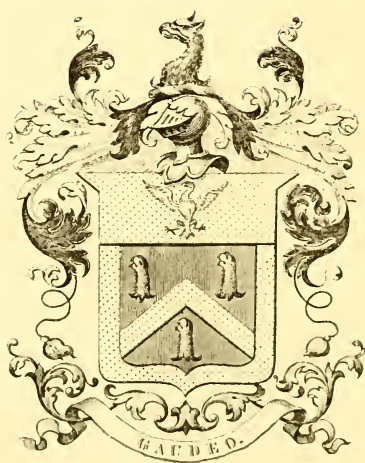


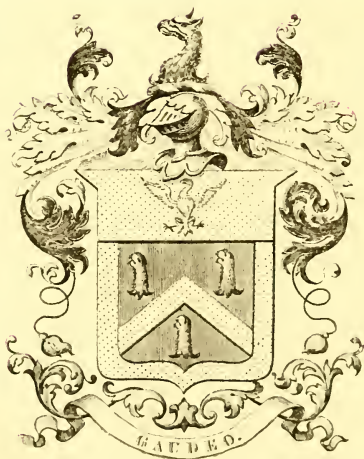
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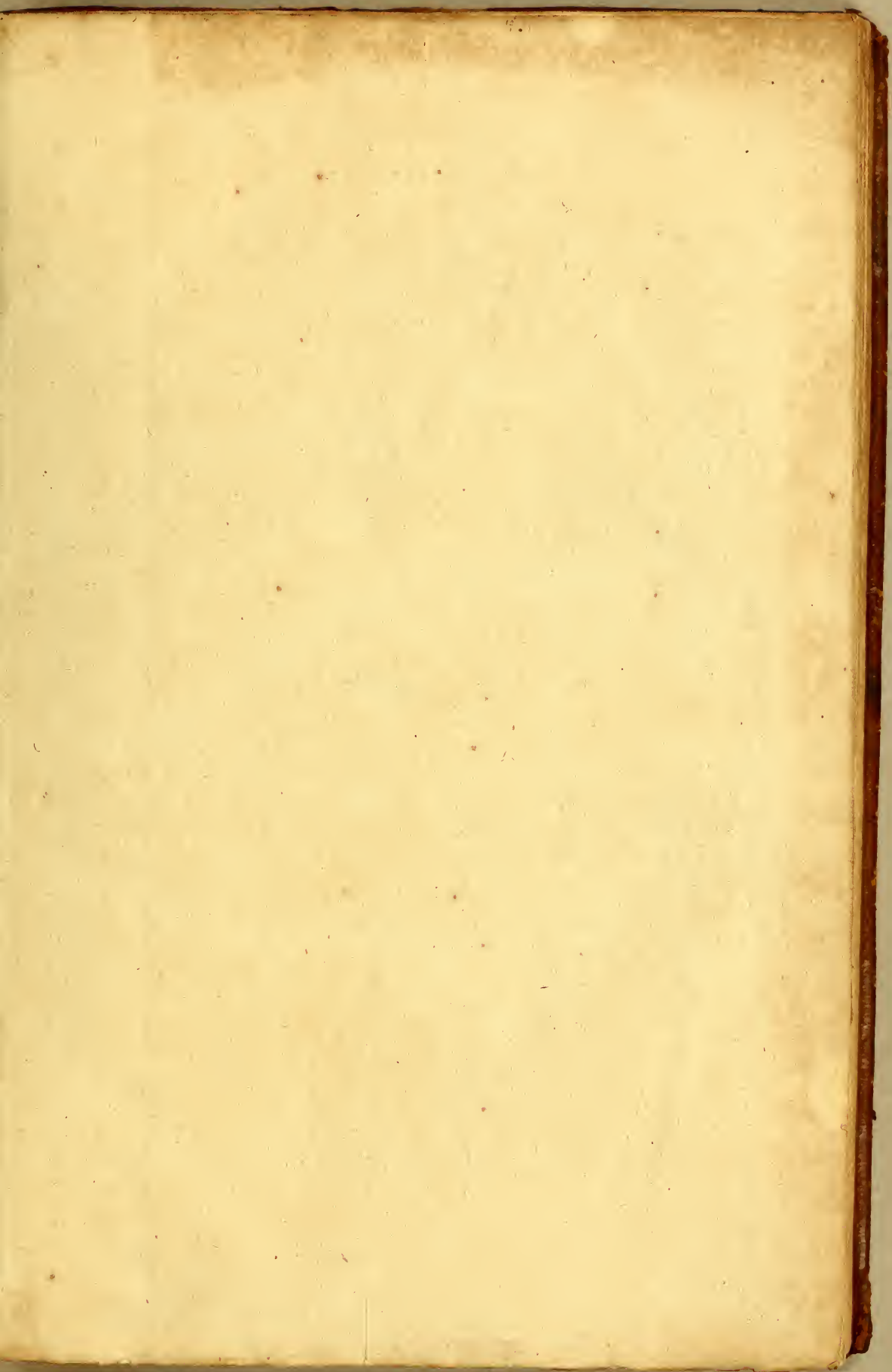
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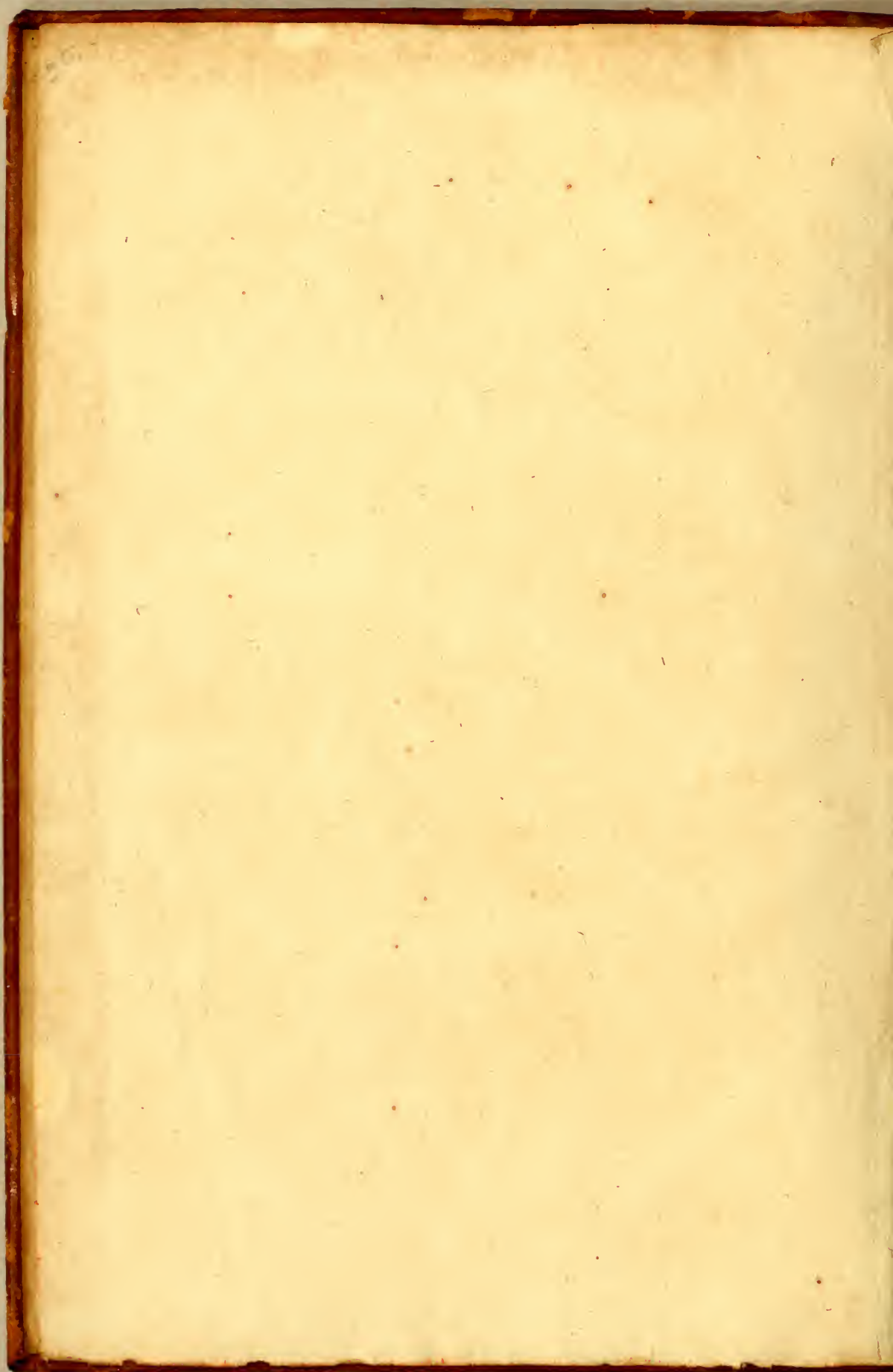


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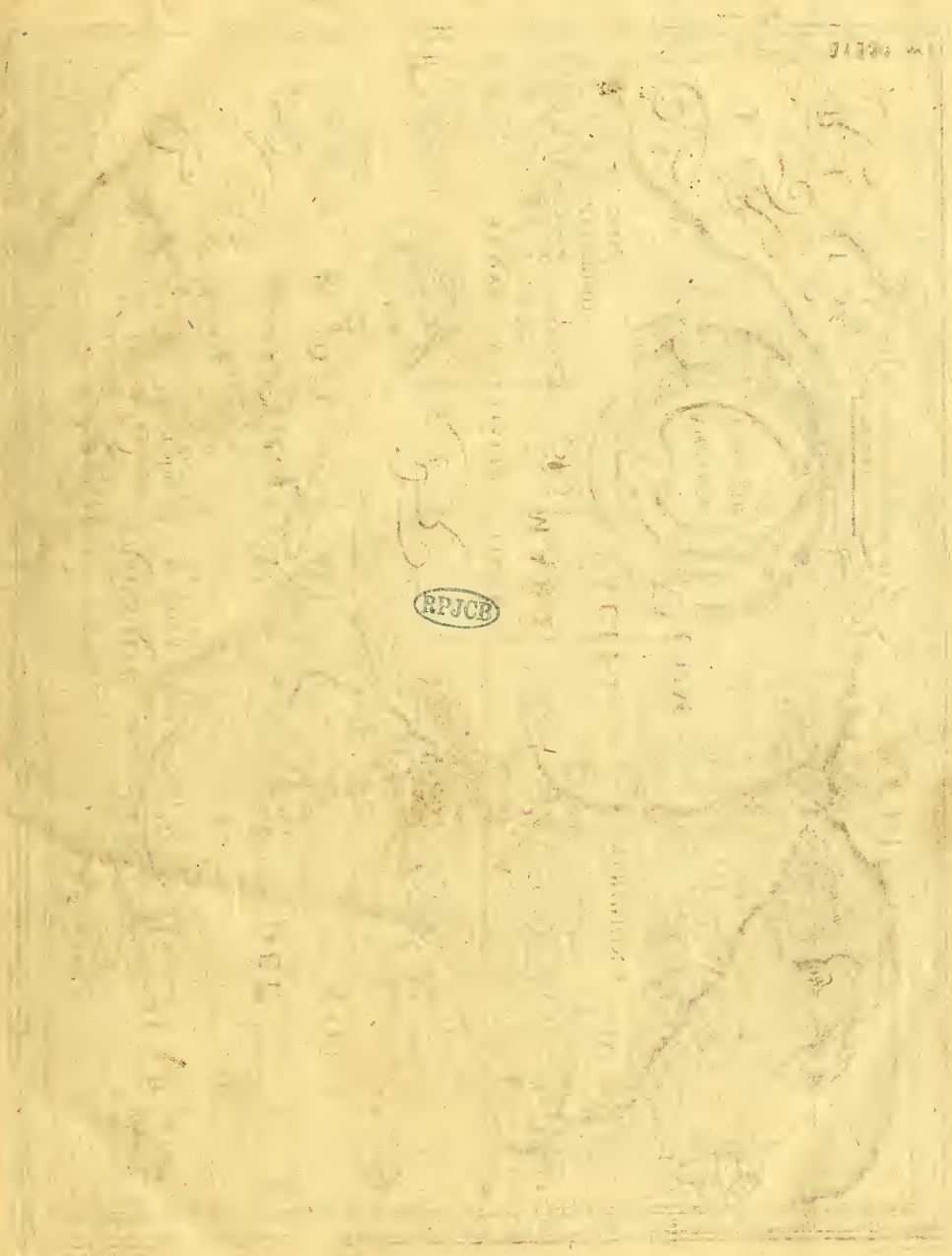
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1872

RPJCB



A NEW SURVEY
OF THE
WEST-INDIA'S:

OR,

The English American his Travail by Sea and Land:

CONTAINING

A Journal of Three thousand and Three hundred
Miles within the main Land of AMERICA.

Wherein is set forth his Voyage from Spain to St. John de Ulbua;
and from thence to Xalappa, to Tlaxcalla, the City of Angels, and
forward to Mexico; With the description of that great City,
as it was in former times, and also at this present.

Likewise, his Journey from Mexico, through the Provinces of Guaxaca,
Chiapa, Guatemala, Vera Paz, Truxillo, Comayagua; with his
abode Twelve years about Guatemala, and especially in the
Indian-Towns of Mixco, Pinola, Petapa, Amatlan.

As also his strange and wonderfull Conversion and Calling from those
remote Parts, to his Native COUNTRY.

With his return through the Province of Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, to
Nicoya, Panama, Portobelo, Cartagena, and Havana, with divers
Occurrents and Dangers that did befall in the said Journey.

ALSO,

A New and Exact Discovery of the Spanish NAVIGATION
to those Parts: And of their Dominions, Government, Religion, Forts,
Castles, Ports, Havens, Commodities, Fashions, Behaviour of
Spaniards, Priests and Friers, Blackmores, Mulatto's, Mestizo's,
Indians; and of their Feasts and Solemnities.

With a Grammar, or some few Rudiments of the Indian Tongue,
called POCONCHI, or POCOMAN.

The SECOND EDITION enlarged by the Author, and beautified with MAPS.

By the true and painful endeavours of THOMAS GAGE, Preacher of the
Word of God at Deal in the County of KENT.

LONDON, Printed by E. Cores, and sold by JOHN SWEETING,
at the Angel in Popes-head-alley, M. DC. LV.

R. F. Edgumbe.

THE HISTORY OF THE

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RPJCB

W. Fairfax



To His Excellency

Sir *T H O M A S F A I R F A X* Knight,

Lord *F A I R F A X*

O F

C A M E R O N,

Captain-Generall of the Parliaments Army; and of
all their Forces in *E N G L A N D,* and the
Dominion of *W A L E S.*

May it please your *E X C E L L E N C Y,*



*He Divine Providence hath hitherto so ordered
my life, that for the greatest part thereof, I
have lived (as it were) in exile from my native
Country: which happined, partly, by reason
of my education in the Romish Religion, and
that in forain Universities; and partly, by
my entrance into Monasticall orders. For twelve years space
of which time, I was wholly disposed of in that part of America
called New-Spain, and the parts adjacent. My difficult going
thither, being not permitted to any, but to those of the Spanish
Nation; my long stay there; and lastly my returning home, not
only to my Country, but to the true knowledge and free profession of
the Gospels purity, gave me reason to conceive, That these great
mercies were not appointed me by the Heavenly Powers, to the end I
should bury my Talent in the earth, or hide my light under a bushell,
but that I should impart what I there saw and knew to the use*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and benefit of my English Countrey-men; And which the rather I held my self obliged unto, because in a manner nothing hath been written of these Parts for these hundred years last past, which is almost ever since the first Conquest thereof by the Spaniards, who are contented to lose the honour of that wealth and felicity they have there since purchased by their great endeavours, so they may enjoy the safety of retaining what they have formerly gotten in peace and security. In doing whereof, I shall offer no Collections, but such as shall arise from mine own observations, which will as much differ from what formerly hath been hereupon written, as the picture of a person grown to mans estate, from that which was taken of him when he was but a Child, or the last hand of the Painter, to the first or rough draught of the picture. I am told by others, that this may prove a most acceptable work: but I do tell my self, that it will prove both lame and imperfect, and therefore had need to shelter my self under the shadow of some high protection, which I humbly pray your Excellency to afford me; nothing doubting, but as God hath lately made your Excellency the happy instrument, not only of saving my self, but of many numbers of godly and well affected people in this County of Kent, (where now I reside by the favour of the Parliament) from the imminent ruine and destruction plotted against them by their most implacable enemies; so the same God who hath led your Excellency through so many difficulties towards the settlement of the peace of this Kingdom, and reduction of Ireland, will, after the perfecting thereof (which God of his mercy hasten) direct your Noble thoughts to employ the Souldiery of this Kingdom upon such just and honorable designs in those parts of America, as their want of action at home may neither be a burden to themselves nor the Kingdome. To your Excellency therefore I offer a New-World, to be the subject of your future pains, valour, and piety, beseeching your acceptance of this plain but faithfull relation of mine, wherein your Excellency, and by you the English Nation shall see what wealth and honor they have lost by one of their narrow hearted Princes, who living in peace and abounding in riches, did notwithstanding reject the offer of being first discoverer of America, and left it unto Ferdinando of Arragon, who at the same time was wholly taken up by the Warres, in gaining of the City and Kingdome of Granada from the Moores; being so impoverish'd thereby, that he was compelled to borrow with some difficulty a few Crowns of a
very

The Epistle Dedicatory.

very mean man, to set forth Columbus upon so glorious an expedition. And yet, if time were closely followed at the heels, we are not so far behind, but we might yet take him by the fore-top. To which purpose our Plantations of the Barbadoes, St. Christophers, Memes, and the rest of the Caribe-Islands, have not only advanced our journey the better part of the way; but so inured our people to the Clime of the Indies, as they are the more enabled thereby to undertake any enterprize upon the firm Land with greater facility. Neither is the difficulty of the attempt so great, as some may imagine; for I dare be bold to affirm it knowingly, That with the same pains and charge which they have been at in planting one of those petty Islands, they might have conquer'd so many great Cities, and large Territories on the main Continent, as might very well merit the title of a Kingdome. Our Neighbours the Hollanders may be our example in this case; who whilst we have been driving a private Trade from Port to Port, of which we are now likely to be deprived, have conquered so much Land in the East and West-Indies, that it may be said of them, as of the Spaniards, That the Sun never sets upon their Dominion. And to meet with that objection by the way, That the Spaniard being intituled to those Countries, it were both unlawfull and against all conscience to dispossess him thereof. I answer, that (the Popes donation excepted) I know no title he hath but force, which by the same title, and by a greater force may be repelled. And to bring in the title of First discovery, to me it seems as little reason, that the sailing of a Spanish Ship upon the coast of India, should intitle the King of Spain to that Countrey, as the sayling of an Indian or English Ship upon the coast of Spain, should intitle either the Indians or English unto the Dominion thereof. No question but the just right or title to those Countries appertains to the Natives themselves; who if they shall willingly and freely invite the English to their protection, what title soever they have in them, no doubt but they may legally transfer it or communicate it to others. And to say that the inhumane butchery which the Indians did formerly commit in sacrificing of so many reasonable Creatures to their wicked Idols, was a sufficient warrant for the Spaniards to divest them of their Countrey; The same argument may by much better reason be enforced against the Spaniards themselves, who have sacrificed so many millions of Indians to the Idol of their barbarous cruelty, that many populous Islands
and

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and large Territories upon the main Continent, are thereby at this day utterly uninhabited, as Bartholomeo de las Casas, the Spanish Bishop of Guaxaca in New-Spain, hath by his Writings in Print sufficiently testified. But to end all disputes of this nature; since that God hath given the earth to the sons of Men to inhabit; and that there are many vast Countries in those parts, not yet inhabited either by Spaniard or Indian, why should my Country-men the English be debarred from making use of that, which God from all beginning, no question, did ordain for the benefit of mankinde?


But I will not molest your Excellency with any further argument hereupon; rather offering my self, and all my weak endeavours (such as they are) to be employed herein for the good of my Countrey; I beseech Almighty God to prosper your Excellency, Who am

The most devoted and humblest of

your Excellencies servants,

Tho. Gage.

Upon



Upon this *Worthy Work* of his most worthy Friend
the *AUTHOR*.

READER, behold presented to thine eye,
What us *Columbus* off' red long ago,
Of the *New-World* a new discoverie,
Which here our Authour doth so clearly show;
That he the state which of these Parts would know;
Need not hereafter search the plenteous store
Of *Hackluit*, *Purchas* and *Ramusio*,
Or learn'd *Acosta's* writings to look o're;
Or what *Herera* hath us told before,
Which merit not the credit due from hence;
Those being but reck'nings of another score,
But these the fruits of self-experience:
Wherein our Authour useth not the sence
Of those at home, who do their judgments leave;
And after wandring far with vast expence,
See many things, which they do ne'r perceive;
Laborious are by study much at home
To know those Parts, which they came lately from.
Lesse doth he use us as the late writ Books
Of journeys made unto the *Leruant*-States;
Wherein when we do pry with curious looks,
Of *Greece* and *Troy* to know the present fates;
They tell us what *Thucidides* relates,
What *Strabo* writes, what *Homer* crown'd with bayes,
What Authours more, who have out-worn their dates,
Besides what *Plutarch* and *Polybins* sayes:
So what they were, not what they are, they sing;
And shew their reading, not their travailing,
But here our Authour neither doth us tell,
Or to us shew one inch of Sea or Ground,

Unless

To the Reader.

Unlesse such acts which in his time befell,
Or what his eyes saw the Horizon bound :
He uttereth nought at all he heard by sound,
He speaks not of a City or a Street,
But where himself hath often gone the round,
And measured o're with his industrious feet,
And yet it must acknowledg'd be for true,
Since worthy *Hawkins*, and the famous *Drake*
Did first present unto the English view
This New-found-world, for great *Eliza's* sake ;
Renowned *Rawleigh* twice did undertake
VVith labours great, and dangers not a few,
A true discovery of these Parts to make,
And thereof writ both what he saw and knew.
But as the man who in a Ship doth pass
Our narrow Seas, the flowings of each tide,
The Ships course, foundings, turnings of the glasse,
VVhat Land he makes on North or Southern side,
He may impart : But who they be abide,
Or what Religion, Language, or what Nation
Possess each Coast ; since he hath never tide,
How can he make thereof a true Relation ?
So those who have describ'd these Parts before,
Of Trade, VVinds, Currents, Hurican's do tell,
Of Headlands, Harbours, trendings of the shore,
Of Rocks and Isles : wherein they might as well
Talk of a Nut, and only shew the shell ;
The kernell neither tasted, touch'd nor seen
Had yet remain'd ; but that it so befell,
That these Relations to us made have been ;
Differing as much from what before y'have heard,
As doth a Land-Map from a Seamans Card.
But how these truths reveal'd to us should bee,
VVhen none but *Spaniards* to those parts may go ;
VVhich was establish'd by severe Decree,
Lest Forain people should their secrets know ;
This Order yet to be neglected so,
As that our Authour had permission free,
VVhose Nation too they count their greatest foe,
Seemeth almost a miracle to me.

To the Reader.

Sure the prescience of that power Divine,
Which safely to those parts did him convey,
Did not for nought his constant heart incline
There twelve whole years so patiently to stay :
That he each thing exactly might survey,
Then him return'd, nay more did turn to us,
And to him shew'd of blis the perfect way,
Which of the rest seems most miraculous.
For had the last of these not truly been,
These fair Relations we had never seen.
Nor can I think but this most usefull Book
In time to come, may like some new-born Star,
Direct such wisemen as therein will look,
And shew their way unto these Regions far.
And though we now lie sunk in Civill war,
Yet you the worthy Patriots of this Land,
Let not your hearts be drown'd in despair,
And so your future happinesse withstand.
For time will come you shall enjoy a Peace,
But then no longer you must joy in sin,
When they no more shall raige, these Wars shall cease,
And then your after blis shall soon begin.
The fiery trials which you now are in,
In stead of foes shall prove your best of friends,
And you from servile base affection win,
To fit your hearts for high and Nobler ends :
Your Drums which us'd to beat their Martiall dance
Upon the banks of *Garone, Seine, and Soane* ;
VVhilst you trode measures through the Realm of *France*;
Do now at home (Oh grief !) on both sides groan,
As if they did your ill spilt bloud bemoan ;
VVhich long ago with *Richard, England's King*,
VVhen he the holy VVar maintain'd alone,
Their dreadfull notes did through *Judea* ring.
Now shall the tawnie *Indians* quake for fear,
Their direfull march to beat when they do hear ;
Your brave Red Crosses on both sides display'd,
The noble Badges of your famous Nation,
VVhich you yet redder with your blouds have made,
And dyed them deep in drops of detestation,

You

To the Reader.

You shall again advance with reputation,
And on the bonnds of utmost Western shore
Shall them transplant, and firmly fix their station,
Where English Colours ne'r did fly before.
Your well-built Ship, companions of the Sun,
As they were Chariots to his fiery beams,
Which oft the Earths circumference have run,
And now lie moar'd in *Severn, Trent, and Tems,*
Shall plough the Ocean with their gilded Stems,
And in their hollow bottoms you convey
To Lands inrich'd with gold, with pearls and gems,
But above all, where many thousands stay
Of wronged *Indians*, whom you shall set free
From *Spanish* yoke, and *Romes* Idolatry.

All this and more by you shall sure be done,
Yet I no Prophet, nor no Prophets sonne.

Thomas Chaloner.

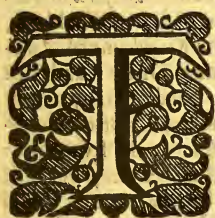


A

NEW SURVEY OF THE WEST-INDIES.

C H A P. I.

How Rome doth yearly visit the American and Asian Kingdoms.



THE policy, which for many years hath upheld the erring Church of *Rome*, hath clearly and manifestly been discovered by the many Errors which in severall times by sundry Synods or Generall Councils, (which commonly are but Apes of the Popes fancy, will, pleasure, and ambition) have been enacted into that Church. And for such purposes doth that man of Sinne, and Antichristian tyrant, keep constantly in *Rome* so many poor Pensionary Bishops as hounds at his table smelling out his ambitious thoughts, with whom he fills the Synods, when he calls them, charging them never to leave off barking and wearying out the rest of the Prelates, untill they have them all as a prey unto his proud and ambitious designs; from which if any of them dare to start, not only their Pensions shall be surely forfeited, but their souls shall be cursed, and they as Hereticks Anathematized with a Censure of Excommunication *late sententia*. Hence sprung that Master-piece of Policy, decreeing that the Pope alone should be above the Generall Council, lest otherwise one Mans pride might be curbed by many heads joynd together; And secondly, that Synodical definition, that the Pope cannot erre, that though the Councils power, wisdom and learning were all sifted into one mans brain, all points of faith strained into one head and channell; yet the people should not stagger in any lawful doubts, nor the learned sort follow any more the light of reason, or the sunshine of the Gospel, but all yielding to blind Obedience, and their most holy Fathers infallibility, in the foggie and Cimmerian mist of ignorance, might secure their souls from erring, or deviating to the *Scylla* or *Carybdis* of Schism and Heresie. What judicious eye; that will not be blinded with the napkin of ignorance, doth not easily see that Policy only hath been the chief Actor of those damnable Opinions of Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice though unbloudy (as they term it) of the Mass, Invocation of Saints, their Canonization or intalling of Saints into the kingdom of heaven, Indulgences, auricular Confession, with satisfactory Penance, and many such like: All which doubtless have been commanded as points of Faith, not so much to save those wretched souls, as to advance that crackt-brain head in the conceits of his European wonderers, who long agoe were espied out by the Spirit of *John* wondering after the Beast, worshipping him for his power, and saying, *Who is like unto the Beast, who is able to make war with him?* Rev. 13. 3, 4. Thus can policy invent a Purgatory, that a Pope may be sought from all parts of *Europe*, nay from *East* and *West-Indias*, to deliver souls from that imaginary Fire which never God created, but he himself hath fancied, that so much glory may be ascribed to him, and his power wondered at, who can plunge into torments, condemn to burning, and when he list, deliver out of fire. Much more would he be admired, and his

goodnesse extolled, if he would deliver at once all those his Purgatory Prisoners without the Simoniack receipt of money. But policy can afford an infinite price and value of a sacrifice of the Masse, to delude the ignorant people, that though they leave their whole estates to enrich Cloysters, and fat proud Prelates and Abbors; yet this is nothing, and comes far short (being finite) to that infinite Sacrifice, which only can and must deliver their scorching, nay brayling souls: And if this infinite Sacrifice be not enough, (which will not be enough, whereas Christs infinite satisfaction was not enough in the opinion of that erroneous Church). Policy will give yet power to a Pope, *si divitiæ affluant*, if money and rich bribes abound, to grant inch plenary Indulgences, which may upon one Saints day, or at such a Saints Altar, work that foul out, which lyeth lurking and frying in the deepest pit of Purgatory. O who is like unto the Beast? But will those that wonder at him, be also wondered at as workers of wonders and miracles? Policy will give power to a Pope to canonize such, and fet them at Gods right hand, fit to be prayed unto, and called upon as Judges of our necessities, and Auditors of our wants: But this honour must be given, after that the whole Colledge of Cardinals have been clothed with new purple Robes, and Loads of money brought to the Court of *Rome*; Witnesse those many thousand pounds, which the City of *Barcelona*, and the whole Country of *Catalonia* spent in the Canonizing of *Raimundus de Pennafort*, a Dominican Fryer: Witnesse at least ten Millions, which I have been credibly informed, that the Jesuits spent for the canonization of their two Twins, *Ignatius Loiola*, and *Franciscus Xavier*, whom they call the East *India* Apostle. And it is not seven years ago yet that it was my chance to travail from *Frankford* in *Germany* as far as *Millain* in company of one Fryer *John Baptist a Franciscan*, who told me, That was the fourth time of his going to *Rome* from *Valentia* in the Kingdome of *Arragon* in *Spain* about the Canonization of one *John Capistrano* of the same Order; and that besides the great Almes which he had begged over many countries, (and in that journey went purposely to *Inspurg* to the Prince *Leopoldo* for his Almes and Letters of commendation to the Pope and Cardinals) he had spent of the City of *Valencia* only five thousand Duckets, and yet was not his Saint enthroned, as he desired, in heaven; but still money was wanting, and more demanded for the dignifying with a Saints title him, who had lived a Mendicant and begging Fryer. Thus are those blinded Nations brought by Policy to run to *Rome* with rich treasures, and thus do they strive who shall have most Saints of their Country or Nation, though impoverishing themselves; whilst at *Rome* Ambition and Policy say not, It is enough, fit mates for the Horsleech his two daughters, crying, *Give, give, Prov. 30. 15.* Give, say they, and the rigid Penance justly to be imposed upon thee for thy sins most hainous, shall be extenuated and made easie for thee. Give, say they, and thou shalt be dispensed with to marry thy nearest Kinswoman or Kinsman. It would be a long story to insert here how the Popes Policy sucks out of *England* our gold and silver for the authorizing of our Papists private Chambers and Altars for the gaining of Indulgences in them, and delivering of souls out of Purgatory, when Masses are said and heard at them. Thus hath *Romes* policy blinded and deceived many of the *European* Kingdomes; and with the same greedinesse gapes at *Asia* and *America*. Who would not admire to see that at this day in *America* only, the Popes authority and usurped power is extended to as many Countries as all *Europe* contains, wherein no Religion but meer blinde Obedience and subjection to that Man of Sin is known? And dayly may it more and more encrease, whereas the King of *Spain* gloryeth to have received from the Pope power over those Kingdomes far greater then any other Princes of *Europe* have enjoyed from him. But the pity is, that what power these Princes have, they must acknowledge it from *Rome*, having given their own power and strength unto the Beast, *Revel. 17. 13.* suffering themselves to be divested of any Ecclesiasticall power over the Clergy, and unable to tender any Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to their own and naturall subjects, only so far as his Holinesse shall give them power. Which, Policy since the first conquest of the West *India's*, and ambition to advance the Popes name, hath granted to the Kings of *Spain*, by a speciall title, naming those Kingdomes, *El Patrimonio Real*, The Royall Patrimony; upon this Condition, that the King of *Spain* must maintain there the preaching of the Gospel, Fryers, Priests and Jesuites to preach it with all the erroneous Popish doctrines; which tend to the advancement of the Popes glory, power, and authority. So that what power he hath divested himself of, and invested the Pope with; what power other Princes are divested of, and the

the King of *Spain* in his Kingdomes of *Europe*, from meddling in Ecclesiasticall affaires; or with Ecclesiasticall men; Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests, Jesuites, Monkes and Fryers; that same power by way of Royall Patrimony is conferred upon him in the *India's* only. And this only politickly to maintain their Popery; else never would it have so much increased there; for poor Priests and Mendicant Fryers would never have had means enough to be at the charges of sending yearly Flocks and Sholes of Fryers thither, neither to keep and maintain them there; neither would the coverousnesse of the Popes themselves have afforded out of their full and rich treasures, means sufficient for the maintaining of so many thousand Preachers as at this day are Preaching there, more *Rome* and Antichrists name, then the name of Christ and the truth of the Gospel. And policy having thus opened way to those *American* parts; the charges being thus laid upon the Crown of *Spain*, and the honour of a Royall Patrimony, with power over the Clergy thus conferred upon the Kings of *Spain*; how doth the Pope yearly charge the Catholick King with troops of Jesuites and Fryers to be conveyed thither? Now the Jesuites (the best scholars of *Romes* policy) seeing this to be thus settled between the Pope and the King of *Spain*, for the increasing of their Order, and to suppress the increase of other Religions there, have thought first of a way of challenging all the *India's* to themselves, alleaging that *Francis Xavierius* companion of *Ignatius Loiola* was the first Preacher that ever preached in the *East-India's*, and so by right that they being of his profession ought only to be sent thither. But this their way being stopped by the opposition of all other Religious Orders, especially by the solicitation of one Fryer *Diego Collado*, a Dominican, as hereafter I will shew more largely. Now, secondly, their policy is to lean more to the Popes of *Rome*, then any other of those Orders, by a speciall Vow which they make above the three Vowes of other Orders, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience to their superiors; to wit, to be alwayes ready to go to preach when or whither soever the Pope shall send them, and to advance his name, defend his power in what parts soever, maugre whatsoever danger, or opposition. Thus though the remotenesse of *America* may discourage other Orders from going thither to preach, and their freewill which is left unto them to make choice of so long and tedious a journey may retard their readinesse, and the dangers of the *Barbarians* unwillingnesse to submit to a Popes power, and admit of a new Religion as superstitious as their own, may affright them from hazarding their lives among a barbarous, rude, and idolatrous people; yet if all others fail, the Pope, and the Jesuites being thus agreed, and the King of *Spain* bound by the new Royall Patrimony; Preachers have not, nor shall ever be wanting in those parts: And in stead of the old Jesuites and Preachers grown in age, yearly are sent thither Missions (as they call them) either of Voluntiers, Fryers mendicants, Priests or Monkes, or else of forced Jesuites: All which entring once into the List and Bond of Missionaries, must abide there, and be maintained by the King of *Spain* ten years. And whosoever before the ten years expired, shall desire to see *Spain* again, or runagate-like shall return, may be constrained (if taken in *Spain*) to return again to the *India's*, as it happened whilst I lived in those parts; to one Fryer *Peter de Balcazar* a Dominican, who privily flying back to *Spain*, was the year after shipped, and restored again to his forced service under the Pope of *Rome*. And thus doth policy open the wayes to those remote and forain parts of *America*. Thus hath policy wrought upon the Kings of *Spain*; and Jesuiticall policy meeting with Antichrists policy and Ambition, doth *Rome* yearly visite her new nursed Children, greeting that Infantile Church of *Asia* and *America* with troopes of messengers one after another, like *Jobs* messengers, bringing under pretence of salvation, damnation and misery to their poor and wretched souls.

