuna, y allí echaron el clavo. Puse en esto seis ó siete

[REDACTED]

all their hopes on the favours of fortune, and pinned their faith solely upon chance. I gave to the subject six or seven years of great anxiety, explaining, to the best of my ability, how great service might be done to our Lord, by this undertaking, in promulgating His sacred name and our holy faith among so many nations;—an enterprise so exalted in itself, and so calculated to enhance the glory and immortalize the renown of the greatest sovereigns. It was also requisite to refer to the temporal prosperity which was foretold in the writings of so many trustworthy and wise historians, who related that great riches were to be found in these parts. And at the same time I thought it desirable to bring to bear upon the subject, the sayings and opinions of those who have written upon the geography of the world. And finally, your Highnesses came to the determination that the undertaking should be entered upon. In this your Highnesses exhibited the noble spirit which has been always manifested by you on every great subject; for all others who had thought of the matter or heard it spoken of, unanimously treated it with contempt, with the exception of two friars,¹ who always

años de grave pena, amostrando lo mejor que yo sabia quanto servicio se podia hacer á nuestro Señor en esto en divulgar su santo nombre y Fé á tantos pueblos; lo cual todo era cosa de tanta excelencia y buena fama y gran memoria para grandes Principes fue tambien necesario de hablar del temporal adonde se les amostró el escrebir de tantos sabios dignos de fé, los cuales escribieron historias. Los cuales contaban que en estas partes habia muchas riquezas, y asimismo fue necesario traer á esto el decir é opinion de aquellos que escribieron é situaron el mundo: en fin vuestras Altezas determinaron questo se pusiese en obra. Aquí mostraron el grande corazon que siempre hicieron en toda cosa grande, porque todos los que habian entendido en ello y oido esta platica todos á una mano lo tenian á burla, salvo dos frailes que siempre fueron

¹ These were Fray Juan Perez de Marchena, a Franciscan, keeper of the Convent de la Rabida, and Fray Diego de Deza, a Dominican, afterwards Archbishop of Seville.

remained constant in their belief of its practicability. I, myself, in spite of fatiguing opposition, felt sure that the enterprise would nevertheless prosper, and continue equally confident of it to this day, because it is a truth, that though everything will pass away, the Word of God will not; and I believe, that every prospect which I hold out will be accomplished; for it was clearly predicted concerning these lands, by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, in many places in Scripture, that from Spain the holy name of God was to be spread abroad. Thus I departed in the name of the Holy Trinity, and returned very soon, bringing with me an account of the practical fulfilment of everything I had said. Your Highnesses again sent me out, and in a short space of time, by God's mercy, not by² I discovered three hundred and thirty-three leagues of terra firma on the eastern side, and seven hundred islands,³ besides those which I discovered on the first voyage;

constantes. Yo, bien que llevase fatiga, estaba bien seguro que esto no vernia á menos, y estoy de contino, porque es verdad que todo pasará, y no la palabra de Dios, y se cumplirá todo lo que dijo; el cual tan claro habló de estas tierras por la boca de Isaías en tantos lugares de su Escripura, afirmando que de España les seria divulgado su santo nombre. E partí en nombre de la Santa Trinidad, y volvi muy presto con la experiencia de todo cuanto yo habia dicho en la mano: tornáronme á enviar vuestras Altezas, y en poco espacio digo, no de le descubri por virtud divinal trescientas y treinta y tres leguas de la tierra firme, fin de Oriente, y setcentas islas de nombre, allende de lo descubierto en el primero

² A similar gap in the original.

³ He did not discover terra firma in the second voyage as he here says, but imagined the island of Cuba to be terra firma, because he was unable to explore it fully; nor did he ascertain that it was an island, until, by order of the king, the Comendador Mayor Nicolas Ovando gave Sebastian de Ocampo a commission to circumnavigate the island, and he explored the whole coast in the year 1508. (See Herrera, Dec. i, lib. 7, cap. i.) Amongst the number of these islands, [redacted] doubtless included many of those to the south of Cuba, lying in the part which he called the *Queen's Gardens*.

I also succeeded in circumnavigating the island of Española, which is larger in circumference than all Spain, the inhabitants of which are countless, and all of whom may be laid under tribute. It was then that complaints arose, disparaging the enterprise that I had undertaken, because, forsooth, I had not immediately sent the ships home laden with gold,—no allowance being made for the shortness of the time, and all the other impediments of which I have already spoken. On this account (either as a punishment for my sins, or, as I trust, for my salvation), I was held in detestation, and had obstacles placed in the way of every thing I said or for which I petitioned. I therefore resolved to apply to your Highnesses, to inform you of all the wonderful events that I had experienced, and to explain the reason of every proposition that I made, making reference to the nations that I had seen, among whom, and by whose instrumentality, many souls may be saved. I related how the natives of Española had been laid under tribute to your Highnesses, and regarded you as their sovereigns. And I laid before your Highnesses abundant samples of gold and copper,—proving the existence of extensive mines of those metals. I also laid before your Highnesses many sorts of spices, too

viage, y le allané la Isla Española que boja mas que España, en que la gente della es sin cuento, y que todos le pagasen tributo. Nació allí mal decir y menosprecio de la empresa comenzada en ello, porque no habia yo enviado luego los navíos cargados de oro, sin considerar la brevedad del tiempo, y lo otro que yo dije de tantos inconvenientes; y en esto por mis pecados ó por mi salvacion creo que será, fue puesto en aborrecimiento y dado impedimento á cuanto yo decia y demandaba; por lo cual acordé de venir á vuestras Altezas, y maravillarme de todo, y mostrarles la razon que en todo habia, y les dige de los pueblos que yo habia visto, en qué ó de qué se podrian salvar muchas animas, y les truje las obligaciones de la gente de la Isla Española, de como se obligaban á pagar tributo é les tenian por sos Reyes y Señores, y les truje abastante muestra de oro, y que hay mineros y granos muy grandes, y asi-

numerous to detail; and I spoke of the great quantity of brazil-wood, and numberless other articles found in those lands. All this was of no avail with some persons; who began, with determined hatred, to speak ill of the enterprise, not taking into account the service done to our Lord in the salvation of so many souls, nor the enhancement of your Highnesses' greatness to a higher pitch than any earthly prince has yet enjoyed; nor considering, that from the exercise of your Highnesses' goodness, and the expense incurred, both spiritual and temporal advantage was to be expected, and that Spain must in the process of time derive from thence, beyond all doubt, an unspeakable increase of wealth. This might be manifestly seen by the evidences already given in writing in the descriptions of the voyages already made, which also prove that the fulfilment of every other hope may be reasonably expected. Nor were they affected by the consideration of what great princes throughout the world have done to increase their fame: as, for example, Solomon, who sent from Jerusalem, to the uttermost parts of the east, to see Mount Sopora, in which expedition his ships were detained three years; and which mountain your Highnesses now possess in

mismo de cobre; y les truje de muchas maneras de especerías, de que sería largo de escribir, y les dije de la gran cantidad de brasil, y otras infinitas cosas. Todo no aprovechó para con algunas personas que tenían gana y dado comienzo á mal decir del negocio, ni entrar con fabla del servicio de nuestro Señor con se salvar tantas animas, ni á decir questo era grandeza de vuestras Altezas, de la mejor calidad que hasta hoy haya usado Príncipe, por quel ejercicio é gasto era para el espiritual y temporal, y que no podía ser que andando el tiempo no hobiese la España de aquí grandes provechos, pues que se veían las señales que escribieron de lo de estas partidas tan manifestas: que tambien se llegaría á ver todo el otro complimento, ni á decir cosas que usaron grandes Principes en el mundo para crecer su fama, así como de Salomon que envió desde Hierusalem en fin de Oriente á ver el monte Sopora, en que se detovieron los navíos tres años, el cual tienen vuestras Altezas agora en la Isla

the island of Española. Nor, as in the case of Alexander, who sent to observe the mode of government in the island of Taprobana,⁴ in India; and Cæsar Nero, to explore the sources of the Nile,⁵ and to learn the causes of its increase in the spring,⁶ when water is needed; and many other mighty deeds that princes have done, and which it is allotted to princes to achieve. Nor was it of any avail that no prince of Spain, as far as I have read, has ever hitherto gained possession of land out of Spain; and that the world of which I speak is different from that in which the Romans, and Alexander, and the Greeks, made mighty efforts with great armies to gain the possession of. Nor have they been affected by the recent noble example of the kings of Portugal, who have had the courage to explore as far as Guinea, and to make the discovery of it, expending so much gold and so many lives in the undertaking, that a calculation of the population of the kingdom would show, that one half of them have died in Guinea: and though it is now a long time since they com-

Española; ni de Alejandre, que envió á ver el regimiento de la Isla de Trapobana en India, y Nero Cesar á ver las fuentes del Nilo, y la razon porque crecian en el verano, cuando las aguas son pocas, y otras muchas grandezas que hicieron Principes, y que á Principes son estas cosas dadas de hacer; ni valia decir que yo nunca habia leido que Principes de Castilla jamas hobiesen ganado tierra fuera della, y que esta de acá es otro mundo en que se trabajaron Romanos y Alejandre y Griegos, para la haber con grandes ejercicios, ni decir del presente de los Reyes de Portugal, que tovieron corazon para sostener á Guinea, y del descubrir della, y que gastaron oro y gente á tanta, que quien contase toda la del Reino se hallaria que otra tanta como la mitad son muertos en Guinea, y todavia la continuaron hasta que les salió dello lo que parece, lo cual todo comen-

⁴ Ceylon.

⁵ These examples quoted by the admiral from ancient history, are commented upon very learnedly, and at considerable length, by his historian, Las Casas, in the hundred and twenty-eighth and hundred and twenty-ninth chapters of his unpublished history. (Navarrete.)

⁶ [redacted] should have said summer.

menced these great exertions, the return for their labour and expense has hitherto been but trifling; this people has also dared to make conquests in Africa, and to carry on their exploits to Ceuta, Tangier, Algiers, and Alcazar, repeatedly giving battle to the Moors; and all this at great expense; simply because it was an exploit worthy of a prince, undertaken for the service of God, and to advance the enlargement of His kingdom. The more I said on the subject, the more two-fold was reproach cast upon it, even to the expression of abhorrence, no consideration being given to the honour and fame that accrued to your Highnesses throughout all Christendom, from your Highnesses having undertaken this enterprise; so that there was neither great nor small who did not desire to hear tidings of it. Your Highnesses replied to me encouragingly, and desired that I should pay no regard to those who spoke ill of the undertaking, inasmuch as they had received no authority or countenance whatever from your Highnesses.

I started from San Lucar, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, on Wednesday the 30th of May,⁷ much fatigued with

zaron de largo tiempo, y ha muy poco que les da renta; los cuales tambien osaron conquistar en Africa, y sostener la empresa á Cepta, Tanjar y Arcilla, é Alcazar, y de contino dar guerra á los moros, y todo esto con grande gasto, solo por hacer cosa de Príncipe servir á Dios y acrecentar su Señorío.

Cuanto yo mas decia tanto mas se doblaba á poner esto á vituperio, amostrando en ello aborrecimiento, sin considerar cuánto bien parecio en todo el mundo, y cuánto bien se dijo en todos los cristianos de vuestras Altezas por haber tomado esta empresa, que no hobo grande ni pequeño que no quisiese dello carta. Respondiéronme vuestras Altezas riéndose y diciendo que yo no curase de nada porque no daban autoridad ni creencia á quien les mal decia de esta empresa.

Partí en nombre de la santísima Trinidad, Miercoles 30 de Mayo de la villa de S. Lúcar, bien fatigado de mi viage, que adonde es-

⁷ Of the year 1498.

my voyage, for I had hoped, when I left the Indies, to find repose in Spain; whereas, on the contrary, I experienced nothing but opposition and vexation. I sailed to the island of Madeira by a circuitous route, in order to avoid any encounter with an armed fleet from France,⁸ which was on the look out for me off Cape St. Vincent. Thence I went to the Canaries,⁹ from which islands I sailed with but one ship and two caravels, having dispatched the other ships to Española by the direct road to the Indies;¹⁰ while I myself moved southward, with the view of reaching the equinoctial line, and of then proceeding westward, so as to leave the island of Española to the north. But having reached the Cape Verde islands¹¹ (an incorrect name, for they are so barren that nothing

peraba descanso, quando yo partí de estas Indias, se me dobló la pena, y navegué á la Isla de la Madera por camino no acostumbrado, por evitar escándalo que pudiera tener con un armada de Francia, que me aguardaba al Cabo de S. Vicente, y de allí á las Islas de Canaria, de adonde me partí con una nao y dos carabelas, y envié los otros navíos á derecho camino á las Indias á la Isla Española, y yo navegué al Austro con propósito de llegar á la línea equinocial, y de allí seguir al Poniente hasta que la Isla Española me quedase al Septentrion, y llegado á las Islas de Cabo Verde, falso nombre, porque son atan secas que no ví cosa verde en ellas,

⁸ Herrera says (Dec. i, lib. 3, cap. 9) that it was a Portuguese squadron; but Las Casas (cap. 30) distinctly states it to have been French. (Navarrete.)

⁹ Herrera and ~~Don Pedro~~ say that he reached the island of Puerto Santo on the seventh of June, from which island he sailed directly for Madeira, and thence to Gomera, which he reached on the nineteenth, and put to sea again on the twenty-first.

¹⁰ The commanders of the three ships which the admiral despatched to Española, were Pedro de Arana, native of Cordova, brother to the mother of ~~Pedro de Arana~~, Alonzo Sanchez de Carabajal, magistrate of Razea; and ~~Juan de~~; all of whom were known to and are spoken of by F. Bartolomé de Las Casas, in the hundred and thirtieth chapter of his history. (Navarrete.)

¹¹ This was on the twenty-seventh of June. He anchored in the island of Sal, and on the thirtieth proceeded to the island of Santiago, from whence he put to sea again on the fourth of July. (Navarrete.)

green was to be seen there, and the people so sickly that I did not venture to remain among them), I sailed away four hundred and eighty miles, which is equivalent to a hundred and twenty leagues, towards the south-west, where, when it grew dark, I found the north star to be in the fifth degree. The wind then failed me, and I entered a climate where the intensity of the heat was such, that I thought both ships and men would have been burnt up, and everything suddenly got into such a state of confusion, that no man dared go below deck to attend to the securing of the water-cask and the provisions. This heat lasted eight days; on the first day the weather was fine, but on the seven other days it rained and was cloudy, yet we found no alleviation of our distress; so that I certainly believe, that if the sun had shone as on the first day, we should not have been able to escape in any way.

I recollect, that in sailing towards the Indies, as soon as I passed a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, I found the temperature change: and this is so all along from north to south. I determined, therefore, if it should please the Lord to give me a favourable wind and good weather, so that I might leave the part where I then was, that I would

y toda la gente enferma, que no osé detenerme en ellas, y navegué al Sudueste cuatrocientas y ochenta millas, que son ciento y veinte leguas, adonde en anocheciendo tenia la estrella del norte en cinco grados; allí me desamparó el viento y entré en tanto ardor y tan grande que creí que se me quemasen los navíos y gente, que todo de un golpe vino á tan desordenado, que no habia persona que osase descender debajo de cubierta á remediar la vasija y mantenimientos; duró este ardor ocho dias; al primer dia fue claro, y los siete dias siguientes llovió é hizo ñumblado, y con todo no fallamos remedio, que cierto si así fuera de sol como el primero, yo creo que no pudiera escapar en ninguna manera.

Acórdome que navegando á las Indias siempre que yo paso al Poniente de las Islas de los Azores cien leguas, allí fallo mudar la temperanza, y esto es todo de Septentrion en Austro, y determiné que si á nuestro Señor le pluguiese de me dar viento y buen tiempo

give up pursuing the southward course, yet not turn backwards, but sail towards the west, moving in that direction in the hope of finding the same temperature that I had experienced when I sailed in the parallel of the Canaries,—and then, if it proved so, I should still be able to proceed more to the south. At the end of these eight days it pleased our Lord to give me a favourable east wind, and I steered to the west, but did not venture to move lower down towards the south, because I discovered a very great change in the sky and the stars, although I found no alteration in the temperature. I resolved, therefore, to keep on the direct westward course, in a line from Sierra Leone, and not to change it until the chance offered of more speedily reaching land on another tack, which I was very desirous to do, for the purpose of repairing the vessels, and of renewing, if possible, our stock of provisions, and taking in what water we wanted. At the end of seventeen days, during which our Lord gave me a propitious wind, we saw land at noon of Tuesday the 31st of July.¹² This I had expected on the Monday before,

que pudiese salir de adonde estaba, de dejar de ir mas al Austro, ni volver tampoco atrás, salvo de navegar al Poniente, á tanto que ya llegase á estar con esta raya con esperanza que yo fallaria allí así temperamiento, como habia fallado cuando yo navegaba en el paralelo de Canaria. E que si así fuese que entonces yo podria ir mas al Austro, y plugó á nuestro Señor que al cabo de estos ocho dias de me dar buen viento Levante, y yo seguí al Poniente, mas no osé declinar abajo al Austro porque fallé grandísimo mudamiento en el cielo y en las estrellas, mas non fallé mudamiento en la temperancia; así acordé de proseguir delante siempre justo al Poniente, en aquel derecho de la Sierra Lioa, con propósito de non mudar derrota fasta adonde yo habia pensado que fallaria tierra, y allí adobar los navíos, y remediar si pudiese los mantenimientos y tomar agua que no tenia; y al cabo de diez y siete dias, los cuales nuestro Señor me dió de próspero viento, Martes 31 de Julio á medio dia

¹² It was first seen by a mariner of Huelva, a servant of the admiral, named Alonzo Perez. (Navarrete.)

and held that route up to this point; but as the sun's strength increased, and our supply of water was failing, I resolved to make for the Carribee Islands, and set sail in that direction; when, by the mercy of God, which He has always extended to me, one of the sailors went up to the main-top and saw to the westward a range of three mountains. Upon this we repeated the "Salve Regina", and other prayers, and all of us gave many thanks to our Lord. I then gave up our northward course, and put in for the land: at the hour of complines we reached a cape, which I called Cape Galea,¹³ having already given to the island the name of Trinidad, and here we found a harbour, which would have been excellent but that there was no good anchorage. We saw houses and people on the spot, and the country around was very beautiful, and as fresh and green as the gardens of Valencia in the month of March. I was disappointed at not being able to put into the harbour, and ran along the coast to the westward. After sailing five leagues I found very good bottom, and anchored. The next day I set sail in the same direction,

nos amostró tierra, é yo la esperaba el Lunes antes, y tuve aquel camino fasta entonces, que en saliendo el sol, por defecto del agua que no tenia, determiné de andar á las Islas de los Caribales, y tomé esa vuelta; y como su alta Magestad haya siempre usado de misericordia conmigo, por accertamiento subió un marinero á la gavia, y vido al Poniente tres montañas juntas: dijimos la Salve Regina y otras prosas, y dimos todos muchas gracias á nuestro Señor, y despues dejé el camino de Septentrion, y volví hácia la tierra, adonde yo llegué á hora de completas á un Cabo á que dije de la Galea despues de haber nombrado á la Isla de la Trinidad, y allí hobera muy buen puerto si fuera fondo, y habia casas y gente, y muy lindas tierras, atan fermosas y verdes como las huertas de Valencia en Marzo. Pesóme cuando no puede entrar en el puerto, y corri la costa de esta tierra del luengo fasta el poniente, y andadas cinco leguas fallé muy buen fondo y surgi, y en el otro dia di la vela á este

¹³ It is now called Cape Galeota, and is the most south-eastern point of the island of Trinidad.

in search of a harbour where I might repair the vessels and take in water, as well as improve the stock of provisions which I had brought out with me. When we had taken in a pipe of water, we proceeded onwards till we reached the cape, and there finding good anchorage and protection from the east wind, I ordered the anchors to be dropped, the water-cask to be repaired, a supply of water and wood to be taken in, and the people to rest themselves from the fatigues which they had endured for so long a time. I gave to this point the name of Sandy Point (Punta del Arenal). All the ground in the neighbourhood was filled with foot-marks of animals, like the impression of the foot of a goat; but although it would have appeared from this circumstance that they were very numerous, only one was seen, and that was dead. On the following day a large canoe came from the eastward, containing twenty-four men, all in the prime of life, and well provided with arms, such as bows, arrows, and wooden shields; they were all, as I have said, young, well-proportioned, and not dark black, but whiter than any other Indians that I had seen,—of very graceful gesture and handsome forms, wearing their hair long and straight, and cut in the

camino buscando puerto para adobar los navíos y tomar agua, y remediar el trigo y los bastimentos que llevaba solamente. Allí tomé una pipa de agua, y con ella anduve ansi hasta llegar al cabo, y allí fallé abrigo de Levante y buen fondo, y así mandé surgir y adobar la vasija y tomar agua y leña, y descendir la gente á descansar de tanto tiempo que andaban penando.