C H A P. II.

Shewing that the Indians wealth under a pretence of their Conversion hath corrupted the hearts of poor begging Fryers, with strife, hatred and ambition.

IT is a most true and certain saying, *Odia Religionum sunt acerbissima*, hatred grounded in points and differences of Religion (let me adde, if ambition blow the fire to that hatred) is the most bitter and incapable of reconciliation. Nay, it is an obser-

vation worth nothing of some (see Doctor *Day* upon 1 *Cor.* 16. 9.) that the nearer any are unto a conjunction in matters of Religion, and yet some difference retained, the deeper is the hatred; as he observes, a Jew hates a Christian far worse then he doth a Pagan, or a Turke; a Papist hates a Protestant worse then he doth a Jew, and a Formalist hates a Puritan worse then he doth a Papist. No such hatred under heaven (saith he) as that between a Formalist, and a Puritan, whereof our now Domestick and Civill Wars may be a sad and woefull experience. A truth which made *Paul* burst out into a lamentable complaint, 1 *Cor.* 16. 9. saying, *A great door and effectuall is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.*

And as when the door of true Faith once is opened, then Adversaries begin to swarme and rage; so in all points of false and faigred Religion, where the entrance to it is laid open, hatred and enmity will act their parts. But much more if with such pretended Religion, Wealth and Ambition as counterfeit Mates thrust hard to enter at the opened door, what strife, hatred, and envy do they kindle even in the hearts of such who have vowed poverty and the contempt of worldly wealth? I may adde to what hath been observed above, that no hatred is comparable to that which is between a Jesuite and a Fryer, or any other of *Romes* religious Orders; And above all yet, between a Jesuite, and a Dominican. The ambition and pride of Jesuites is inconsistent in a Kingdome or Common-wealth with any such as may be equall to them in Preaching, Counsell or Learning. Therefore strive they so much for the education of Gentlemens Children in their Colledges, that by teaching the sonnes, the love of the fathers and mothers may be more easily gained: and their love and good will thus gained, they may withall gaine to themielves whatsoever praise, honour, glory may be fit to be bestowed upon any other Ecclesiasticall Person. Which Policy and Ambition in them being so patent and known to all the World, hath stirred up in all other Religions a hatred to them incapable ever of Reconciliation. This hath made them all to conspire against them, and to discover their unsatisfied covetousnesse in beguiling the rich Widowes of what means hath been left them by their deceased husbands, to erect and build those stately Colledges beyond the Seas, the sight whereof both outward and inward doth draw the ignorant people to resort more to their Churches and preaching then to any other. Thus whiles in *Venice* they got the favour of one of the chief Senators of that Common-wealth, they politickly drew him to make his will according to their will and pleasure, leaving to his son and heire no more then what they should think fit to afford him. But they appropriating to themselves the chiefest part of the young heires means, and with so proud a legacy thinking to overpower all other Orders, were by them opposed so, that the Will was called for by the whole State and Senators of *Venice*, fully examined, and they commanded to restore to the heir the whole estate as enjoyed by his Father. Well did that wise Senate conceive, that as one Noble man had been cheated by them of his fortunes, so might they one by one, and so at length the riches of *Venice* might become a treasure only for Jesuites to maintain the pride and pompe of their glorious fabricks. And though those vowed servants to the Pope obtained his Excommunication against the whole Estate of *Venice* upon non-complying with the aforesaid Will and Testament; yet such was the preaching of all other Priests and Orders against them, that they caused the State to slight the Excommunication, and in lieu of making them heires of the deceased Senators Estate, they shamefully banished them out of *Venice*. Thus also have the Priests and Fryers of *Biscaya* in *Spain* prevailed against the admitting of Jesuites into *Sar-Sebastian*, though by the favour of some they have in severall occasions obtained an house and erected a Bell to ring and summon in the people to their pretended Church and Colledge. Nay the very house wherein their Patron *Ignatius Loiola* lived, have they often seriously offered to buy for a Colledge; yet such hath been the opposition of the Priests and Fryers of that Country, that they have dashed to nought their often iterated endeavours to purchase that which they esteem their chiefest Relique. But to come nearer to our own Country, what a combustion did this strife between Jesuites and other Priests of *England* cause among our Papists ten years agoe, when the Pope sending into *England* Doctor *Smith* pretended Bishop of *Chalcedon* to be the Metropolitan head over all the Clergy and other Orders, how then was it to see the pride of the Jesuites as inconsistent with any one that might oversway them, or gain more credit then themselves? who never left persecuting the Bishop, till by the

Popes Letters they had banished him out of *England*. Which curtesie, the secular Priests gaining yet a head over them with title of Archdeacon, Doctor *Champny*, have ever since sought to repay home, by endeavouring always to cast them out of *England*, as pernicious to the State of this Kingdome, more then Fryers or any other sort of Priests; Which they have sufficiently made known by discovering their covetousnesse in encroaching upon many Houses and Farmes, enriching themselves, as namely at *Winifreds Will* (so termed by them) where they had bought an Inne, and speedily fell to building there that they might make it a Colledge for Jesuits to entertain there all Papists comers and goers to that Well, and so might win to themselves the hearts of most of the Papists of the Land, who do yearly resort thither to be washed and healed upon any light occasion either of Head-ach, Stomach-ach, Ague, want of children, where they blindly phansie a speedy remedy for all maladies, or wants of this World. Thus have the Priests discovered further our English Jesuites covetousnesse in the building of the Sope-houses at *Lambeth* under the name of Mr. *George Gage* their purse-bearer, and since projecting the Monopoly of Sope under Sir *Richard Weston*, Sir *Basil Brooke*, and many others names, who were but Agents and Traders with the Jesuites rich and mighty Stocke. Thus came out the discovery of the Levelling of Hills and Mountains, cutting of rocks at *Leige* in the Low Countries at the Colledge of the English Jesuites, a worke for Gardens and Orchards for their Novices recreation and pastime, which (as I have heard from their owne mouthes) cost them thirty thousand pound, which gift they squeezed out of one only Countesse of this Land. Like to this may prove their Colledge at *Gaunt*, for which they have obtained already a fair beginning of eight thousand pounds from the Old Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and from the greatest part of the Estate of Mr. *Sackesfield*, whom whiles they had him in their Colledges, they cherished with their best dainties, and with hopes that one day he should be a Canonized Saint of their Religious Order. All these knaveries do even those Priests of the same Popish Religion discover of them, and thereby endeavour to make them odious. And though of all, the Jesuites be the most covetous, yet may I not excuse the Secular Priests, Benedictine Monks, and the Fryers from this damnable sinne; who also strive for wealth and means for their *Doway*, *Paris* and *Lisboe* Colledges, and lose no opportunities at the death of their Popish favorites for the obtaining a Legacy of one or two hundred Pounds, assuring them their soules shall be the better for their Masses. Thus do those miserable wretches in the very heat of their zeal of soules seek to suppress one another, and having vowed Poverty, yet make they the Conversion of *England* the only object of their Ambition and unsatiable Covetousnesse. But above all is this envy and hatred found between Dominicans and Jesuits, for these owe unto them an old grudge, for that when *Ignatius Loiola* lived, his Doctrine *de Trinitate* (which he pretended was revealed to him from heaven, for he was certainly past the Age of studying at his Conversion) was questioned by the Dominicans, and he by a Church Censure publickly and shamefully whipped about their Cloisters for his erroneous principles. This affront done to their chief Patron hath stirred up in them an unreconcilable hatred towards the Order of the Dominicans, and hath made them even crack their brains to oppose *Thomas Aquinas* his Doctrine. How shamefully do those two Orders endeavour the destruction of each other, branding one another with calumnies of heresie, in the Opinions especially *de Conceptione Marie, de libero Arbitrio, de Auxiliis*? And of the two, the Jesuite is more bold and obstinate in malice and hatred. How did they some twenty yeares agoe, all *Spain* over, about the Conception of *Mary*, stirre up the people against the Dominicans, in so much that they were in the very streets termed Hereticks, stones cast at them, the King almost perswaded to banish them out of all his Dominions, and they poor Fryers forced to stand upon their guard in their Cloisters in many Cities, especially in *Sevill*, *Osuna*, *Antiquera* and *Cordova*, to defend themselves from the rude and furious multitude. Much like this was that publick conference and disputation between *Valentia* the Jesuite and Master *Lemos* the Dominican, before the Pope, concerning their alteration *de Auxiliis*; When the cunning Jesuite hoping to brand with heresie the whole Order of Dominicans, had caused *Augustines* Workes to be falsly printed at *Lions*, with such words which might directly oppose the *Thomists* Opinion; and had prevailed, had not *Lemos* begged of the Pope that the Originall Books of *Austin* might be brought out of his Vatican Library, where was found the quite contrary words, to what the false Jesuite had

had caused to be printed; he was forced to confesse his knavery, was harshly reprehended, and with the apprehension of that great affront, the next night gave up his ghost to his father, the father of lies and falshood.

An other reason of this mortall enmity between these two Orders, is for that the Jesuites surpasse all others in ambition of honour, credit and estimation, whence it is they cannot indure to behold the Dominicans to exceed them in any preferment. Now it is that by the Laws of *Arragon* and the Kingdome of *Valencia*, the Kings of *Spain* are tyed to have a Dominican Fryer for their Confessor or ghostly father; which could but the Jesuites obtain, how would they then rule and govern *Spain* and the Kings heart? But though they could never yet prevail to alter this established law, yet have they prevailed now lately so that *Antonio de Sotomayor* the King of *Spains* Confessor should lie at rest in the Court of *Madrid*, with a pension and dry title only; and that *Florenca* that grand Statist should be Confessor to the Count of *Olivares*, the Royall Issue, the Queen, and should hear the Kings confessions oftner then his chosen and elected Confessor *Sotomayor*. Secondly, the Dominicans as first Authors of the Inquisition (which they prove from their Martyr *Peter of Verona*) still enjoy the highest places of that Court, which is a wofull sight to the Jesuites to see their Religion affaires handled, their Church kept pure from what they call heresie by any but themselves. O had they (as they have often strived for it) in their hands the judicature of that tribunall, how should all Dominicans, nay all sorts of Priests but their own, presently by them be branded with heresie? Thirdly, in *Rome* there is an other preferment successively due to Dominicans, from the time of *Dominicus de Guzman* founder of that Religion, to wit, to be *Magister Sacri Palatii*, the Popes Palace master, instituted to this purpose, that about him there may be some learned Divine (for commonly the Popes are more Statists, and Canonists, then Divines) to read a dayly lecture of Divinity to such as will be instructed therein, and to resolve the Pope himself of whatsoever difficult points in Divinity may be questioned. This is the Dominicans due with a pension to maintain a Coach and servants within the Palace of *St. Peter*. Which the Jesuites have often by favour and cunning Jesuiticall trickes endeavoured to bereave the Dominicans of; but proving labour in vain, they continue still in their unplaceable enmity and hatred against them. And thus you see the fountains of their strife; which as here in *Europe* hath been well seen, so hath this contentious fire overpowered the fire of their zeal of souls in the *East* and *West-Indias*; and the wealth and riches of those Countries, the ambition of honour in their Gospell function hath more powerfully drawn them thither, then (what they pretend) the conversion of a barbarous and idolatrous nation. This was well published to the view of the whole world by a most infamous libell which in the year 1626. Fryer *Diego de Colliado* a missionary Fryer in *Phillippinas* and *Japan* set out of the unheard of passages and proceedings of the Jesuites in those *Eastern* parts. At that time the Jesuites pretended that mission to themselves only, and petitioned the King of *Spain*, that only they might go thither to preach, having been the first plantation of *Franciscus Xavier*, and since continued successively by their Priests. To this purpose they remembered the King of the great charges he was at in sending so many Fryers, and maintaining them there; all which should be saved, might they only have the ingresse into that Kingdome. All which charges they offered themselves to bear, and further to bring up the *Indians* in the true faith, to instruct them and civilize them, to teach them all liberall sciences, and to perfect them in musick and all musicall instruments, and in fencing, dancing, vaulting, painting and whatsoever else might make them a compleat, and civill people. But against all this was objected by *Diego Colliado*, that not zeal only and charity moved them to this offer, but their ambition and covetousnesse, which would soon be seen in their encroaching upon the silly and simple *Indians* wealth; bringing instances of many thousand pounds which they had squeezed from the poor *Barbarians* in the Islands of *Phillippinus*; And that their entering into *Japan* was more to enrich themselves, then to convert the *Japonians* to Christianisme; that whensoever they entred into the Kingdome they conveyed from *Manila* whole ships laden with the richest commodities of those Islands; that their trading was beyond all other Merchants trading, their Bench for exchange money farre more accustomed then any other whether for *China*, for *Japan*, for *Pern* and *Mexico*; and that the Viceroy himself made use of none other, but theirs. That to keep out all other orders out of *Japan*, they had ingratiated themselves so far, under pretence

of trading into the Emperors favour by gifts of Watches, Clocks, Diāls, Lockes, and Cabinets, and such like presents of most curious and artificiall Workmanship, that they had got free access to his Court, and counselled him to beware of Fryers, which cunningly crept into his Kingdome to preach a new law, perswading him by rigorous search and inquiries to root them out: thus politicly for their own ends hindering the increase of Christianisme by any means or instruments save themselves, and blinding the Emperors eyes with their cunning insinuations, that he might not see in them, what they desired he might discover in others, that they might appear in sheep skins, and others clothed with wolves skins; and so the Fryers might have little heart to trade, but enough to do to save themselves from the stormy persecution, whiles they freely might enjoy the liberty of rich trading. This brand upon these cunning foxes was commanded to be printed, thanks given to *Diego Colliado* for discovering to the Estate their crafty proceedings, with not a few tenets maintained by them in *Japan* even against their own Sovereigne; a fat Bishoprick was offered to the Fryer, which he refusing, commission was given unto him for the raising of forty Fryers out of *Spain*, and the conducting of them to the Islands of *Philippinas*; and that it should be free for all Priests and Fryers, as well as Jesuites, to passe to those parts for the preaching of Christ, and the extending of Christianisme among the Heathens and Barbarians. O that this my discovery made to *England* of those dissembling and false Priests, would make us wise to know and discover under the ashes of their pretended Religion, the fire of strife and contention which they kindle in Kingdomes, and to rake up that coverousnesse, which we may easily find in them; tending to the ruine of many fair estates, and to the temporall and spirituall danger of this our flourishing Kingdome!

C H A P. III.

Shewing the manner of the Missions of Fryers and Jesuites to the India's.

ALL the Kingdomes of *America*, that have been conquered by the Kings of *Spain*, are divided as into severall temporall governments, so into severall spirituall jurisdictions, under the name of Provinces, belonging unto severall religious Orders, and their Provincials. These though so far distant from *Europe*, yet live with a dependency and subordination unto the Court of *Rome*, and are bound to send thither a strict account and relation of what most remarkable passages and successes happen there, as also what want of Preachers there is in every severall Province. Which is to be performed in this manner. Every religious Order (except the Jesuits and Dominicans, whose Generall continueth till death, unlesse a Cardinals cap be bestowed upon him) maketh election of one of the same order to be the head Ruler, or (as they call him) Generall over all those of the same profession every sixth year. The subjects unto this Generall which are dispersed in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, *East* and *West-India's*, are divided into fundry Provinces, as in *Spain* there is one Province of *Andaluzia*, another of *Castilia nueva*, new Castile, another of *Castilia vieia*, old Castile, another of *Valencia*, another of *Arragon*, of *Mutcia*, of *Catalonia*; So likewise in *America* there is the Province of *Mexico*; of *Mechoacan*, of *Guaxaca*, of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, of *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua* and the like. Every Province of these hath a head named the Provinciall, chosen by the chief of the Province every three years; which election is called a Provinciall Chapter, and the former a Generall Chapter, which also is allotted to be in some chief City, commonly in *Italy*, *France*, or *Spain*. When the Provinciall Chapter is kept, then by the consent of all that meet in it is there one named by name of Procurator or Diffinitor, who is to goe in the name of the whole Province to the next election of the Generall, and there to demand such things as his Province shall think fit, and to give an account of the state of the Province from whence he is sent. Thus from the *West-India's* are sent Procurators, who commonly are the best prizes the *Holland* ships meet with, for that they carry with them great wealth, and gifts to the Generals, to the Popes and Cardinals and Nobles in *Spain*, as bribes to facilitate whatsoever just or unjust, right or wrong they are to demand. Among other businesses their charge is this, to make knowna the great want of labo-

ers in the abundant and plentiful harvest of the *India's* (though not all Provinces demand Preachers from *Spain*, as I will shew hereafter) and to desire a number of thirty or forty young Priests, who may be fit for any *Indian* language and to succeed the old standers.

The Order of the Province being read to the Generall, or his Generall Chapter, then are Letters Patents granted unto this Procurator from the Generall, naming him his Vicar Generall for such a Province, and declaring his sufficiency and worthy parts, (though none at all in him, as I have been witness of some) the great paines he hath taken in the new planted *Indian* Church, and how fit he hath been judged to convey to those parts, a Mission of such as shall voluntarily offer themselves for the propagation of Christianity amongst those Barbarians. Then the tauny *Indian* Fryer being well set out with high Commendations, and fairly painted with flattering Elogies, presents these his Patents (and with them peradventure a little wedge of Gold, a Box of Pearles, some Rubies or Diamonds, a Chest of Cochinill, or Sugar, with some boxes of curious Chocolatte, or some ~~leather~~ works of *Mechoacan*, some small fruits of his great paines and labour) to the Pope; who for his first reward gives him his Toe and Pantofle to kisse, seconding this honour with a joyfull countenance to behold an Apostle, judging him worthy of the best of the *Indian* wealth, and his soul peradventure fit for the title of a Saint; This complacency in the gift and the giver, breeds immediately a *motus proprius* in his Holinesse to grant a Bull with a degree of the Popes Commissary, wherein this poor Mendicant Fryer is enabled to runne over all the Cloisters of his Profession in *Spain*, to gather up his thirty or forty young Preachers. Who for their better encouragement are at their first listing by the Popes Authority absolved *aculpa & apana*, from all sinne, and from their Purgatory and Hell due unto it, by a plenary Indulgence. And whosoever shall oppose, or any way discourage this Popes Commissary, or those that are or would be listed by him, are *ipso facto* excommunicated with an Anathem reserved only to this Commissary or his Holinesse himself. O what is it to see, when such a Commissaries coming is known, how the young birds, that as in Cages are shut up within the wals of a Cloister, leap and cherish themselves with hopes of liberty? What is it to see disordered Fryers, who for their misdemeanours, and leaping over their Cloister wals in the night to finde out their wanton harlots, have been imprisoned, now rejoyce at the coming of a Popes Commissary, and plenary Indulgence, freeing them from sins past, and fitting them for the Conversion of souls, though their own be not averted from their Harlot, nor as yet truly and unfainedly converted to the love of God? True it is, I have known some that have written their names in the list of *Indian* Missionaries, men of sober life and conversation, moved only with a blind zeal of encreasing the Popish Religion: yet I dare say and confidently print this truth without wronging the Church of *Rome*, that of thirty or forty which in such occasions are commonly transported to the *India's*, the three parts of them are Fryers of leud lives, weary of their retired Cloister lives, who have been punished often by their Superiours for their wilfull back-sliding from that obedience which they formerly vowed; or for the breach of their poverty in closely retaining money by them to Card and Dice, of which sort I could here namely insert a long and tedious Catalogue; or lastly such, who have been imprisoned for violating their vow of chastity with leud and lascivious women, either by secret flight from their Cloister, or by publike Apostatizing from their Order, and clothing themselves in Lay-mens Apparell, to run about the safer with their wicked Concubines. Of which sort it was my chance to be acquainted with one Fryer *John Nevarro* a Franciscan in the City of *Guatemala*, who after he had in secular apparell enjoyed the leud company of one *Amaryllis* a famous Woman player in *Spain* for the space of a year, fearing at last he might be discovered, listed himself in a Mission to *Guatemala*, the year 1632. there hoping to enjoy with more liberty and lesse fear of punishment any lustfull or carnall object. Liberty, in a word, under the Cloake of Piety and Conversion of Souls, it is, that drawes so many Fryers (and commonly the younger sort) to those remote *American* parts; where after they have learned some *Indian* language, they are licenced with a Parish Charge to live alone out of the sight of a watching Prior or Superiour, out of the bounds and compass of Cloister wals, and authorized to keep house by themselves, and to finger as many Spanish Patacones, as their wits devise shall teach them to squeeze out of the newly Converted *Indians* wealth. This liberty

liberty they could never enjoy in *Spain*, and this liberty is the Midwife of so many foul fals of wicked Fryers in those parts. For the present I shall returne againe to my Fryer *John Navarro*, who at his coming to *Guatemala*, being made for his wit and learning, Master and Reader of Divinity, and much esteemed of for his acute Preaching, among many others got the estimation and love of a chief Gentlewoman, (*Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem testa diu*) who continued in *Navarro* his heart the former sent of the unchast love of *Amaryllis*, so far that the Fryer being blinded and wounded with *Cupids* Arrow sticking in his heart, ran headlong to quench his lustfull thirst upon *St. James* his day, 1635. for better memory of the Tragical event (being the Spaniards common Advocate, and speciall Patron of that City, named *St. Jago de Guatemala*) where cruell *Mars* oppressing *Venus* in her wanton Acts, the injured husband acting *Mars*, and finding *Navarro Cupids* page saluting his *Venus* upon her bed, drew his sword, cutting the Fryer first in the head and face; who struggling with death, and purchasing his life with a swift and nimble flight to a Garden, where his own brother a Fryer of the same Order, and Pander to that foul act, entertained the Motherlesse children; for the husband having missed his fatal blow (willingly as some imagined, or unwillingly as others judged) in the Fryers heart, wilfully laid it in the throat of his unchast Wife, scarce leaving way for breath to make a speedy Confession of her sinne to *Navarro* his Brother; who tending her soul, as much as his Brother had tendred her body, absolved her from her sinne, finding signes, though no uttering speech of Repentance, while the murderer fled, and the murdered lay in the door of her house for a sad object to all, that immediately flocked thither to see that bloody Tragedy. The Wife being the same day buried, the Husband being retired to a close Sanctuary, *Navarro* was carried to his Convent to be cured; and after his Cure was banished that Country; whom two years after it was my chance to meet in *Cartagena* returning to *Spain* with his scard face, bearing the marke of his lascivious life, and of that liberty which he had enjoyed in *America*. Such are the fruits of the zeal of those wretches, who upbraide our Church and Ministers for want of zeal to labour in the Conversion of Infidels. Who when they arrive to those parts, are entertained with ringing of Bels, with sounding of Trumpets most part of the way as they travail, and as Apostles are received by the *Indians*, though soon like *Judas* they fall from their calling, and for pleasure and covetousnesse sell away Christ from their souls. *England* may here learn to beware of such Converters, who are daily by name of Missionaries sent hither by the Pope to preach among us Popery; but like *Navarro* come to feed and cherish their wanton lusts, as I could give many instances, might I not be censured for long digressions in mingling English Histories with my *American* Travailes.

C H A P. IV.

Shewing to what Provinces of the East and West-India's belonging to the Crown of Castilia are sent Missions of Fryers and Jesuites. And specially of the Mission sent in the year 1625.

IN all the Dominions of the King of *Spain* in *America*, there are two sorts of Spaniards more opposite one to another then in *Europe*, the Spaniard is opposite to the French, or to the Hollander, or to the Portingall; to wit, they that are born in any parts of *Spain* and goe thither, and they that are borne there of Spanish parents, whom the Spaniards to distinguish them from themselves, terme *Criolios*, signifying the Natives of that Country. This hatred is so great, that I dare say, nothing might be more advantagious then this, to any other Nation that would conquer *America*. And nothing more easily gained then the wils and affections of the Natives of the Country, to joine with any other Nation to free and rescue themselves from that subjection, or kinde of slavery, which they suffer under the hard usage of the Spaniards, and their partiall Government and justice toward them, and those that come from *Spain*. This is so grievous to the poor *Criolios* or Natives, that my self have often heard them say, They would rather be subject to any other Prince, nay to the Hollanders, then

to the *Spaniards*, if they thought they might enjoy their Religion; and others wishing the *Hollanders*, when they took *Truxillio* in *Honduras*, had itayed in it and entred further into the land, they should have been welcome to them; and that the Religion they enjoyed with so much slavery, was nothing sweet unto them. This mortall hatred betwixt these two sorts of *Spaniards*, made the *Criolio's* so ready to joyn against the Marquesse of *Gelves* Viceroy of *Mexico*, in the tumult and mutiny of that City, wherein they cleaving to *Don Alonso de Zerna*, the Arch-bishop caused the Viceroy to escape for his life by flight, and would then have utterly rooted out the Spanish Government, had not some Priests dissuaded them from it; but of this I shall speak more largely hereafter. The cause of this deadly hatred hath proceeded from a jealousie which the *Spaniards* have ever had of the *Criolio's*, that they would fain withdraw themselves first from the commerce with *Spain*, and secondly, from the Government which is laid upon them; which is such, that the *Criolio's* must be alwayes under, and a subject, alwayes governed, but scarce any a Governour. Never yet was there seen any *Criolio* made Viceroy of *Mexico*, or *Peru*; or President of *Guatemala*, or *Santafe*, or *S. Domingo*; or Governour of *Yucacan*, *Cartagena*, *Havana*; or *Alcalde Mayor* (as they call them) of *Soconusco*, *Chiapa*, *San Salvador*, and such like places of credit. So likewise in the Courts of Chancery, as *S^{ra}. Domingo*, *Mexico*, *Guatemala*, *Lima*, and the rest; where commonly there are Six, called *Oydores* and one *Fiscal*, scarce one of them to be found a *Criolio*, or native of the Country; though there be among them those that descended of the chief Conquerors; as in *Lima* and *Peru* the *Pizarros*, in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca* the house of the Marquesse *Dell Valle*, *Ferdinando Cortes* his Successors, others of the house of *Giron*, others of the house of *Alvarado*, others of the *Gusmanes*, finally many of the chiefest houses of *Spain*; yet none of these ever preferred to any dignity. And not only thus are they kept from offices, but daily affronted by the *Spaniards* as incapable of any Government, and termed half *Indians* by them.

Which generall contempt hath also spread it self in the Church, where no *Criolio* Priest is scarce ever preferred to be a Bishop, or Canon in a Cathedrall Church, but all such as come from *Spain*. So likewise in the religious orders they have many years indeavored to keep under and suppress such as have been admitted to their orders of the natives of the Country, lest the number of them should prevail against those that are brought from *Spain*; they have been very nice in choosing of them, and though they have been forced to admit of some, yet still the Provincials, the Priors, and all Superiors have been *Spaniards* born in *Spain*. Till now lately some Provinces have got the upper hand and prevailed against the *Spaniards*, and have so filled their Cloisters with *Criolio's* or natives, that they have utterly refused to admit the supplies of *Spanish* Missions which formerly were sent unto them, and till this day are sent to others. In the Province of *Mexico* there are *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Augustines*, *Carmelites*, *Mercenarians*, and *Jesuites*, whereof the *Jesuites* and *Carmelites* only to this day prevail against *Criolio's*, bringing every two or three years Missions from *Spain*. The last Mission that was sent to the *Mercenarians* was the year 1625. and then was the opposition such between that Mission and the *Criolio's*, that in the election of the next Provinciall in their Cloister of *Mexico*, the Fryers drew knives one against another, and were like to kill each other, had not the Viceroy gone to their Cloister to make peace, and imprison some of them. Yet at last by the multitude of voices the native party prevailed, and till this day have exempted themselves from *Spanish* Missions, alleading (as others have done) that they have Fryers enough in their Cloisters, and need none to be sent them from *Spain*; submitting themselves to the Pope, and presenting to him as stately gifts as ever *Spaniards* did before them. In the Province of *Guaxaca* none admit of Missionaries from *Spain*; true it is, the *Dominicans* are but newly subdued by the *Criolian* party; and as yet are strongly pleading at *Rome* for *Spanish* Fryers, alleading that the glory and lustre of their Religion hath been much blurred since the non-admittance of supplies of their zealous Compatriots. The Province of *Guatemala*, (which is of a large extent) containing *Guatemala*, *Chiapa*, the *Zoques*, part of *Tabasco*, the *Zeldales*, the *Sacapulas*, the *Vera Paz*, all the coast lying to the South sea, *Suchutepeques* and *Soconusco*, *Comayagua*, *Honduras*, *S. Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, hath in it these orders chiefly, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Augustines*, (who are subject to *Mexico* being one poor Cloister in *Guatemala*) *Jesuites* also in *Guatemala* subject to the government of *Mexico* and *Mercenarians*; whereof

whereof the three orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarians, are the only Preachers and parish Priests throughout all the forenamed Provinces. And these three Orders have still kept under the Criolian party, never as yet suffering any of them to be Provinciaall, bringing every two or three years, some one year and some another; Missions of Fryers from *Spain* to maintain and keep up their faction against the Criolians. The Provinces of *Peru* being more distant from *Spain*, and hard to come to by sea, have no Missions sent unto them. There are of the most Romish religious orders, yet the chief are Dominicans; and they all live above their vow of poverty, abounding in wealth, riot, liberty and pleasures. In the Kingdome of *Nuevo reino de Granada*, and *Cartagena*, *Santa fee*, *Barinas*, *Popayan*, and the government of *St. Martha*, are Dominicans; Jesuites; Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustines and Mercenarians; whereof the Dominicans, Jesuites and Franciscans till this day admit of Missions from *Spain*. The Island of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *la Margarita*, *Puerto rico*, all are subject to the head Provinciaall of *Santo Domingo*, being Dominicans, Jesuites, and Franciscans, and have all now and then Missions from *Spain*. *Yucatan* hath in it only Franciscans, who live most richly and plentifully, and strongly uphold the Spanish faction with *European* Missions: *Mecbacacan* belongeth to the *Mexican* Fryers, and is in the same condition as was said before of *Mexico*. Thus have I briefly run over all *America* that pertains to the Crown of *Castilia*: for the *East-India's* they belong to the Crown of *Portingall* and *Brasil*, as first discovered and possessed by the *Portingalls*, and now doubtlesse are subject to King *John*, the new King of *Portingall*. Yet the Islands of *Philippinas* are subject to the King of *Spain*, and there are Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, and Jesuites, all which lie still in wait in *Manila* the Metropolitan City, for some sure shipping to *Japan*, to convert that Kingdome. And though they admit of some few Criolios among them, especially some of their Converts of *China* and *Japan*; yet their chief number and strength is of Spanish Missionaries, who are more frequently conveyed thither then to the parts aforementioned of *America*. First they are sent in the ships that are bound for *Nueva Espana* and *Mexico*; and after they have rested two or three months in *Mexico*, they are sent to *Acapulco*, lying on the *Mar del Zur*, there they are shipped in two great Caracks which yearly go and come richly laden with *China*, *Japan*, and all *East-India* ware from *Manila* to *Acapulco* to enrich *Mexico* with far greater riches then any are sent by the North sea from *Spain*. The voyage from *Acapulco* thither, is longer then from *Spain* to *Mexico*; and easie and pleasant, though the returne is far longer and most dangerous. The year of our Lord 1625. there were four Missions sent; the one of Franciscans to *Yucatan*, the other of Mercenarians to *Mexico*, the other two of Dominicans and Jesuites to *Philippinas*. At which time it was my fortune to reside among the Dominicans in *Xerez* in *Andaluzia*. The Popes Commissary for that Mission was Fryer *Matheo de la Villa*, who having a Commission for thirty, and having gathered some 24 of them about *Castilia* and *Madrid*, sent them by degrees well stored with mony to *Cales*, to take up a convenient lodging for himself and the rest of his crew till the time of the setting forth of the *Indian* Fleet. This Commissary named one Fryer *Antonio Calvo* to be his substitute, and to visite the Cloisters of *Andaluzia* lying in his way; namely *Cordova*, *Sevill*, *St. Lucar*, and *Xerez*, to try if out of them he could make up his complear number of thirty, which was after fully compleated. About the end of *May* came this worthy *Calvo* to *Xerez*, and in his Company one *Antonio Melendez* of the Colledge of *St. Gregory* in *Valladolid*, with whom I had formerly near acquaintance. This *Melendez* greatly rejoyced when he had found me; and being well stocked with *Indian* Patacones, the first night of his coming invited me to his chamber to a stately supper. The good *Xerez* Sack which was not spared, set my friend in such a heat of zeal of converting *Japonians*, that all his talke was of those parts never yet seen, and at least six thousand leagues distant. *Bacchus* metamorphosed him from a Divine into an Orator, and made him a *Cicero* in parts of Rhetoricall eloquence. Nothing was omitted that might exhort me to joyne with him in that function, which he thought was Apostolicall. *Nemo Propheta in patria sua*, was a great argument with him; sometimes he propounded Martyrdome for the Gospell sake, and the glory after it, to have his life and death printed, and of poor Fryer *Antony* a Clothiers son of *Segovia* to be styled *St. Antony* by the Pope, and made collaterall with the Apostles in heaven; thus did *Bacchus* make him ambitious of honour upon the earth, and preferment in heaven. But when he thought this Rhetorick had not prevailed, then would he act a

Midas

Midas and *Croesus*, fancying the *India's* paved with tiles of gold and silver, the stones to be Pearls, Rubies, and Diamonds, the trees to be hung with clusters of Nutmegs bigger then the clusters of grapes of *Canaan*, the fields to be planted with Sugar-canes, which should so sweeten the *Chocolatte*, that it should far exceed the milke and hony of the Land of promise; the silkes of *China* he conceited so common, that the sailes of the ships were nothing else; finally he dreamed of *Midas* happinesse, that whatsoever he touched should be turned to gold: Thus did *Xerez Nectar* make my friend and mortified Fryer, a covetous worldling. And yet from a rich covetous Merchant did it shape him to a Courtier in pleasures; fancying the *Philippinas* to be the *Eden*, where was all joy without tears, mirth without sadnesse, laughing without sorrow, comfort without grief, plenty without want, no not of *Eves* for *Adams*, excepted only that in it should be no forbidden fruit, but all lawfull for the taste and sweetning of the palate; and as *Adam* would have been as God, so conceited *Melendez* himself a God in that *Eden*; whom travelling, *Indian* Waites and Trumpets should accompany; and to whom, entering into any Town, nolegaies should be presented, flowers and boughes should be strowed in his way, Arches should be erected to ride under, Bels for joy should be rung, and *Indian* knees for duty and homage, as to a God, should be bowed to the very ground. From this inducing argument, and representation of a Paradise, he fell into a strong Rhetoricall point of curiosity; finding out a tree of knowledge, and a Philosophicall maxime, *Omnis homo naturaliter scire desiderat*, man naturally inclines to know more and more; which knowledge he fancied could be no where more furnished with rare curiosities then in those parts; for there should the Gold and Silver, which here are fingered, in their growth in the bowels of the earth be known; there should the Pepper be known in its season, the Nutmeg and Clove, the Cinnamon as a rine or bark on a tree; the fashioning of the Sugar from a green growing Cane into a loaf; the strange shaping the *Cochinil* from a worme to so rich a Scarlet die; the changing of the *Tinta* which is but grasse with stalke and leaves into an *Indigo* black die, should be taught and learned; and without much labour thus should our ignorance be instructed with various and sundry curiosities of knowledge and understanding. Finally, though *Xerez* liquor (grapes bewitching tears) had put this bewitching eloquence into my *Antonies* brain) yet he doubted not to preferre before it his wine of *Philippinas*, growing on tall and high trees of *Coco*, wherein he longed to drink a Spanish Brindis in my company to all his friends remaining behind in *Spain*. Who would not be moved by these his arguments to follow him, and his *Calvo*, or ball pated Superior? Thus supper being ended my *Melendez* desired to know how my heart stood affected to his journey; and breaking out into a *Voto a Dios* with his converting zeal, he swore he should have no quiet nights rest untill he were fully satisfied of my resolution to accompany him. And having learned the Poets expression, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames?* he offered unto me halfe a dozen of Spanish pistols, assuring me that I should want nothing, and that the next morning *Calvo* should furnish me with whatsoever monies I needed, for to buy things necessary for the comfort of so long and tedious a journey. To whom I answered, suddain resolutions might bring future grief and sorrow, and that I should that night lie down and take counsell with my pillow, assuring him that for his sake I would do much, and that if I resolved to goe, my resolution should draw on an other friend of mine, an Irish Fryer, named *Thomas Delcon*. Thus took I my leave of my *Melendez*, and retired my self to my Chamber and bed, which that night was no place of repose and rest to me as formerly it had been. I must needs say *Melendez* his arguments, though most of them moved me not; yet the opportunity offered me to hide my self from all sight and knowledge of my dearest friends, stirred up in me a serious thought of an angry and harsh letter, which not long before I had received out of *England* from mine own father, signifying unto me the displeasure of most of my friends and kindred, and his own grievous indignation against me, for that having spent so much money in training me up to learning, I had not only utterly refused to be of the Jesuites Order (which was his only hopes) but had proved in my affections a deadly foe and enemy unto them. And that he would have thought his money better spent, if I had been a Scullion in a Colledge of Jesuites, then if I should prove a Generall of the Order of Dominicans; that I should never thinke to be welcome to my Brothers nor kindred in *England*, nor to him; that I should not expect ever more to hear from him, nor dare to see him if ever I returned to *England*; but expect

expect that he would set upon me even Jesuites, whom I had deserted and opposed, to chase me out of my Country; that *Hailing* house though he had lost it with much more means for his Religion during his life; yet with the consent of my Eldest Brother (now Governour of *Oxford* and Masse-founder in that our Famous Univerfity) he would sell it away; that neither from the Estate, or money made of it, I might enjoy a child's part due unto me. These reasons stole that nights rest from my body, and sleep from my eyes, tears keeping them unclosed and open, lest *Cymbia's* black and mourning Mantle should offer to cover, close and shut them. To this Letters consideration was joynd a strong opposition, which serious Studies and ripeness of Learning, with a carefull discussion of some Schoole-points and Controversies had bred in me against some chief of the Popish Tenets. Well could I have wished to have come to *England*, there to satisfie and ease my troubled Conscience; well considered I, that if I stayed in *Spain*, when my Studies were compleatly finished, the Dominicans with a Popes Mandamus would send me home for a Missionary to my Country. But then well considered I the sight of a wrathfull Father, the power of a furious Brother a Colonel, who (as now landed in *England* to search me out, and do me mischief) then, when *Zephyrus* with a pleasant gale seconded his Popish zeal, might violently assault me. Well considered I the increased rout and rable of both their great friends, the Jesuites, who what with Court friends power, what with subtle plots and Policies would soon and easily hunt me out of *England*. Lastly, well considered I my *Melendez* his last inducing Argument of the increase of knowledge naturall by the insight of rich *America* and flourishing *Asia*, and of knowledge spirituall by a long contemplation of that new planted Church, and of those Church Planters lives and Conversations. Wherefore after a whole nights strife and inward debate, as the glorious Planet began to banish nights dismal horror, rising with a bright and cheerfull countenance, rose in my minde a firme and settled resolution to visit *America*, and there to abide till such time as Death should surprize my angry Father, *Ignatius Loiola* his devoted Mecenas, and till I might there gain out of *Potosi* or *Sacatecas* treasure that might Counterpoise that Childs part which for detesting the four-cornered Cap, and black Coat of Jesuites, my Father had deprived me of. So in recompence of the Supper which my friend *Anthony* had bestowed upon me, I gave him a most pleasant breakfast by discovering unto him my purpose and resolution to accompany him in his long and Navall journey. And at noon I feasted him with a dinner of one dish more then his breakfast, to wit, the company also of my Irish friend *Thomas De leon*. After dinner we both were presented to *Calvo* the bald pate Superiour; who immediately embraced us, promised to us many curtesies in the way, read unto us a Memorandum of what dainties he had provided for us, what varieties of fish and fesh: how many Sheep, how many Gammons of Bacon, how many fat Hens, how many Hogs, how many barrels of white Bisket, how many Jars of wine of *Casalla*, what store of Rice, Figs, Olives, Capars, Rayfins; Lemmons, sweet and sowre Oranges, Pomgranets, Comfits, Preserves, Conserves and all sorts of *Portingall* sweet meates; he flattered us that he would make us Masters of Arts, and of Divinity in *Manila*; then opened he his purse, and freely gave us to spend that day in *Xerez*, and to buy what most we had a mind to, and to carry us to *Cales*; Lastly he opened his hands to bestow upon us the holy Fathers Benediction, that no mischief might befall us in our way; I expected some Relique or nail of his great toe, or one of his velvet Pantostes to kisse; But peradventure with frequent kissing through *Italy* and all *Castilia* it was even worn thredbare. Much were we frowned at by the Dominicans our chiefest friends of *Xerez*, but the liberty which with *Melendez* we enjoyed that day about the City of *Xerez* took from us all sad thoughts, which so suddain a departure from our friends might have caused in us. And *Calvo* much fearing that the love of some Nuns (too powerfull with Spanish Fryers) might yet keep us back from pursuing our purposed journey, with cunning policy perswaded us to depart from *Xerez* the next morning. Which willingly we performed in company of *Melendez* and another Spanish Fryer of that City (leaving our Chests and Books to *Calvo* to send after us) and that day we travailed like Spanish Dons upon our little Boricoes, or Asses towards *Puerto de Santa Maria*, taking in our way that stately Convent of *Carrusians*, and the River of *Guadalethe*, the former Poets River of oblivion, tasting of the fruits of those *Elysian* fields and Gardens and drinking of *Guadalethes* Crystall streams, that so perpetuall oblivion might blind and cover all those Abtractive Species which the intuitive know-

ledge of *Spains* and *Xerezes* pleasant objects had deeply stamped in our thoughts and hearts. At evening we came to that *Puerto* so famous for harbouring *Spains* chief Gallies, and at that time *Don Frederique de Toledo*; who hearing of the arrivall of four *Indian* Apostles, would not lose that occasion of some Soul-sanctification (which he thought might be his purchase) by entertaining us that night at Supper. The Town thought their streets blessed with our walking in them, and wished they might enjoy some Reliques from us, whom they beheld as appointed to Martyrdome, for Christ and Antichrist sake together; the Galley slaves strived who should sound their Waits and Trumpets most joyfully, *Don Frederique* spared no cost in Fish and Flesh that night, doubting not but that receiving four Prophets, he should receive a fourfold reward hereafter. Supper being ended, we were by *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen conveyed to the Cloister of the *Minims* appointed by *Don Frederique* to lodge us that night, who to shew their brotherly love washed our feet, and so recommended us to quiet and peaceable rest. The next morning after a stately breakfast bestowed upon us by those poor Mendicant Fryers, a boat was prepared for us and *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen to wait on us, and to convey us to *Cales*. Where we found out our fellow Apostles, and the Popes Commissary Fryer *Matthew de la Villa*, who welcomed us with *Romes* Indulgences, *a culpa & a pœna*, and with a flourishing Table stored with Fish and Flesh for dinner. There we continued in dayly honour and estimation, enjoying the sights most pleasant which *Cales* both by Sea and Land could afford unto us, untill the time of the Fleets departing. Which when it drew near, our grand Apostle Fryer *Matthew de la Villa*, (whom we thought burned with zeal of Martyrdome) took his leave of us; shewing us the Popes Commission to nominate in his place whom he list, and naming bald *Calvo* for Superiour, returning himself to *Madrid* with more desire to enjoy a Bishoprick in *Spain* (as we understood) then to sacrifice his life in *Japan*. His departure caused a mutiny amongst us, and cooled the spirit of two of our Missionaries, who privily fled from us. The rest were pleased with honest *Calvo*, for that he was a simple and ignorant old man, (whom they could more jeer then any way respect) more Scullion-like in dayly greazing his white habit with handling his fat Gammons of Bacon, then like a Popes Commissary; for his Masters Toe the proudest of our Missioners then would willingly have kissed; yet *Calvoes* greasie fits the humblest would loath to have kissed. Thus under a sloven was that Apostolicall Mission to be conveyed first to *Mexico* three thousand *Spanisb* Leagues from *Spain*, and afterwards three thousand Leagues further from thence to *Manila* the Metropolitan and Court City of the Islands of *Philippinas*.

C H A P. V.

Of the Indian Fleet that departed from Cales, Anno Dom. 1625. And of some remarkable passages in that Voiage.

U Pon the first of *July* in the afternoon, *Don Carlos de Ybarra* Admirall of the Galeons that then lay in the Bay of *Cales* gave order that a warning Peece should be shot off to warn all Passengers, Souldiers, and Mariners to betake themselves the next morning to their Ships. O what was it to see some of our Apostolicall company who had enjoyed much liberty for a moneth in *Cales*, who had began to entangle their hearts with some young Nuns love, now hang down their heads, and act with sad and demure looks loath to depart, and cry out, *Bonum est nos hic esse*, It is good for us to be here? and amongst them one Fryer *John De Pacheco* made the warning Peece to be a warning to him to hide himself (who could no more be found amongst his fellow Missioners) thinking it a part of hard cruelty to forsake a young Franciscan Nun to whom he had engaged and wholly devoted his heart. What was it to see others with weeping eyes piercing through the Iron grates the tender Virgins hearts, leaving and bequeathing unto them some pledges of their wanton love, and receiving from them some Cordials against Sea-sicknesse, Caps, Shirts and Handkerchiefs, to eye them or wear them when *Eolus* or *Neptune* should most oppose them? The second of *July* in the morning early notice was given unto us, that one Fryer *Pablo de Londres*, an old crab-fac'd English Fryer living in *St. Lucar* had got the Duke of *Medina* his letter and sent it to the Governour. of *Cales* charging

charging him to seek for me and to stay me; signifying the King of Spains will and pleasure, that no *English* should passe to the *Indias*, having a Country of their own to convert; this did that old Fryer to stop my passage, having before wrote unto me many letters to the same purpose, and got a letter from that father *Master* that was in *England* before with the Count of *Gondomar*, alias Fryer *Diego de la Fluente*, then Provinciall of *Castilia*, and sent it unto me, wherein that Superiour offered me many kinde offers of preferment, if I would desist from my journey, and to return to him to *Castilia*: but none of these letters could prevail with me; nor the Governours searching stop me; for immediately I was conveyed alone to our ship, and there closely hid in a barrell that was emptied of Bisquet to that purpose; so that when the Governour came a ship-board to enquire for an *English* man, Fryer *Calvo* having the father of liers in my stead about him, resolutely denied me, who would not be found, because not sought for in a barrels belly. This found our Apostles sport and talke that first day. Then went out the ships one by one crying, *A dios, A dios*, and the Town replying *Buen viaie, buen viaie*; when all were out and no hopes of enjoying more *Cales* pleasures and liberty, then began my young Fryers to wish themselves again a Land, some began presently to feed the Fishes with their Nuns sweet dainties; others to wonder at the number of stately ships, which with eight Galeons that went to convey us beyond the Illands of *Canaria* were forty one in all; some for one Port of the *Indias*, and some for another. To *Puerto Rico* went that year two ships; to *Santo Domingo* three; to *Jamaica* two, to *Margarita* one, to the *Havana* two, to *Cartagena* three, to *Campeche* two, to *Honduras* and *Truxillo* two, and to *St. John de Ulhua*, or *Vera Cruz* sixteen; all laden with Wines, Figs, Raisins, Olives, Oyle, Cloth, Carries, Linnen, Iron and quick-silver for the Mines, to fetch out the pure silver of *Sacatecas* from the earthen drosse from whence it is digged. The persons of most note that went that year was first the *Marquesse de Serralvo*, with his Lady, who went for Viceroy of *Mexico*, in stead of the *Conde de Gelves* then retired to a Cloister for fear of the common people, who the year before had mutined against him; this *Marquesse* went in the ship called *St. Andrew*, and with him in the same ship went *Don Martin de Carrillo* a Priest, and Inquisitor of the Inquisition of *Valladolid*; who was sent for Visiter Generall to *Mexico*, to examine the strife between the *Conde de Gelves* and the Arch-bishop, and the mutiny that for their sakes had happened; with full Commission and Authority to imprison, banish, hang and execute all Delinquents. In the ship called *Santa Gertrudis* went *Don Jon Nino de Toledo*, who was sent to be President of *Manila* in *Philippinas*, and in the same ship with him went the whole Mission of thirty Jesuites sent to *Philippinas*; who had already got the favour of the President, and politickly sought to be passengers in the same ship, that so they might the more ingratiate themselves to him; for this cunning generation studies purposely how to insinuate themselves with Kings, Princes, Great men, Rulers and Commanders. In the ship called *St. Antony* went my Dominican Mission of 27 Fryers. In the ship called *Nuestra Sennora de Regla* went four and twenty Mercenarian Fryers bound for *Mexico*; part of those that afterwards drew their knives to slash and cut the *Criolio's* of their Profession. Thus with the Convoy of eight Galeons for fear of *Turkes* and *Hollanders* (whom the Spanish *Dons* shake and tremble at) set forward our Fleet with a pleasant and prosperous gale, with a quiet and milken sea, untill we came to the Golfe, called *Golfo de Teguas*, or of *kicking Mares*, whose waves and swelling surges did so kick our ships, that we thought they would have kicked our *St. Antonies* gilded image out of our ship, and bereaved my *Antonio Melendez* of his gilt and painted idol, (to whom he dayly bowed and prayed against the mercilese element) and that all our ships galleries would have been torn from us with the spurnings and blowes of that outrageous Golfe. But at last having overcome the danger of this Golfe, the eight Galeons took their leave of us, and left our Merchant ships now to shift for themselves. The departure of these Galeons was most solemnly performed on each side, saluting each other with their Ordinance, visiting each other with their Cock-boats, the Admirall of the Fleet feasting with a stately dinner in his ship, the Admirall of the Galeons; and the like performing most of the other ships to the severall Colonels and Captains and other their allied friends that were of the Royall Fleet. Here it was worth noting to hear the sighes of many of our *Indian* Apostles, wishing they might return again in any of those Galeons to *Spain*; their zeal was now cold, and some endeavoured many ways for *Calvo* his licence to returne (which

could not be granted) others employed themselves most of that day in writing letters to their friends, and Sitters in *Cales*. Thus dinner being ended, and the two Admirals solemnly taking their leaves, the warning piece being shot off for the Galeons to joyne together, and turn their course to *Spain*, we bad mutuall adieu, crying one to another *Buen Viaie, Buen passage*, we kept our course towards *America*, sailing before the winde conitantly till we came to *America*; A thing worth noting in that voyage from *Spain* to the *Indies*; that after the Islands of *Canaria* are once left, there is one constant winde, continuing to *America* still the same without any opposition or contrariety of other windes; and this so prosperous and full on the sailes, that did it blow constantly, and were it not interrupted with many calmes, doubtlesse the voyage might be ended in a moneth or lesse. But such were the calmes that many times we had, that we got not to the sight of any land till the twentieth day of *August*: so that near six weeks we sailed as on a river of fresh water, much delighting and sporting our selves in fishing, many sorts of fishes, but especially one, which by the *Spaniards* is called *Dorado*, the golden fish, for the skin and scales of it that glitter like gold; of this sort we found such abundance, that no sooner was the hook with any small bait cast into the sea, when presently the *Dorado* was caught, so that we took them many times for pleasure, and cast them again into the sea, being a fish fitter to be eaten fresh then salted. Many were the feasts and sports used in the ships, till we discovered the first land, or Island called *Deseada*. The last day of *July* (being according to the *Jesuities* Order, and *Romes* appointment, the day of *Ignatius* their Patron and founder of their Religion) the gallant ship called *S^{ta}. Gertrudis* (wherein went 30 *Jesuities*) for theirs and their Saints sake made to all the rest of the Fleet a most gallant shew, she being trimmed round about with white linnen, her flagges and top gallants representing some the *Jesuities* Armes; others the picture of *Ignatius* himself, and this from the evening before, shooting off that night at least fifty shot of Ordinance, besides four or five hundred squibs (the weather being very calme) and all her masts and tacklings hung with paper Lanthornes having burning lights within them; the Waits ceased not from sounding, nor the *Spaniards* from singing all night. The days solemn sport was likewise great, the *Jesuities* increasing the *Spaniards* joy with an open procession in the ship; singing their superstitious Hymnes and Anthemes to their supposed Saint; and all this seconded with roaring Ordinance, no powder being spared for the compleating that days joy and triumph. The fourth of *August* following, being the day which *Rome* doth dedicate to *Dominick*, the first founder of the *Dominicans* or *Preachers* Order, the ship wherein I was, named *St. Anthony*, strived to exceed *S^{ta}. Gertrudis*, by the assistance of the 27 *Dominicans* that were in her. All was performed both by night and day; as formerly in *S^{ta}. Gertrudis*, both with powder, squibs, lights, Waits and musick. And further did the *Dominicans* joy and triumph exceed the *Jesuities*, in that they invited all the *Jesuities*, with *Don John Nino de Toledo* the President of *Manila*, with the Captain of the ship of *S^{ta}. Gertrudis*, to a stately dinner both of Fish and Flesh; which dinner being ended, for the afternoons sport they had prepared a Comedy out of famous *Lope de Vega*, to be acted by some Souldiers, Passengers and some of the younger sort of Fryers; which I confesse was as stately acted and set forth both in shewes and good apparell, in that narrow compasse of our ship, as might have been upon the best stage in the Court of *Madrid*. The Comedy being ended, and a banquet of sweet meats prepared for the closing up of that days mirth, both ours, and *S^{ta}. Gertrudis* Cock-boat carried backe our invited friends, bidding each other adieu with our Waits and chiefest Ordinance. Thus went we on our Sea Voiage without any storme, with pleasant gales, many calmes, dayly sports and pastimes, till we discovered the first land called *Deseada* upon the twentieth day of *August*.

C H A P. V I.

of our discovery of some Islands, and what trouble befell us in one of them.

THE Admirall of our Fleet wondring much at our slow sailing, who from the second of *July* to the 19 of *August* had seen nor discovered any land, save only the Islands of *Canaria*; the same day in the morning called to Councell all the Pilots of the ships;

to know their opinions concerning our present being, and the nearness of Land. The Ships therefore drew near unto the Admirall one by one, that every Pilot might deliver his opinion. Here was cause of laughter enough, for the passengers to hear the wise Pilots skill; One saying, we were three hundred miles, another two hundred, another one hundred, another fifty, another more, another lesse, all erring much from the truth (as afterwards appeared) save only one old Pilot of the smallest Vessell of all, who affirmed resolutely, that with that small gale wherewith we then sailed, we should come to *Guadalupe* the next morning. All the rest laughed at him, but he might well have laughed at them, for the next morning by Sun-rising we plainly discovered an Island called *Deseada* by the *Spaniards*, or the desired Land, for that at the first discovery of the *Indians* it was the first Land the *Spaniards* found, being then as desirous to find some Land after many dayes sailing as we were. After this Island presently we discovered another called *Marigalante*, then another called *Dominica*, and lastly, another named *Guadalupe*, which was that we aimed at to refresh our selves in, to wash our foul clothes, and to take in fresh water, whereof we stood in great need. By two or three of the clock in the afternoon we came to a safe Rode lying before the Island, where we cast our Anchors, no wayes fearfull of the naked Barbarians of that and the other Islands, who with great joy do yearly expect the *Spanish* Fleets coming, and by the Moones doe reckon the Months, and thereby make their guesse at their coming, and prepare some their Sugar Canes, others the Plantin, others the Torrois, some one Provision, some another to barter with the *Spaniards* for their small Haberdash, or Iron, Knives, or such things which may help them in their Wars, which commonly they make against some other Islands. Before our Anchors were cast, out came the *Indians* to meet us in their Canoa's, round like Troughes, some whereof had been painted by our *English*, some by the *Hollanders*, some by the *French*, as might appear by their severall Armes, it being a common Rode and harbour to all Nations that sail to *America*.

Before we resolved to go to shore, we tasted of those *Indian* fruits, the Plantin above all pleasing our taste and Palate. We could not but much wonder at that sight never yet seen by us of people naked, with their hair hanging down to the middle of their backs, with their faces cut out in severall fashions, or flowers, with thin plates hanging at their Noses, like Hog-rings, and fauning upon us like children; some speaking in their unknowne tongue, others using signes for such things as we imagined they desired. Their signe for some of our *Spanish* Wine was easily perceived, and their request most willingly granted to by our men, who with one reasonable Cup of *Spanish* Sacke presently tumbled up their heels, and left them like swine tumbling on the Deck of our ship. After a while that our people had sported with these rude and Savage *Indians*, our two Cock-boates were ready to carry to shore such as either had clothes to wash, or a desire to bathe themselves in a River of fresh Water which is within the Island, or a minde to set their feet again upon unmoveable Land, after so many dayes of uncertain footing in a floating and reeling ship. But that day being far spent, our Fryers resolved to stay in the ship, and the next whole day to visite the Island; many of the Mariners and Passengers of all the ships went that evening to shore, some returning at night, and some without fear continuing with the *Indians* all night on shore. The next morning my self and most of our Fryers went and having hired some *Spaniards* to wash our clothes, we wandred sometimes all together, sometimes two and two, and sometimes one alone about the Island, meeting with many *Indians*, who did us no hurt, but rather like children fauned upon us, offering us of their fruits, and begging of us whatsoever toies of pins, points or gloves they espied about us. We ventured to goe to some of their houses which stood by a pleasant River, and were by them kindly entertained, eating of their fish, and wild deers flesh. About noon we chanced to meet with some of the Jesuites of *Santa Gertrudis* Ship in the midst of the Mountain, who were very earnest in talke with a *Mulatto* all naked like the rest of the *Indians*. This *Mulatto* was a Christian, born in *Sevill* in *Spain*, and had been slave there formerly to a rich Merchant, his name was *Lewis*, and spoke the *Spanish* Language very perfectly. Some twelve years before, he had run away from his Master by reason of hard and slavish usage, and having got to *Cales*, offering his service to a Gentleman then bound for *America*, the Gentleman fearing not that his true Master should ever have more notice of him from a new World, took him a ship board with

him as his slave. The *Mulatto* remembering the many stripes which he had suffered from his first cruell Maiter, and fearing that from *America* he might by some intelligence or other be sent back again to *Spain*, and also jealous of his second Maiter (whose blowes he had begun to suffer in the Ship) that he would prove as cruell as his first; when the Ships arrived at *Guadalupe*, resolved rather to die amongst the *Indians* (which he knew might be his hardest fortune) then evermore to live in slavery under *Spaniards*. So casting his life upon good or bad fortune, he hid himself among the trees in the Mountaine till the Ships were departed, who after being found by the *Indians*, and giving them some toys which he had got by stealth from his Maiter, he was entertained by them, they liking him, and he them. Thus continued this poor Christian slave among those Barbarians from year to year; who had care to hide himself at the coming of the *Spanish* Fleet yearly. In twelve years that he had thus continued amongst them, he had learned their language, was married to an *Indian*, by whom he had three children living. The Jesuites by chance having met with him, and perceiving more by the Wooll upon his head, that he was a *Mulatto*; then by his black and tauny skin (for those *Indians* paint themselves all over with a red colour) they presently imagined the truth that he could not come thither but with some *Spaniard*: so entring into discourse with him, and finding him to speak *Spanish*, they got the whole truth of him. Then we joyning with the Jesuites, began to perswade the poor Christian to forsake that heathenish life, wherein his soul could never be saved, promising him if he would goe along with us, he should be free from slavery for ever. Poor Soul, though he had lived twelve years without hearing a word of the true God, worshipping stocks and stones with the other Heathens; yet when he heard again of Christ, of eternall damnation in hels torments, and of everlasting Salvation in Heavens joyes, he began to weep, assuring us that he would goe with us, were it not for his Wife and Children, whom he tenderly loved, and could not forsake them. To this we replied, that he might be a means of saving likewise their Souls, if he would bring them with him; and further that we would assure him that care should be taken that neither he, his Wife, nor Children should ever want means competent for the maintenance of their lives. The *Mulatto* hearkned well to all this, though a suddain fear surprized him, because certain *Indians* passed by, and noted his long conference with us. The poor and timorous *Mulatto* then told us, that he was in danger, for having been known by us, and that he feared the *Indians* would kill him, and suspect that we would steal him away; which if they did, and it were noised about the Island, we should soon see their love changed into cruell rage and Mutiny. We perswaded him not to fear any thing they could do to us; who had Souldiers, Guns and Ordinance to secure ours and his life also, wishing him to resolve to bring his Wife and Children but to the Sea side, where our men were drying their Clothes, and would defend him, and a Boat should be ready to convey him with his Wife and Children a Ship board. The *Mulatto* promised to do as we had counselled him, and that he would entice his Wife and Children to the Sea side to barter with us their Wares for ours, desiring some of the Jesuites (whom he said he should know by their black Coates) to be there ready for him with a Cock-boat. *Lewis* departed, as to us he seemed, resolute in what he had agreed; Our joy likewise was great with the hope of bringing to the light of Christianity five souls out of the darknesse of heathenish Idolatry. The Jesuites who had begun with this *Mulatto* were desirous that the happy end and conclusion might be their glory. So taking their leaves of us, they hastened to the Sea to informe the Admirall of what they had done, and to provide that the Cock-boat of their Ship might be in readinesse to receive *Lewis*, and his family. We likewise returned to the shore to see if our Shirts and Clothes were dry. Most of us (among whom my self was one) finding our Linnen ready and our Boat on shore went aboard to our Ship, leaving two or three of our company with many of other ships on shore, especially the Jesuites waiting for their prey. When we came to our Ship, most of the Fryers with what love they had found in the Barbarians, were inflamed with a new zeal of staying in that Island, and converting those Heathens to Christianity, apprehending it an easie businesse (they being a loving people) and no wayes dangerous to us, by reason of the Fleet that yearly passeth that way, and might enquire after our usage. But by some it was objected, that it was a rash and foolish zeal with great hazard of their lives, and many inconveniences were objected against so

so blind and simple an attempt. But those that were most zealous flighted all reasons, saying that the worst that could happen to them could be but to be butchered, sacrificed and eaten up; and that for such a purpose they had come out of *Spain* to be crowned with the Crown of Martyrdome for confessing and preaching *Jesus Christ*. While we were hot in this solemne consultation, behold an uproar on the shoar; our people running to and fro to save their lives, leaving their clothes, and hasting to the Cock-boats, filling them so fast and so full, that some funke with all the people in them; Above all, most pitifull and lamentable were the cryes of some of our women, many casting themselves into the Seachooing rather to venture to be taken up by some Boat, or at worst to be drowned, then to be taken and to be cruelly butchered by the *Indians*. We wondering at this suddain alteration, not knowing the cause of it, at last perceived the Arrowes to come out thick from the Wood from behind the Trees, and thereby guesed at the truth that the Barbarians were mutinied. The uproar lasted not half an hour, for presently our Admirall shot off two or three Peeces of Ordinance and sent a Company of Souldiers to shoar to guard it and our people with their Muskets; which was well and suddainly performed, and all the *Indians* soon dispersed. Three of our Fryers who had remained on the Land, our Cock-boat brought them to us with more of our Passengers, among whom one Fryer *John De la Cueva*, was dangerously shot and wounded in one of his Shoulders; this Fryer had been earnest with me to stay on shoar with him, which I refused, and so escaped that cruell and fiery onset of the *Indians*. Besides those that were drowned and taken up at shoar (which were fifteen persons) two Jesuites were found dead upon the Sand, three more dangerously wounded, three passengers likewise slain, ten wounded, besides three more of the Fleet which could never be found alive or dead, and were thought to have been found in the Wood by the *Indians*, and to have been murdered by them. Our *Mulatto Lewis* came not according to his word; but in his stead a suddain Army of treacherous *Indians*, which gave us motive enough to think, that either *Lewis* himself had discovered the Jesuites Plot to take him away with his Wife and Children; or that the *Indians* suspecting it by his talke with us had made him confesse it. And certainly this was the ground of their mutiny; for whereas *Lewis* before had said, that he would know the Jesuites by their black Coats, it seems he had well described them above all the rest unto the *Indians*, for (as it was after well observed) most of their Arrowes was directed to the black Markes, and so five of them in little above a quarter of an hour slain and wounded. All that night our Souldiers guarded the Coast, often shooting off their Muskets to affright the *Indians*, who appeared no more unto us. All that night we slept little, for we watched our Ship; lest the *Indians* in their Canoas should set upon us and take us asleep. Some lamented the dead and drowned, others pitied our wounded Fryer *John De la Cueva*, who all that night lay in a great torment and misery, others laughed and jeered at those zealous Fryers, who would have stayed in that Island to Convert the Barbarians, saying they had their full desire of Martyrdome, for had they been but that night with the *Indians*, doubtlesse they had been shread for their Suppers. But now we perceived their zeal was coole, and they desired no more to stay with such a Barbarous kind of people; but rather wished the Admirall would shoot off the warning Peece for us all to take up our Anchors, and depart from so dangerous a place. In the morning althe ships made hast to take in such fresh water as was necessary for their voiage yet to *America*, a strong watch being kept along the Coast, and a Guard guarding our men to the River; and all the morning while this was doing not one *Indian* could be found or seen, nor our three men that were missing, appeared. Thus at noon with a pleasant and prosperous Gale we hoisted up our Sails, leaving the Islands and harbour of *Guadalupe*.

C H A P. VII.

Of our further Sayling to St. John de Ullhua, aliàs, Vera Crux; and of our landing there.