A esta punta llamé del Arenal, y allí se falló toda la tierra follada de unas animalías que tenian la pata como de cabra, y bien que segun parece ser allí haya muchas, no se vido sino una muerta. El dia siguiente vino de hácia oriente una grande canoa con veinte y cuatro hombres, todos mancebos é muy ataviados de armas, arcs y flechas y tablachinas, y ellos, como dije, todos mancebos, de buena disposicion y no negros, salvo mas blancos que otros que haya visto en las Indias, y de muy lindo gesto, y fermosos cuerpos, y los cabellos largos y llanos, cortados á la guisa de Castilla, y traian la

Spanish style. Their heads were bound round with cotton scarfs elaborately worked in colours, which resembled the Moorish head-dresses. Some of these scarfs were worn round the body and used as a covering in lieu of trousers. The natives spoke to us from the canoe while it was yet at a considerable distance, but none of us could understand them; I made signs to them, however, to come nearer to us, and more than two hours were spent in this manner,—but if by any chance they moved a little nearer, they soon pushed off again. I caused basins and other shining objects to be shewn to them to tempt them to come near; and after a long time, they came somewhat nearer than they had hitherto done,—upon which, as I was very anxious to speak with them, and had nothing else to shew them to induce them to approach, I ordered a drum to be played upon the quarter-deck, and some of our young men to dance, believing the Indians would come to see the amusement. No sooner, however, did they perceive the beating of the drum and the dancing, than they all left their oars, and strung their bows, and each man laying hold of his shield, they commenced discharging their arrows at us; upon this, the music and dancing soon ceased,

cabeza atada con un pañuelo de algodón tejido á labores y colores, el cual creía yo que era almaizar. Otro de estos pañuelos traían ceñido é se cobijaban con él en lugar de pañetes. Cuando llegó esta canoa habló de muy lejos, é yo ni otro ninguno no los entendíamos, salvo que yo les mandaba hacer señas que se allegasen, y en esto se pasó mas de dos horas, y si se llegaban un poco luego se desviaban. Yo les hacia mostrar bacines y otras cosas que lucian por enamorarlos porque viniesen, y á cabo de buen rato se allegaron mas que hasta entonces no habian, y yo deseaba mucho haber lengua, y no tenia ya cosa que me pareciese que era de mostrarles para que viniesen; salvo que hice sobir un tamborin en el castillo de popa que tañesen, é unos mancebos que danzasen, creyendo que se allegarian á ver la fiesta; y luego que vieron tañer y danzar todos dejaron los remos y echaron mano á los arcos y los encordaron, y embrazo cada uno su tablachina, y comenzaron á tirarnos flechas:

and I ordered a charge to be made from some of our cross-bows; they then left us, and went rapidly to the other caravel, and placed themselves under its poop. The pilot of that vessel received them courteously, and gave to the man who appeared to be their chief, a coat and hat; and it was then arranged between them, that he should go to speak with him on shore. Upon this the Indians immediately went thither and waited for him; but as he would not go without my permission, he came to my ship in the boat, whereupon the Indians got into their canoe again and went away, and I never saw any more of them or of any of the other inhabitants of the island. When I reached the point of Arenal, I found that the island of Trinidad formed with the land of Gracia¹⁴ a strait of two leagues' width from east to west, and as we had to pass through it to go to the north, we found some strong currents which crossed the strait, and which made a great roaring, so that I concluded there must be a reef of sand or rocks, which would preclude our entrance; and behind this current was another and another, all making

cesó luego el tañer y danzar, y mandé luego sacar unas ballestas, y ellos dejáronme y fueron á mas andar á otra carabela, y de golpe se fueron debajo la popa della, y el piloto entró con ellos, y dió un sayo é un bonete á un hombre principal que le pareció dellos, y quedó concertado que le iria hablar allí en la playa, adonde ellos luego fueron con la canoa esperándole, y él como no quiso ir sin mi licencia, como ellos le vieron venir á la nao con la barca, tornaron á entrar en la canoa é se fueron, é nunca mas los vide ni á otros de esta isla.

Cuando yo llegué á esta punta del Arenal, allí se hace una boca grande de dos leguas de Poniente á Levante, la Isla de la Trinidad con la tierra de Gracia, y que para haber de entrar dentro para pasar al Septentrion habia unos hileros de corrientes que atravesaban aquella boca y traían un rugir muy grande, y creí yo que sería un arrecife de bajos é peñas, por el cual no se podria entrar dentro en ella, y detras de este hilero habia otro y otro que todos

¹⁴ Coast of Cumaná.

a roaring noise like the sound of breakers against the rocks. I anchored there, under the said point of Arenal, outside of the strait, and found the water rush from east to west with as much impetuosity as that of the Guadalquivir at its conflux with the sea; and this continued constantly day and night, so that it appeared to be impossible to move backwards for the current or forwards for the shoals. In the dead of night, while I was on deck, I heard an awful roaring that came from the south towards the ship; I stopped to observe what it might be, and I saw the sea rolling from west to east like a mountain as high as the ship, and approaching by little and little; on the top of this rolling sea came a mighty wave roaring with a frightful noise, and with all this terrific uproar were other conflicting currents, producing, as I have already said, a sound as of breakers upon the rocks.¹⁵ To this day I have a vivid recollection of the dread I then felt, lest the ship might founder under the force of that tremendous sea; but it passed by, and reached the mouth of the before-mentioned passage, where the uproar lasted for a considerable

traian un rugir grande como ola de la mar que va á romper y dar en peñas. Surgí allí á la dicha punta del Arenal, fuera de la dicha boca, y fallé que venia el agua del Oriente fasta el Poniente con tanta furia como hace Guadalquivir en tiempo de avenida, y esto de continuo noche y día, que creí que no podria volver atrás por la corriente, ni ir adelante por los bajos; y en la noche ya muy tarde, estando al bordo de la nao, oí un rugir muy terrible que venia de la parte del Austro hácia la nao, y me paré á mirar, y vi levantando la mar de Poniente á Levante, en manera de una loma tan alta como la nao, y todavia venia hácia mi poco á poco, y encima della venia un filero de corriente que venia rugiendo con muy grande estrépito con aquella furia de aquel rugir que de los otros hileros que yo dije que me parecian ondas de mar que daban en peñas, que hoy en día tengo el miedo en el cuerpo que no me trabucasen la nao cuando llegasen debajo della, y passó y llegó fasta la boca adonde allí se

¹⁵ Produced by the confluence of the Orinoco with the sea. See Rapin, Hist. Phil. vol. iv, p. 272.

time. On the following day I sent out boats to take soundings, and found that in the strait, at the deepest part of the embouchure, there were six or seven fathoms of water, and that there were constant contrary currents, one running inwards, and the other outwards. It pleased the Lord, however, to give us a favourable wind, and I passed through the middle of the strait, after which I recovered my tranquillity. The men happened at this time to draw up some water from the sea, which, strange to say, proved to be fresh. I then sailed northwards till I came to a very high mountain, at about twenty-six leagues from the Punta del Arenal; here two lofty headlands appeared, one towards the east, and forming part of the island of Trinidad,¹⁶ and the other, on the west, being part of the land which I have already called Gracia;¹⁷ we found here a channel still narrower than that of Arenal,¹⁸ with similar currents, and a tremendous roaring of water; the water here also was fresh. Hitherto I had held no communication with any of the people of this country, although I very earnestly desired it; I therefore sailed along the coast westwards, and the further I advanced, the fresher

detuvo grande espacio. Y el otro día siguiente envie las barcas á sondar y fallé en el mas bajo de la boca, que habia seis ó siete brazas de fondo, y de continuo andaban aquellos hileros unos por entrar y otros por salir, y plugo á nuestro Señor de me dar buen viento, y atravesé por esa boca adentro, y luego hallé tranquilidad, y por accertamiento se sacó del agua de la mar y la hallé dulce. Navegué al Septentrion fasta una sierra muy alta, adonde serian veinte y seis leguas de esta punta del Arenal, y allí habia dos cabos de tierra muy alta, el uno de la parte del Oriente, y era de la misma Isla de la Trinidad, y el otro del Occidente de la tierra que dije de Gracia, y allí hacia una boca muy angosta mas que aquella de la punta del Arenal, y allí habia los mismos hileros y aquel rugir fuerte del agua como era en la punta del Arenal, y asimismo allí la mar era agua dulce; y fasta entonces yo no habia habido lengua con ninguna gente de estas tierras, y lo descaba en gran manera, y por esto na-

¹⁶ Point Peña Blanca.

¹⁷ Point Peña.

¹⁸ Boca Grande.

and more wholesome I found the water; and when I had proceeded a considerable distance, I reached a spot where the land appeared to be cultivated. There I anchored, and sent the boats ashore, and the men who went in them found the natives had recently left the place; they also observed that the mountain was covered with monkeys. They came back, and as the coast at that part presented nothing but a chain of mountains, I concluded that further west we should find the land flatter, and consequently in all probability inhabited. Actuated by this thought I weighed anchor, and ran along the coast until we came to the end of the cordillera; I then anchored at the mouth of a river, and we were soon visited by a great number of the inhabitants, who informed us, that the country was called Paria, and that further westward it was more fully peopled. I took four of these natives, and proceeded on my westward voyage; and when I had gone eight leagues further, I found on the other side of a point which I called the Needle,¹⁹ one of the most lovely countries in the world, and very thickly peopled: it

vegué al luengo de la costa de esta tierra hácia el Poniente, y cuanto mas andaba hallaba el agua de la mar mas dulce y mas sabrosa, y andando una gran parte llegué á un lugar donde me parecian las tierras labradas y surgi y envié las barcas á tierra, y fallaron que de fresco se habia ido de allí gente, y fallaron todo el monte cubierto de gatos paules: volviéronse, y como esta fuese sierra me pareció que mas allá al Poniente las tierras eran mas llanas, y que allí seria poblado, y por esto seria poblado, y mandé levantar las anclas y corrí esta costa fasta el cabo de esta sierra, y allí á un rio surgi, y luego vino mucha gente, y me dijeron como llamaron á esta tierra Paria, y que de allí mas al Poniente era mas poblada; tomé dellos cuatro, y despues navegué al Poniente, y andadas ocho leguas mas al Poniente allende una punta á que yo llamé del Aguja: hallé unas tierras las mas hermosas del mundo, y muy pobladas: llegué allí una mañana á hora de tercia, y por ver esta verdura y esta hermosura acordé surgir y ver esta gente, de los cuales luego vinieron en

¹⁹ It is now called Point Alcatraz, or Point Pelican.

was three o'clock in the morning when I reached it, and seeing its verdure and beauty, I resolved to anchor there and communicate with the inhabitants. Some of the natives soon came out to the ship, in canoes, to beg me, in the name of their king, to go on shore; and when they saw that I paid no attention to them, they came to the ship in their canoes in countless numbers, many of them wearing pieces of gold on their breasts, and some with bracelets of pearls on their arms; on seeing which I was much delighted, and made many inquiries with the view of learning where they found them. They informed me, that they were to be procured in their own neighbourhood, and also at a spot to the northward of that place. I would have remained here, but the provisions of corn, and wine, and meats, which I had brought out with so much care, for the people whom I had left behind, were nearly wasted, so that all my anxiety was to get them into a place of safety, and not to stop for any thing. I wished, however, to get some of the pearls that I had seen, and with that view sent the boats on shore. The natives are very numerous, and for the most part handsome in person, and of the same colour as the Indians we had already seen; they

canoas á la nao á rogarme, de partes de su Rey, que descendiese en tierra; é cuando vieron que no curé dellos vinieron á la nao infinitísimos en canoas, y muchos traían piezas de oro al pescuezo, y algunos atados á los brazos algunas perlas: holgué mucho cuando las ví é procuré mucho de saber donde las hallaban, y me dijeron que allí, y de la parte del Norte de aquella tierra.

Quisiera detenerme, mas estos bastimentos, que yo traía, trigo y vino é carne para esta gente que acá esta se me acababan de perder, los cuales hobe allá con tanta fatiga, y por esto yo no buscaba sino á mas andar á venir á poner en ellos cobro, y no me detener para cosa alguna: procuré de haber de aquellas perlas, y envié las barcas á tierra: esta gente es muy mucha, y toda de muy buen parecer, de la misma color que los otros de antes, y muy tratables: la gente nuestra que fue á tierra los hallaron tan convenibles, y los recibieron muy honradamente: dicen que luego que llegaron las barcas

are, moreover, very tractable, and received our men who went on shore most courteously, seeming very well disposed towards us. These men relate, that when the boats reached shore, two of the chiefs, whom they took to be father and son, came forward in advance of the mass of the people, and conducted them to a very large house with façades, and not round and tent-shaped as the other houses were; in this house were many seats, on which they made our men sit down, they themselves sitting on other seats. They then caused bread to be brought, with many kinds of fruits, and various sorts of wine, both white and red, not made of grapes, but apparently produced from different fruits. The most reasonable inference is, that they use maize, which is a plant that bears a spine like an ear of wheat, some of which I took with me from Spain, where it grows abundantly; this they seemed to regard as most excellent, and set a great value upon it. The men remained together at one end of the house, and the women at the other. Great vexation was felt by both parties that they could not understand each other, for they were mutually anxious to make inquiries respecting each other's country. After our men had been entertained at the

á tierra que vinieron dos personas principales cón todo el pueblo, creen que el uno el padre y el otro era su hijo, y los llevaron á una casa muy grande hecha á dos aguas, y no redonda, como tienda de campo, como son estas otras, y allí tenían muchas sillas á donde los hicieron asentar, y otras donde ellos se asentaron; y hicieron traer pan, y de muchas maneras frutas é vino de muchas maneras blanco é tinto, mas no de uvas: debe él de ser de diversas maneras uno de una fruta y otro de otra; y asimismo debe de ser dello de maiz, que es una simiente que hace una espiga como una mazorca de que llevé yo allá, y hay ya mucho en Castilla, y parece que aquel que lo tenía mejor lo traía por mayor excelencia, y lo daba en gran precio: los hombres todos estaban juntos á un cabo de la casa, y las mugeres en otro. Recibieron ambas las partes gran pena porque no se entendían, ellos para preguntar á los otros de nuestra patria, y los nuestros por saber de la suya. E despues que hobieron resce-

house of the elder Indian, the younger took them to his house, and gave them an equally cordial reception; after which they returned to their boats and came on board. I weighed anchor forthwith, for I was hastened by my anxiety to save the provisions which were becoming spoiled, and which I had procured and preserved with so much care and trouble, as well as to attend to my own health, which had been affected by long watching; and although on my former voyage, when I discovered terra firma, I passed thirty-three days without natural rest, and was all that time deprived of sight, yet never were my eyes so much affected or so painful as at this period. These people, as I have already said, are very graceful in form,—tall, and elegant in their movements, wearing their hair very long and smooth, they also bind their heads with handsome worked handkerchiefs, which from a distance look like silk or gauze; others use the same material in a longer form, wound round them so as to cover them like trousers, and this is done by both the men and the women. These people are of a whiter skin than any that I have seen in the Indies. It is the fashion among all classes to wear something at the breast, and on the arms, and many wear

bido colacion allí en casa del mas viejo, los llevó el mozo á la suya, e fizo otro tanto, é despues se pusieron en las barcas é se vinieron á la nao, é yo luego levanté las anclas porque andaba mucho de priesa por remediar los mantenimientos que se me perdian que yo habia habido con tanta fatiga, y tambien por remediarme é mí que habia adolescido por el desvelar de los ojos, que bien quel viage que yo fui á descubrir la tierra firme estuviese treinta y tres dias sin concebir sueño, y estoviese tanto tiempo sin vista, non se me dañaron los ojos, ni se me rompieron de sangre y con tantos dolores como agora.

Esta gente, como ya dije, son todos de muy linda estatura, altos de cuerpos, é de muy lindos gestos, los cabellos muy largos é llanos, y traen las cabezas atadas con unos pañuelos labrados, como ya dije, hermosos, que parecen de lejos de seda y almaizares: otro traen ceñido mas largo que se cobijan con él en lugar de pañetes, así

pieces of gold hanging low on the bosom. Their canoes are larger, lighter, and of better build than those of the islands which I have hitherto seen, and in the middle of each they have a cabin or room, which I found was occupied by the chiefs and their wives. I called this place "Jardines", that is, "the Gardens", for the place and the people corresponded with that appellation. I made many inquiries as to where they found the gold, in reply to which, all of them directed me to an elevated tract of land at no great distance, on the confines of their own country, lying to the westward; but they all advised me not to go there, for fear of being eaten, and at the time, I imagined that by their description they wished to imply, that they were cannibals who dwelt there, but I have since thought it possible, that they meant merely to express, that the country was filled with beasts of prey. I also inquired of them where they obtained the pearls? and in reply to this question likewise, they directed me to the westward, and also to the north, behind the country they occupied. I did not put this information to the test, on account of the provisions, and the weakness of my eyes, and because the

hombres como mugeres. La color de esta gente es mas blanca que otra que haya visto en las Indias; todos traían al pescuezo y á los brazos algo á la guisa de estas tierras, y muchos traían piezas de oro bajo colgado al pescuezo. Las canoas de ellos son muy grandes y de mejor hechura que no son estas otras, y mas livianas, y en el medio de cada una tienen un apartamiento como cámara en que ví que andaban los principales con sus mugeres. Llamé allí á este lugar Jardines, porque así conforman por el nombre. Procuré mucho de saber donde cogian aquel oro, y todos me aseñalan una tierra frontera dellos al Poniente, que era muy alta, mas no lejos; mas todos me decian que no fuese allá porque allí comian los hombres, y entendí entonces que decian que eran hombres caribales, é que serian como los otros, y despues he pensado que podria ser que lo decian porque allí habria animalias. Tambien les pregunté adonde cogian las perlas, y me señalaron tambien que al Poniente, y al Norte detrás de esta tierra donde estaban. Dejélo de probar por

large ship that I had with me was not calculated for such an undertaking. The short time that I spent with them was all passed in putting questions; and at evening, as I have already said, we returned to the ships, upon which I weighed anchor and sailed to the westward. I proceeded onwards on the following day, until I found that we were only in three fathoms water; at this time I was still under the idea that it was but an island, and that I should be able to make my exit by the north. Upon which I sent a light caravel in advance of us, to see whether there was any exit, or whether the passage was closed; the caravel proceeded a great distance, until it reached a very large gulf, in which there appeared to be four smaller gulfs, from one of which debouched a large river; they invariably found ground at five fathoms, and a great quantity of very fresh water, indeed, I never tasted any equal to it. I felt great anxiety when I found that I could make no exit, either by the north, south, or west, but that I was enclosed on all three sides by land; I therefore weighed anchor, and sailed in a backward direction, with the hope of finding a passage to the north by the strait, which I have al-

esto de los mantenimientos, y del mal de mis ojos, y por una nao grande que traigo que no es para semejante hecho.