UPon the 22 day of *August*, we sailed so pleasantly that we soon left the sight of the Islands; The *Indians* uproar had weaved for us a thred of long discourie; It made

made some hate their calling to teach and convert *Indians*. But *Calvo* he encouraged us, telling us many stories of the good and gentle nature of the *Indians* of *Philippinas*, to whom we were going, and that most of them were Christians already, who esteemed their Priests as Gods upon the earth; and that those that were not as yet converted to Christianity, were kept in awe by the power of the *Spaniards*. Our chief care the first two or three dayes was to look to our plantins which we got from the *Indians*. This fruit pleased us all exceedingly, judging it to be as good, or better then any fruit in *Spain*. It is not gathered ripe from the tree; but being gathered green, it is hung up some dayes, and so ripens and growes yellow and mellow, and every bit as sweet as honey. Our Sugar Canes were no lesse pleasing unto us, whilst chewing the pith, we refreshed and sweetned our mouthes with the juice. We fed for the first week almost upon nothing but *Torrois*; which seemed likewise to us that had never before seen it, one of the Sea monsters, the shell being so hard as to bear any Cart wheel, and in some above two yards broad; when first they were opened, we were amazed to see the number of egges that were in them, a thousand being the least that we judged to be in some of them. Our *Spaniards* made with them an excellent broth with all sorts of spices. The meat seemed rather flesh then Sea fish, which being corned with salt, and hung up two or three dayes in the aire, tasted like Veal. Thus our Hens, our Sheep, our powdered Beef, and gammons of Bacon, which we brought from *Spain*, were some dayes slighted, while with greedy stomachs we fell hard to our Sea Veal.

After four dayes sail, our Fryer *John de la Cueva*, who had been shot by the *Indians*, died; all his body being swelled, which gave us just occasion to thinke, that the arrow which was shot into his shoulder was poisoned. His buriall was as solemnly performed as could be at Sea. His grave being the whole Ocean, he had weighty stones hung to his feet, two more to his shoulders, and one to his brest; and then the superstitious *Romish Dirige* and *Requiem* being sung for his soul, his Corpse being held out to the Sea on the ship side, with ropes ready to let him fall, all the ship crying out three times, *buen Viaie* (that is, a good Voiage) to his soul chiefly, and also to his Corpse ready to travail to the deep to feed the Whales: at the first cry all the Ordinance were shot off, the ropes on a suddain loosed, and *John de la Cueva* with the weight of heavy stones plunged deep into the Sea, whom no mortall eyes ever more heheld. The like we saw performed in the ship of *Santa Gertrudis*, to another Jesuite, one of the three who had been dangerously wounded by the *Indians* of *Guadalupe*; who likewise died like our Fryer, his body being swelled as with poyson. Now our sayling was more comfortable then before; for we passed in the sight of the land of *Puerto Rico*, and then of the great Island of *S^{to}. Domingo*; and here our company began to be lessened, some departing to *Puerto Rico*, and *S^{to}. Domingo*, others to *Cartagena*, and *Havana*, and *Honduras*, *Jamaica*, and *Yucatan*. We remained now alone the Fleet for *Mexico*; and so sailed till we came to what the *Spaniards* call *la Sonda*, or the sound of *Mexico*; for here we often founded the Sea; which was so calme, that a whole week we were stayed for want of winde, scarce stirring from the place where first we were caught by the calme. Here likewise we had great sport in fishing, filling again our bellies with *Dorados*, and saving that provision which we had brought from *Spain*. But the heat was so extraordinary, that the day was no pleasure unto us; for the repercussion of the Surs heat upon the still water and pitch of our ships, kindled a scorching fire, which all the day distermpered our bodies with a constant running sweat, forcing us to cast off most of our clothes. The evenings and nights were somewhat more comfortable, yet the heat which the sun had left in the pitched ribs and planks of the ship was such, that under deck and in our Cabins we were not able to sleep, but in our shirts were forced to walke, or sit, or lie upon the deck. The Mariners fell to washing themselves and to swimming, till the infortunate death of one in the ship called *St. Francisco*, made them suddainly leave off that sport. The neerer we came to the main land, the sea abounds with a monstrous fish called by the *Spaniards*, *Tiburon*. Some mistake this fish for the *Caiman*, or *Crocodile*, holding them both for one; and thinking that it is only the *Caiman* or *Crocodile* (by abuse called *Tiburon*) which devoures mans flesh, a whole joynt at a bit in the water. But the mistake is grosse, for the *Caiman* is plated all over with shels, whereas the *Tiburon* hath no shels, but only like other great Sea fishes, hath a thicke skin. The *Caiman* though the *Indians* eat of it, yet the *Spaniards* hate it; who eat of the *Tiburon*; and in our ship catching one with a tridentall iron Fork,

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Fork, and haling him with a Cable rope to the ship side, and then binding him with it, (being as much as a dozen or fifteen men could do to hoise him up into the ship) we found him to be a most monstrous creature, twelve ells long at least, which we salted, and found likewise to eat like flesh, as hath been said of the *Tortois*. This kind is as ravenous after mans flesh as the *Crocodile*, and many of them were to be seen in this Sound of *Mexico*.

The *Spaniards* bathing themselves dayly by the Ships side, (where there is no such danger of the *Tiburon*; who useth not to come too near the ships) one Mariner of the ship called *St. Francisco* being more venturous then the rest; and offering to swimme from his ship, to see some friends in another not farre off, chanced to be a most unfortunate prey to one of them, who before any boat could be set out to help him, was thrice seen to be pulled under water by the Monster, who had devoured a leg, an arme, and part of his shoulder; the rest of the body was after found and taken up, and carried to *St. Francisco*, and there buried in the forme and manner as hath been said of our Fryer *John de la Cueva*. They that goe down to the sea in ships, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep, *Psalm*. 107. 23, 24. Here they shall see not only Whales, but other fishes like Monsters mastering strong and valiant men, with severall sets of sharpe, strong and mighty teeth, devouring at one bit whole limmes with flesh and bones together. This mischance fadded all our Fleet for three days till it pleased God to refresh our burning heat with a cool and prosperous winde, driving us out of that calme Sound, which (if we had continued in it with that excessive heat) might have proved moit unsound and unhealthy to our bodies, Three dayes after we had sailed, being Munday in the morning about seven of the clock, one of our Fryers saying Masse, and all the people in the ship kneeling to hear it, and to adore their bread God, one Mariner with a loud and sodain voice cryeth out *Tierra, Tierra, Tierra*, Land, Land, Land, which rejoyced the hearts of all that were in the ship, as it seemed, more then their Masse, for leaving that, and their God upon the Altar with the Priest to eat him alone, they arose from their knees, to behold the Continent of *America*. Great was the joy of all the ships that day; and great was the slaughter which our old *Calvo* made among his fowles; (which he had spared formerly) to feast that day his Fryers. About ten of the clock the whole face of the land was visibly apparent, and we with full saile running to embrace it. But our wise Admirall knowing the danger of the Coast, and especially the dangerous entring into the Haven, by reason of the many rockes that lie about it, and are known only by markes and flags set out to give all ships warning of them, perceiving that with the winde wherewith we sailed then, we should not come till towards evening to the Port: and lastly, fearing lest some North winde (which is dangerous upon that Coast, and ordinary in the month of *September*) should in the night arise, and endanger all our ships upon the rockes; he therefore called to Councell all the Pilots, to know whether it were best to keep on our sailing with full sail that day, with hopes to get that day in good time into the Haven; or else with the middle sail only to draw near; that the next morning with more security we might with the help of boats from land be guided in. The result of the Councell was not to venture that day too near unto the Port, for fear of being benighted; but to pull down all but the middle sail. The winde began to calme, and our ships to move slowly towards land, and so we continued till night. A double watch was kept that night in our ship, and the Pilot was more watchfull himself and more carefull then at other times; But our Fryers betook themselves to their rest, which continued not long; for before midnight the winde turned to the North, which caused a suddain and generall cry and uproar in ours, and all the other ships. Our Mariners came to the Fryers, using almost the same words of *Jonah* 1. 6. *What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will thinke upon us, that we perish not.* They changed the name of God into the blessed Virgin *Mary*, in whom they seem to confide in such occasions more then in God himself. Their fear was more for the apprehension of danger by that kind of winde, and of what might happen, then for what as yet the winde threatned, which was not strong nor boisterous; however hallowed wax candles were lighted by the Fryers, knees bowed to *Mary*, Letanies and other hymnes and prayers sung aloud unto her, till towards the dawning of the day; when behold the North winde ceased, our wonted gale began to blow again, it being Gods will and pleasure, and no effect of the howling Fryers prayers to *Mary*, who yet superstitiously

stitiously to deceive the simple people, cryed out, *Milagro, Milagro, Milagro*, a miracle, a miracle, a miracle. By eight a clock in the morning we came to the sight of the houses, and made signes for boats to convey us into the Haven; which immediately with great joy came out, and guided us one by one between those Rockes, which make that Port as dangerous as any I have discovered in all my travailes both upon the North and South sea. Our Waits plaied most pleasantly, our Ordinance saluted both Town and Fort over against it, our hearts and countenances reciprocally rejoiced; we cast our Anchors, which yet were not enough to secure our ships in that most dangerous Haven, but further with Cable ropes we secured them to Iron rings, which for that purpose are fastned into the Wall of the Fort, for fear of the strong and boisterous Northern winds. And thus welcoming one another to a new world, many boates waiting for us, we presently went with joy to set footing in *America*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of our Landing at Vera Crux, otherwise St. John de Ulhua, and of our entertainment there.

UPON the 12 day of *September*, we happily arrived in *America* in that famous Town called *St. John de Ulhua*, otherwise *Vera Crux*; famous for that it was the first beginning of the famous conquest of that valiant and ever renowned Conqueror *Hernando Cortez*. Here first was that noble and generous resolution, that never heard of policy, to sinke the ships which had brought the first *Spaniards* to that Continent, greater then any of the other three parts of the world, to the intent that they might thinke of nothing but such a conquest as after followed, being destitute of the help of their ships, and without hopes evermore to returne to *Cuba*, *Yucatan*, or any of those parts from whence they had come. Here it was that the first five hundred *Spaniards* strengthened themselves against millions of enemies, and against the biggest fourth part of all the world. Here were the first Magistrates, Judges, Aldermen, Officers of Justice named. The proper name of the Town is *St. John de Ulhua*; otherwise called *Vera Crux*, from the old Harbour and Haven of *Vera Crux*, six leagues from this, and so called, for that upon good Fryday it was first discovered. But the old *Vera Crux* proving too dangerous an Harbour for ships, by reason of the violence of the Northern winds; it was utterly forsaken by the *Spaniards*, who removed to *St. John de Ulhua*, where their ships found the first safe road by reason of a Rock, which is a strong defence against the winds. And because the memory of the worke of that good Fryday should never be forgotten, to *St. John de Ulhua* they have added the name also of *Vera Crux*, taken from that first Haven which was discovered upon good Fryday, Anno 1519.

As soon as we came to shore, we found very solemn preparations for entertainment, all the Town being resorted to the Sea side, all the Priests and Canons of the Cathedrall Church, all the religious Orders of the severall Convents (which are there Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenarians, and Jesuites) being in a readinesse with their Crosses borne before them, to guide the new Viceroy of *Mexico*, in procession to the chief Cathedrall Church. The Fryers and Jesuites were quicker in going to land then the great *Don* the Marquesse *de Serralvo* and his Lady. Some of them kissed the ground as holy in their opinion, for the Conversion of those *Indians* to Christianity, who before had worshipped Idols, and sacrificed to Devils; others kneeled upon their knees making short prayers, some to the Virgin *Mary*, others to such Saints as they best affected; and so betook themselves to the places and stations of those of their profession. In the mean time all the Canon playing both from ships and Castle, landed the Viceroy and his Lady and all his Train, accompanied with *Don Martin de Carrillo* the Vister generall for the strife between the Count of *Gelves* the last Viceroy, and the Archbishop of *Mexico*. The great *Don* and his Lady being placed under a Canopie of state, began the *Te Deum* to be sung with much variety of muscalle instruments, all marching in procession to the Cathedrall, where with many lights of burning lampes, torches, and Wax candles, was to the view of all; set upon the high Altar their God of bread; to whom all knees were bowed, a prayer of thanks-giving sung, holy water by a Priest sprinkled

sprinkled upon all the people, and lastly a Masse with three Priests solemnly celebrated. This being ended the Viceroy was attended on by the Chief High Justice, named *Alcalde Maior*, by the Officers of the Town, some Judges sent from *Mexico* to that purpose, and all the Souldiers of the Ships and Town unto his lodging; The Fryers likewise in Procession with their Crosse before them were conducted to their severall Cloisters. Fryer *Calvo* presented his Dominicans to the Prior of the Cloister of *St. Dominick*, who entertained us very lovingly with some sweet Meats, and every one with a Cup of the *Indian* drink called *Chocolatte*, whereof I shall speak hereafter. This refreshment being ended, we proceeded to a better; which was a most stately Dinner both of Fish and Flesh; no Fowles were spared, many Capons, Turkey Cocks, and Hens were prodigally lavished, to shew us the abundance and plenty of Provision of that Country. The Prior of this Cloister was no stayed, ancient, grey-headed man, such as usually are made Superiours to govern young and wanton Fryers; but he was a Gallant and Amorous young Sparke, who (as we were there informed) had obtained from his Superiour the Provinciall Government of that Convent with a bribe of a thousand Duckats. After dinner he had some of us to his Chamber, where we observed his lightnesse and little favour of Religion or Mortification in him; We thought to have found in his Chamber some stately Library, which might tell us of Learning and love of Study; but we found not above a dozen old Books, standing in a corner covered with dust and Cobwebs, as if they were ashamed that the Treasure that lay hid in them, should be so much forgotten, and undervalued, and the *Guitarra* (the *Spanis*h Lute) preferred and set above them. His Chamber was richly dressed and hung with many pictures, and with hangings, some made with Cotten Wooll, others with various coloured feathers of *Mexicoacan*, his Tables covered with Carpets of Silk; his Cubboards adorned with severall sorts of *China* Cups and Dishes, stored within with severall dainties of sweet Meats and Conserve.

This sight seemed to the zealous Fryers of our Mission most vain, and unbecoming a poor and mendicant Fryer; to the others, whose end in coming from *Spain* to those parts was Liberty, and loofnesse, and covetousnesse of riches, this sight was pleasing and gave them great encouragement to enter further into that Country, where soon a Mendicant *Lazarus* might become a proud and wealthy *Dives*. The discourse of the young and light headed Prior was nothing but vain boasting of himself, of his birth, his parts, his favour with the chief Superior or Provinciall, the love which the best Ladies, the richest Merchants Wives of the Town bare unto him; of his clear and excellent voice, and great dexterity in Musick, whereof he presently gave us a taste, tuning his *Guitarra* and singing to us some verses (as he said, of his own composing) some lovely *Amaryllis*, adding scandall to scandall, loosenesse to liberty, which it grieved some of us to see in a Superiour who should have taught with words, and in his life and Converse, examples of Repentance and Mortification. No sooner were our senses of hearing delighted well with Musick, our sight with the objects of Cotten-Wool, Silke and Featherworkes, but presently our Prior caused to be brought forth of all his store of dainties, such variety as might likewise relish well and delight our sense of tasting. Thus as we were truly transported from *Europe* to *America*, so the world seemed truly to be altered, our senses changed from what they were the night and day before, when we heard the hideous noise of the Mariners hoisting up Sailes, when we saw the Deep and monsters of it, when we tasted the stinking water, when we smelt the Tar and Pitch; but here we heard a quivering and trembling voice and instrument well tuned, we beheld wealth and riches, we tasted what was sweet, and in the Sweet-meats smelt the Muske and Civit, wherewith that Epicurean Prior had seasoned his Conserve. Here we broke up our discourse and pastimes, desirous to walke abroad and take a view of the Town, having no more time then that, and the next day to stay in it. We compassed it round about that afternoon; and found the situation of it to be sandy, except on the South-west side, where it is Moorish ground, and full of standing Bogs, which with the great heats that are there, cause it to be a very unhealthy place; The number of Inhabitants may be three thousand, and amongst them some very rich Merchants, some worth two hundred, some three hundred, and some four hundred thousand Duckats. Of the buildings little we observed, for they are all, both Houses, Churches, and Cloisters, built with Boards and Timber, the Walls of the richest mans house being made but of boards, which with the impetuous Winds
from

from the North hath been cause that many times the town hath been for the most part of it burnt down to the ground. The great Trading from *Mexico*, and by *Mexico* from the *East-India's*, from *Spain*, from *Cuba*, *S^{ra} Domingo*, *Jucatan*, *Pocobello*, and by *Pocobello* from *Peru*, from *Cartagena*, and all the Islands lying upon the North Sea, and by the River *Alvarado* going up to *Zapotecas*, *St. Ildefonso*, and towards *Guaxaca*, and by the River *Grijaval*, running up to *Tabasco*, *Los Zoques* and *Chiapa de Indios*, maketh this little Town very rich, and to abound with all the Commodities of the Continent Land, and of all the *East* and *West-India's* Treasures. The unhealthinesse of the place is the reason of the paucity of Inhabitants, and the paucity of them, together with the rich Trading and commerce, the reasons that the Merchants therein are extraordinary rich; who yet might have been far richer, had not the Town been so often fired, and they in the fire had great losses. All the strength of this Town is first the hard and dangerous entrance into the Haven; and secondly, a rock which lyeth before the Town lesse then a Musket shot off; upon which is built a Castle, and in the Castle a slight Garrison of Souldiers. In the Town there is neither Fort, nor Castle, nor scarce any people of warlike mindes. The Rock and Castle are as a Wall, defence, and inclosure to the Haven, which otherwise lyeth wide open to the Ocean, and to the Northern Winds. No Ship dares cast Anchor within the Haven, but only under the Rock and Castle, and yet not sure enough so with Anchors, except with Cables also they be bound and fastned to Rings of Iron for that purpose to the side of the Rock; from whence sometimes it hath happened that ships floating with the Stream too much on one side the Rock have been driven off and cast upon the other Rocks or out to the Ocean, the Cables of their Anchors, and those wherewith they have been fastned to the Castle being broken with the force of the Winds. This happened to one of our Ships the first night after we landed; who were happy that we were not then at Sea; for there arose such a storme and tempest from the North, that it quite broke the Cables of one Ship and drove it out to the main Sea, and we thought it would have blown and droven us out of our beds after it, for the slight boarded houses did so totter and shake, that we expected every hour when they would fall upon our heads. We had that night enough of *St. John de Ulhua*, and little rest, though feasted as well at Supper as at Dinner by our vain boasting Prior, who before we went to bed, had caused all our feet to be washed, that now in easier beds then for above two months together the strait and narrow Cabins of the Ship had allowed us, our sleep might be more quiet, and more nourishing to our bodies; but the whistling winds and tottering Chambers, which made our beds uneasy Cradles to us, caused us to flie from our rest at midnight, and with our bare (though washed) feet to seek the dirty Yard for safer shelter. In the morning the Fryers of the Cloister who were acquainted with those winds and storms, laughed at our fearfulness, assuring us, that they never slept better then when their Beds were rocked with such like blasts. But that nights affrightment made us weary already of our good and kind entertainment; we desired to remove from the Sea side; which our Superiour *Calvo* yeilded to, not for our fear sake so much, as for his fear, lest with eating too much of the fruits of that Country, and drinking after them too greedily of the water (which causeth dangerous Fluxes, and hasteneth death to those that newly come from *Spain* to those parts) we should fall sick, and die there, as hundreds did after our departure for want of temperance in the use of those fruits, which before they had never seen or eaten. Thirty Mules were ready for us, which had been brought a purpose from *Mexico*, and had waited for us in *St. John de Ulhua* six days before ever the Fleet arrived. *Calvo* that day busied himself a ship board in sending to shore our Chests, and such provision as had been left of Wines, and Bisket, Gammons of Bacon, and salted Beef, whereof there was some store, besides a dozen Hens and three Sheep, which was much wondred at, that so much should be left after so long a voiage. In the mean time we visited our friends and took our leaves of them in the forenoon; and after Dinner seats were prepared for us in the Cathedral Church to sit and see a Comedy acted, which had been on purpose studied and prepared by the Town for the entertainment of the new Viceroy of *Mexico*. Thus two days only we abode in *St. John de Ulhua*, and so departed.

C H A P. I X.

Of our journey from St. John de Ullhua to Mexico; and of the most remarkable Townes and Villages in the way.

U Pon the 14. day of *September* we left the Town and Port of *St. John de Ullhua*, entering into the rode to *Mexico*, which we found the first three or four leagues to be very sandy, as wide and open as is our rode from *London* to *St. Albans*. The first *Indians* we met with, was at the old *Vera Crux*, a Town seated by the sea side, which the *Spaniards* that first conquered that Countrey thought to have made their chief Harbour; but afterwards by reason of the small shelter they found in it for their ships against the North winds, they left it, and removed to *St. John de Ullhua*. Here we began to discover the power of the Priests and Fryers over the poor *Indians*, and their subjection and obedience unto them. The Prior of *St. John de Ullhua* had writ a letter unto them the day before of our passing that way, charging them to meet us in the way, and to welcome us into those parts; which was by the poor *Indians* gallantly performed; for two miles before we came to the Town, there met us on Horse-back some twenty of the chief of the Town, presenting unto every one of us a nosegay of flowers; who rid before us a bow shot, till we met with more company on foot, to wit, the Trumpeters, the Waits; (who sounded pleasantly all the way before us) the Officers of the Church; such as here we call Church-wardens, though more in number, according to the many sodalities or confraternities of Saints whom they serve, these likewise presented to each of us a nosegay; next met us the singing men and boyes, all the Queristers, who softly and leisurely walked before us singing, *Te Deum laudamus*, till we came to the midst of the Town, where were two great Elme trees, the chief Market place; there was set up one long arbour with green bowes, and a table ready furnished with boxes of Conserves, and other sweet meats, and diet-bread, to prepare our stomachs for a cup of *Chocolatte*, which while it was seasoning with the hot water and Sugar, the chief *Indians* and officers of the Town made a speech unto us, having first kneeled down and kissed our hands one by one; they welcomed us into their Country, calling us the Apostles of *Jesus Christ*, thanked us for that we had left our own Country, our friends, our Fathers and mothers for to save their souls; they told us they honoured us as Gods upon earth; and many such complements they used till our *Chocolatte* was brought. We refreshed our selves for the space of one hour, and gave hearty thanks to the *Indians* for their kind respects unto us, assuring them that nothing was more dear unto us in this world then their souls, which that we might save, we regarded not sea, nor land dangers, not the unhumane cruelties of barbarous and savage *Indians*, (who as yet had no knowledge of the true God) no nor our own lives.

And thus we took our leaves, giving unto the chief of them some Beads, some medals, some Crosses of brasse, some *Agnus Dei*, some reliques brought from *Spain*, and to every one of the Town an indulgence of forty years, (which the Pope had granted unto us, to bestow where and upon whom, and as often as we would) wherewith we began to blinde that simple people with ignorant, erroneous, and Popish principles. As we went out of the arbour to take our Mules, behold the Market place was full of *Indian* men and women; who as they saw us ready to depart, kneeled upon the ground as adoring us for a blessing, which as we rid along, we bestowed upon them with lifted up hands on high, making over them the signe of the Crosse. And this submission of the poor *Indians* unto the Priests in those parts; this vain-glory in admitting such ceremonious entertainment and publick worship from them, did so puffed up some of our young Fryers hearts, that already they thought themselves better then the best Bishops in *Spain*, who though proud enough, yet never travail there with such publick acclamations as we did. The Waits and Trumpets sounded again before us, and the chief of the Town conducted us a mile forward, and so took their leaves. The first two dayes we lodged but in poor small *Indian* Townes, among whom we still found kind entertainment, and good store of provision, especially of Hens, Capons, Turkeys, and several

rall sorts of fruits. The third day at night we came to a great Town consisting of near two thousand inhabitants, some *Spaniards*, some *Indians*, called *Xalappa de la Vera Cruz*. This Town in the year 1634. was made a new Bishops Sea (the Bishoprick of the City, called *La Puebla de los Angeles*, being divided into two) and this being not above the third part of it, is thought to be worth ten thousand duckats a year. It stands in a very fertile soil for *Indian* Wheat called *Maiz*, and some *Spanish* Wheat. There are many Townes about it of *Indians*; but what makes it rich, are the many farmes of Sugar, and some which they call *Estantia's*, rich farmes for breeding of Mules and Cattell; and likewise some Farmes of *Cochinil*. In this Town there is but one great Church and an inferiour Chappell, both belonging to a Cloister of Franciscan Fryers, wherein we were lodged that night and the next day, being the Lords day. Though the revenues of this Cloister be great, yet it maintains not above half a dozen Fryers, where twenty might be plentifully maintained, that so those few lubbers might be more abundantly, and like Epicures fed and nourished. The Superiour or Guardian of this Cloister was no lesse vain then the Prior of *St. John de Ulhua*; and though he were not of our profession, yet he welcomed us with stately entertainment. Here and wheresoever further we travelled, we still found in the Priests and Fryers loosenesse of life, and their wayes and proceedings contrary to the wayes of their profession, sworne to by a solemne Vow and Covenant. This Order especially of the mendicant Franciscan Fryers voweth (besides chastity and obedience) poverty more strictly to be observed, then any other Order of the *Romish* Church; for their Clothing ought to be course sackcloth, their girdles made of hemp should be no finer then strong halters, their shirts should be but woollen, their legs should know no stockins, their feet no shoes, but at the most and best either wooden clogs, or sandals of hemp, their hands and fingers should not so much as touch any money, nor they have the use or possession or propriety of any, nor their journeys be made easie with the help of Horses to carry them; but painfully they ought to travail on foot; and the breach of any of these they acknowledge to be a deadly and mortall sin, with the guilt of a high-soul-damning and soul-cursing excommunication. Yet for all these bonds and obligations, those wretched Impes live in those parts as though they had never vowed unto the Lord, shewing in their lives that they have vowed what they are not able to performe. It was to us a strange and scandalous sight to see here in *Xalappa* a Fryer of the Cloister riding with his lackey boy by his side, upon a goodly gelding, (having gone but to the Townes end, as we were informed, to hear a dying mans confession) with his long habit tucked up to his girdle, making shew of a fine silke orange colour stockin upon his legs, and a neat Cordovan shoe upon his foot, with a fine holland pair of drawers, with a lace three inches broad at knee. This sight made us willing to pry further into this and the other Fryers carriages, under whose broad sleeves we could perceive their doublets quilted with silke, and at their wrists the laces of their holland shirts. In their talke we could discern no mortification, but meer vanity and worldlinesse. After supper some of them began to talk of carding and dicing; they challenged us that were but new comers to those parts, to a *Primera*, which though most of ours refused, some for want of money, some for ignorance of that game, yet at last with much ado they got two of our Fryers to joyn with two of theirs; so the cards were handsomely shuffled, the vies and revies were doubled, losse made some hot and blinde with passion, gain made others eager and covetous; and thus was that religious Cloister made all night a gaming house, and sworne religious poverty turned into profane and worldly Covetousnesse. We that beheld some part of the night the game, found enough to observe, for the more the sport increased, scandals to the sport were added, both by drinking and swearing that common oath *Voto a Christo, Voto a Dios*, and also by scoffing and jearing at the religious vows of poverty which they had vowed; for one of the Franciscans though formerly he had touched money, and with his fingers had laid it to the stake on the table; yet sometimes to make the company laugh, if he had chanced to winne a double vie (and sometimes the vies and revies went round of twenty Patacons) then would he take the end of one sleeve of his habit, and open wide the other broad sleeve, and so with his sleeve sweep the money into his other sleeve, saying, I have vowed not to touch money, nor to keep any, I meant then a naturall contact of it; but my sleeve may touch it, and my sleeve may keep it: shewing with scoffes and jests of his lips, what religion was in his heart. My eares tingled with hearing

hearing such oathes, my tongue would have uttered some words of reproof, but that I considered my self a guest and stranger in a strange house, and that if any thing I should say, it would do no good; so silently I departed to my rest, leaving the Gamesters, who continued till sun-rising, and in the morning I was informed that the jesting Fryer, that rather roaring Boy then religious Franciscan, fitter for *Sardanapalus* or *Epicurus* his Schoole, then to live in a Cloister, had lost fourscore and odde Patacons, his sleeve (it seemes) refusing to keep for him what he had vowed never to possess. Here I began to find out by experience of these Franciscans, that liberty and loofnesse of life it was that brought yearly so many Fryers and Jesuites from *Spain* to those parts, rather then zeal of Preaching the Gospel and Converting Soules to Christ, which indeed being an act of highest Charity, they make a speciall badge of the truth of their Religion: But the loofnesse of their lives sheweth evidently that the love of money, of vain-glory, of Power and Authority over the poor *Indians*, is their end and aime more then any love of God. From *Xalappa* we went to a place called by the *Spaniards*, *La Rinconada*, which is no Town nor Village, and therefore not worth mentioning in such a Rode as now I am in; yet as famous in two things, it must not be omitted amongst greater places. This place stands so far from any other Town, that Travellers can scarce make their journeys without either baiting there at noon, or lying there at night, or declining three or four miles out of the Rode to some *Indian* Town. It is no more then one house, which the *Spaniards* call *Venta*, or as our *English*, Innes, seated in the corner of a low Valley, which is the hottest place from *St. John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*; about it are the best Springs and Fountains in all the Rode, and the water though warme with the heat of the Sun, yet as sweet as any Milk. The Inne-keepers knowing well the *Spaniards* heat, that it seeks cool and refreshing drink, have speciall care so to lay in water in great earthen Vessels, which they set upon a moist and waterish Sand, that it is so cold that it maketh the teeth to chatter. This sweetnesse and this coolnesse together of that water in so hot and scorching a Country, was to us a wonder, who could find no other refreshment from that extraordinary heat. Besides our Provision here of Beef, Mutton, Kid, Hens, Turkeys, Rabbits, Fowles, and especially Quails, was so plentifull and cheape, that we were astonished at it. The Valley and Country about it is very rich and fertile, full of *Spanish* Farmes of Sugar, and *Cochinil*, *Spanish* and *Indian* Wheate. But what maketh me more especially remember this *Venta*, or Inne, is, for that though Art and experience of man have found a way to provide for Travellers in so hot a place cool and refreshing water, and God have given it the sweetnesse of Milk, and to the place such abundance of Provision; yet all this in the day only is comfortable and pleasant; but in the night the *Spaniards* call it, *Cumfitas en inferno*, that is to say, Cumfits in hell, for not only the heat is so extraordinary, that it is impossible to be feeding without wiping away the continuall sweat of the Face, whose drops from the Browes are always ready to blind our eyes and to fill with sauce our dishes, but the swarms of Gnats are such that waking and sleeping no device of man is able to keep them off. True it is, most of us had our Pavilions which we carried with us to hang about and over our beds, but these could not defend us from that piercing and stinging Vermin, which likes *Egypt* Plague of Frogs would be sure to be in every place, and through our Curtains to come upon our very Beds. Yet in the day they are not; but just at Sun-setting they begin to swarme about, and at Sun-rising away they goe. After a most tedious and troublesome night, when we found the rising of the Sun had dispersed and banished them away, we thought it best for us to flee away from that place with them; and so from thence early we departed to a Town as pleasant and fertill and abounding with Provision as this *Rinconada*, and free from such busie guests and individuall Mates and Companions as the night before had intruded themselves upon us. The next night we got to a Town called *Segura*, inhabited both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*, consisting of about a thousand Inhabitans; here again without any charges we were itately entertained by Franciscan Fryers, as light and vain glorious as those of *Xalappa*. This Town had its first beginning and foundation from *Hernando Cortez*, and is called *Segura de la Frontera*, being built up by him for a Frontier Town to secure the *Spaniards* that came from *St. John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, against the *Culhuacans* and people of *Tepeacac*, who were allied to the *Mexicans*, and so much annoyed the *Spaniards*. But what most incensed *Cortez* was, that after his first repulse from *Mexico*, the *Indians* insulting over him and the rest of his Company, whom they heard had

been dangerously wounded, and were retired to *Tlaxcallan* to recover and strengthen themselves; the two Towns, *Culhua* and *Tepeacac*, then in League with the *Mexicans* against *Cortez* and the Town of *Tlaxcallan*, lying in wait for the *Spaniards*, took twelve of them, and sacrificed them alive to their Idols and eat their flesh. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Maxixca*, a chief Captain of *Tlaxcallan*, and divers other Gentlemen of that Town to goe with him and to help him to be avenged of the people of *Tepeacac* for the cruelty used to twelve of his *Spaniards*, and for the dayly and great hurt they also did to the Inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan* with the help of their allied friends the *Culhuacans* and *Mexicans*. *Maxixca* and the chief of *Tlaxcallan* forthwith entred into counsell with the States and Communalty of the Town, and there determined with generall consent to give unto him forty thousand fighting men, besides many *Tamemez*, who are foot Carriers, to bear the Baggage, Victuall, and other things. With this number of *Tlaxcalteca's*, his own men, and horses, *Cortez* went to *Tepeacac*, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of the twelve Christians, that they should now yeeld themselves to the obedience of the Emperour and King of *Spain* his Master, and hereafter never more to receive any *Mexican* into their Town or houses, neither yet any of the Province of *Culhua*. The *Tepeacacs* answered that they had slain the *Spaniards* for good and just cause, which was that being time of War, they presumed to passe through their Country by force without their will and license. And also that the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* were their friends and Lords, whom always they would friendly entertain within their Town and houses, refusing utterly their offer and request, potesting to give no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therefore to return incontinent to *Tlaxcallan*, except they had desire to end their weary dayes, and to be sacrificed and eaten up as their twelve friends had been. *Cortez* yet invited them many times with peace; and seeing it prevailed not, he began his Wars in earnest. The *Tepeacacs* with the favour of the *Culhuacans* were brave and lusty, and began to stop and defend the *Spaniards* entrance into their Town. And being many in number with divers valiant men among them, began to skirmish sundry times; but at the end they were overthrown, and many slain without killing any *Spaniard*, although many *Tlaxcalteca's* were killed that day. The Lords and principall Persons of *Tepeacac* seeing their overthrow, and that their strength could not prevail, yeelded themselves unto *Cortez* for Vassals of the Emperour with condition to banish for ever their allied friends of *Culhua*; and that he should punish and correct at his will and pleasure all those which were occasion of the death of the twelve *Spaniards*. For which causes and obstinacy, at the first *Cortez* judged by his sentence that all the Towns which had been privy to the murther, should for ever remain Captives and slaves; others affirm that he overcame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites, Idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for example of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaves; and within twenty days that these Wars lasted, he pacified all that Province, which is very great, he drave from thence the *Culhuacans*, he threw down the Idols, and the chiefest persons obeyed him. And for more assurance he built there this Town, naming it *Segura de la Frontera*, appointing all Officers for the purpose, whereby the Christians and strangers might passe without danger from *Vera Crux* to *Mexico*. This Town likewise, as all the rest from *St. John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, is very plentifull of provision, and many sorts of fruits, namely Plantins, *Sapotes*, and *Chicosapotes*, which have within a great black kernell as big as our horse Plum, the fruit it self is as red within as Scarlet, as sweet as Honey; but the *Chicosapote*, is lesse, and some of them red, some brown coloured, and so juicy that at the eating the juice like drops of honey fall from them, and the smell is like unto a baked Pear. Here likewise were presented unto us Clusters of Grapes as fair as any in *Spain*, which were welcome unto us, for that we had seen none since we came from *Spain*, and we saw by them that the Country thereabouts would be very fit for Vineyards, if the King of *Spain* would grant the planting of Vines in those parts; which often he hath refused to do, lest the Vineyards there should hinder the Trading and Trafique between *Spain* and those parts, which certainly had they but Wine, needed not any commerce with *Spain*. This Town is of a more temperate Climate then any other from *Vera Crux* to *Mexico*, and the people who formerly had been eaters of Mans flesh, now as civill and politick, as loving and curteous as any

any in the rode. From whence we declined a little out of our way more Westward (the rode being North-westward) only to see that famous Town of *Tlaxcallan*, whose inhabitants joynd with *Cortez*; and we may say were the chief instruments of that great and unparalleld Conquest.