Y como el tiempo fue breve se pasó todo en preguntas, y se volvieron á los navios, que seria hora de visperas, como ya dije, y luego levanté las anclas y navegué al Poniente; y asimesmo el dia siguiente fasta que me fallé que no habia si non tres brazas de fondo, con creencia que todavía esta seria isla, y que yo podria salir al Norte; y así visto envié una carabela sotil adelante á ver si habia salida ó si estaba cerrado, y así anduvo mucho camino fasta un golfo muy grande en el cual parecia que habia otros quatro medianos, y del uno salia un rio grandísimo: fallaron siempre cinco brazas de fondo y el agua muy dulce, en tanta cantidad que yo jamas bebíla pareja della. Fui yo muy descontento della cuando ví que no podia salir al Norte ni podia andar ya al Austro ni al Poniente porque yo estaba cercado por todas partes de la tierra, y así levanté las anclas, y torne atrás para salir al Norte por la boca que yo arriba dije, y

ready described ; but I could not return along the inhabited part where I had already been, on account of the currents, which drove me entirely out of my course. But constantly, at every headland, I found the water sweet and clear, and we were carried eastwards very powerfully towards the two straits already mentioned ; I then conjectured, that the currents and the overwhelming mountains of water which rushed into these straits with such an awful roaring, arose from the contest between the fresh water and the sea. The fresh water struggled with the salt to oppose its entrance, and the salt contended against the fresh in its efforts to gain a passage outwards. And I formed the conjecture, that at one time there was a continuous neck of land from the island of Trinidad and with the land of Garcia, where the two straits now are, as your Highnesses will see, by the drawing which accompanies this letter. I passed out by this northern strait, and found the fresh water come even there ; and when, by the aid of the wind, I was enabled to proceed, I remarked, while on one of the watery billows which I have described, that in the channel, the water on the inner side of the current was fresh, and on the outside salt.

no pude volver por la poblacion adonde yo habia estado, por causa de las corrientes que me habian desviado della, y siempre en todo cabo hallaba el agua dulce y clara, y que me llevaba al Oriente muy recio hacia las dos bocas que arriba dije, y entonces conjeture que los hilos de la corriente, y aquellas lomas que salian y entraban en estas bocas con aquel rugir tan fuerte que era pelea del agua dulce con la salada. La dulce empujaba á la otra porque no entrase, y la salada porque la otra no saliese ; y conjeturé que allí donde son estas dos bocas que algun tiempo seria tierra continua á la Isla de la Trinidad con la tierra de Gracia, como podrán ver vuestras Altezas por la pintura de lo que con esta les envío. Salí yo por esta boca del Norte y hallé quel agua dulce siempre vencía, y cuando pasé, que fue con fuerza de viento, estando en una de aquellas lomas, hallé en aquellos hilos de la parte de dentro el agua dulce, y de fuera salada.

When I sailed from Spain to the Indies, I found, that as soon as I had passed a hundred leagues westward of the Azores, there was a very great change in the sky and the stars, in the temperature of the air, and in the water of the sea ; and I have been very diligent in observing these things. I remarked, that from north to south, in traversing these hundred leagues from the said islands, the needle of the compass, which hitherto had turned towards the north-east, turned a full quarter of the wind to the north-west, and this took place from the time when we reached that line. At the same time an appearance was presented, as if the sea shore had been transplanted thither, for we found the sea covered all over with a sort of weed, resembling pine branches, and with fruits like that of the mastic tree, so thick, that on my first voyage I thought it was a reef, and that the ships could not avoid running aground ; but until I reached this line, I did not meet with a single bough. I also observed, that at this point the sea was very smooth, and that though the wind was rough, the ships never rolled. I likewise found, that within the same line, towards the west, the temperature was always mild, and that it did not vary summer or winter.

Cuando yo navegué de España á las Indias fallo luego en pasando cien leguas á Poniente de los Azores grandísimo mudamiento en el cielo é en las estrellas, y en la temperancia del aire, y en las aguas de la mar, y en esto he tenido mucha diligencia en la experiencia.

Fallo que de Septentrion en Austro, pasando las dichas cien leguas de las dichas islas, que luego en las agujas de marear, que fasta entonces nordesteaban, noruestean una cuarta de viento todo entero, y esto es en allegando allí á aquella línea, como quien traspone una cuesta, asimesmo fallo la mar toda llena de yerba de una calidad que parece ramitos de pino y muy cargada de fruta como de lantisco, y es tan espesa que al primer viage pensé que era bajo, y que daría en seco con los navíos, y hasta llegar con esta raya no se falla un solo ramito : fallo tambien en llegando allí la muy suave y llana, y bien que vente recio nunca se levanta. Asimismo hallo dentro de la dicha raya hacia Poniente la temperancia del cielo muy suave. v

While I was there, I observed that the north star described a circle five degrees in diameter; that when its satellites²⁰ are on the right side, then the star was at its lowest point, and from this point it continues rising until it reaches the left side, where it is also at five degrees, and then again it sinks until it at length returns to the right side. In this voyage I proceeded immediately from Spain to the island of Madeira, thence to the Canaries, and then to the Cape Verde isles, and from the Cape Verde isles I sailed southwards, even below the equinoctial line, as I have already described. When I reached the parallel of Sierra Leone, in Guinea, I found the heat so intense, and the rays of the sun so fierce, that I thought that we should have been burnt; and although it rained and the sky was heavy with clouds, I still suffered the same oppression, until our Lord was pleased to grant me a favourable wind, giving me an opportunity of sailing to the west, so that I reached a latitude where I experienced, as I have already said, a change in the temperature. Immediately upon my reaching this line, the temperature of the sky became very mild, and the more I advanced, the more this mildness in-

no discrepa de la cantidad quier sea invierno, quier sea en verano. Cuando allí estoy hallo que la estrella del Norte escribe un círculo el cual tiene en el diámetro cinco grados, y estando las guardas en el brazo derecho entonces está la estrella en el mas bajo, y se vá alzando fasta que llega al brazo izquierdo, y entonces está cinco grados, y de allí se vá abajando fasta llegar á volver otra vez al brazo derecho.

Yo allegué agora de España á la Isla de la Madera, y de allí á Canaria, y dende á las Islas de Cabo Verde, de adonde cometí el viage para navegar al Austro fasta debajo la linea equinocial, como ya dije: allegado á estar en derecho con el paralelo que pasa por la Sierra Leoa en Guinea, fallo tan grande ardor, y los rayos del sol tan calientes que pensaba de quemar, y bien que lloviese y el cielo fuese muy turbado siempre yo estaba en esta fatiga, fasta que nuestro Señor proveyó de buen viento y á mi puso en voluntad que yo

²⁰ He doubtless alludes to the constellation of Ursa Minor.

creased; but I did not find the positions of the stars correspond with these effects. I remarked at this place, that when night came on, the polar star was five degrees high, and then the satellites were over head; afterwards, at midnight, I found the north star elevated ten degrees, and when morning was advancing, the satellites were fifteen feet below. I found the smoothness of the sea continue, but not so the weeds; as to the polar star, I watched it with great wonder, and devoted many nights to a careful examination of it with the quadrant, and I always found that the lead and line fell to the same point. I look upon this as something new, and I think my opinion will be supported by that of others, that it is a short distance for so great a change to take place in the temperature. I have always read, that the world comprising the land and the water was spherical, as is testified by the investigations of Ptolemy, and others, who have proved it by the eclipses of the moon, and other observations made from east to west, as well as by the elevation of the pole from north to south. But I have now seen so much irregularity, as I have

navegase al Occidente con este esfuerzo, que en llegando á la raya de que yo dije que allí fallaria mudamiento en la temperancia. Despues que yo emparejé á estar en derecho de esta raya luego falle la temperancia del cielo muy suave, y quanto mas andaba adelante mas multiplicaba; mas no hallé conforme á esto las estrellas.

Fallé allí que en anocheciendo tenia yo la estrella del Norte alta cinco grados, y entonces las guardas estaban encima de la cabeza, y despues á la media noche fallaba la estrella alta diez grados, y en amaneciendo que las guardas estaban en los pies quince.

La suavidad de la mar fallé conforme, mas no en la yerba: en esto de la estrella del Norte tomé grande admiracion, y por esto muchas noches con mucha diligencia tornaba yo á repricar la vista della con el cuadrante, y siempre fallé que caía el plomo y hilo á un punto.

Por cosa nueva tengo yo esto, y podrá ser que será tenida que en poco espacio haga tanta diferencia el cielo.

Yo siempre lei que el mundo, tierra é agua era esférico é las au-

already described, that I have come to another conclusion respecting the earth, namely, that it is not round as they describe, but of the form of a pear, which is very round except where the stalk grows, at which part it is most prominent; or like a round ball, upon one part of which is a prominence like a woman's nipple, this protrusion being the highest and nearest the sky, situated under the equinoctial line, and at the eastern extremity of this sea,—I call that the eastern extremity, where the land and the islands end. In confirmation of my opinion, I revert to the arguments which I have above detailed respecting the line, which passes from north to south, a hundred leagues westward of the Azores; for in sailing thence westward, the ships went on rising smoothly towards the sky, and then the weather was felt to be milder, on account of which mildness, the needle shifted one point of the compass; the further we went, the more the needle moved to the north-west, this elevation producing the variation of the circle, which the north star describes with its satellites; and the nearer I approached the equinoctial line,

toridades y esperencias que Tolomeo y todos los otros escribieron de este sitio, daban é amostraban para ello así por eclipses de la luna y otras demostraciones que hacen de Oriente fasta Occidente, como de la elevacion del polo de Septentrion en Austro. Agora ví tanta disformidad, como ya dije, y por esto me puse á tener esto del mundo, y fallé que no era redondo en la forma que escriben; salvo que es de la forma de una pera que sea toda muy redonda, salvo allí donde tiene el pezon que allí tiene mas alto, ó como quien tiene una pelota muy redonda, y en un lugar della fuese como una teta de muger allí puesta, y que esta parte deste pezon sea la mas alta é mas propinca al cielo, y sea debajo la línea equinocial, y en esta mar Océana en fin del Oriente, llamo yo fin de Oriente, adonde acaba toda la tierra é islas, é para esto allego todas las razones sobre-escriptas de la raya que pasa al Occidente delas islas de los Azores

the more they rose, and the greater was the difference between these stars and their circles. Ptolemy and the other philosophers, who have written upon the globe, thought that it was spherical, believing that this hemisphere was round as well as that in which they themselves dwelt, the centre of which was in the island of Arin,²¹ which is under the equinoctial line between the Arabian Gulf and the Gulf of Persia; and the circle passes over Cape St. Vincent, in Portugal, westward, and eastward, by Cangara and the Seras,²² in which hemisphere I make no difficulty as to its being a perfect sphere as they describe; but this western half of the world, I maintain, is like the half of a very round pear, having a raised projection for the stalk, as I have already described, or like a woman's nipple on a round ball. Ptolemy and the others who have written upon the globe, had no information respecting this part of the world, which was then unexplored; they only established their arguments with respect to their own hemisphere, which, as I have already said, is half of a