C H A P. X.

Wherein is set down the estate and condition of the great Town of *Tlaxcallan*, when the first Spaniards entered the Empire of Mexico; *Cortez* his first encounter with the *Tlaxcalteca's*: their league with him, with a description of the Town; and of the estate and condition of it now.

T*laxcallan* being worth all the rest of the Towns and Villages between *St. John de Ulhua* and *Mexico*; I thought it not fit to parallel it with the others in naming it briefly and passing by it as a Traveller; but rather I judged it convenient, and befitting my present History, to record to posterity with one whole Chapter, the greatnesse of it, and the valour of its inhabitants, from the conquest of *America* made by *Hernando Cortez*. Who being upon his march to *Mexico*, and having arrived to *Zaclotan*, and being informed that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were men of valour, and enemies to *Montezuma* the Emperour of *Mexico*, thought it his best policy to joyne with them against the *Mexicans*.

Whereupon he dispatched unto them four *Indians* of a Town called *Zempoallan*, as Ambassadors to acquaint them of his coming into those parts, and of his desire to visite their Town, not for any harm he intended to them, but rather for their good. The *Tlaxcalteca's* fearing *Cortez*, and judging him a friend of *Montezuma*, because upon his way to visite him; and having heard of the many costly presents which the Emperour had sent unto him; they resolved to resist his coming, and to send him no answer to his ambassage; but took the four Messengers which he had sent, and imprisoned them, minding to sacrifice them unto their Gods as Espies. *Cortez* seeing the long tarrying of the Messengers, departed from *Zaclotan*, without any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*. His Camp had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuit of stone made without lime or mortar, being of a fadome and a half high, and twenty foot broad, with loupe holes to shoot at; this wall crosed over a whole valley, from one mountain to another, and but one only entrance or gate, in the which the one wall doubled against the other, and the way there was forty paces broad, in such sort that it was an evill and perillous passage, if any had been there to defend it. *Cortez* demanded the cause of that circuit, and who had built it; the *Indians* that went with him, told him that it was but a division from their Countrey and *Tlaxcallan*, and that their Antecessors had made the same to disturb the entrance of the *Tlaxcalteca's* in time of War, who came to rob and murder them because of the friendship betwixt them and *Montezuma*, whose vassals they were. That strange and costly wall seemed a thing of great majesty to the Spaniards, and more superfluous then profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were valiant Warriors, who had such defence made against them. But *Cortez* setting all fear aside, with three hundred Souldiers on a rank, entred the way in the wall, and proceeded in good order all the way forwards, carrying the Ordinance ready charged, and he himself the Leader of all his Army, and sometimes he would be half a league before them, to discover and make the way plain. And having gone the space of three leagues from that circuit, he commanded his Foot-men to make haste, because it was somewhat late, and he with his Horse-men went to descry the way forwards, who ascending up a hill, two of the formost Horse-men met with fifteen *Indians* armed with swords, and targets, and tusses of feathers; which they used to wear in the Warres. These fifteen being Spies, when they saw the Horse-men, began to flie with fear, or else to give advice. But *Cortez* approaching with other three Horse-men called to them to stay; which they by no means would hearken unto; till six more Horsemen ran after them, and overtook them. The *Indians* then joyning all together with determination rather to die then to yeeld, shewed to the Spaniards signes to stand still. But the Horse-men coming to
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lay hands on them, they prepared themselves to battel, and fought, defending themselves for a while. In this fight the *Indians* slew two of their Horses, and (as the *Spaniards* do witness) at two blowes they cut off a Horse head, bridle and all. Then came the rest of the Horsemen, the Army also of the *Indians* approached, for there were in sight near five thousand of them in good order, to succour their fifteen fighting men; but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slain by the *Spanish* fury, because they would not render themselves in time, and had killed two of their Horses. Yet notwithstanding their fellowes fought, untill they espied the *Spanish* Army coming, and the Ordinance, then they returned leaving the field to the *Spaniards*, whose Horse-men followed them; and slew about seventy of them, without receiving any hurt. With this the *Indians* perceiving the great advantage which the *Spaniards* had against them with their Horses, and meaning to come upon them subtilly with a more powerfull Army, that they might the better deceive and delude them, they sent unto *Cortez* two of the four Messengers which had been sent unto them with other *Indians*, saying, that they of *Tlaxcallan* knew nothing of the things that had happened, certifying likewise that those with whom he had fought, were of other communities, and not of their jurisdiction, being sorrowfull for that which had passed, and for so much as it happened in their journey, they would willingly pay for the two Horses which were slain, praying them to come in good time to their Town, who would gladly receive them, and enter into their league of friendship, because they seemed to be valiant men; But all this was a feigned and a false message. Yet *Cortez* beleeveth them, and gave them thanks for their courtesie and good will; and that according to their request he would goe unto their Town, and accept their friendship. And touching the death of his Horses, he required nothing, for that within short time he expected many more; yet sorrowfull he was, not so much for the want of them, as that the *Indians* should thinke that Horses could die or be slain. *Cortez* proceeded forwards about two leagues, where the Horses were killed, although it was almost sun-set, and his men wearied, having travelled far that day. He planted his Army by a river side, remaining all that night with good watch both of Foot-men and Horse-men, fearing some assault; but there was no attempt given that night. The next morning at sun rising, *Cortez* departed with his Army in good order, and in the midst of them went the Fardage and Artillery, and after a little marching they met with the other two Messengers whom they had sent from *Zaclotan*; they came with pitifull cries exclaiming of the Captains of the power of *Tlaxcallan*, who had bound them and detained them from returning; but with good fortune that night they had broken loose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following they had been sacrificed to the God of victory, and after the sacrifice they had been eaten for a good beginning of the Wars; the *Tlaxcalteca's* protesting to doe the like to the bearded men (for so they termed the *Spaniards*) and to as many as came with them. They had no sooner told their tale, when there appeared behind a little hill about a thousand *Indians*, very well appointed after their fashion, and came with such a marvellous noise and cry, as though their voices should have pierced the heavens; hurling at the *Spaniards*, stones, darts, and shot with bowes and arrowes. *Cortez* made many tokens of peace unto them, and by his Interpreters desired them to leave the battail. But so much the more as he intreated for peace, the more hafty and earnest were they, thinking either to overcome them, or else to hold them play, to the intent that the *Spaniards* should follow them to a certain ambush that was prepared for them, of more then fourscore thousand men. Here the *Spaniards* began to cease from words, and to lay hand upon their weapons; for that company of a thousand were as many as on the *Spaniards* side were fighting men; though they were well practised in the Wars, very valiant, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battail endured certain houres, and at the end the *Indians* being either wearied, or else meaning to take the *Spaniards* in the snare appointed, began to flie towards the main battail, not as overcome, but to joyne with their own side. The *Spaniards* being hot in the fight and slaughter, which was not little, followed them with all their fardage, and unawares fell into the ambush, among an infinite number of *Indians* armed; they stayed not, because they would not put themselves out of order, and passed through their campe with great hast and fear. The *Indians* began to set upon the *Spanish* Horsemen, thinking to have taken their lances from them, their courage was so stout; many of the *Spaniards* had there perished, had it not been for their *Indian* friends, who had

had come with them from *Zempoallan* and *Zacotlan*. Likewise the courage of *Cortez* did much animate them, for although he led his Army making way, yet divers times he turned him back to place his men in order, and to comfort them, and at length came out of that dangerous way and ambush, where the *Horses* might help, and the Ordinance stand in stead, which two things did greatly annoy the *Indians* to their great wonder and marvell, and at the sight thereof began to flee. In both incounters remained many *Indians* slain and wounded, and of the *Spaniards* some were hurt, but none killed, who gave most hearty thanks unto God for their delivery from so great a multitude as were fourscore thousand, against one thousand only of *Indians* and *Spaniards* joyned together. The *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zacotlan* did play the valiant men that day, wherefore *Cortez* honored them with hearty thanks. Then they went to pitch their Campe in a village called *Teoacazinco*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselves. The night following the *Spaniards* slept not quietly with fear of a third Invasion of the *Tlaxcaltecas*. As soon as it was day *Cortez* sent to the Captains of *Tlaxcallan* to require them of peace and friendship, willing them quietly to suffer them to passe through their Country to *Mexico*, for that they meant them no hurt, but rather good will. The answer of the Captains of *Tlaxcallan* was, that the next day they would come and talke with him and declare their minds. *Cortez* was well prepared that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed brave, and a matter determined to be done, as some had told him (whom he took prisoners) who likewise certified that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were joyned together to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand men to give battail the next day following, and to swallow up alive the *Spaniards* whom so mortally they did hate, thinking them to be friends unto the Emperour *Montezuma*, unto whom they wished all evill and mischief. Their intent was therefore with all their whole power to apprehend the bearded men, and to make of them a more solemn Sacrifice unto their Gods then at any time they had done, with a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called *Celestiall*.

The Captains of *Tlaxcallan* divided their Souldiers into four Battails, the one to *Tepeicpac*, another to *Ocotelulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahuitlan*, that is to say, the men of the Mountains, the men of the Limepits, the men of the Pinetrees, and the Watermen; all these four forts of men did make the Body of the Common-wealth of *Tlaxcallan*, and commanded both in time of War and Peace. Every of these Captains had his just portion or number of Warriors; but the Generall of all the whole Army was called *Xicotencal*, who was of the Limepits; and he had the Standard of the Common-wealth, which is a Crane of gold with his wings spread, adorned with Emeralds and silver work, which Standard was according to their use either carried before the whole Host, or else behind them all. The Lieutenant Generall of the Army was *Maxixcazin*; and the number of the whole Army was a hundred and fifty thousand men. Such a great number they had ready against four hundred *Spaniards*, and seven hundred *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zacotlan*, and yet at length overcome; and after this fight they were the greatest friends that *Cortez* had in those parts against *Montezuma*. These Captains came with their Companies, that the fields where they were seemed a Forrest. They were gallant fellows and well Armed according to their use, although they were painted, so that their faces shewed like Devils, with great tuffes of Feathers, and they boasted gallantly. Their Weapons and Armor were Slings, Staves, Speares, Swords, Bowes and Arrows, Sculles, Splintes, Gantlets, all of Wood, guilt or else covered with Feathers or Leather; their Corselets were made of Cotten Wool, their Targets and Bucklers gallant and strong, made of Wood covered with Leather, and trimmed with Latten, and feathers, their Swords were staves with an edge of flint stone cunningly joyned into the staffe, which would cut very well and make a fore wound. Their instruments of War were hunters horns, and Drummes called *Ataballs* made like a Caldron and covered with Vellam. So that the *Spaniards* in all their discovery of *India* did never see a better Army together, nor better ordered; that which I could not omit to speak of here, having come in the order of my history to *Tlaxcallan*, where this numerous and gallant *Indian* Army was set forth against 400 *Spaniards* and 600 *Indians* their friends. These *Indians* thus ordered in Battalia bragged very much against the *Spaniards*, and said amongst themselves, What mad people are these bearded men that threaten us, and yet know us not? But if they will be so bold to invade our

our Country without our licence, let us not set upon them so soon; it is meet they have a little rest, for we have time enough to take and bind them; let us also send them meat, for they are come with empty stomachs, and so they shall not say that we do apprehend them with wearinesse and hunger. Whereupon they sent unto the *Spaniards* three hundred Turkey-cocks and two hundred baskets of bread, called *Centli*; the which present was a great succour and refreshment for the need the *Spaniards* stood in. And soon after; Now (say they) let us go and set upon them, for by this time they have eaten their meat, and now we will eat them, and so shall they pay us the victuals that we sent. These and such like brags they used, seeing so few *Spaniards* before them, and not knowing the strength of their Ordinance against their so numerous an Host. Then the four Captains sent two thousand of their valiantest men of War, and old Souldiers, to take the *Spaniards* quietly, with commandement that if they did resist either to binde them, or else to kill them, meaning not to set their whole Army upon them, saying, that they should get but small honour for so great a multitude to fight against so few. The two thousand Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two Campes, and came boldly to the Tower where the *Spaniards* were. Then came forth the Horse-men, and after them the Foot-men; and at the first encounter, they made the *Indians* feel how the Iron swords would cut; at the second, they shewed of what force those few in number were, of whom a little before they had so jested; but at the third brunt, they made those lusty Souldiers flie, who were come to apprehend them, for none of them escaped, but only a few such as knew the passage of the trenches or ditch. Then the main Battail and whole Army set forth with a terrible and marvellous noise, and came so fierce upon the *Spaniards*, till they entred into their Campe without any resistance, and there were at handy strokes with the *Spaniards*, and in a good space could not get them out, many of them being killed, which were so bold to enter. In this sort they fought four houres, before they could make way among their enemies. Then the *Indians* began to faint, seeing so many dead on their side, and the great wounds they had, and that they could kill none of the Christians; yet the battail ceased not, till it drew near night, and then they retired. Whereof *Cortez* and his Souldiers were exceeding glad, for they were fully wearyed with killing of *Indians*. The next day in the morning *Cortez* went forth to run the fields as he had done before, leaving half his men to keep the Campe; and because he should not be espied, he departed before day, and burned about ten Towns, and sacked one Town, which was of three thousand houses, in the which were found but few people, because the most of them were gone to their Campe. After the spoile he set fire on the Town, and came his way to his Campe with a great prey by noon-time. The *Indians* persued thinking to take away their prey, and followed them into the Campe, where they fought five houres, and could not kill one *Spaniard*, although many of their side were slain; for even as they were many, and stood on a throng together, the Ordinance made a wonderful spoil among them, so that they left off fighting, and the victory remained for the *Spaniards*, whom the *Indians* thought were enchanted, because their Arrowes could not hurt them. The next day following, the four Captains sent three severall things in present to *Cortez*, and the messengers that brought them said, Sir, behold here five slaves, and if thou be that rigorous God, that eatest mans flesh and bloud, eat these which we bring unto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and meek God, behold here frankincense and feathers. And if thou be a mortall man, take here fowle, bread and cherries. *Cortez* answered, that both he and his were mortall men even as they were. And because that alwayes he had used to tell them truth, wherefore did they use to tell him lies, and likewise to flatter him? for he desired to be their friend, advising them not to be mad and stubborn in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they should receive great hurt and dammage.

Notwithstanding this answer, there came again about thirty thousand of them even to *Cortez* his Campe, to prove their corslets, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broken pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole Host of *Indians* came to combate with the *Spaniards*; yet the next day they did not so, but every severall Captain by himself, for to divide the better the travail and pains equally among them; and because that one should not disturbe another through the multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, and in a narrow place; and for this consideration their battails were more fresh and strong, for each

each Captain did contend who should do most valiantly for to get honour, and especially in killing one *Spaniard*, for they thought that all their hurts should be satisfied with the death of one *Spaniard*, or taking one prisoner. Likewise is to be considered the strangeness of their battail, for notwithstanding their controversie fifteen days that they were there, whether they fought or no, they sent unto the *Spaniards* cakes of bread, Turkey cocks and cherries. But this policy was not to give them that meat for good will, but only to espie and see what hurt was done amongst them, and also to see what fear or stomach they had to proceed. But finding by their many spies that the *Spaniards* were nothing daunted nor diminished, they resolved to send unto *Cortez Xicotencal*, who was chief and generall Captain in *Tlaxcallan*, and of all the Warres; he brought in his company fifty persons of authority to keep him company. They approached near where *Cortez* was, and saluted each other according to the use of their country. Their salutations ended, and the parties being set down; *Xicotencal* began the talke, saying, Sir, I am come on my own behalf and also of my fellow Captain and Lieutenant *Maxixca*, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole State and Common-wealth of *Tlaxcallan*, to beseech and pray you to admit us into your friendship, and to yeeld our selves and Countrey unto your King, craving also at your hand pardon for our attempt in taking up armes against you, we not knowing what you were, nor what you fought for in our Countrey. And where we presumed to resist and defend your entrance, we did it as against strangers whom we knew not, and such men as we had never heretofore seen; and fearing also that you had been friends to *Montezuma*, who is, and alwayes hath been our mortall enemy. And we had rather all in generall to end our lives, then to put our selves in subjection to him; for we think our selves as valiant men in courage as our fore-fathers were, who alwayes have resisted against him and his grand-father, who was as mighty as now is he. We would also have withstood you and your force, but we could not, although we proved all our possibility by night and day, and found your strength invincible, and we no lucke against you. Therefore since our fate is such, we had rather be subject unto you then unto any others; for we have known and heard of the *Zempoallanezes*, that you do no evill, nor came not to vex any, but were most valiant and happy, as they have seen in the Warres, being in your company. For which consideration, we trust that our liberty shall not be diminished, but rather our own persons, wives and families better preserved, and our houses and husbandry not destroyed. And in some of his talke, the tears trickling down his cheeks, he besought *Cortez* to weigh that *Tlaxcallan* did never at any time acknowledge any superiour Lord or King, nor at any time had come any person among them to command, but only he, whom now they did voluntarily elect and choose as their Superiour and Ruler. *Cortez* much rejoiced with this ambassage, and to see such a mighty Captain, who commanded a hundred and fifty thousand Souldiers, come unto his Campe to submit himself; judging it also matter of great weight to have that Common-wealth in subjection, for the enterprize which he had in hand, whereby he fully made an account, that the Wars were at an end, to the great contentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the *Indians*. So with a merry and loving countenance he answered, laying first to their charge, the hurt and damage which he had received in their Country, because they refused at the first to hearken unto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their Countrey, as he had required and desired by his messengers sent unto them from *Zaclotan*. Yet all this notwithstanding he did both pardon the killing of his two Horses, the assaulting of him in the high way, and the lies which they had most craftily used with him, (for whereas they themselves fought against him, yet they laid the fault to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him (enticing him to come to their Town) without making first defiance according to the law of Arms. Yet these injuries notwithstanding, he did lovingly receive their offer made in subjection to the Emperour, and that very shortly he would be with him in *Tlaxcallan*. At this same time there were Ambassadors from *Montezuma* with *Cortez*, who grieved much to see the League that was now beginning between the *Tlaxcalteca's* and the *Spaniards*; they advised *Cortez* to give no credit unto them, saying they meant nothing but treason, and lies, and to lock them up in *Tlaxcallan*. *Cortez* answered the Ambassadors, that although their advice were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them lesse in the Town then in
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the field. They hearing this answer and determination, besought him to give unto one of them licence to return unto *Mexico*, to advertise *Montezuma* of all that was past, with an answer to their ambassage, promising within six dayes to have newes from *Mexico*, and till then prayed him not to depart with his Campe. *Cortez* granted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expecting their answer, and within himselfe rejoicing to see how the *Mexicans* began to fear, that his peace with the *Tlaxcalteca's* would be their ruine and destruction, as indeed afterwards it proved. In this mean season came many of *Tlaxcallan* to the Campe, some brought Turkey cockes, other brought bread and cherries, with merry countenances, desiring them to goe home with them unto their houses. The sixt day the *Mexican* Ambassadour came according to promise, and brought unto *Cortez* ten jewels of gold, both rich and well wrought, and fifteen thousand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and most earnestly besought him on the behalf of *Montezuma*, that he should not danger himself in trusting to the words of the *Tlaxcalteca's*, who were so poor that with necessity they would rob him of the things and presents which his Master had sent him, yea and likewise murther him, knowing of the friendship between his Master and him. At the very same time all the chieftest Lords of *Tlaxcallan* came to intreat him to goe with them to *Tlaxcallan*, where he should be cherished, lodged and well provided: for it was a great dishonour and shame unto them to permit such personages to abide in such vile cottages, as they were in. And if (said they) you trust us not, then we are ready to give you for your security whatsoever pledges or gages you shall demand. And they did both swear and faithfully promise that they might safely go with them; saying also that the Oath and Faith of their Common-wealth should never be broken for all the goods in the world. Thus was *Cortez* on both sides earnestly solicited, and intreated; the *Mexicans* fearing his League and friendship with the *Tlaxcalteca's*, and these hoping that his friendship with them, would be their chief protection against the tyranny of *Montezuma*. But *Cortez* aiming chiefly at the Empire of *Mexico*, which *Montezuma* his dissembled friendship would never help him to enjoy; and seeing the good will of so many gentlemen his new friends of *Tlaxcallan*, the most mortall enemies of *Montezuma*, and likewise the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, of whom he had good credit, did so importune him, and assure him of his going, he commanded his Fardage to be laden, and also his Ordinance, and departed toward *Tlaxcallan*, with as good order as it had been to a battail; and at the Tower where he had pitched his Camp, he left certain crosses for a memory with a great heap of stones (which till this day remain in the place, and my self have seen them) and entred into *Tlaxcallan* the eighteenth of *September*. There came out such a multitude of people to see him and to meet him in the way, that it was a wonder to see. He was lodged in the greatest Temple, which had many great and fair lodgings sufficient for him and all his company, except the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zacotlan* his friends, who were lodged in other Temples. He set certain limits, out of the which he commanded straitly that none of his company should passe upon pain of death, and also commanded that they should take nothing, but what should be given them. His commandement was well observed, for none presumed to goe a stones cast without his licence. The *Indian* Gentlemen shewed great pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and provided them of all things necessary, and many of them gave their daughters unto them in token of true friendship, and likewise to have fruit of their bodies, to be brought up for the Wars, being such valiant men. *Cortez* being thoroughly satisfied of their hearty good wils, demanded of them the estate and riches of *Montezuma*. They exalted him greatly as men that had proved his force, And as they affirmed it was near a hundred years, that they maintained Warres with him and his Father *Axaica*, and others his Uncles and Grand-fathers; they assured him also, that the gold and treasure of *Montezuma* was without number, and his power and dominion over all the land, and his people innumerable; for (said they) he joyneth sometimes two hundred thousand men, yea and three hundred thousand for one battail. And if it pleased him, he would make as many men double, and thereof they were good witness, because they had many times fought with them. *Cortez* told them he was nothing discouraged at all that his power, but intended a journey to *Mexico*, not doubting to oppose *Montezuma*, if he should encounter him in the way. He promised them likewise that he would free them from his tyranny, and subdue in his way all those Townes which were allied to the *Mexi-*

cans, and did any way annoy them and their Commonwealth. They gave him hearty thanks, assuring him to assist him and accompany him to *Mexico*; and for the present offered him twenty thousand men, making a solemn League and Covenant never to forsake him. Thus was *Tlaxcallan* subdued and sworn to the power and command of the *Spaniards*, being in those times one of the chiefest, though not richest, Towns of *America*; whose Inhabitants after clave most faithfully to *Cortez*, and were chief instruments for the subduing of *Mexico*; and therefore to this day are freed from tribute by the Kings of *Spain*, paying not the money which as a tribute tax is layed upon every *Indian* to be payed yearly, but only in acknowledgment of subjection they pay yearly one corne of *Maiz*, which is their *Indian* Wheat. This great Town of *Tlaxcallan* is properly in the *Indian* tongue as much as to say, as bread well baked, for there is more Grain called *Centli* gathered, then in all the Province round about. In times past the Town was called *Texcallan*, that is to say, a Valley betwixt two hills. It is planted by a River side, which springeth out of a hill called *Atlancapetec*, and watereth the most part of the Province, and from thence issueth out into the South Sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Town hath four goodly streets, which are called *Tepeicpac*, *Ocotelulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiahuiztlan*. The first street standeth on high upon an hill, far from the River which may be about half a League, and because it standeth on a hill, it is called *Tepeicpac*, that is to say, a hill, and was the first population, which was founded there on high because of the Wars. An other street is situated on the hill side towards the River; because at the building thereof, there were many Pine trees, they named it *Ocotelulco*, which is to say, A pine apple plat. This street was beautifull, and most inhabited of all the Town, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called *Tianquiztli*; in that street was the dwelling house of *Maxixca*. Along the River side in the plain standeth another street called *Tizatlan*, because there is much Lime and Chalke. In this street dwelled *Xicotencatl*, Captain Generall of the whole Commonwealth. There is another street named by reason of the brackish water, *Quiahuiztlan*; but since the *Spaniards* came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the plain by the river side standeth the Town house, and other Offices, as in the City of *Venice*. This *Tlaxcallan* was governed by Noble and rich men; they used not that one alone should rule, but did rather flie from that Government as from tyranny, and therefore hated *Montezuma* as a tyrant. In their Wars (as I have said before) they had four Captains, which governed each one street, of the which four they did elect a Captain Generall. Also there were other Gentlemen, that were Under-captains, but a small number. In the Wars they used their Standard to be carryed behind the Army, but when the battail was to be fought, they placed the Standard, where all the Hoste might see it, and he that came not incontinent to his Antient, payed a penalty. Their Standard had two Crosse-bow Arrowes set thereon, which they esteemed as the Reliques of their Ancestours. This Standard two old Souldiers and valiant men, being of the chiefest Captains, had the charge to carry, in the which an abuse of Soothsaying either of losse or victory was noted. In this order they shot one of these Arrowes against the first enemies as they met, and if with that Arrow they did either kill or hurt, it was a token that they should have the victory, and if it neither did kill nor hurt, then they assuredly believed that they should lose the field. This Province or Lordship of *Tlaxcallan* had 28 Villages and Towns, wherein were contained 150000 householders. They are men well made, and were good Warriars, the like were not among the *Indians*. They are very poor, and have no other riches, but only the Grain and Corn called *Centli*, and with the gain and profit thereof, they do both clothe themselves, and provide all other necessaries. They have many Market places, but the greatest and most used dayly, standeth in the street of *Ocotelulco*, which formerly was so famous, that 20000 persons came thither in one day to buy and sell, changing one thing for another, for they knew not what money meened. They have now and had formerly all kind of good policy in the Town; there are Goldsmiths, Feather-dressers, Barbers, hot houses, and Potters, who make as good earthen Vessels, as is made in *Spain*. The earth is fat and fruitfull for Corne, fruit and Pasture, for among the Pinetrees groweth so much grasse, that the *Spaniards* feed their Cattell there, which in *Spain* they cannot do. Within two Leagues of the Town standeth a round hill of

of six mile of height, and five and forty miles in compasse, and is now called *St. Bartholomews* hill, where the snow freezeth. In times past they called that hill *Matcalencie*, who was their God for water. They had also a God for Wine, who was named *Omerochli*, for the great drunkenesse which they used. Their chiefest God was called *Camaxtli*; and by another name *Mixcovatl*, whose Temple stood in the street of *Ocotelulco*, in the which Temple there was sacrificed some years above eight hundred persons. In the Town they speak three languages, that is to say, *Nabualb*, which is the Courtly speech, and chiefest in all the Land of *Mexico*; another is called *Oromir*, which is most commonly used in the Villages; There is one only street that speaketh *Pinomer*, which is the grossest speech. There was also formerly in the Town a common Jayle, where Felons lay in Irons, and all things which they held for sin, were there corrected. At the time that *Cortez* was there, it happened that a townsman stole from a *Spaniard* a little gold; whereof *Cortez* complained to *Maxixca*, who incontinent made such enquiry, that the offender was found in *Chololla*, which is another great Town five Leagues from thence; they brought the Prisoner with the gold, and delivered him to *Cortez*, to do with him his pleasure. *Cortez* would not accept him, but gave him thanks for his diligence; then was he carried with a cryer before him, manifesting his offence, and in the Market place upon a Scaffold they brake his joynts with a cudgell: the *Spaniards* marvelled to see such strange justice, and began to be more confident that as in this point they had endeavoured to pleasure and right them, so likewise they should afterwards find them very forward to do their wils and pleasures for the better conquering of *Mexico* and *Montezuma*. *Ocotelulco* and *Tizatlan*, are the two streets which now are most inhabited; In *Ocotelulco* standeth a Cloister of Franciscan Fryers who are the Preachers of that Town; they have there joyning to their Cloister a very fair Church, to which belong some fifty *Indian* singers, Organists, players on Musicall Instruments, Trumpeters and Waits, who set out the Masse with a very sweet and harmonious Musick, and delight the fancy and senses, while the spirit is sad and dull, as little acquainted with God, who will be worshipped in spirit and in truth. In *Tepeiticpac* and *Quiahuiztlan* are two Chappels only, to which on the Lords Day, and upon other occasions the Fryers of the Cloister resort to say Masse. In this Cloister we were entertained a day and two nights with great provision of Flesh and Fish, which is very pentifull by reason of the River; The Fryers are allowed by the Town a dozen *Indians* who are free from other services only to fish for the Fryers. They change their turns by Weeks, four one Week and four another, except they be called upon for some speciall occasion, and then they leave all other work, and attend only with fish upon the Fryers. The Town now is inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Indians* together; and is the seat of a chief Officer of Justice sent from *Spain* every three yeares, called *Alcalde Major*, whose power reacheth to all the Towns within twenty Leagues about. Besides him the *Indians* have likewise among themselves, *Alcaldes*, *Regidores* and *Alguaziles*, superior and inferiour Officers of Justice appointed yearly by the *Alcalde Major*, who keeps them all in awe, and takes from them for his service as many as he pleaseth without paying any thing for the service done unto him. The hard usage of this *Alcalde Major* and other *Spaniards* hath much decayed that populous Town, which should rather have been cherished, then disheartned by the *Spaniards*, who by means of it gained all the rest of the Country.

C H A P. X I.

Concluding the rest of our journey from Tlaxcallan to Mexico, through the City of Angels, and Guacocingo.

THE next place most remarkable in the Rode wherein we travelled was the City called by the *Spaniards*, *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of Angels. To the which we were desirous to goe, knowing that in it there was a Convent of Dominicans of our profession, not having met with any such since the day we departed from *St. John de Ulua*. Here we refreshed our selves at leasure three days, finding our selves very welcome to our own Brethren, who spared nothing that

was

was fit for our entertainment. We visited all the City, and took large notice of it, judging of the wealth and riches of it not only by the great Trading in it, but by the many Cloisters both of Nuns and Fryers, which it maintaineth, such being commonly very burthenfome to the places where they live, an idle kind of beggars who make the people believe the maintaining of them is meritorious and saving to their Souls, and that their prayers for them is more worth then the means and sustenance which they receive from them. Of these there is in that City a very great Cloister of some fifty or threefcore Dominicans, another of more Franciscans, another of Augustines, another of Mercenarians, another of discaled Carmelites, another of Jesuites, besides four of Nuns. This City is seated in a low and pleasant Valley, about ten leagues from a very high Mountain, which is alwayes covered with snow; It standeth twenty leagues from *Mexico*, it was first built and inhabited in the year 1530. by the command of *Don Antonio de Mendoza* Viceroy of *Mexico*, together with the consent of *Sebastian Ramirez* who was a Bishop, and had been President in time past in *Sto. Domingo*, and was that year in stead of *Nunio de Guzman* (who had behaved himself very evill both with the *Indians* and *Spaniards*) sent to be President of the Chancery of *Mexico* with these other four Judges, the Licenciate *John de Salmeron*, *Gasco Quiroga*, *Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*. These Judges governed the land far better then *Nunio de Guzman* before them had done; and among other remarkable things they did, was to cause this City to be inhabited; and set at liberty the *Indians* who inhabited there before, and were grievously suppressed and enslaved by the *Spaniards*, and therefore many of them departed from thence, who had inhabited there before, and went to seek their living at *Xalisco*, *Hundurias*, *Guatemala* and other places, where Warré then was. This City was formerly called by the *Indians* *Cuetlaxcoapan*, that is to say, a Snake in water; the reason was, because there are two Fountains, the one of evill water, and the other of good. This City is now a Bishops Sea, whose yearly Revenues since the cutting off from it *Xalappa de la Vera Cruz*, are yet worth above twenty thousand Duckats. By reason of the good and wholesome aire it daily increaseth with Inhabitants, who resort from many other places to live there; but especially the year 1634. when *Mexico* was like to be drowned with the inundation of the lake, thousands left it, and came with all their goods and Families to this City of the *Angels*, which now is thought to consist of ten thousand Inhabitants. That which maketh it most famous is the Cloth which is made in it, and is sent far and near, and judged now to be as good as the Cloth of *Segovia*, which is the best that is made in *Spain*, but now is not so much esteemed of, nor sent so much from *Spain* to *America* by reason of the abundance of fine Cloth which is made in this City of *Angels*. The Felts likewise that are made, are the best of all that Country; there is likewise a glasse house, which is there a rarity, none other being as yet known in those parts. But the mint house that is in it, where is coyned halfe the Silver that cometh from *Sacatecas*; makes it the second to *Mexico*; and it is thought that in time it will be as great and populous as *Mexico*. Without it there are many Gardens, which store the Markets with provision of Sallets; the soil abounds with Wheat, and with Sugar Farmes; among the which not far from this City there is one so great and populous (belonging to the Dominican Fryers of *Mexico*) that for the work only belonging unto it, it maintained in my time above two hundred blackmore slaves men and women besides their little children. The chief Town between this City of *Angels*, and *Mexico*, is called *Guacocingo* consisting of some five hundred *Indians*, and one hundred *Spaniards* Inhabitants. Here is likewise a Cloister of Franciscans, who entertained us gallantly, and made shew unto us of the dexterity of their *Indians* in Musick. Those fat Fryers wanted not like the rest all provision necessary for the body. But their greatest glory and boasting to us was the education which they had given to some children of the Town, especially such as served them in their Cloister, whom they had brought up to dancing after the *Spanish* fashion at the sound of the Guitarra. And this a dozen of them (the biggest not being above fourteen years of age) performed excellently for our better entertainment that night; we were there till midnight, singing both *Spanish* and *Indian* tunes, capering and dancing with their Castanettes, or knockers on their fingers, with such dexterity, as not only did delight, but amaze and astonish us. True it is, we thought those Franciscans might have been better employed at that time in their Quire at their midnight devotion

devotions according to their profession; but we still found vowed religious duties more and more neglected, and worldliness too too much embraced, by such as had renounced and forsaken the world and all its pleasures, sports and pastimes.

This Town of *Guacocingo* is almost as much as *Tlaxcallan* priviledged by the Kings of *Spain*; for that it joyned with *Tlaxcallan* against the *Mexicans*, in defence of *Hernando Cortez* and the rest of the *Spaniards* that first conquered that land. These of *Guacocingo* being confederate with the Inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan*, *Chololla*, and *Huacacolla* strongly defended the inhabitants of *Chalco*, when they sent to *Cortez* for succor, declaring that the *Mexicans* made great spoil among them. Which succour *Cortez* at that time not being able to send them; being busied in sending for his *Vergantines* to besiege *Mexico* by water as well as by land, he remitted them to the helpe of the *Tlaxcaltecs*, and unto these of *Guacocingo*, *Chololla*, and *Huacacolla*; who shewed great valour as yet never buried in oblivion, in relieving *Chalco* against the strength, and power of *Montezuma*, which had issued out of *Mexico*, to keep the *Spaniards* from drawing near unto that *Cty*. For that fact is this Town with the others fore-mentioned, untill this day priviledged and highly esteemed of the *Spaniards*. From hence we made our last journey to the City of *Mexico*, passing over the side of that high hill which we had discovered at the City of *Angels*, some thirty miles off. There are no *Alpes* like unto it for height, cold, and constant snow that lyeth upon it. From *Spain* to that place we had not felt any such extremity of cold, which made the *Spaniards* that had come out of the hot climate of *Spain*, and endured excessive heat at *Sea*, wonder and admire. This last journey from *Guacocingo* to *Mexico* we reckoned to be thirty *English* miles, and of the thirty miles we judged at least the fifteen to be up and down the hill; and yet the top of it (whither we ascended not) was far higher. From that highest part of it which we travailed over, we discovered the City of *Mexico*, and the lake about it, which seemed to us to be near at hand, standing some ten *English* miles in a plain from the bottome of this mountain. When *Hernando Cortez* went the second time from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico*, to besiege it by land and by water, with *Vergantines* which for that purpose he had caused to be made, on the side of this mountain were his land Forces lodged, where many had perished with cold, had it not been for the store of wood which they found there. But in the morning he ascended upwards on this hill, and sent his scout of four Foot-men and four Horsemen to discover, who found the way stopped with great trees newly cut down by the *Mexicans*, and placed crosswise in the way. But they thinking that yet forwards it was not so, proceeded forth as well as they might, till at length the let with great huge Cedars was such, that they could passe no further, and with this news were forced to return, certifying *Cortez* that the Horse-men could not passe that way in any wise. *Cortez* demanded of them whether they had seen any people; they answered No. Whereupon he proceeded forward, with all the Horse-men, and a thousand Foot-men, commanding all the residue of his Army to follow him with as much speed as might be; so that with that company which he carried with him, he made way, taking away the trees that were cut down to disturbe his passage; and in this order in short time passed his host without any hurt or danger, but with great pain and travail; for certainly if the *Mexicans* had been there to defend that passage; the *Spaniards* had not passed; for it was then a very evill way (though now it be a reasonable wide open rode, where Mules laden with wares from *St. John de Ulhua*, and the Sugar farmes daily passe) and the *Mexicans* also thought the same to be sure with the trees which were crossed the way, whereupon they were carelesse of that place, and attended their coming in plain ground; for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are three wayes, of the which *Cortez* chose the worst, imagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or else some had advised him how that way was clear from the enemies. At the descent of this hill *Cortez* abode and rested himself, till all the whole Army were come together, to descend down into the plain; for from hence they descried the fires and beacons of their enemies in sundry places, and all those who had attended their coming by the other two wayes, were now gathered together, thinking to set upon them betwixt certain bridges (which are in the plain made for travellers by reason of the many dikes and currents of water which issue from the lake) where a great company abode expecting their coming. But *Cortez* sent twenty Horse-men who made way among them, and then followed the whole Army, who slew many of them without receiving any hurt. Thus did the remembrance of those antiqui-

antiquities newly refreshed by the object of the hill and plain beneath, make that cold and hard passage more comfortable and easie unto us. The first Town we came to below the hill, was *Quahutitepec*, of the jurisdiction of *Tezcucuo*; where we also called to mind, that this was the place, near unto which was pitched the Campe of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, which was near a hundred thousand men of Warre; who were sent by the Seniours of *Mexico* and *Tezcucuo* to encounter *Cortez*; but all in vain, for his Horse-men broke through them, and his Artillerie made such havock among them, that they were soon put to flight.

Three leagues from hence on our right hand as we travailed, we discovered *Tezcucuo* by the side of the lake, and out of the Rode; yet it ministred unto us matter of a large discourse, taken from the time of *Cortez* and the first Conquerers, who found it a great City, and at that time even as big as *Mexico*; though in it *Cortez* met with no resistance; for as he journeyed towards it, four principall persons inhabitants of it met with his forces, bearing a rod of gold with a little flag in token of peace, saying that *Coacuacoyocin* their Lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoil in his City, and Towns about it; and likewise to offer his friendship, praying also that it might please him with his whole Army to take his lodging in the Town of *Tezcucuo*, where he should be well received. *Cortez* rejoicing at this message, yet jealous of some treachery, and mistrusting the people of *Tezcucuo* (whose forces joynd with the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* he had met with a little before) went forward on his way and came to *Quahutichan* and *Huaxuta* (which then were suburbs of the great City *Tezcucuo*, but now are petty Villages by themselves) where he and all his host were plenteously provided of all things necessary, and threw down the Idols. This done he entred into the City, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the *Spaniards*, with many other his *Indian* friends. And because that at his first entry, he saw neither women nor children, he suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaimed upon pain of death that none of his men should goe out. In the evening the *Spaniards* went up into the Zoties and galleries to behold the City, and there they saw the great number of Citizens that fled from thence with their stufte, some towards the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boat, a thing strange to see the great haste and stirre to provide for themselves. There were at that time at least twenty thousand little boats (called *Canoas*) occupied in carrying household-stuffe and passengers; *Cortez* would fain have remedied it, but the night was so nigh at hand, that he could not. He would gladly also have apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fled unto *Mexico*. The Town of *Tezcucuo* to this day is famous among the *Spaniards*; for that it was one of the first, if not the first (which according to the Histories of those parts is very probable) that received a Christian King to rule and govern. For *Cortez* hearing that *Coacuacoyocin* then King of that City and Townes adjacent was fled, caused many of the Citizens to be called before him, and having in his company a young gentleman of a Noble house in that countrey, who had been lately christened, and had to name *Hernando* (*Cortez* being his God-father, who loved him well) said unto the Citizens, that this new Christian Lord *Don Hernando* was sonne unto *Nezavalpincintli* their loving Lord, wherefore he required them to make him their King, considering that *Coacuacoyocin* was fled unto the enemies, laying also before them his wicked fact in killing of *Cacuzza* his own brother, only to put him from his inheritance and Kingdome, through the enticement of *Quahutimocin* a mortall enemy to the *Spaniards*. In this sort was that new Christian *Don Hernando* elected King, and the same thereof being blown abroad, many Citizens repaired home again to visite their new Prince, so that in short space the City was as well replenished with people as it was before, and being also well used at the *Spaniards* hands; they served them diligently in all things that they were commanded. And *Don Hernando* abode ever after a faithfull friend unto the *Spaniards* in their Wars against *Mexico*; and in short time learned the *Spanissh* tongue. And soon after came the inhabitants of *Quahutichan*, *Huaxuta*, and *Autenco* to submit themselves, craving pardon if in any thing they had offended. Within two dayes after *Don Hernando* was made King of this great City and Territory belonging to it (whose borders reach unto the borders of *Tlaxcallan*) came certain gentlemen of *Huaxuta* and *Quahutichan*, to certifie unto him, how all the power of the *Mexicans* was coming towards them, and to know if it were his pleasure, that they should carry their wives, children and other goods into the

mountains, or else to bring them where he was; their fear was so great. Cortez for the King his God-child and favourite made unto them this answer, saying, Be ye of good courage, and fear ye not. Also I pray you to command your wives and families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enemies I am glad of their coming, for ye shall see how I will deal with them. But the enemies went not to *Huaxura*, as it was thought; nevertheless Cortez having intelligence where they were, went out to encounter them with two pieces of Ordinance, twelve Horsemen and two hundred *Spaniards*, and with many *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*. He fought with the enemy, and slew but few, for they fled to the water, and so escaped in their *Canoas*. Thus did Cortez in *Tezcuco* defend himself and friends from the great power of the *Mexicans*, who dayly attempted to be revenged on him, and the new Christian King whom he had made. But Cortez thinking that place the most convenient to lanch his Vergantines to the water, and hearing that they were finished at *Tlaxcallan*, sent *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to bring them from *Tlaxcallan*; who at the border of that Province met with them being brought in pieces, as tables, planks and nayles, with all other furniture, the which eight thousand men carried upon their backs. There came also for their conduct twenty thousand men of War, and a thousand *Tamemez*, who were the Carriers of victuals and servants. *Chichimecaterl*, a principall and valiant *Indian* and Captain of a thousand men had the Rere-gard. And *Itupitil* and *Tentecatl*, very principall gentlemen, had the Vant-gard with ten thousand men. In the midst were placed the *Tamemez*, and those that carried the Foyst with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before those two Captains went a hundred *Spaniards*, and eight Horsemen; and behind and last came *Gonzalo de Sandoval* with all the residue, and seven Horsemen. Thus they took their way towards *Tezcuco*, with a marvellous noise, crying, Christians, Christians, *Tlaxcallan*, *Tlaxcallan*, and *Spain*. When they came to *Tezcuco*, they entered in in very good order, with the sound of Drummes, Snail shells, and other like instruments of musick; and against their entry into the City, they put on all their bravery of clothes, and bushes of feathers, which was a gallant sight; they were six hours in entering into the Town, keeping their array. At the fame of this many Provinces came to submit and offer their service unto Cortez, some for fear of destruction; and others for the hatred which they bare to the *Mexicans*; so that now Cortez was strong both with *Spaniards* and *Indians*; and his Court at *Tezcuco* was as great, or greater then *Montezuma's* formerly had been at *Mexico*. And here Cortez made his preparation for the siege of *Mexico* with all hast, and furnished himself with scaling ladders, and other necessaries fit for such a purpose. His Vergantines being nayled and thoroughly ended, he made a sluice, or trench of halfe a league of length, twelve foot broad and more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fifty dayes a doing, although there were four hundred thousand men daily working; truly a famous work and worthy of memory, which hath made *Tezcuco* gloriously mentioned, though now almost decayed in the great number of inhabitants. The Dock or Trench being thus finished, the Vergantines were calked with tow and cotton woolk, and for want of Tallow and oyle, they were (as some Authors report) driven to take mans grease, not that Cortez permitted them to slay men for that effect, but of those which were slain in the Warres, and of such as fallied dayly out of *Mexico* to hinder this work, and fighting were slain. The *Indians*, who were cruell and bloody Butchers, using sacrifice of mans flesh, would in this sort open the dead body and take out the grease. The Vergantines being lanchied, Cortez multered his men, and found nine hundred *Spaniards*, of the which were fourscore and six Horsemen, and a hundred and eighteen with Crosse-bowes, and Hargabuses; and all the residue had sundry weapons, as Swords, Daggers, Targets, Launces, and Halberts. Also they had for armour, Corslets, coats of Mayle, and Jackes. They had moreover three great Pieces of cast Iron, fiftie small pieces of brasse, and ten hundred weight of powder, with store of shot, besides a hundred thousand *Indians* men of Warre. On Whitunday all the *Spaniards* came into the field, that great plain below the high mountain spoken of before, where Cortez made three chief Captaines, among whom he divided his whole Army. Unto *Pedro de Alvarado* the first Captain he appointed thirty Horsemen; and a hundred and seventy Foot-men of the *Spaniards*, two pieces of Ordinance, and thirty thousand *Indians*, commanding him to campe in *Tlacopan*. Unto *Christovall de Olida* the second Captain

he gave three and thirty horsemen, and a hundred and eighteen footmen of the *Spanish* Nation, two Pieces of Ordinance, and thirty thousand *Indians*, and appointed him to pitch his campe in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who was the third Captain, he gave three and twenty horsemen, and a hundred and threescore footmen, two pieces of Ordinance, and forty thousand *Indians*, with Commission to choose a place to pitch his campe. In every Vergantine he planted a piece of Ordinance, six Harquebushes, or Crosse-bowes, and three and twenty *Spaniards*, men most fit for that purpose. He appointed also Captains for each, and himself for Generall, whereof some of the chiefest of his Company began to murmur, that went by Land, thinking that they had been in greater danger; wherefore they required him to go with the main battail, and not by water. *Cortez* little esteemed their words; for although there was more danger in the land then in the water, yet it did more import to have greater care in the Warres by water, then on the land, because his men had been in the one, and not in the other. Besides the chiefest hopes that *Cortez* had to winne *Mexico*, were these Vessels, for with them he burned a great part of the *Canoa's* of *Mexico*, and the rest he so locked up, that they were no help unto the *Mexicans*, and with twelve only Vergantines he did annoy his enemy as much by water, as the rest of his Army did by land. All this preparation for the siege of *Mexico* by land and water, with above a hundred thousand *Indians*, besides the *Spaniards* above mentioned, and the twelve Vergantines by water, was finished in this City of *Texcuco*, which is a sufficient argument of the greatnesse of it at that time, maintaining with Provision fit and necessary so many thousands of people, and it yielded matter enough unto us for a large discourse, whilst not far from the sight of it we travelled in the open and direct plain Rode to *Mexico*. And as we talked of the greatnesse of it in former times, so likewise we now wondered to consider it to be but a small Government, where doth constantly reside a *Spanish* Governour sent from *Spain*, whose power reacheth to those borders of *Tlaxcallan* and *Guacocingo*, and to most of the petty Towns and Villages of the plain, which were formerly under the command and power of a King; but now are not able to make up above a thousand Duckats a year, which is supposed to be the yearly revenues of the Governour; and *Texcuco* it self this day judged to consist only of a hundred *Spaniards*, and three hundred *Indian* Inhabitants, whose chief riches come by gardening, and sending dayly in their *Canoa's* Herbes and Sallets to *Mexico*. Some wealth likewise they get by their Cedar trees which grow there, and are ready timber for the buildings of *Mexico*. Yet now also are these Cedars much decayed by the *Spaniards*, who have wasted and spoiled them in their too too sumptuous buildings. *Cortez* only was accused by *Pamfilo de Narvez*, for that he had spent seven thousand beames of Cedar trees in the work of his own house. Gardens there were in *Texcuco* formerly, that had a thousand Cedar trees for wals and circuite, some of them of a hundred and twenty foot long, and twelve foot in compasse from end to end; but now that Garden that hath fifty Cedar trees about it, is much regarded. At the end of this plain we passed through *Mexicalcingo*, which formerly was a great Town, but now not of above an hundred Inhabitants; and from thence to *Guelavac*, a petty Village; yet most pleasant for the shade of many fruit trees; Gardens, and stately houses which for their recreation some Citizens of *Mexico* have built there, being at the foot of the Cawsey which from this Town through the Lake reacheth about five *English* miles to *Mexico*. And thus upon the third day of *October*, 1625. we entred into that famous and gallant City; yet not abiding in it, but only passing through it, till we came to a house of recreation, standing among the Gardens in the way to *Chapultepec*, named *Saint Jacinto*, belonging to the Dominicans of *Manila* in the *East-India's*, (whither our course was intended) where we were stately entertained, and abode till after *Candlemasse* day, the time of our second shipping at *Acoapulco*, (80 leagues from *Mexico*) by the South-Sea to *Manila* the chief City of the Illands named *Philippinas*.

C H A P. XII.

Shewing some particulars of the great and famous City of Mexico in former times, with a true description of it now; and of the State and condition of it the year 1625.

I T hath been no small piece of Policy in the Fryers and Jesuites of *Manila* and the Islands of *Philippinas* to purchase near about *Mexico*, some house and Garden to carry thither such Missionary Priests as they yearly bring from *Spain* for those parts. For were it not that they found some rest and place of Recreation, but were presently closed up in the Cloisters of *Mexico* to follow those religious duties (which sore against their wils most of them are forced to) they would soon after a tedious journey from *Spain* by sea and land relent of their purposes of going forward, and venturing upon a second voiage by the South Sea; and would either resolve upon a return to *Spain*, or of staying in some part of *America*; as my self and five more of my company did, though secretly and hiddenly, and sore against the will of Fryer *Calvo* and others, who had the tutoring and conducting of us. Therefore that all such as come from *Spain* to be shipped again at *Accapulco* for *Philippinas*, may have all manner of encouragement, rest and recreations becoming their Professions; whilest they do abide in *America*; and may not be disheartened by those that live about *Mexico*, (who do truly envy all that passe that way to *Asia*) the Fryers and Jesuites have purchased for their Missions houses of Recreation among the Gardens, which are exempted from the power and command of the Superiors of *Mexico*, and are subordinate unto the Government of the Provincials of *Philippinas*, who send from thence their substitute Vicars to rule, and to look to the forementioned houses and Gardens. To the Dominicans belonged this house called *St. Jacinto*, whither we were carried, and where we did abide near five monthes, having all things provided that were fit and necessary for our Recreations, and for our better encouragement to a second voiage by Sea. The Gardens belonging to this house might be of fifteen Acres of ground, divided into shady walkes under the Orange and Lemmon trees; there we had the Pomegranates, Figges, and Grapes in abundance, with the Plantin, Sapotte, Chicofapotte, Pine-fruit, and all other fruits that were to be found in *Mexico*. The Herbes and Sallets, and great number of *Spanish Cardoes* which were sold out, brought in a great Rent yearly; for every day there was a Cart attended to be filled and sent to the Market of *Mexico*; and this not at seasons of the year, as here in *England* and other parts of *Europe*, but at all times and seasons, both Winter and Summer, there being no difference of heat, cold, frosts and snow, as with us; but the same temper all the whole year, the Winter differing only from the Summer by the rain that falls, and not by excessive frosts that nip. This we enjoyed without dories; but within we had all sorts and varieties both of fish and flesh. What most we wondred at, was the abundance of sweet meats; and especially of Conserves that were provided for us; for to every one of us during the time of our abode there, was brought on Munday morning half a dozen Boxes of Conserve of Quinces, and other fruits, besides our biskets, to stay our stomachs in the mornings and at other times of the day; for in our stomachs we found a great difference between *Spain* and that Country. For in *Spain* and other parts of *Europe* a mans stomach will hold out from meal to meal, and one meal here of good cheer will nourish and cherish the stomach four and twenty houres; But in *Mexico* and other parts of *America* we found that two or three houres after a good meal of three or four severall dishes of Mutton, Veal or Beef, Kid, Turkeys or other Fowles, our stomachs would be ready to faint, and so we were fain to support them with either a cup of *Chocolatte*, or a bit of Conserve or Bisket, which for that purpose was allowed us in great abundance. This seemed to me so strange, (whereas the meat seemed as fat and hearty, excepting the Beef, as ours in *Europe*) that I for some satisfaction presently had recourse to a Doctor of Physick; who cleared my doubt with this answer, That though the meat we fed on was as fair to look on, as in *Spain*; yet the substance and nourishment in it came far short of it, by reason of the pasture, which is dryer and hath not the change of springs which the pastures of *Europe* have, but

but is short and withers soon away. But secondly, he told me that the Climate of those parts had this effect, to produce a fair shew, but little matter or substance. As in the flesh we fed on; so likewise in all the fruits there, which are most fair and beautiful to behold, most sweet and luscious to taste, but little inward virtue or nourishment at all in them, not halfe that is in a *Spanisb Camuesa*, or *Englisb Kentisb Pippin*. And as in meat, and fruit there is in this inward and hidden deceit, so likewise the same is to be found in the people that are born and bred there, who make fair outward shewes, but are inwardly false and hollow hearted. Which I have heard reported much among the *Spaniards* to have been the answer of our *Queen Elizabeth of England* to some that presented unto her of the fruits of *America*, that surely where those fruits grew, the women were light, and all the people hollow and false hearted. But further reasons I omit to search into; for this of experience only I write, which taught me that little substance and virtue is in the great abundance and variety of food which there is enjoyed; our stomachs witnessing this truth, which ever and anon were gaping and crying, Feed, feed. Our Conserves therefore and dainties were plentifully allowed us; and all other encouragements, and no occasion denied us of going to visit *Mexico*, (which was not two full miles from us) all the while we abode there. It was a pleasant walke for us to go out in the morning, and to spend all the day in the City and come home at night; our way lying by Arches made of stone, three miles long to convey the water from *Chapultepec* unto the City. Take therefore, gentle Reader, from me what for the space of five months I could learn concerning it in former and present times. The situation of this City is much like that of *Venice*; but only differs in this, that *Venice* is built upon the Sea-water, and *Mexico* upon a lake, which seeming one, indeed is two, one part whereof is standing water; the other ebbeth and floweth, according to the wind that bloweth. That part which standeth, is wholesome, good, and sweet, and yeeldeth store of small fish. That part which ebbeth and floweth, is a saltish, bitter, and pestiferous water, yeelding no kind of fish; small or great. The sweet water standeth higher then the other, and falleth into it, and reverteth not backward, as some conceive it doth. The salt Lake containeth fifteen miles in breadth, and fifteen in length, and more then five and forty in circuit; and the Lake of sweet water containeth even as much, in such sort that the whole Lake containeth much about a hundred miles. The *Spaniards* are divided in opinions concerning this water and the springs of it; some hold that all this water hath but one spring out of a great and high Mountain which standeth Southwest within sight of *Mexico*, and that the cause that the one part of the Lake is brackish or saltish, is that the bottom or ground is all salt; But however this opinion be true or false, certain it is and by experience I can witness that of that part of the salt water great quantity of Salt is dayly made, and is part of the great Trading of that City into other parts of the Country, nay it is sent part of it to the *Philippina* Islands. Others say that this Lake hath two springs, and that the fresh water springeth out of that mountain which standeth Southwest from *Mexico*; and the salt brackish water springeth out of other high Mountaines which stand more Northwest; But these give no reason for the saltnesse of it, without it be the agitation of it in the ebbing and flowing; which not being with tides like the Sea, but with the winds only (which indeed make it as stormy sometimes as is the Sea) why may not the winds produce the same effect in the fresh water Lake? I think rather, if it spring from a different spring from that from whence springeth the fresh water, the brackishnesse and saltishnesse of it may proceed from some brackish and sulphurous minerals through which it passeth in those Mountaines. For by experience I know the like in the Province of *Guatemala*, where by a Town called *Amatlan*, there is a standing Lake of water not altogether sweet and fresh, but a little brackish, which certainly hath its spring from a fiery Mountain called there a *Vulcan*, (whose burning proceeds from the Mines of brimstone that are within it) from whence spring near the same Town likewise two or three springs of exceeding hot water, which are resorted to for wholesome bathes, as coming through a sulphurous mine, and yet the standing Lake proceeding from the same Mountain is of that quality that it maketh the ground about it salt, and especially in the mornings the people go to gather up the salt which lyeth upon the ground by the water side like unto a hoary frost. But thirdly, others conceive that that part of the Lake of *Mexico* which is saltish and brackish comes through the earth from the North Sea; and though springs of water which come from the Sea lose their

brackishnesse

brackishnesse through the earth, yet this may keep some brackishnesse by reason of the minerals, which are many in those parts; or by reason of the great, wide and open concavities of those mountains, which being very hollow within (as we find by experience of the Earthquakes which are more frequent there then here by reason of the wind that getteth into those concavities, and so shakes the earth to get out) give no way to the water to sweeten through the earth, or to lose all that saltnesse which it brought with it from the Sea. But whatsoever the true reason be, there is not the like Lake known of sweet and saltish water, one part breeding fish, the other breeding none at all. This Lake had formerly some fourscore Towns, some say more, situated round about it; many of them containing five thousand houfholds, and some ten thousand, yea and *Texcuco* (as I have said before) was as big as *Mexico*. But when I was there, there might be thirty Towns and Villages about it, and scarce any of above five hundred houfholds between *Spaniards* and *Indians*; such hath been the hard usage of the *Spaniards* towards them, that they have even almost consumed that poor Nation. Nay two years before I came from those parts, which were the years of 1635. and 1636. I was credibly informed that a million of *Indians* lives had been lost in an indeavour of the *Spaniards* to turn the water of the Lake another way from the City, which was performed by cutting a way through the Mountains, for to avoid the great inundations that *Mexico* was subject unto, and especially for that the year 1634. the waters grew so high that they threatned destruction to all the City, ruinating a great part, and coming into the Churches that stood in the highest part of it, in so much that the people used commonly boats and *Canoo's* from house to house. And most of the *Indians* that lived about the Lake were employed to strive against this strong Element of water, which hath been the undoing of many poor wretches, but especially of these thirty Towns and Villages that bordered near upon the Lake; which now by that great work is further from the houses of the City, and hath a passage made another way, though it was thought it would not long continue, but would find again its old course towards *Mexico*. This City when *Cortez* first entred into it, (was as some say) of sixty, but more probably it is reported to have been of fourscore thousand houfes. *Montezuma* his palace was very great, large and beautifull, which in the *Indian* language was named *Tepac*; and that had twenty doors or gates, which had their outcoming into the common streets. It had three Courts; and in the one stood a fair fountain, many hals, and a hundred chambers of three and twenty, and thirty foot long, an hundred bathes, and hot houfes; and all this without nailes, yet very good workmanship. The wals were made of Mafons work, and wrought of Marble, Iaspe, and other black stone, with veines of red, like unto Rubies and other stones, which glistered very fair; the roofs were wrought of Timber, and curiously carved, being of Cedar, Cypress, and Pine tree; the Chambers were painted, and hung with cloth of Cotton, and of Coneyes hair and feathers. The beds only were unseeming this great state, very poor and of no value, such as to this day the best and richest *Indians* use; for they wear nothing but mantles laid upon mattes, or upon hay, or else mattes alone. Within this Palace lived a thousand women, nay some affirme three thousand, reckoning gentlewomen, servants and slaves, all together; but the most were principall *Indians* daughters; of whom *Montezuma* took for himself those that liked him best, and the other he gave in marriage to gentlemen his servants. It is credibly reported among the *Spaniards* that he had at one time a hundred and fifty women his wives with child, who commonly took medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the State; and these had many old women to guard them, for no man was permitted to look upon them. Besides this *Tepac*, which signifieth Palace, *Montezuma* had yet in *Mexico* another house with very curious lodgings and fair Galleries, built upon pillars of Iaspe, which looked towards a goodly Garden, in the which there were at least a dozen Ponds, some of salt water for Sea fowles, and others of fresh water for River fowles and Lake fowles, which Ponds were devised with Sluces to empty and to fill at pleasure for the cleanness of the Fowles feathers; and these Fowles are said to have been so many in number, that the Ponds could scarcely hold them, and of such severall sorts, and of such strange and various coloured feathers, that the most of them the *Spaniards* knew not, nor had at any time seen the like. There did belong to that house above three hundred persons of service, who had their severall charge concerning these Fowles; some had care to cleanse the Ponds; others

others were appointed to fish for bait; others served them with meat; and to every kind of fowle they gave such bait as they were wont to feed of in the fields or rivers; others did trim their feathers; others had care to look to their egges; others to set them abroad; and the principall office was to pluck the feathers: for of them were made rich mantles, tapystry, targets, ruffs of feathers, and many other things wrought with gold and silver.

Besides this house, *Montezuma* had yet another house within *Mexico*, appointed only for Hawking fowles, and fowles of rapine. In which house there were many high Halls, wherein were kept men, women, and children, such as were dwarfes, crook-backs or any monstrous persons, and with them such as were born white of colour, which did very seldom happen, nay some would deform their children on purpose to have them carried to the Kings house, to help to set forth his greatness by their deformity. In the lower hals of this house there were Cages for fowles of rapine of all sorts, as Hawkes, Kites, Boyzers (which are very many in those parts) and of the Hawkes near a dozen sundry kindes of them. This house had for daily allowance five hundred Turkey cocks, and three hundred men of service, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which some say were above a thousand men. The Hunters were maintained in that house, because of the ravenous beasts which were also kept in the lower Halls in great cages made of timber, wherein were kept in some Lions, in other Tygres, in other Ownces, in other Wolves; in conclusion, there was no four-footed beast that wanted there, only to the effect, that the mighty *Montezuma* might say that he had such things in his house; and all were fed daily with Turkey cocks, Deare, Dogges, and such like. There were also in another Hall great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were Snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodiles which they call *Caymanes*, of twenty foot long with scales and head like a Dragon; besides many other smaller Lisarts and other venemous beasts and Serpents, as well of the water as of the land. To these Snakes and the other venemous beasts they usually gave the blood of men sacrificed to feed them. Others say they gave unto them mans flesh, which the great Lisarts, or *Calmanis* eat very well. But what was wonderfull to behold, horrid to see, hideous to hear in this house, was the Officers dayly occupations about these beasts, the floor with bloud like a gelly, stinking like a slaughter-house, and the roaring of the Lions, the fearfull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowfull yelling of the Ownces and Tigres, when they would have meat. And yet in this place, which in the night season seemed a dungeon of hell, and a dwelling place for the Devill, could a heathen Prince pray unto his Gods and Idols; for near unto this hall was another of a hundred and fifty foot long and thirty foot broad, where was a chappell with the roof of silver and gold in leaf wainscotted and decked with great store of pearl and stone, as Agats, Cornerines, Emeralds, Rubies, and divers other sorts; and this was the Ofatory where *Montezuma* prayed in the night season, and in that chappell the Devill did appear unto him, and gave him answer according to his prayers, which as they were uttered among so many ugly and deformed beasts, and with the noise of them which represented Hell it self, were fitted for a Devils answer. He had also his Armoury, wherein was great store of all kind of such Ammunition which they used in their Warres, as Bowes, Arrows, Slings, Launces, Darts, Clubs, Swords and bucklers, and gallant Targets more trim then strong, and all made of Wood, gilt or covered with Leather. The Wood whereof they made their Armour and Targets was very hard and strong; and at their arrowes ends they enclosed a little piece of flint stone, or a piece of a fish bone called *Libisa*, which was so venemous, that if any were hurt with it, and the head remained in the wound, it so festered that it was almost incurable. Their Swords were of Wood, and the edge thereof was flint stone, enclosed or joyned into a staffe; and with these swords they cut speares, yea and a Horses neck at a blow, and could make dents into Iron, which seemeth a thing unpossible and incredible. These flints were joyned into the staffes with a certain kind of glew, which was made of a root called *Zacoh*, and *Tuxalli*, which is a kind of strong sand, whereof they made a mixture, and after kneaded it with the bloud of Battes, or Rear-nice, and other fowle, which did glew so strong, that it scarce ever uncleaned again; and of these *Montezuma* had in his house of Armour great store. But besides these houses it is wonderfull to relate yet many others which that great heathen Emperour had for his only recreation and pastime, with excellent fair gardens of medicall

mall herbs, sweet flowers, and trees of delectable favour. But of one garden more especially it is said, that in it there were a thousand personages made, and wrought artificially of leaves and flowers. And *Montezuma* would not permit that in this garden should be any kind of Pot-herbs, or things to be sold, saying that it did not appertain to Kings to have things of profit among their delights and pleasures, for that such did appertain to Merchants. Yet out of *Mexico* he had Orchards with many and sundry fruits; and likewise pleasant houses in Woods and Forrests, of great compass, environed with water, in the which he had fountains, rivers, ponds with fish, rockes and coverts where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolves and such like, whither he himself seldome went; but the Lords of *Mexico* used to go to sport themselves in them. Such and so many were the houses of *Montezuma*, wherein few Kings were equall with him. He had dayly attending upon him in his privy guard six hundred noblemen and gentlemen, and each of them three or four servants, and some had twenty servants or more according to their estate; and the most credible report goes, that in this manner he had three thousand men attendants in his Court, all which were fed in his house of the meat that came from his table. There were in those times under the *Mexicall* empire three thousand Lords of Towns, who had many vassals; but more especially there were thirty of high estate, who were able to make each of them a hundred thousand men of Warre. And all these noble men did abide in *Mexico* a certain time of the year in the Court of *Montezuma*, and could not depart from thence without especial licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a sonne or brother behind them for security of rebellion; and for this cause they had generally houses in the City; such and so great was the Court of *Montezuma*. Moreover he spent nothing in the buildings of all these his houses, for he had certain Towns that payed no other tribute, but only to work and repair continually his houses at their own proper cost, and payed all kind of workmen, carrying upon their backs, or drawing in sleds stone, lime, timber, water, and all other necessaries for the work. Likewise they were bound to provide all the wood that should be spent in the Court, which was five hundred mens burthens, and some dayes in the Winter much more. But especially for the Emperours chimneys they brought the barke of Oake trees, which was esteemed for the light. Thus was that great City formerly illustrated with a mighty Monarch, his houses and attendants. There were then also in *Mexico* three sorts of streets, very broad and fair; the one sort was only of water, with many bridges, another sort of only earth, and the third of earth and water, the one half being firme ground to walke upon, and the other half for boats to bring provision to the City; the most part of the houses had two doors, the own toward the Cawsey, and the other toward the water, at the which they took boat to go whither they list. But this water (though so near to the houses) being not good to drink, there is other water fresh and sweet brought by conduit to *Mexico*, from a place called *Chapul-tepec* three miles distant from that City, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foot whereof stood formerly two statues, or images, wrought in stone, with their Targets and Launces, the one of *Montezuma*, the other of *Axaiaca* his father. The water is brought from thence to this day in two pipes built upon Arches of brick and stone like a fair bridge; and when the one pipe is foul, then all the water is conveyed into the other, till the first be made clean. From this fountain all the whole City is provided, and the Water-men go selling the same water from street to street, some in little boats, others with earthen Tankards upon Mules or Asses backs. The chief and principall division of this City when the *Spaniards* first conquered it, was into two streets; the one was called *Tlatelulco*, that is to say, a little Island, and the other *Mexico* where *Montezuma* his dwelling and Court was, signifying in the language a spring. And because of the Kings palace there, the whole City was named *Mexico*. But the old and first name of the City according to some Historians was *Tenochtitlan*, which signifieth fruit out of a stone, being a compounded name of *Teotl*, which in the language is stone, and *Nuchtl*, which is a sweet fruit called generally in *Cuba*, and all other parts of *America* by the *Spaniards*, *Tunas*; the name of the tree whereon this fruit groweth is called *Nopal*. And when this City begun to be founded it was placed near unto a great stone that stood in the midst of the lake, at the foot whereof grew one of these *Nopal* trees; which is the reason why *Mexico* giveth for armes and device the foot of a *Nopal* tree springing from a stone according to the first name of the City *Tenochtitlan*.