el aguja del marear por causa de la suavidad desa cuarta de viento, y quanto mas va adelante é alzándose mas noruestea, y esta altura causa el desvariar del circulo que escribe la estrella del Norte con las guardas, y quanto mas pasare junto con la línea equinocial, mas se subirán en alto, y mas diferencia habrá en las dichas estrellas, y en los circulos dellas. Y Tolomeo y los otros sabios que escribieron de este mundo, creyeron que era esférico, creyendo queste hemisferio que fuese redondo como aquel de allá donde ellos estaban, el cual tiene el centro en la Isla de Arin, qués debajo la linea equinocial entre el sino Arabico y aquel de Persia, y el circulo pasa sobre el Cabo de S. Vicente en Portugal por el Poniente, y pasa en Oriente por Cangara y por las Seras, en el cual hemisferio no hago yo que hay ninguna dificultad, salvo que sea esférico redondo como ellos dicen: mas este otro digo que es como sería la mitad de la pera bien redonda, la cual toviere el pezon alto como yo dije, ó como una teta de muger en una pelota redonda, así que desta media parte non

perfect sphere. And now that your Highnesses have commissioned me to make this voyage of discovery, the truths which I have stated are evidently proved, because in this voyage, when I was off the island of Hargin,²³ and its vicinity, which is twenty degrees to the north of the equinoctial line, I found the people are black, and the land very much burnt; and when after that I went to the Cape Verde islands, I found the people there much darker still, and the more southward we went, the more they approach the extreme of blackness; so that when I reached the parallel of Sierra Leone, where, as night came on, the north star rose five degrees, the people there were excessively black; and as I sailed westward, the heat became extreme. But after I had passed the meridian, or line which I have already described, I found the climate become gradually more temperate; so that when I reached the island of Trinidad, where the north star rose five degrees as night came on, there, and in the land of Gracia, I found the temperature exceedingly mild; the fields and the foliage likewise were remarkably fresh and green, and as beautiful as the

ser muy ignoto; solamente hicieron raiz sobre el hemisferio, adonde ellos estaban ques redondo esférico, como arriba dije. Y agora que vuestras Altezas lo han mandado navegar y buscar y descubrir, se amuestra evidentísimo, porque estando yo en este viage al Septentrion veinte grados de la linea equinocial, allí era en derecho de Hargin, é de aquellas tierras: é allí es la gente negra é la tierra muy quemada, y despues que fuí á las Islas de Cabo Verde, allí en aquellas tierras es la gente mucho mas negra, y cuanto mas bajo se van al Austro tanto mas llegan al extremo, en manera que allí en derecho donde yo estaba, qués la Sierra Leoa, adonde se me alzaba la estrella del Norte en anocheciendo cinco grados, allí es la gente negra en extrema cantidad, y despues que de allí navegue al Occidente tan extremos calores; y pasada la raya de que yo dije fallé multiplicar la temperancia, andando en tanta cantidad que cuando yo llegué á la isla de la Trinidad, adonde la estrella del Norte en anocheciendo tambien se me alzaba cinco grados, allí y

²³ Arguin, off the west coast of Africa.

gardens of Valencia in April. The people there are very graceful in form, less dark than those whom I had before seen in the Indies, and wear their hair long and smooth; they are also more shrewd, intelligent, and courageous. The sun was then in the sign of Virgo, over our heads and theirs; therefore, all this must proceed from the extreme blandness of the temperature, which arises, as I have said, from this country being the most elevated in the world, and the nearest to the sky. On these grounds, therefore, I affirm, that the globe is not spherical, but that there is the difference in its form which I have described; the which is to be found in this hemisphere, at the point where the Indies meet the ocean, the extremity of the hemisphere being below the equinoctial line. And a great confirmation of this is, that when our Lord made the sun, the first light appeared in the first point of the east, where the most elevated point of the globe is; and although it was the opinion of Aristotle, that the antarctic pole, or the land which is below it, was the highest part of the world, and the nearest to the heavens, other philosophers oppose him, and say, that the highest part was below

en la tierra de Gracia hallé temperancia suavísima, y las tierras y árboles muy verdes, y tan hermosos como en Abril en las huertas de Valencia; y la gente de allí de muy linda estatura, y blancos mas que otros que haya visto en las Indias, é los cabellos muy largos é llanos, é gente mas astuta é de mayor ingenio, é no cobardes. Entonces era el sol en Virgen encima de nuestras cabezas é suyas, así que todo esto procede por la suavísima temperancia que allí es, la cual procede por estar mas alto en el mundo mas cerca del aire que cuento; y así me afirmo quel mundo no es esférico, salvo que tiene esta diferencia que ya dije: la cual es en este hemisferio adonde caen las Indias é la mar Oceana, y el extremo dello es debajo la linea equinocial, y ayuda mucho á esto que sea así, porque el sol cuando nuestro Señor lo hizo fue en el primer punto de Oriente, ó la primera luz fue aquí en Oriente, allí donde es el extremo de la altura deste mundo; y bien quel parecer de Aristotel fuese que el Polo antártico ó la tierra ques debajo dél sea la mas alta parte en el

the arctic pole, by which reasoning it appears, that they understood, that one part of the world ought to be loftier, and nearer the sky, than the other; but it never struck them that it might be under the equinoctial, in the way that I have said, which is not to be wondered at, because they had no certain knowledge respecting this hemisphere, but merely vague suppositions, for no one has ever gone or been sent to investigate the matter, until your Highnesses sent me to explore both the sea and the land. I found that between the two straits, which, as I have said, face each other in a line from north to south, is a distance of twenty-six leagues; and there can be no mistake in this calculation, because it was made with the quadrant. I also find, that from these two straits on the west up to the above-mentioned gulf, to which I gave the name of the Gulf of Pearls,²⁴ there are sixty-eight leagues of four miles to the league, which is the reckoning we are accustomed to make at sea; from this gulf the water runs constantly with great impetuosity towards the east, and this is the cause why, in these two straits, there is so fierce a tur-

mundo, y mas propincua al cielo, otros sabios le impugnan diciendo que es esta ques debajo del ártico, por las cuales razones parece que entendian que una parte deste mundo debia de ser mas propincua y noble al cielo que otra, y no cayeron en esto que sea debajo del equinocial por la forma que ye dijo, y no es maravilla porque deste hemisferio non se hobiese noticia cierta, salvo muy liviana y por argumento, porque nadie nunca lo ha andado ni enviado á buscar, hasta agora que vuestras Altezas le mandaron explorar é descubrir la mar y la tierra.

Fallo que de allí de estas dos bocas, las cuales como yo dije estan frontero por linea de Septentrion en Austro, que haya de la una á la otra veinte y seis leguas, y no pudo haber en ello yerro porque se midieron con cuadrante, y destas dos bocas de occidente fasta el golfo que yo dije, al cual llamé de las Perlas, que son sesenta é ocho leguas de cuatro millas dada una como acostumbramos en la mar, y que de allá de este golfo corre de continuo el agua muy fuerte

²⁴ The innermost gulf within the Gulf of Paria.

moil from the fresh water encountering the water of the sea. In the southern strait, which I named the Serpent's Mouth, I found that towards evening the polar star was nearly at five degrees elevation; and in the northern, which I called the Dragon's Mouth, it was at an elevation of nearly seven degrees. The before-mentioned Gulf of Pearls is to the west of the²⁵ of Ptolemy, nearly three thousand nine hundred miles, which make nearly seventy equinoctial degrees, reckoning fifty-six miles and two thirds to a degree. The Holy Scriptures record, that our Lord made the earthly paradise, and planted in it the tree of life, and thence springs a fountain from which the four principal rivers in the world take their source; namely, the Ganges in India, the Tigris, and Euphrates in²⁶ which rivers divide a chain of mountains, and forming Mesopotamia, flow thence into Persia,—and the Nile, which rises in Ethiopia, and falls into the sea at Alexandria.

hácia el oriente; y que por esto tienen aquel combate estas dos bocas con la salada. En esta boca de Austro, á que yo llamé de la Sierpe, fallé en anocheciendo que yo tenia la estrella del Norte alta cuasi cinco grados, y en aquella otra del Septentrion, á que yo llamé del Drago, eran cuasi siete, y fallo quel dicho Golfo de las Perlas está occidental al Occidente de el de Tolomeo cuasi tres mil é novecientas millas, que son cuasi setenta grados equinociales, contando por cada uno cincuenta y seis millas é dos tercios.

La Sacra Escriptura testifica que nuestro Señor hizo al Paraíso terrenal, y en él puso el Arbol de la vida, y del sale una fuente de donde resultan en este mundo cuatro rios principales: Ganges en India, Tigris y Eufrates en los cuales apartan la sierra y hacen la Mesopotamia y van á tener en Persia, y el Nilo que nace en Etiopa y va en la mar en Alejandría.

²⁵ A similar gap in the original. In all probability "first meridian" or some such words, are omitted.

²⁶ A similar gap in the original, which would seem to want the words "Asiatic Turkey."

I do not find, nor have ever found, any account by the Romans or Greeks, which fixes in a positive manner the site of the terrestrial paradise, neither have I seen it given in any *mappe-monde*, laid down from authentic sources. Some placed it in Ethiopia, at the sources of the Nile, but others, traversing all these countries, found neither the temperature nor the altitude of the sun correspond with their ideas respecting it; nor did it appear that the overwhelming waters of the deluge had been there. Some pagans pretended to adduce arguments to establish that it was in the Fortunate Islands, now called the Canaries, etc.

St. Isidore, Bede, Strabo,²⁷ and the master of scholastic history,²⁸ with St. Ambrose, and Scotus, and all the learned theologians, agree that the earthly paradise is in the east, etc.