But

But others do affirme that this City hath the name of the first founder of it, called *Tenuch*, the second son of *Ixtacmixcoatl*, whose sons and descendents did first inhabit all that part of *America* which is now called new *Spain*. *Mexico* is as much as to say a spring or fountain, according to the property of the vowel or speech, from whence some judge that City to be so named. But others do affirme that *Mexico* hath its name from a more ancient time, whose first founders were called *Mexiti*, for unto this day the *Indian* dwellers in one street of this City are called of *Mexica*. And that these *Mexiti* took name of their principall idol called *Mexitli*, who was in as great veneration as *Vitzilopuchtli*, God of the War. But others affirme (and this opinion is moit received among the *Spaniards*) that the *Mexicans* first were the inhabitants of *nova Galicia*; from whence they made a violent irruption *Año Domini* 720. and lingered in divers places till the year 902. when under the leading of *Mexi* their chief Captain they built this City, and called it after the name of their Generall. They were in all seven Tribes, which ruled long in an Aristocraticall state; till the moit puissant of the Tribes called *Navatalcas*, elected a King to whom they submittted themselves. The first King that was thus elected, was called *Vitzilovitli*; the second, *Acámopitzli*; the third, *Chimalpapoca*; the fourth, *Izchoalt*; the fifth, *Montezuma* the first; the sixth, *Acacis*; the seventh *Axaiaca*; the eighth, *Antzobol*; the ninth, *Montezuma* the second, who reigned when *Cortez* came first; the tenth, was *Quahutimoc*, who lost *Mexico*, and in whom ended that *Indian* Empire. The moit fortunate of these Kings was *Izchoalt*; who by his cousin *Tlacaclec*, subdued the other six Tribes, and brought them under the *Mexican* Kings. And after the death of *Izchoalt*, *Tlacaclec* was by the first electours (which were six in number) chosen King, as a man of whose vertue they had formerly made tryall. But he very nobly refused it, saying that it was more convenient for the Common-wealth that another should be King, and that he should execute that which was otherwise more fit for the necessity of the State, then to lay the whole burden upon his back; and that without being King, he would not leave to labour for the publick as well as if he were King. Upon this generous refusall they made choice of *Montezuma* the first. The moit unhappy Kings of that nation (at whose birth could not but be some dyfficult aspect of the Planets) were the two last, *Montezuma* the second, and *Quahutimoc*, who were both vanquished by *Ferdinando Cortez*, who took *Montezuma* prisoner out of his own palace, and with fair words and language carried him to his lodging in *Mexico*; and kept him there, knocking a pair of gyves on his legges, untill the execution of *Qualpopoca* Lord of *Nabatlan*, now called *Almeria* (who was to be burnt for killing nine *Spaniards*) was past. But this imprisonment of their Emporour stirred up the hearts of all the *Mexicans* to conspire against *Cortez* and the *Spaniards*, against whom they fought a most fierce and bloody battail two or three daies together, crying out for their Emperour, and threatning them with the cruellest death that ever man suffered. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Montezuma* to goe up into the Sotie of his house which they were battering with stones, and to command his subjects to cease from their heat and fury; who at *Cortez* his request went up and leaned over the wall to talke with them; and beginning to speak unto them, they threw so many stones out of the street, houses, and windows, that one happened to hit *Montezuma* on the temples of the head, with which blow he fell down dead to the ground; and this was his end, even at the hands of his own subjects and vassals against their wils, in the City of his greatest glory, and in the power and custody of a forain and strange nation. The *Indians* affirme that he was of the greatest bloud of all his lineage, and the greatest King in estate that ever was in *Mexico*. And from hence it may very well be noted, that when Kingdomes do most flourish; there are they nighest to a change; or else to change their Lord, as doth appear in this History of *Montezuma*, whose great glory and majesty prefiged the downfall of that City and people; who though after the death of *Montezuma* they made *Quahutimoc* their Emperour, and persisting in their furious battery against *Cortez* his palace, caused him and all his *Spaniards* to flie out of *Mexico*; yet having strengthened themselves again in *Tlaxcallan*; and prepared sixteen, or as others say, eighteen Vergantines for the lake, they soon after besieged *Mexico* so by water and land, that the Citizens were in great necessity, and so many dead with hunger and sicknesse, that there were heaps of dead bodies in the houses, only to keep close their extreme misery; who would not yeeld even when they saw their King *Quahutimoc* his fair houses burned, and the greatest

part of their City consumed with fire and beaten down plain with the ground, so long as they could enjoy any one street, Tower, or Temple to defend themselves and oppose the *Spaniards*; who after many fierce and bloody fights by land and with their boats by water having wonne the chief Market place and most of the City, as they went walking in the streets found heaps of dead bodies in the houses, streets, and in the water, and the very barks of trees and roots gnawn by the hungry creatures, and the men so lean and yellow that it was a pitfull sight to behold. And with this *Cortez* yet required them to yeeld; but they although they were so lean of body were strong in heart, and answered that he should not speak of any friendship to them, nor yet hope of their spoil, for when no fortune would favour them, then they would either burne their treasure, or throw it into the Lake, where they should never profit thereby, and that they would fight while one alone should remain alive.

Cortez desirous to see what remained of the City to win, went up into a high Tower, and having well viewed the City, he judged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And assaulting the same, the sorrowfull Citizens bewailing their unfortunate fate and destiny, beseeching the *Spaniards* to make an end, and to kill them all out of hand; others standing at the brim of the water near unto a draw-bridge cried out, Oh Captain *Cortez*, seeing that thou art the Child of the Sun, why dost thou not intreat the Sun thy Father to make an end of us? Oh thou Sun that canst goe round about the World in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of us and take us out of this miserable life, for we desire death to go and rest with our God *Quetzacavath* who tarrieth for us. *Cortez* seeing the great extremity that these poor wretched people were in, thinking now that they would yeeld unto him, sent a message to *Quahutimoc*, desiring him to consider his Subjects great extremity, which yet might be greater if he yeelded not to Peace. But when the itubborn King heard this ambassage, he was so moved with ire and choler, that forthwith he commanded *Cortez* his Ambassadour to be sacrificed, and gave the rest of the *Spaniards* that went with him for answer blowes with stones, staves and Arrows, saying that they desired death and no Peace. Whereupon *Cortez* seeing the King so itubborn and refractory after so much slaughter and misery of his subjects, after so many Combates and skirmishes made with the losse of almost all the City, sent forthwith *Sandoval* with his Vergantines one way, and went himself another combating the houses and forts that yet remained, where he found small resistance, so that he might do what he pleased. One would have thought there had not been five thousand left in all the City, seeing the heaps of dead bodies that lay about the streets and in the houses, and yet such was this last combate, that there were that day slain and taken prisoners forty thousand persons. The lamentable cry and mourning of the women and children, would have made a strong heart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noysome. That night *Cortez* purposed to make an end the next day of the Warres; and *Quahutimoc* pretended to flie, and for that purpose had embarked himself in a *Canoe* of twenty Oares. When the day appeared, *Cortez* with his men, and four Pieces of Ordinance came to the corner where those that yet remained were shut up as Cattell in a Pound. He gave order to *Sandoval* and *Alvarado* what they should do, which was to be ready with their Vergantines, and to watch the coming out of the *Canoe's*, which were hidden betwixt certain houses, and especially to have regard unto the Kings person, and not to hurt him, but to take him alive. He commanded the residue of his men to force the *Mexican* boates to goe out, and he himself went up into a Tower, inquiring for the King, where he found *Xihuacoa*, Governour and Captain Generall of the City, who would in no wise yeeld himself. Then came out of the City a great multitude of old folkes, men, women and children to take boat. The throng was so great with halt to enter the *Canoe's*, that many by that means were drowned in the Lake. *Cortez* required his men not to kill those miserable creatures; But yet he could not stay the *Indians* his friends of *Tlaxcallan*, and other places, who slew and sacrificed above fifteen thousand. The men of War stood in the house toppes, and Zoties beholding their perdition. All the Nobility of *Mexico* were embarked with the King. Then *Cortez* gave signe with the shot of a hand-gun, that his Captains should be in a readinesse, so that in short space they wan fully and wholly the great City of *Mexico*. The Vergantines likewise brake in among the Fleet of boats
without

without any resistance, and presently beat down *Quabutimoc* his Royall Standard. *Garcia Holguin* who was a Captain of one of the Vergantines, espied a great *Canoa* of twenty Oares deep laden with men, who (being by one of his prisoners informed that the King was in it) gave chase to it and presently overtook it. When *Quabutimoc*, who stood upon the Puppe of his *Canoa* ready to fight, saw the *Spaniards* Crosse-bowes bent to shoot, and many drawn swords against him, he yeelded himself, declaring that he was King. *Garcia Holguin* being a glad man of such a prisoner took him and carried him unto *Cortez*, who received him very respectfully. But when *Quabutimoc* came near unto him, he laid his hand upon *Cortez* his dagger, saying, I have done all my best and possible endeavour to defend my self and my Vassals according to my duty, hoping not to have come to this estate and place where now I stand; and considering that you may do with me what you please, I beseech you to kill me, and that is my only request. *Cortez* comforted him with fair words, giving him hope of life; and took him up into a *Zorie*, requiring him to command his Subjects that yet held out, to yeeld and render themselves. Which *Quabutimoc* presently performed; and at that time after so many Prisoners taken, and so many thousands slain and starved, there were about threescore and ten thousand persons, who seeing their Prince a Prisoner, threw down their weapons and submitted themselves. Thus did *Hernando Cortez* winne the famous and stately City of *Mexico*, on the 13. day of *August*, *Anno Dom.* 1521. In remembrance whereof every year on that day they make in *Mexico* a sumptuous feast and solemne procession, wherein is carried the Standard Royall, with the which the City was wonne. In the losse of it was as much to be observed as Antiquity can produce of any Victory; wherein was one Emperour the greatest that ever was in those parts slain; and another as great a Warrior as ever *America* had known, taken Prisoner. The Siege endured from the time the Vergantines came from *Tlaxcallan* three moneths, and therein were on *Cortez* his side near 200000 *Indians*, who dayly increased and came in to help him, 900 *Spaniards*; fourescore horses only, seventeen or eighteen Pieces of Ordinance; sixteen or as some say eighteen Vergantines, and at least 6000 *Canoa's*. In this Siege were slain fifty *Spaniards* only and six horses, and not above eight thousand of the *Indians* *Cortez* his friends. And on the *Mexicans* side were slain at least a hundred and twenty thousand *Indians*, besides those that died with hunger and Pestilence. At the defence of the City were all the Nobility, by reason whereof many of them were slain. The multitude of people in the City was so great, that they were constrained to eat little, to drink salt water, and to sleep among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench; and for these causes the disease of Pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered their valour, and steadfast determination; for although they were afflicted with such hunger that they were driven to eat boughs, rindes of trees, and to drink salt water, yet would they not yeeld themselves. And here also is to be noted, that although the *Mexicans* did eat mans flesh, yet they did eat none but such as were their enemies; for had they eaten one another and their own children, there would not so many have died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not only because they abode with their husbands and fathers, but also for the great pains they took with the sick and wounded persons; yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fit for the same, and throwing stones from the *Zories*; for therein they did as much hurt as their men. The City was yeelded to the spoil, and the *Spaniards* took the gold, plate and feathers, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe. Thus was that famous City ruined, and burnt by the *Spaniards*, and the power of that Nation brought under the *Spanish* subjection. *Cortez* having found the aire of that City very temperate and pleasant for mans life, and the situation commodious, thought presently of rebuilding it, and of making it the chief Seat of Justice and Court for all that Country. But before I come to speak of it as rebuilt and now flourishing, I must add unto what hath been said of *Montezuma* his former state and houses in it, the greatnesse of the Market place and Temple, which was in it, when the *Spaniards* ruined and destroyed it. The conveniencie of the Lake about this City gave encouragement to the *Mexicans* to set apart a most spacious Market place, whither all the Country about might resort to buy, exchange and sell; which was the more easie for them by reason of the abundance of Boats which were made only for such Tra-

fique. In this great lake there were at that time above two hundred thousand of these little boats, which the *Indians* call *Acalles*, and the *Spaniards* call them *Canoa's*, wrought like a kneading trough, some bigger then others according to the greatnesse of the body of the tree, whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boats, I speak of the least, for *Mexico* alone had above fifty thousand ordinarily to carry and bring unto the City victuall, provision, and passengers, so that on the market-daies all the streets of water were full of them. The Market is called in the *Indian* tongue *Tlanquitzli*; every parish had his Market place to buy and sell in; but *Mexico* and *Tlatelulco* only, which are the chiefest Cities, had great Fayres and places fit for the same; and especially *Mexico* had one place, where most daies in the year was buying and selling; but every fourth day was the great Market ordinarily. This place was wide and large, compassed about with doores, and was so great that a hundred thousand persons came thither to chop and change, as a City most principall in all that region. Every occupation and kind of merchandize had his proper place appointed, which no other might by any means occupie or disturb. Likewise pesterous wares had their place accordingly, such as stone, timber, lime, bricke and all such kind of stufte unwrought, being necessary to build withall. Also mattes both fine and course, of sundry workmanship; also coales, wood, and all sorts of earthen vessels, glazed and painted very curiously. Deere skines both raw and tanned in hair, and without hair; of many colours, for Shoemakers, for Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of wooden corslets, also skines of other beasts, and fowle in feathers ready dressed of all sorts. The colours and strangeness thereof was a thing wonderfull to behold. The richest merchandize was salt, and mantles of Cotton wool of divers colours, both great and small; some for beds, other for garments and clothing, other for Tapistry to hang houses; other Cotten-cloth was wont to be sold there for linnen drawers (which to this day the *Indians* use) for shirts, table clothes, towels and such like things. There were also mantles, made of the leaves of a tree called *Metl*, and of the Palme-tree and Conie-hair, which were well esteemed, being very warme, but the Coverlets made of feathers were the best. They sold thred there made of Conie-haire, and also skains of other thred of all colours. But the great store of poultrei which was brought to that Market was strange to see, and the uses they sold and bought them for; for although they did eat the flesh of the fowl, yet the feathers served for clothing, mixing one sort with another. But the chief bravery of that market was the place where gold and feathers joyntly wrought were sold; for any thing that was in request, was there lively wrought in gold and feathers and gallant colours. The *Indians* were so expert and perfect in this science, that they would work or make a butter-flie, any wild beast, trees, roses, flowers, herbs, roots, or any other thing so lively that it was a thing marvellous to behold. It happened many times that one of these workmen in a whole day would eat nothing, only to place one feather in his due perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sun, into the shade or darke place to see where was his most naturall perfection, and till his work were finished he would neither eat nor drink. There are few nations of so much steame or substance. The art, or science of Gold-smiths among them was the most curious, and very good workmanship engraven with tooles made of flint or in mould. They will cast a platter in mould with eight corners, and every corner of severall metall, the one of gold, and the other of silver, without any kind of solder. They will also found or cast a little cauldron with loofe handles hanging thereat, as we use to cast a bell; they will also cast in mould a fish of metall, with one scale of silver on his back, and another of gold; they will make a Barret or Poppingay of metall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head move, and his wings flutter; they will cast an Ape in mould, that both hands and feet shall stir; and hold a spindle in his hand seeming to spin, yea and an apple in his hand as though he would eat it. They have skill also of Amell work and to set any pretious stone. But now as touching the market, there was to sell Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, Latten, and Tin; although there was but very little of the three last metals mentioned. There were pearls, pretious stones, divers and sundry sorts of shelles, and bones, Sponges, and Pedlers ware. There were also many kind of herbs, roots, and seeds, as well to be eaten, as for medicine; for both men, women and children had great knowledge in herbs, for through poverty and necessity they did seek them for their sustenance and help of their infirmities and diseases. They did spend little among Physitians, although

although there were some of that art, and many Apothecaries; who did bring into the market, ointments, syrups, waters, and other drugs fit for sick persons. They cure all diseases almost with herbs; yea as much as for to kill lice they have a proper herb for the purpose. The severall kinds of meats, to be sold was without number, as Snakes without head and tail, little dogges gelt, Moules, Rats, Long-wormies, Lyce, yea and a kinde of earth; for at one season in the year they had nets of Mayle, with the which they raked up a certain dust that is bred upon the water of the lake of *Mexico*, and that is kneaded together like unto oas of the sea. They gathered much of this and kept it in heaps, and made thereof cakes like unto brick-bats. And they did not only sell this ware in the Market, but also sent it abroad to other Fayres and markets a far off; and they did eat this meal with as good a stomach as we eat cheefe: yea and they hold opinion; that this skumme or fatnesse of the water is the cause that such great number of fowl cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite. They sold likewise in this Market Venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Conies, and Dogges, and many other beasts, which they brought up for the purpose and took in hunting. The great store of sundry kinds of fruits was marvellous, which were there sold, both green and ripe. There is a sort as big as an Amond called *Cacao* (whereof is the drink called *Chocolatte* well known now in Christendome) which is both meat and currant money. In these times of the bigger sort sixscore or sevenscore, and of the lesser sort two hundred are worth a *Spanish* Riall, which is sixpence, and with these the *Indians* buy what they list; for five, nay for two *Cacao's* which is a very small part of a Riall, they do buy fruits and the like. There were divers kinds of colours to be sold, which they made of roses, flowers, fruits, barks of trees, and other things very excellent. All the things recited, and many others which I speak not of, were sold in this great market, and in every other Market of *Mexico*; and all the sellers payed a certain summe for their shops or standings to the King, as a custome, and they were to be preserved and defended from theeves and robbers. And for that purpose there went Serjeants and Officers up and down the market to espie out malefactors. In the midst of this Market stood an house, which was to be seen throughout the Fayre, and there did sit commonly twelve ancient men for Judges to dispatch law matters. Their buying and selling was to change one ware for another, one gave a hen for a bundle of Maiz, others gave mantles for salt or money, which was *Cacao*. They had measure and strike for all kinde of corne, and other earthen measures for hony and oil, and such wines as they made of Palme-trees, and other roots and trees. And if any measure were falsified, they punished the Offenders and brake their measures. This was the civility they had when they were Heathens, for buying and selling. And although they knew not the true God, but worshipped Idols; yet to their Idols, and to the Devill they dedicated Temples and places of worship, wherein they used those sacrifices which *David* speaks of in *Psal.* 106. 37. saying, *They sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto Devils.*

The Temple is called in the *Mexican* language *Tencalli*, which is a compound word of *Tentl*, which signifieth God, and *Calli*, which signifieth a house. There were in *Mexico* many parish Churches with towers, wherein were Chappels and Altars where the Images and Idols did stand. All their Temples were of one fashion; the like I believe was never seen nor heard of. And therefore it shall be now sufficient to describe the chief and greatest Temple, which was as their Cathedrall Church. This Temple was square, and did contain every way as much ground as a Crosse-bow can reach levell. It was made of stone, with four dores that abutted upon the three Cawseys, and upon another part of the City that had no Cawsey, but a fair street. In the midst of this Quadern stood a mount of earth and stone square likewise, and fifty fadome long every way, buile upward like unto a pyramide of *Egypt*, saving that the top was not sharpe, but plain and flat, and ten fadome square. Upon the West side were steps up to the top, in number a hundred and fourteen, which being so many, high and made of good stone, did seem a beautifull thing. It was a strange sight to behold the Priests, some going up, and some down with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Upon the top of this Temple were two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or brimme of the wall, that scarcely a man might go behind them at pleasure. The one Altar stood on the right hand, and the other on the left; they were but of five foot high: each of them had the back part made of

stone, painted with monstrous and foul figures. The Chappell was fair and well wrought of Malons work and timber; every Chappell had three lofts one above another, sustained upon pillars, and with the height thereof it shewed like unto a fair tower, and beautified the City a far off. From thence a man might see all the City and Towns round about the lake, which was undoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because *Cortez* and his company should see the beauty thereof, *Montezuma* himself (to make the more ostentation of his greatnesse and the Majesty of his Court) carried the first *Spaniards* thither, and shewed them all the order of the Temple, even from the foot to the top. There was a certain plot or space for the Idoll Priests to celebrate their service without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the sun; upon each Altar stood a great Idoll.

Besides this tower which stood upon the Pyramide, there were forty towers great and small belonging to other little Temples which stood in the same circuite; the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not West-ward, but other waies, because there should be a difference betwixt the great Temple and them. Some of these Temples were bigger then others, and every one of a severall God; among the which there was one round Temple dedicated to the God of the aire called *Quicalcoatl*; for even as the aire goeth round about the heavens, even for that consideration they made this Temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a dore made like unto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and devillish gestures, with great teeth and gummies wrought, which was a sight to fear those that should enter in thereat, and especially the Christians unto whom it represented hell it self with that ugly face and monstrous teeth. There were other Teucallies in the City, that had the ascending up by steps in three places; and all these Temples had houses by themselves with all service belonging to them, and Priests, and particular Gods. And from this manner of these Heathens Temples, and Altars made with steps, we may observe how like unto them is now the Church of *Rome*, which as it confesseth that there never was a Church without a visible sacrifice, and therefore teacheth that Christs body must be broken upon their Altars, and distributed not only as a sacrament to the people, but as a sacrifice in the Priests hands, differing only that the sacrifices of Sheep and Oxen in the old law, and these of the Heathens were bloody sacrifices, but theirs of Christs body they call *Incruentum Sacrificium*, an unbloody sacrifice; so likewise in the buildings of their Churches with severall Towers and Altars and Chapels dedicated to severall Saints they seem to have taken from the very Heathens; but especially in the many steps whereby they ascend up to their Altars, they resemble these, forgetting Gods words in *Exod. 20. 26.* saying, *Neither shalt thou goe up by steps unto mine Altar, that thy nakednesse be not discovered thereon.* And lastly in their houses and Cloisters joyning to their Churches for the service of them, being full of idolatrous Priests and Fryers consecrated for their service, they seem likewise to have borrowed that fancy of Convents, Abbeyes, and Priories from the very Heathens, who (as presently I shall shew) had near joyning to this great Temple, houses containing thousands of Priests, with yearly rents and revenues, like those of *Romes* Abbeyes, and Cloisters. At every dore of this great Temple of *Mexico* stood a large hall, and goodly lodgings both high and low round about, which houses were common Armories for the City. The Heathens it seems had so much understanding as to know that the force and strength of a Town, City, or Country is the Temple, and therefore they placed there their storehouse of munition.

They had other darke houses full of Idols great and small, wrought of sundry metals, which were all bathed and washed with blood, and did shew very black through their daily sprinkling and anointing them with the same, when any man was sacrificed; yea and the wals were an inch thick with blood, and the ground a foot thick of it, so that there was a devillish stench. The Priests went dayly into those Oratories, and suffered none other but great personages to enter in. And when any such went in, they were bound to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hangmen and Ministers of the Devill might wash their hands in the blood of those so sacrificed, and might sprinkle their house therewith. For their service in the Kitchen they had a pond of water, that was filled once a year, which was brought by the Conduit pipes before mentioned, from the principall fountain. All the residue of the foresaid circuit served for places to breed fowles, with gardens of herbs and sweet trees,

with

with roses and flowers for the Altars; and this is also the Church of *Romes* custome and superstition, to trim and deck their Saints and Altars with Garlands and Crowns of Roses and other flowers. Such, so great and strange was this Temple of *Mexico*, for the service of the Devill, who had deceived those simple *Indians*. There did reside (as I said before of Monkes and Fryers in their Cloisters joyning to their Churches) in this Temple and houses joyning to it, continually five thousand persons, and all these were lodged and had their living there; for that Temple was marvellous rich, and had divers Towns only for their maintenance, and reparation, and were bound to sustain the same alwayes on foot. These Towns did sow corn, and maintain all those five thousand persons with bread, flesh, fish, and firewood as much as they needed, for they spent more firewood then was spent in the Kings Court. These persons did live like *Romes* Abby-lubbers at their hearts ease, as servants and vassals unto the Gods, which were many; and every God had severall ranks and Orders of Priests to serve him; as the severall Saints canonized by the Popes of *Rome* have under their distinct Religious Orders of Priests, Dominick hath Dominicans, Francis Franciscans, Benedict Benedictines, Basil Basilians, Bernard Bernardines, Augustin Augustines, and the like.

The Gods of *Mexico* (as the *Indians* reported to the first *Spaniards*) were two thousand in number; the chiefest were *Vitzilopuchli*, and *Texcatlipuca*, whose Images stood highest in the Temple upon the Altars. They were made of stone in full proportion as big as a Gyant. They were covered with a lawne called *Nacar*; they were beset with pearls, pretious stones, and pieces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts fishes, and flowers, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Chalcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne was taken away, the Images seemed very beautifull and glorious to behold. But must I find out *Rome* still among these Heathens? and will the Papiests be angry if I tell them plainly that what I mislike in these Idolatrous *Mexicans*, I mislike in them? for do not they deck and adorne their Idol Saints, as the heathens did *Vitzilopuchli* and *Texcatlipuca*? Do not they cover their wooden and stony statues of Saints, and of the Virgin *Mary* with fine lawne shirts, and hide them with curtaines of cloth of Gold, and crowne them with Crowns of Silver and Gold; and enrich them with costly and pretious Jewels and Diamonds: not considering that they are the works of their own hands? *Ad quid perditio hec? poterant enim venundari, & dari pauperibus.* These two *Indian* Idols had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collars or chains about their necks ten hearts of men made of gold; and each of them had a counterfeit Visor with eyes of glasse, and in their necks Death painted. These two Gods were brethren, for *Texcatlipuca* was the God of Providence; and *Vitzilopuchli*, God of the Warres; who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest. There was another God, who had a great image placed upon the top of the Chappell of Idols, and he was esteemed for a speciall and singular God above all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seeds that grow in that Countrey; which being ground, they made a certain paste tempered with childrens blood and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with rasors in their breasts, and their hearts taken out, to offer as first fruits unto the Idol. The Priests consecrated this Idoll with great pompe and many Ceremonies. All the *Comarcans* and Citizens were present at the Consecration with great triumph and incredible devotion. After the Consecration many devout persons came and sticked in the dowy Image pretious stones, wedges of gold, and other Jewels. And after all this pompe ended, no secular man might touch that holy Image; no nor yet come into his Chappell; nay scarcely religious persons, except they were *Tlumacaztli*, who were Priests of Order. They did renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the old. And then (like again unto the Papiests who think themselves happy with their Saints reliques, though ragges or bones) blessed was he that could get one piece of the old ragges, or a piece of the old dough; for the which there was most earnest suits made by the Souldiers, who thought themselves sure therewith in the Warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll, a certain vessell of water was blessed with many words and ceremonies (peradventure from this heathenish Ceremonie came the superstitious holy water to *Rome*) and that water was preserved very religiously at the foot of the Altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to blesse any Captain Generall, when he should be elected for the Warres, with only giving him a draught

of that water. And as the *Romish* Church makes much of their dead mens skulles and rotten bones, laying them up in their Churchyards under some arches made for that purpose in the Church wals, even so was it here in *Mexico*; for without this Temple, and overagaint the principall door thereof, a stones cait distant stood a Char-nell house only of dead mens heads, prisoners in Warres and sacrificed with the knife. This monument was made like unto a Theatre, more large then broad, wrought of lime and stone, with ascending steps; in the wals whereof was grafted betwixt stone and stone a skull with the teeth outwards. At the foot and head of this Theatre, were two towers made only of lime and skulles, the teeth outward, which having no other fluffe in the wall seemed a strange sight. At and upon the top of the Theatre, were threescore and ten poles, standing the one from the other four or five foot distant, and each of them was full of staves from the foot to the top. Each of these staves had others made fast unto them, and every one of them had five skulles broched through the temples. When the *Spaniards* first entred into *Mexico* as friends before the death of *Montezuma* they visited all these monuments; and in what they have written and transmitted to posterity of that City, it is recorded of one *Andrew de Tapia*, and *Gonzalo de Umbria* that one day they did reckon these skulles, and found a hundred thirty and six thousand skulls on the poles, staves and steps. The other Towers were replenished out of number; and there were men appointed, that when one skull fell, to set up another in his place, so that the number might never want. But all these Towers and Idols were pulled down, and consumed with fire, when the *Spaniards* wanne that City. And certainly they had been more renowned in destroying those Altars of the Devill and those Idoll Gods, if in their stead they had not set up new Idols and Saints of stocks and stones, and built unto them as many more Churches as they found at their coming thither. All therefore that hath been mentioned hitherto of *Montezuma* his houses and Gardens, of the spacious Market place, and Temples of that City was utterly destroyed and brought downe to the very ground. But *Cortez* reedified it again, not only for the situation and majesty, but also for the name and great fame thereof. He divided it among the Conquerours, having first taken out places for Churches, Market places, Town-house and other necessary plots to build houses, profitable for the Common-wealth. He separated the dwellings of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, so that now the water passeth and maketh division betwixt them. He promised to them that were naturals of the City of *Mexico* plots to build upon, inheritance, freedome, and other liberties, and the like unto all those that would come and inhabit there, which was a means to allure many thither. He set also at liberty *Xihuaco*, the Generall Captain, and made him chief over the *Indians* in the City, unto whom he gave a whole street. He gave likewise another street to *Don Pedro Montezuma* who was son to *Montezuma* the King. All this was done to win the favour of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Islands, and streets to build upon, and to inhabit, and in this order the whole situation was reparted, and the work began with great joy and diligence. And when the fame was blowne abroad that *Mexico* should be built again, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither hearing of liberty and freedome. The numbers was so great that in three miles compasse was nothing but people men and women. They laboured sore and did eat little, by reason whereof many sickned, and pestilence ensued, whereof died an infinite number. Their pains was great, for they bare on their backs, and drew after them stones, earth, timber, lyme, brick, and all other things necessary in this sort; And by little and little *Mexico* was built again with a hundred thousand houses, more strong and better then the old building was. The *Spaniards* built their houses after the *Spanish* fashion; and *Cortez* built his house upon the plot where *Montezuma* his house stood, which renteth now yearly four thousand duckats, and is called now the Palace of the Marques *Del Valle*, the King of *Spain* having conferred upon *Cortez* and his heires this title from the great Valley of *Guaxaca*. This Palace is so stately that (as I have observed before) seven thousand beams of Cedar Trees were spent in it. They built fair Dockes covered over with Arches for the Vergantines; which Dockes for a perpetuall memory doe remain untill this day. They dammed up the streets of water, where now faire houses stand, so that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to be, and especially since the year 1634. the water cometh not by far so near the City as it was wont to come.