I have already described my ideas concerning this hemisphere and its form, and I have no doubt, that if I could pass below the equinoctial line, after reaching the highest point of which I have spoken, I should find a much milder

Yo no hallo ni jamas he hallado escriptura de Latinos ni de Griegos que certificadamente diga el sitio en este mundo del Paraiso terrenal, ni visto en ningun mapamundo, salvo, situado con autoridad de argumento. Algunos le ponian allí donde son las fuentes del Nilo en Etiopia; mas otros anduvieron todas estas tierras y no hallaron conformidad dello en la temperancia del cielo, en la altura hácia el cielo, porque se pudiese comprehender que el era allí, ni que las aguas del diluvio hobiesen llegado allí, las cuales subieron encima, &c. Algunos gentiles quisieron decir por argumentos, que el era en las islas Fortunatas que son las Canarias, &c.

S. Isidro y Beda y Strabo, y el Maestro de la historia escolástica, y San Ambrosio, y Scoto, y todos los sanos teólogos conciertan quel Paraiso terrenal es en el Oriente, &c.

Ya dije lo que yo hallaba deste hemisferio y de la hechura, y creo que si yo pasara por debajo de la línea equinocial que en llegando allí en esto mas alto que fallara muy mayor temperancia,

²⁷ Walafried Strabus, Abbé of Reichenau, in Baden.

²⁸ Petrus Comestor, who wrote the "Historia Scholastica."

temperature, and a variation in the stars and in the water; not that I suppose that elevated point to be navigable, nor even that there is water there; indeed, I believe it is impossible to ascend thither, because I am convinced that it is the spot of the earthly paradise, whither no one can go but by God's permission; but this land which your Highnesses have now sent me to explore, is very extensive, and I think there are many other countries in the south, of which the world has never had any knowledge.

I do not suppose that the earthly paradise is in the form of a rugged mountain, as the descriptions of it have made it appear, but that it is on the summit of the spot, which I have described as being in the form of the stalk of a pear; the approach to it from a distance must be by a constant and gradual ascent; but I believe that, as I have already said, no one could ever reach the top; I think also, that the water I have described may proceed from it, though it be far off, and that stopping at the place which I have just left, it forms this lake. There are great indications of this being the terrestrial paradise, for its site coincides with the opinion of the holy and wise theologians whom I have mentioned;

y diversidad en las estrellas y en las aguas; no porque yo crea que allí donde es el altura del extremo sea navegable ni agua, ni que se pueda subir allá, porque creo que allí es el Paraiso terrenal adonde no puede llegar nadie, salvo por voluntad Divina; y creo que esta tierra que agora mandaron descubrir vuestras Altezas sea grandísima y haya otras muchas en el Austro de que jamas se hobo noticia.

Yo no tomo quel Paraiso terrenal sea en forma de montaña aspera como el escrebir dello nos amuestra, salvo quel sea en el colmo allí donde dije la figura del pezon de la pera, y que poco á poco andando hácia allí desde muy lejos se va subiendo á él; y creo que nadie no podria llegar al colmo como yo dije, y creo que pueda salir de allí esa agua, bien que sea lejos y venga á parar allí donde yo vengo, y faga este lago. Grandes indicios son estos del Paraiso terrenal, porquel sitio es conforme á la opinion de estos santos é

and moreover, the other evidences agree with the supposition, for I have never either read or heard of fresh water coming in so large a quantity, in close conjunction with the water of the sea; the idea is also corroborated by the blandness of the temperature; and if the water of which I speak, does not proceed from the earthly paradise, it appears to be still more marvellous, for I do not believe that there is any river in the world so large or so deep.

When I left the Dragon's Mouth, which is the northernmost of the two straits which I have described, and which I so named on the day of our Lady of August, I found that the sea ran so strongly to the westward, that between the hour of mass, when I weighed anchor, and the hour of complines, I made sixty-five leagues of four miles each; and not only was the wind not violent, but on the contrary very gentle, which confirmed me in the conclusion, that in sailing southward, there is a continuous ascent, while there is a corresponding descent towards the north.

I hold it for certain, that the waters of the sea move from east to west with the sky, and that in passing this track, they

sanos teólogos, y asimismo las señales son muy conformes, que yo jamas lei ni oí que tanta cantidad de agua dulce fuese así adentro é vecina con la salada; y en ello ayuda asimismo la suavisima temperancia, y si de allí del Paraiso no sale, parece aun mayor maravilla, porque no creo que se sepa en el mundo de rio tan grande y tan fondo.

Despues que yo salí de la boca del Dragon, ques la una de las dos aquella del Septentrion, á la cual así puse nombre, el dia siguiente, que fue dia de Nuestra Señora de Agosto, fallé que corria tanto la mar al Poniente, que despues de hora de misa que entré en camino, anduve fasta hora de completas sesenta y cinco leguas de cuatro millas cada una, y el viento no era demasiado, salvo muy suave; y esto ayuda el cognoscimiento que de allí yendo al Austro se va mas alto, y andando hácia el Septentrion, como entonces, se va descendiendo.

Muy conocido tengo que las aguas de la mar llevan su curso de

hold a more rapid course, and have thus carried away large tracts of land, and that from hence has resulted this great number of islands; indeed, these islands themselves afford an additional proof of it, for all of them, without exception, run lengthwise from west to east, and from the north west to the south east, which is in a directly contrary direction to the said winds; furthermore, that these islands should possess the most costly productions, is to be accounted for by the mild temperature, which comes to them from heaven, since these are the most elevated parts of the world. It is true, that in some parts, the waters do not appear to take this course, but this occurs in certain spots, where they are obstructed by land, and hence they appear to take different directions.

Pliny writes that the sea and land together form a sphere, but that the ocean forms the greatest mass, and lies uppermost, while the earth is below and supports the ocean, and that the two afford a mutual support to each other, as the kernel of a nut is confined by its shell. The master of scholastic history, in commenting upon Genesis, says, that the waters are not very extensive; and that although

Oriente á Occidente con los cielos, y que allí en esta comarca cuando pasan llevan mas veloce camino, y por esto han comido tanta parte de la tierra, porque por eso son acá tantas islas, y ellas mismas hacen desto testimonio, porque todas á una mano son largas de Poniente á Levante, y Norueste é Sueste ques un poco mas alto é bajo, y angostas de Norte á Sur, y Nordeste Sudueste, que son en contrario de los otros dichos vientos, y aquí en ellas todas nacen cosas preciosas por la suave temperancia que les procede del cielo por estar hácia el mas alto del mundo. Verdad es que parece en algunos lugares que las aguas no hagan este curso; mas esto no es, salvo particularmente en algunos lugares donde alguna tierra le está al encuentro, y hace parecer que andan diversos caminos.

Plinio escribe que la mar é la tierra hace todo una esfera, y pone questa mar Oceana sea la mayor cantidad del agua, y está hácia el cielo, y que la tierra sea debajo y que le sostenga, y mezclado es uno con otro como el amago de la nuez con una tela gorda que va abra-

when they were first created they covered the earth, they were yet vaporous like a cloud, and that afterwards they became condensed, and occupied but small space, and in this notion Nicolas de Lira agrees. Aristotle says that the world is small, and the water very limited in extent, and that it is easy to pass from Spain to the Indies; and this is confirmed by Avenruyz,²⁹ and by the Cardinal Pedro de Aliaco, who, in supporting this opinion, shows that it agrees with that of Seneca, and says that Aristotle had been enabled to gain information respecting the world by means of Alexander the Great, and Seneca by means of Nero, and Pliny through the Romans; all of them having expended large sums of money, and employed a vast number of people, in diligent inquiry concerning the secrets of the world, and in spreading abroad the knowledge thus obtained. The said cardinal allows to these writers greater authority than to Ptolemy, and other Greeks and Arabs; and in confirmation of their opinion concerning the small quantity of water on the surface of the globe,

zado en ello. El Maestro de la Historia escolástica sobre el Genesis dice que las aguas son muy pocas, que bien que cuando fueron criadas que cobijasen toda la tierra que entonces eran vaporables en manera de niebla, y que despues que fueron sólidas é juntadas que ocuparon muy poco lugar, y en esto concierta Nicolao de Lira. El Aristotel dice que este mundo es pequeño y es el agua muy poca, y que facilmente se puede pasar de España á las Indias, y esto confirma el Avenruyz y le alega el Cardenal Pedro de Aliaco, autorizando este decir y aquel de Séneca, el cual conforma con estos diciendo que Aristoteles pudo saber muchos secretos del mundo á causa de Alejandro Magno, y Séneca á causa de Cesar Nero y Plinio por respecto de los Romanos, los cuales todos gastaron dineros é gente, y pusieron mucha diligencia en saber los secretos del mundo y darlos á entender á los pueblos; el cual Cardenal da á estos grande autoridad mas que á Tolomeo ni á otros Griegos ni Arabes, y á confirmacion de decir quel agua sea poca y quel cubi-

²⁹ Averrhóes, an Arabian philosopher of the twelfth century.

and the limited amount of land covered by that water, in comparison of what had been related on the authority of Ptolemy and his disciples, he finds a passage in the third book of Esdras, where that sacred writer says, that of seven parts of the world six are discovered, and the other is covered with water. The authority of the third and fourth books of Esdras is also confirmed by holy persons, such as St. Augustin, and St. Ambrose in his *Exameron*, where he says,—“Here my son Jesus shall first come, and here my son Christ shall die!” These holy men say that Esdras was a prophet as well as Zacharias, the father of St. John, and *El Braso*³⁰ Simon; authorities which are also quoted by Francis de Mairones.³¹ With respect to the dryness of the land, experience has shown that it is greater than is commonly believed; and this is no wonder, for the further one goes the more one learns. I now return to my subject of the land of Gracia, and of the river and lake found there, which latter might more properly be called a sea; for a lake is but a small expanse of water, which,

erto del mundo della sea poco, al respecto de lo que se decia por autoridad de Tolomeo y de sus secuaces: á esto trae una autoridad de Esdras del 3º. libro suyo, adonde dice que de siete partes del mundo las seis son descubiertas y la una es cubierta de agua, la cual autoridad es aprobada por Santos, los cuales dan autoridad al 3º. é 4º. libro de Esdras, así como es S. Agustin é S. Ambrosio en su exameron, adonde alega allí vendrá mi hijo Jesus é morira mi hijo Cristo, y dicen que Esdrás fue Profeta, y asimismo Zacarías, padre de S. Juan, y el braso Simon; las cuales autoridades tambien alega Francisco de Mairones: en cuanto en esto del enjuto de la tierra mucho se ha experimentado ques mucho mas de lo quel vulgo crea; y no es maravilla, porque andando mas mas se sabe.

Torno á mi propósito de la tierra de Gracia y rio y lago que allí fallé, atan grande que mas se le puede llamar mar que lago, porque

³⁰ This expression is described by the ancient copyist of the letter as being “badly written.”

³¹ A Scotist of the fourteenth century, surnamed “Doctor illuminatus et acutus.”

when it becomes great, deserves the name of a sea, just as we speak of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea; and I think that if the river mentioned does not proceed from the terrestrial paradise, it comes from an immense tract of land situated in the south, of which no knowledge has been hitherto obtained. But the more I reason on the subject, the more satisfied I become that the terrestrial paradise is situated in the spot I have described; and I ground my opinion upon the arguments and authorities already quoted. May it please the Lord to grant your Highnesses a long life, and health and peace to follow out so noble an investigation; in which I think our Lord will receive great service, Spain considerable increase of its greatness, and all Christians much consolation and pleasure, because by this means the name of our Lord will be published abroad.

In all the countries visited by your Highnesses' ships, I have caused a high cross to be fixed upon every headland, and have proclaimed, to every nation that I have discovered, the lofty estate of your Highnesses, and of your court in Spain. I also tell them all I can respecting our holy faith and of the belief in the holy mother Church, which has its members in

lago es lugar de agua, y en seyendo grande se dice mar, como se dijo á la mar de Galilea y al mar Muerto, y digo que sino procede del Paraíso terrenal que viene este río y procede de tierra infinita pues al Austro, de la cual fasta agora no se ha habido noticia, mas yo muy asentado tengo en el anima que allí adonde dije es el Paraíso terrenal, y descanso sobre las razones y autoridades sobre-escriptas.

Plega á nuestro Señor de dar mucha vida y salud y descanso á vuestras Altezas para que puedan proseguir esta tan noble empresa, en la cual me parece que rescibe nuestro Señor mucho servicio, y la España crece de mucha grandeza, y todos los Cristianos mucha consolacion y placer, porque aquí se divulgará el nombre de nuestro Señor; y en todas las tierras adonde los navíos de vuestras Altezas van, y en todo cabo mando plantar una alta cruz, y á toda la gente que hallo notifico el estado de vuestras Altezas y como su asiento es en España, y les digo de nuestra santa fe todo lo que yo puedo, y

all the world; and I speak to them also of the courtesy and nobleness of all Christians, and of the faith they have in the Holy Trinity. May it please the Lord to forgive those who have calumniated and still calumniate this excellent enterprise, and oppose and have opposed its advancement, without considering how much glory and greatness will accrue from it to your Highnesses throughout all the world. They cannot state anything in disparagement of it, except its expense, and that I have not immediately sent back the ships loaded with gold. They speak this without considering the shortness of the time, and how many difficulties there are to contend with; and that every year there are individuals who singly earn by their deserts out of your Majesties' own household, more revenue than would cover the whole of this expense. Nor do they remember that the princes of Spain have never gained possession of any land out of their own country, until now that your Highnesses have become the masters of another world, where our holy faith may become so much increased, and whence such stores of wealth may be derived; for although we have not sent home ships laden with gold, we have, nevertheless,

de la creencia de la Santa Madre Iglesia, la cual tiene sus miembros en todo el mundo, y les digo la policia y nobleza de todos los Cristianos, y la fe que en la Santa Trinidad tienen; y plega á nuestro Señor de tirar de memoria á las personas que han impugnado y impugnan tan excelente empresa, y impiden y impidieron porque no vaya adelante, sin considerar cuanta honra y grandeza es del Real Estado da vuestras Altezas en todo el mundo; no saben que entroponer á maldecir de esto, salvo que se hace gasto en ello, y porque luego no enviaron los navíos cargados de oro sin considerar la brevedad del tiempo y tantos inconvenientes como acá se han habido, y no considerar que en Castilla en casa de vuestras Altezas salen cada año personas que por su merecimiento ganaron en ella mas de renta cada uno dellos mas de lo que es necesario que se gaste en esto; ansimesmo sin considerar que ningunos Principes de España jamas ganaron tierra alguna fuera della, salvo agora que vuestras Altezas tienen acá otro mundo de adonde puede ser tan

sent satisfactory samples, both of gold and of other valuable commodities, by which it may be judged that in a short time large profit may be derived. Neither do they take into consideration the noble spirit of the princes of Portugal, who so long ago carried into execution the exploration of Guinea, and still follow it up along the coast of Africa, in which one-half of the population of the country has been employed, and yet the King is more determined on the enterprise than ever. The Lord grant all that I have said, and lead them to think deeply upon what I have written; which is not the thousandth part of what might be written of the deeds of princes who have set their minds upon gaining knowledge, and upon obtaining territory and keeping it.

I say all this, not because I doubt the inclination of your Highnesses to pursue the enterprise while you live,—for I rely confidently on the answers your Highnesses once gave me by word of mouth,—nor because I have seen any change in your Highnesses, but from the fear of what I have heard from those of whom I have been speaking; for I know that water dropping on a stone will at length make a hole. Your

acrescentada nuestra santa fe, y de donde se podrán sacar tantos provechos, que bien que no se hayan enviado los navíos cargados de oro, se han enviado suficientes muestras dello y de otras cosas de valor, por donde se puede juzgar que en breve tiempo se podrá haber mucho provecho, y sin mirar el gran corazón de los Príncipes de Portugal que há tanto tiempo que prosiguen la impresa de Guinea, y prosiguen aquella de Africa, adonde han gastado la mitad de la gente de su Reino, y agora está el Rey mas determinado á ello que nunca. Nuestro Señor provea en esto como yo dije, y les ponga en memoria de considerar de todo esto que va escripto, que no es de mil partes la una de lo que yo podría escrebir de cosas de Príncipes que se ocuparon á saber y conquistar y sostener.

Todo esto dije, y no porque crea que la voluntad de vuestras Altezas sea salvo proseguir en ello en cuanto vivan, y tengo por muy firme lo que me respondió vuestras Altezas una vez que por palabra le decir desto, no porque yo hobiese visto mudamiento nin-

Highnesses responded to me with that nobleness of feeling which all the world knows you to possess, and told me to pay no attention to these calumniation; for that your intention was to follow up and support the undertaking, even if nothing were gained by it but stones and sand. Your Highnesses also desired me to be in no way anxious about the expense, for that much greater cost had been incurred on much more trifling matters, and that you considered all the past and future expense as well laid out; for that your Highnesses believed that our holy faith would be increased, and your royal dignity enhanced, and that they were no friends of the royal estate who spoke ill of the enterprise.

And now, during the despatch of the information respecting these lands which I have recently discovered, and where I believe in my soul that the earthly paradise is situated, the “Adelantado” will proceed with three ships, well stocked with provisions, on a further investigation, and will make all the discoveries he can about these parts. Meanwhile, I shall send your Highnesses this letter, accompanied by a drawing

guno en vuestras Altezas salvo por temor de lo que yo oia destos que yo digo, y tanto da una gotera de agua en una piedra que le hace un agujero; y vuestras Altezas me respondió con aquel corazón que se sabe en todo el mundo que tienen, y me dijo que no curase de nada de eso, porque su voluntad era de proseguir esta empresa y sostenerla, aunque no fuese sino piedras y peñas, y quel gasto que en ello se hacia que lo tenia en nada, que en otras cosas no tan grandes gastaban mucho mas, y que lo tenían todo por muy bien gastado lo del pasado y lo que se gastase en adelante, porque creian que nuestra santa fe sería acrescentada y su Real Señorío ensanchado, y que no eran amigos de su Real Estado aquellos que les maldecian de esta empresa: y agora entre tanto que vengan á noticia desto destas tierras que agora nuevamente he descubierto, en que tengo asentado en el ánima que allí es el Paraíso terrenal, irá el Adelantado con tres navíos bien ataviados para ello á ver mas adelante, y descubrirán todo lo que pudieren hacía aquellas partes. Entretanto yo enviaré á vuestras Altezas esta escriptura y la pin-

of the country, and your Majesties will determine on what is to be done, and give your orders as to how it is your pleasure that I should proceed: the which, by the aid of the Holy Trinity, shall be carried into execution with all possible diligence, in the faithful service and to the entire satisfaction of your Majesties. Deo Gratias.

tura de la tierra, y acordarán lo que en ello se deba facer, y me enviarán á mandar, y se cumplirá con ayuda de la Santa Trinidad con toda diligencia en manera que vuestras Altezas sean servidos y hayan placer. Deo gracias.

LETTER

Most virtuous lady: Although it is a novelty for me to complain of the ill-usage of the world, it is, nevertheless, no novelty for the world to practise ill-usage. Innumerable are the contests which I have had with it, and I have resisted all its attacks until now, when I find, that neither strength nor prudence is of any avail to me: it has cruelly reduced me to the lowest ebb. Hope in Him who has created us all is my support: His assistance I have always found near at hand. On one occasion, not long since, He supported me with His Divine arm, saying: "O man of little faith, arise, it is I, be

CARTA

Del Almirante al ama (que habia sido) del Principe D. Juan, escrita hacia fines del año 1500.

Muy virtuosa Señora: Si mi queja del mundo es nueva, su uso de maltratar es de muy antiguo. Mil combates me ha dado y á todos resistí fasta agora que no me aprovechó armas ni avisos. Con crueldad me tiene echado al fondo. La esperanza de aquel que crio á todos me sostiene: su socorro fue siempre muy presto. Otra vez, y no de lejos estando yo mas bajo, me levantó con su brazo divino, diciendo: *ó hombre de poca fe, levántate que yo soy, no hayas miedo.* Yo vine con amor tan entrañable á servir á estos Principes, y hé

¹ Although Zuñiga says that Doña Maria de Guzman was appointed nurse by Queen Isabella at the birth of Prince John, it is nevertheless certain that this letter was addressed by Columbus to Doña Juana de la