The Lake sometimes casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountains that stand round about it, and well provided through the fertility of the Countrey, and commodity of the Lake. So that now is *Mexico* one of the greatest Cities in the World in extention of the situation for *Spanish* and *Indian* houses. Not many years after the Conquest it was the Noblest City in all *India* as well in Armes as Policy. There were formerly at the least two thousand Citizens, that had each of them his horse in his stable with rich furniture for them, and Armes in readinesse. But now since all the *Indians* far and near are subdued, and most of them especially about *Mexico* consumed, and there is no fear of their rising up any more against the *Spaniards*, all armes are forgotten, and the *Spaniards* live so secure from enemies, that there is neither Gate, Wall, Bulwarke, Platforme, Tower, Armory, Ammunition, or Ordinance to secure and defend the City from a Domestick or forain enemy; from the latter they thinke St. *John de Ulua* sufficient and strong enough to secure them. But for Contractation it is one of the richest Cities in the World; to the which by the North Sea cometh every year from *Spain* a Fleet of near twenty ships laden with the best Commodities not only of *Spain* but of the most parts of Christendome. And by the South Sea it enjoyeth Traffique from all parts of *Peru*; and above all it Trades with the *East-Indias*, and from thence receiverh the Commodities as well from those parts which are inhabited by *Portingals*, as from the Countreies of *Japan* and *China*, sending every year two great *Caracas* with two smaller Vessels to the Islands of *Philippinas*, and having every year a returne of such like ships. There is also in *Mexico* a Mint house where Money is dayly coyned; and is brought thither in wedges upon Mules from the Mines called St. *Lewis de Sacatecas*, standing fourscore Leagues from *Mexico* Northward, and yet from *Sacatecas* forward have the *Spaniards* entred above a hundred Leagues conquering daily *Indians*, where they discover store of Mines; and there they have built a City, called *Nova Mexico*, new *Mexico*. The *Indians* there are great Warriars, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to it. It is thought the *Spaniard* will not be satisfi'd, untill he subdue all the Country that way, which doubtlesse reacheth to our plantations of *Virginia* and the rest being the same continued continent land. There is yet more in *Mexico*, a fair schoole, which now is made an Vaiversity, which the Viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza* caused to be built. At the rebuilding of this City there was a great difference betwixt an Inhabitant of *Mexico*, and a Conquerour; for a Conquerour was a name of honour, and had lands and rents given him and to his posterity by the King of *Spain*, and the Inhabitant or only dweller payed rent for his house. And this hath filled all those parts of *America* with proud *Dons* and Gentlemen to this day; for every one will call himself a descendent from a Conquerour, though he be as poor as *Job*; and aske him what is become of his Estate and fortune; he will answer that fortune hath taken it away, which shall never take away a *Don* from him. Naya poor Cobler or Carrier that runs about the Countrey far and near getting his living with half a dozen Mules, if he be called *Mendoza* or *Guzman*, will swear that he descended from those Dukes houses in *Spain*, and that his Grand-father came from thence to Conquer, and subdued whole Countreies to the Crown of *Spain*, though now fortune hath frowned upon him, and covered his rags with a thredbare Cloak. When *Mexico* was rebuilt, and Judges, Aldermen, Attorneys, Towne Clerks, Notaries, Skavengers, and Serjeants with all other Officers necessary for the Common-weale of a City were appointed, the fame of *Cortez* and majesty of the City was blown abroad into far Provinces, by means whereof it was soon replenished with *Indians* againe, and with *Spaniards* from *Spain*, who soon conquered above foure hundred Leagues of Land, being all governed by the Princely Seat of *Mexico*. But since that first rebuilding, I may say it is now rebuilt the second time by *Spaniards*; who have consumed most of the *Indians*; so that now I will not dare to say there are a hundred thousand houses which soon after the Conquest were built up; for most of them were of *Indians*. Now the *Indians* that live there, live in the suburbs of the City, and their situation is called *Gnadalupe*. In the year 1625. when I went to those parts, this Suburbe was judged to contain five thousand Inhabitants; But since most of them have been consumed by the *Spaniards* hard usage and the work of the Lake. So that now there may not be above two thousand Inhabitants of meer *Indians*, and a thousand of such

as they call there *Mestizos*, who are of a mixt nature of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, for many poor *Spaniards* marry with *Indian* women, and others that marry them not but hate their husbands, find many tricks to convey away an innocent *Uriah* to enjoy his *Bathsbeba*. The *Spaniards* daily coufen them of the small plot of ground where their houses stand, and of three or four houses of *Indians* build up one good and fair house after the *Spanish* fashion with Gardens and Orchards. And so is almost all *Mexico* new built with very fair and spacious houses with Gardens of recreation. Their buildings are with stone, and brick very strong, but not high, by reason of the many Earth-quakes, which would indanger their houses if they were above three stories high. The streets are very broad, in the narrowest of them three Coaches may goe, and in the broader six may goe in the breadth of them, which makes the City seem a great deal bigger then it is. In my time it was thought to be of between thirty and forty thousand inhabitants *Spaniards*, who are so proud and rich, that half the City was judged to keep Coaches, for it was a most credible report that in *Mexico* in my time there were above fifteen thousand Coaches. It is a by-word that at *Mexico* there are four things fair, that is to say, the women, the apparell, the horses, and the streets. But to this I may add the beauty of some of the Coaches of the gentry, which do exceed in cost the best of the Court of *Madrid* and other parts of Christendome; for there they spare no Silver, nor Gold, nor pretious stones, nor Cloth of Gold, nor the best Silkes from *China* to enrich them. And to the gallantry of their horses the pride of some doth add the cost of bridles, and shoes of silver. The streets of Christendome must not compare with those in breadth and cleanness, but especially in the riches of the shops which do adorn them. Above all the Goldsmiths shops and works are to be admired. The *Indians*, and the people of *China* that have been made Christians and every year come thither, have perfected the *Spaniards* in that Trade. The Viceroy that went thither the year 1625. caused a *Popingay* to be made of silver, gold, and pretious stones with the perfect colours of the *Popingays* feathers, (a bird bigger then a pheasant) with such exquisite art and perfection, to present unto the King of *Spain*, that it was prized to be worth in riches and workmanship half a Million of Duckats. There is in the Cloister of the Dominicans a lampe hanging in the Church with three hundred branches wrought in silver to hold so many Candles, besides an hundred little lampes for oil set in it, every one being made with severall wormanship so exquisitely, that it is valued to be worth four hundred thousand duckats; and with such like curious works are many streets made more rich and beautiful from the shops of Goldsmiths. To the by-word touching the beauty of the women I must add the liberty they enjoy for gaming, which is such that the day and night is to short for them to end a *Primera* when once it is begun; nay gaming is so common too them that they invite gentlemen to their houses for no other end. To my self it happened that passing along the streets in company with a Fryer that came with me that year from *Spain*, a gentlewoman of great birth knowing us to be *Chaperons* (so they call the first year those that come from *Spain*) from her window called unto us, and after two or three slight questions concerning *Spain* asked us if we would come in and play with her a Game at *Primera*. Both men and women are excessive in their apparell, using more silkes then stufes and cloth; pretious Stones and Pearls further much this their vain ostentation; a hat-band and rose made of Diamonds in a Gentlemans hat is common, and a hat-band of Pearls is ordinary in a Tradesman; nay a Blackmore or Tauny young maide and slave will make hard shift but she will be in fashion with her Neckchain and Bracelets of Pearls, and her Eare-bobs of some considerable Jewels. The attire of this baser sort of people of Blackmores and *Mulatta's* (which are of a mixt nature, of *Spaniards* and Blackmores) is so light, and their carriage so enticing, that many *Spaniards* even of the better fort (who are too too prone to Venery) disdain their Wives for them. Their clothing is a Petticoate, of Silk or Cloth, with many silver or golden Laces, with a very broad double Ribband of some light colour with long silver or golden Tags hanging down before, the whole length of their Petticoate to the ground, and the like behind; their Wascots made like bodies, with skirts, laced likewise with gold or silver, without sleeves, and a girdle about their body of great price stuck with Pearls and knots of Gold, (if they be any wayes well esteemed of) their sleeves are broad and open at the end, of *Holland* or fine *China* linnen, wrought some with coloured silkes; some with silke and gold, some with

with silk and silver, hanging down almost unto the ground; the locks of their heads are covered with some wrought quouise, and over it another of net-work of silk bound with a fair silk, or silver or golden ribband which crosseth the upper part of their forehead; and hath commonly worked out in letters some light and foolish love posse; their bare, black and tauny breasts are covered with bobs hanging from their chaines of pearls. And when they go abroad, they use a white mantle of lawn or cambrick rounded with a broad lace, which some put over their heads, the breadth reaching only to their middle behind, that their girdle and ribbands may be seen, and the two ends before reaching to the ground almost; others cast their mantles only upon their shoulders, and swaggerers like, cast the one end over the left shoulder, that they may the better jog the right arme, and shew their broad sleeve as they walke along; others instead of this mantle use some rich silke petticoat, to hang upon their left shoulder, while with their right arme they support the lower part of it, more like roaring boyes, then honest civil maids. Their shooes are high and of many soles, the outside whereof of the profaner sort are plated with a list of silver, which is fastned with small nailes of broad silver heads. Most of these are or have been slaves, though love have set them loose at liberty, to enslave souls to sin and Satan. And there are so many of this kind both men and women grown to a height of pride and vanity, that many times the Spaniards have feared they would rise up and mutiny against them. And for the looseness of their lives, and publick scandals committed by them and the better sort of the Spaniards, I have heard them say often who have professed more religion and fear of God, they verily thought God would destroy that City, and give up the Country into the power of some other nation.

I will not relate particulars of their obscene and scandalous, yea and publick carriages which would offend my Readers patience, and make his ears to tingle; only I say, certainly God is offended with that second Sodom, whose inhabitants though now they be like the green bay-tree flourishing with jewels, pearls, gold, silver, and all worldly pleasures; *They shall soon be cut down like the grasse, and wither as the green herb, Psal. 37. 2.* And though their great Master and Cardinal Bellarmine make outward happinesse and flourishing a marke and note of a true Church and Congregation of Gods people; and of my self I could say with David in the 73. *Psal. 2, 3.* when I lived blindly amongst them, *My feet were almost gone, my feet had well-nigh slept; for I was erronious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked; yet now being enlightened in a more sure and certain truth, I will conclude of them, as David of the flourishing wicked men of his time in the same Chapter the 16, 17, 18. v. When I thought to know this, it was too painfull for me, untill I went into the Sanctuary of God, then understood I their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery places; thou callest them down to destruction,* And I doubt not but the flourishing of Mexico in coaches, horses, itreets, women, and apparell is very slippery, and will make those proud inhabitants slip and fall into the power and dominion of some other Prince of this world, and hereafter in the world to come, into the powerfull hands of an angry Judge, who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, which Paul saith *Heb. 10. 31. is a fearfull thing.* For this City doth not only flourish in the wayes aforesaid, but also in their superstitious worshipping of God and Saints, they exceed Rome it self, and all other places of Christendome. And it is a thing which I have very much and carefully observed in all my travailes both in Europe and America, that in those Cities wherein there is most lewd licentiousnesse of life, there is also most cost in the Temples, and most publick superstitious worshipping of God and of the Saints.

It seems that religion teacheth that all wickednesse is allowable, so the Churches and Clergy flourish; nay while the purse is open to lasciviousnesse, if it be likewise opened to enrich the temple wals and roofes, this is better then any their holy water to wash away the filth of the other. Rome is held to be the head of superstition; and what stately Churches, Chappels, and Cloisters are in it? what fastings, what processions, what appearances of devotion? and on the other side, what liberty, what profanenesse, what whoredomes, nay what sins of Sodom are committed in it? In so much that it could be the saying of a Fryer to my self while I was in it, that he verily thought there was no one City in the world wherein were more Atheists then in Rome. I might shew this truth in Madrid, Sevil, Valladolid, and other famous Cities in Spain, and in Italy, in Millan, Gensa and Naples, relating many instances of scandals

committed in those places, and yet the Temples mightily enriched by such who have thought those almes a sufficient warrant to free them from hell and Purgatory. But I must return to *Mexico* which is *mille testes* of this truth, sin and wickedness abounding in it; and yet no such people in the world toward the Church and Clergy, who in their life time strive to exceed one another in their gifts to the Cloisters of Nuns and Fryers; some erecting Altars to their best devoted Saints, worth many thousand thousand ducats, others presenting crowns of gold to the pictures of *Mary*, others lamps, others golden chains, others building Cloisters at their own charge, others repairing them, others at their death leaving to them two or three thousand ducats for an annuall stipend. Among these great Benefactors to the Churches of that City I should wrong my History if I should forget one that lived in my time, called *Alonso Cuellar*, who was reported to have a Closet in his house laid with bars of gold in stead of bricks; though indeed it was not so, but only reported for his abundant riches and store of bars of gold which he had in one chest standing in a closet distant from another, where he had a chest full of wedges of silver. This man alone built a Nunnery of Franciscan Nuns, which stood him in above thirty thousand ducats, and left unto it for the maintenance of the Nuns two thousand ducats yearly, with obligation of some Masses, to be said in the Church every year for his soul after his decease. And yet this mans life was so scandalous, that commonly in the night with two servants he would round the City, visiting such scandalous persons whose attire before hath been described, carrying his beads in his hands, and at every house letting fall a bead, and tying a false knot, that when he came home in the morning towards break of the day he might number by his beades the uncivil stations he had walked and visited that night. But these his works of darknesse came to light, and were published far and near for what happened unto him whilst I was in *Mexico*; for one night meeting at one of his stations with a gentleman that was jealous of him, swords on both sides were drawn, the Concubine first was stabbed by the Gentleman who was better manned and attended; and *Cuellar* (who was but a Merchant) was mortally wounded and left for dead, though afterwards he recovered. Great Almes and liberality towards religious houses in that City commonly are coupled with great and scandalous wickednesse. They wallow in the bed of riches and wealth, and make their Almes the Coverlet to cover their loose and lascivious lives. From hence are the Churches so fairly built and adorned. There are not above fifty Churches and Chappels, Cloisters and Nunneries, and Parish Churches in that City; but those that are there are the fairest that ever my eyes beheld, the roofes and beams being in many of them all daubed with gold, and many Altars with sundry marble pillars, and others with Brasil wood staves standing one above another with Tabernacles for severall Saints richly wrought with golden colours, so that twenty thousand ducats is a common price of many of them. These cause admiration in the common sort of people, and admiration brings on daily adoration in them to those glorious spectacles and images of Saints; so Satan shewes Christ all the glory of the Kingdomes to entice him to admiration, and then *All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me*, Mat. 4. 8, 9. The Devill will give all the world to be adored.

Besides these beautifull buildings, the inward riches belonging to the Altars are infinite in price and value, such as Copes, Canopies, hangings, Altar clothes, Candlesticks, Jewels belonging to the Saints, and crowns of gold and silver, and Tabernacles of gold and Crytall to carry about their Sacrament in Procession, all which would mount to the worth of a reasonable mine of silver, and would be a rich prey for any nation that could make better use of wealth and riches. I will not speak much of the lives of the Fryers and Nuns of that City, but only that there they enjoy more liberty then in the parts of *Europe* (where yet they have too much) and that surely the scandals committed by them do cry up to heaven for vengeance, judgement and destruction.

In my time in the Cloister of the Mercenarian Fryers which is entituled for the Redemption of Captives, there chanced to be an election of a Provinciall to rule over them, to the which all the Priors and heads of the Cloisters about the countrey had resorted, and such was their various and factious difference, that upon the suddain all the Convent was in an uproar, their Canonick election was turned to mutiny and strife, knives were drawn, many wounded, the scandall and danger of murder so great,

great, that the Viceroy was fain to interpose his authority and to sit amongst them and guard the Cloister untill their Provincially was elected. It is ordinary for the Fryers to visit their devoted Nuns, and to spend whole daies with them, hearing their musicke, feeding on their sweet meats, and for this purpose they have many chambers which they call *Loguntorios*, to talke in, with wooden bars between the Nuns and them, and in these chambers are tables for the Fryers to dine at; and while they dine, the Nuns recreate them with their voices. Gentlemen and Citizens give their daughters to be brought up in these Nunneries, where they are taught to make all sorts of Conserves and Preserves, all sorts of needlework, all sorts of musick, which is so exquisite in that City, that I dare be bold to say, that the people are drawn to their Churches more for the delight of the musick, then for any delight in the service of God. More, they teach these young children to act like players, and to entice the people to their Churches make these children to act short dialogues in their Quires, richly attiring them with mens and womens apparell, especially upon Midsummer day, and the eight daies before their Christmas, which is so gallantly performed, that many factious strifes, and single combats have been, and some were in my time, for defending which of these Nunneries most excelled in musick, and in the training up of children. No delights are wanting in that City abroad in the world; nor in their Churches, which should be the house of God, and the souls; not the senses delight.

The chief place in the City is the Market place, which though it be not as spacious as in *Montezuma* his time, yet is at this day very fair and wide, built all with Arches on the one side where people may walke dry in time of rain, and there are shops of Merchants furnished with all sorts of stufes and silks, and before them sit women selling all manner of fruits and herbes; over against these shops and Arches is the Viceroy his palace, which taketh up almost the whole length of the market with the wals of the house and of the gardens belonging to it. At the end of the Viceroy his Palace, is the chief prison which is strong of stone work. Next to this is the beautifull street called *la plateria*, or Goldsmiths-street, where a mans eyes may behold in lesse then an hour many millions worth of gold, silver, pearls and jewels. The street of St. *Ansin* is rich and comely, where live all that trade in silkes; but one of the longest and broadest streets is the street called *Tacuba*, where almost all the shops are of Ironmongers, and of such as deal in brasse and steel, which is joyning to those Arches whereon the water is conveyed into the City, and is so called for that it is the way out of the City to a Town called *Tacuba*; and this street is mentioned far and near, not so much for the length and breadth of it, as for a small commodity of needles which are made there, and for proof are the best of all those parts. For stately buildings the street called *del Aquila*, the street of the eagle, exceeds the rest, where live Gentlemen, and Courtiers, and Judges belonging to the Chancery, and is the palace of the Marquesse *del Valle* from the line of *Ferdinando Cortez*; this street is so called from an old Idoll an Eagle of stone which from the conquest lieth in a corner of that street, and is twice so big as *London* stone. The gallants of this City shew themselves daily some on horse-back, and most in Coaches about four of the clock in the afternoon in a pleasant shady field, called *la Alameda*, full of trees and walkes, somewhat like unto our More-fields, where do meet as constantly as the Merchants upon our Exchange about two thousand Coaches, full of Gallants, Ladies, and Citizens, to see and to be seen, to court and to be courted, the Gentlemen having their train of blackmore slaves some a dozen, some half a dozen waiting on them, in brave and gallant Liveries, heavy with gold and silver lace, with silk stockings on their back legs, and roses on their feet, and swords by their sides; the Ladies also carry their train by their Coaches side of such jet-like Damofels as before have been mentioned for their light apparell, who with their bravery and white mantles over them seem to be, as the *Spaniard* saith, *mofca en leche*, a flie in milke. But the train of the Viceroy who often goeth to this place is wonderfull stately, which some say is as great as the train of his Master the King of *Spain*. At this meeting are carried about many sorts of sweetmeats and papers of comfits to be sold, for to relish a cup of cool water, which is cried about in curious glasses to cool the blood of those love-hot gallants. But many times these their meetings sweetned with conserves and comfits have sowre sawce at the end, for jealousy will not suffer a Lady to be courted, no nor sometimes to be spoken to, but puts fury into the violent hand to draw a sword or dagger and to stab or murder whom he was

jealous

jealous of, and when one sword is drawn thousands are presently drawn, some to fight the party wounded or murdered; others to defend the party murdering, whose friends will not permit him to be apprehended, but will guard him with drawn swords until they have conveyed him to the Sanctuary of some Church, from whence the Viceroy his power is not able to take him for a legall tryall.

Many of these suddain skirmishes happened while I lived about *Mexico*: of which City a whole volume might be compiled, but that by other Authors much hath been written, and I desire not to fill my History with trifles, but only with what is most remarkable in it. I may not omit yet from the situation of it upon a lake to tell that certainly the water hath its passage under all the streets of it; for toward the street of *St. Austin*, and the lower parts of the City, I can confidently aver that in my time before the removing of the Lake those that died were rather drowned then buried, for a grave could not be digged with an ordinary graves depth, but they met with water, and I was eye-witnesse of many thus buried, whose coffins was covered with water. And this is so apparent that had not the Cloister of the *Augustines* often been repaired and almost rebuilt, it had quite sunk by this. In my time it was a repairing, and I saw the old pillars had sunk very low, upon the which they were then laying new foundations, and I was credibly informed that that was the third time that new pillars had been erected upon the old which were quite sunk away. This City hath but three wayes to come unto it by Cawsey; the one is from the West, and that Cawsey is a mile and a half long. Another from the North, and containeth three miles in length. Eastward the City hath no entry; but Southward the Cawsey is five miles long, which was the way that *Cortez* entred into it, when he conquered it.

The fruit called *Nuchtli* (whereof I have spoken before, and some say this City was called *Tennuchtitan* from it) though it be in most parts of *America*, yea and now in *Spain*, yet in no place there is more abundance of it then in *Mexico*, and it is absolutely one of the best fruits in it. It is like unto the Figge, and so hath many little kernels or grains within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like unto a Medler. There are of them of sundry colours, some are green without, and carnation-like within, which have a good taste. Others are yellow, and others white, and some speckled; the best fort are the white; It is a fruit that will last long. Some of them taste of Pears, and other some of Grapes; It is a cold and a fresh fruit and best esteemed in the heat of Summer. The *Spaniards* do more esteeme them then the *Indians*. The more the ground is laboured where they grow, the fruit is so much the better. There is yet another kind of this fruit red, and that is nothing so much esteemed, although his taste is not evill; but because it doth colour and die the eaters mouth, lips and apparell, yea and maketh the Urine look like pure blood. Many *Spaniards* at their first coming into *India*, and eating this fruit, were amazed and at their wits end, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in Urine; yea and many Physicians at their first coming were of the same belief. And it hath happened when they have been sent for unto such as have eaten this fruit, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the Urine, by and by they have administred medicines to staunch blood; a thing to laugh at, to see Physitians so deceived. The skin of the outside is thick and full of little small prickles, and when it is cut downright with one cut to the kernels, with one finger you may uncleave the whole skin round about without breaking it, and take out the fruit to eat. The *Spaniards* use to jest with it with strangers, taking half a dozen of them, and rubbing them in a napkin, those small prickles which can scarce be seen or perceived stick invisibly unto the napkin, wherewith a man wiping his mouth to drink, those little prickles stick in his lips so that they seem to sow them up together, and make him for a while falter in his speech, till with much rubbing and washing they come off. There is another fruit twice of the bignesse of a great warden, which they call the growing *Manjer Blanco*, or white meat, which is a dainty dish made by them with the white of a Capon, Cream, and Rice, and sugar and sweet waters, much like unto the which tasteth this fruit. It is as sweet as any hony, and dissolves like melted snow in the mouth into a juyce most luscious; within, it is full of hard black kernels or stones, which being cracked are bitter, and these not joyned together, but by division one from another, each one having a bag, or little skin discerning them in their ranks and orders, so that when you cut this fruit in the middle it represents a Chequer board with black and white; the white is sucked or eaten and the kernels thrown away.

away. But I cannot forget that which they call *Pinia*, or Pine apple; not the Pine apple of the high Pine tree, but a pine apple, that groweth upon a lower shrub with prickly leaves, and is bigger then our biggest Muskmillians in *England*, when it is ripe; it is yellow without and within; without it is full of little bunches, and within so juicy and cool that nothing more dangerous then to eat much of it. Before they eat it, they cut it in round slices, and lay it a while in salt and water, and so being scoured half an hour in that salt and water which taketh much of the rawnesse and coldnesse from it, and then putting into dishes with more fresh water they eat it thus. But the better way of eating it, is preserv'd; which is absolutely the best preserve in all that Countrey. There is also the Grape, (though they make not wine of it) the Apple, the Pear, the Quince, the Peach, the Apricock, the Pomegranate, the Muskmillian, the Plantin, the Figge, the Walnut, the Chestnut, the Orange, the Lemmon both sowre and sweet, the Citron in great abundance. Most of the fruits of *Europe*, and as many more which *Europe* never knew. About *Mexico* more then in any other part groweth that excellent tree called *Mertl*, which they plant and dresse as they do their Vines in *Europe*. It hath near forty kinds of leaves, which serve for many uses; for when they be tender they make of them Conserves, Paper, Flax, Mantles, Mats, Shoes, girdles, and cordage. On these leaves grow certain prickles so strong and sharpe that they use them in stead of sawes: from the root of this tree cometh a juyce like unto syrup, which being sod will become Sugar. You may also make of it Wine and Vineger. The *Indians* often become drunke with it. The rind roasted healeth hurts and sores, and from the top boughs issueth a gumme, which is an excellent antidote against poyson. There is nothing in *Mexico* and about it wanting which may make a City happy; and certainly had those that have so much extolled with their pens the parts of *Granada* in *Spain*, *Lombardy* and *Floresce* in *Italy*, making them the earthly Paradise, had they been acquainted with the new World and with *Mexico*, they would have recanted their untruths.

Oh that the Lord were truly worshipped where he hath powred forth the treasures of his goodnesse for the children of men! Oh that in that *Eden* the tempting and enticing Serpent were not so much obeyed in the use of the fair seeming Apple of pleasures, and the Lord that hath enriched it with such varieties so much neglected! How long O Lord God, how long shall the line of the wicked flourish, and the best portion be fallen to Idolaters and to the workers of iniquity!

This City is the seat of an Archbishop, and of a Viceroy; who commonly is some great Noble man of *Spain*, whose power is to make Lawes and Ordinances, to give directions and determine controversies, unless it be in such great causes, which are thought fit to be referred to the Councell of *Spain*. And though there be about the Country many governments with severall Governours, yet they are all subordinate to this Viceroy, and there are at least four hundred leagues of land all governed by the Princely seat of *Mexico*. Most of the Governours about the Country being the Viceroy his Creatures, placed by him, do contribute great gifts and bribes for their preferment; so likewise do all the rest whose right or wrong proceedings depend upon the Viceroy his clemency and mercy in judging the dayly appeals of Justice which come unto him. The King of *Spain* allowes him out of his Exchequer yearly a hundred thousand duckats whilest he governs; his time being but five years. But commonly with their bribes to the Courtiers of *Spain*, and to the Counsellours for the Estate of the *Indias* they get a prorogation of five years more, and sometimes of ten. It is incredible to think what this Viceroy may get a year in that place besides his hundred thousand duckats of rent, if he be a man covetous and given to trading, (as most of them are) for then they will be Masters of what commodities they please, and none else shall deal in them but themselves; as did the Marqueffe of *Serralvo* in my time, who was the best Monopolist of salt that ever those parts knew. This man was thought to get a Million a year, what with gifts and presents, what with his Trading to *Spain* and *Philippinas*. He governed ten years, and in this time he sent to the King of *Spain* a *Popingay* worth half a Million, and in one year more he sent the worth of a Million to the Count of *Olivares*, and other Courtiers to obtain a prorogation for five years more. Besides the Viceroy there are commonly six Judges and a Kings Attorney, who are allowed out of the Kings Exchequer yearly twelve thousand duckats a piece rent, besides two *Alcaldes de Corte*, or high Justices, who with the Viceroy judge all Chancery and criminall causes. But these (though united to-

gether they may oppose the Viceroy in any unlawfull and unjustifiable action, as some have done and have smarted for it, yet commonly they dare not. So that he doth what he listeth, and it is enough for him to say, *stat pro ratione voluntas*. This power joynd with covetousnesse in the Viceroy, and threecore thousand duckats yearly, joynd with pride in the Arch-bishop, was like to be the ruine of that City in the year 1624. Then was the Count of *Gelves* Viceroy, and *Don Alonso de Zerna* Arch-bishop, whose two powers striving and striking at one another like two flints, had almost brought to combustion that gallant City, and did set on fire the Viceroy his Palace, and the prison joyning to it.

The story was thus, which may be profitable for other nations, to beware of covetous governours and proud Prelates; and therefore I thought fit to insert it here. The Count of *Gelves* was in some things one of the best Viceroyes and Governours that ever the Court of *Spain* sent to *America*, for he was called by the *Spaniards*, *el terrible Justiciero, y fuego de Ladrones*, that is, terrible for Justice, and fire to consume all thieves. For he cleared all the high wayes of thieves, hanging them as often as they were caught without mercy, and did send out troops and officers to apprehend them, so that it was generally reported that since the conquest unto those dayes of his there had never been so many thieves and malefactors hanged up as in his time. So in all other points of justice he was severe and upright. But yet covetousnesse did so blind him to see his own injustice, that before he could see it, he had brought the City of *Mexico* and the whole Kingdome to a danger of rebellion. What he would not to be seen in himself, he acted by others his instruments. And one of them was one *Don Pedro Mexia*, a mighty rich Gentleman of *Mexico*, whom he chose to joyne with him in monopolizing all the *Indian* Maiz, and wheat about the Country. *Don Pedro Mexia* of the *Indians* bought at the price he list their Maiz, and the wheat of the *Spaniards* he bought it according to that price at which it is taxed by the law of that land to be sold at in time of famine; which is at fourteen Rials a bushell, (which is not much there considering the abundance of gold and silver) at which price the Farmers and husbandmen knowing it to be a plentiful year were glad and willing to sell unto him their wheat, not knowing what the end would be, and others fearing to gainsay him, whom they knew to be the Viceroyes favorite. Thus *Don Pedro Mexia* filled all his barns which he had hired about the Country, and himself and the Viceroy became owners of all the wheat. He had his officers appointed to bring it into the Markets upon his warning, and that was when some small remnants that had escaped his fingers were sold, and the price raised. Then hoisted he his price, and doubled it above what it had cost him. The poor began to complain, the rich to murmure, the taxe of the law was moved in the Court of Chancery before the Viceroy. But he being privy to the Monopoly expounded the law to be understood in time of famine, and that he was informed, that it was a plentiful year as ever had been, and that to his knowledge there was as much brought into the Markets as ever had been, and plenty enough for *Mexico* and all the Country. Thus was the law slighted, the rich mocked, the poor oppressed, and none sold wheat but *Don Pedro Mexia* his officers for himself and the Viceroy. When Justice would be no father, the people go to their mother the Church; and having understood the businesse better, and that it was *Don Pedro Mexia*, who did tyrannize and oppresse them with the Viceroy his favour, they intreat the Archbishop to make it a case of Conscience, and to reduce it to a Church censure. *Don Alonso de Zerna* the Archbishop, who had always stomached *Don Pedro Mexia* and the Viceroy, to please the people, granted to them to excommunicate *Don Pedro Mexia*, and so sent out bills of excommunication to be fixed upon all the Church dores against *Don Pedro*; who not regarding the excommunication, and keeping close at home, and still selling his wheat, raising higher the price then it was before; the Archbishop raised his censure higher against him, adding to it a Bill of *Cessatio à divinis*, that is, a cessation from all divine service. This Censure is so great with them, that it is never used but for some great mans sake, who is contumacious and stubborn in his wayes, contemning the power of the Church. Then are all the Church dores shut up, (let the City be never so great) no Masses are said, no prayers used, no preaching permitted, no meetings allowed for any publick devotion or calling upon God. Their Church mournes as it were, and makes no shew of spirituall joy and comfort, nor of any communion of prayers one with another, so long as the party continues stubborn and rebellious in his sinne and scandall, and in yielding to the

the Churches censure. And further whereas by this cessation à *divinis*, many Churches and especially Cloisters suffer in the means of their livelihood, who live upon what is dayly given for the Masses they say, and in a Cloister where thirty or forty Priests say Masse, so many pieces of Eight or crowns in *Mexico* do dayly come in; therefore this censure or *cessatio à divinis* is so inflicted upon the whole Church (al suffering for it as they say in spirituall, and some in temporall wayes) that the party offending or scandalizing, for whose sake this curse is laid upon all, is bound to satisfie all Priests and Cloisters which in the way aforesaid suffer, and to allow them so much out of his means, as they might have dayly got by selling away their Masses for so many crowns for their dayly livelihood. To this would the Archbishop have brought *Don Pedro Mexia*, to have emptied out of his purse near a thousand crowns dayly, towards the maintenance of about a thousand Priests (so many there may be in *Mexico*) who from the Altar sell away their bread-God to satisfie with bread and food their hungry stomachs. And secondly by the peoples suffering in their spirituall comfort, & non-communion of prayers and idolatrous worship, he thought to make *Don Pedro Mexia* odious to the people. *Don Pedro* perceiving the spitefull intents of the Archbishop, and hearing the outcries of the people in the streets against him, and their cries for the use and liberty of their Churches, secretly retired himself to the Palace of the Viceroy, begging his favour and protection, for whose sake he suffered. The Viceroy immediately sent out his Orders, commanding the bills of excommunication and cessation à *divinis* to be pulled from the Church dores, and to all the Superiors of the Cloisters to set open their Churches, and to celebrate their service and Masses as formerly they had done. But they disobeying the Viceroy through blind obedience to their Archbishop, the Viceroy commanded the Archprelate to revoke his censures. But his answer was that what he had done, had been justly done against a publick offender and great oppressor of the poor, whose cries had moved him to commiserate their suffering condition, and that the offenders contempt of his first excommunication had deserved the rigour of the second censure; neither of the which he would nor could revoke untill *Don Pedro Mexia* had submitted himself to the Church and to a publick absolution, and had satisfied the Priests and Cloisters who suffered for him, and had disclaimed that unlawfull and unconscionable Monopolie; wherewith he wronged the whole common-wealth, and especially the poorer sort therein.

Thus did that proud Prelate arrogantly in termes exalt himself against the authority of his Prince and Ruler, contemning his command with a flat deniall, thinking himself happy in imitating *Ambrose* his spirit against the Emperour *Theodosius*, trusting in the power of his keys, and in the strength of his Church and Clergy, which with the rebellion of the meaner sort he resolved to oppose against the power and strength of his Magistrate. The Viceroy not brooking this sawey answer from a Priest, commanded him presently to be apprehended and to be guarded to *St. John de Ullma*, and there to be shipped for *Spain*. The Archbishop having notice of this the Viceroy his resolution, retired himself out of *Mexico* to *Guadalupe* with many of his Priests and Prebends, leaving a bill of excommunication upon the Church dores against the Viceroy himself, and thinking privily to flee to *Spain* there to give an account of his carriage and behaviour. But he could not flee so fast, but the Viceroy his care and vigilancy still eyed him, and with his Serjeants and Officers pursued him to *Guadalupe*. Which the Archbishop understanding, he betook himself to the sanctuary of the Church, and there caused the candles to be lighted upon the Altar, and the sacrament of his Bread-God to be taken out of the Tabernacle, and attiring himself with his Pontificall vestiments, with his Mitre on his head, his Crozier in one hand, in the other he took his God of bread, and thus with his train of Priests about him at the Altar, he waited for the coming of the Serjeants and Officers, whom he thought with his God in his hand, and with a Here I am, to astonish and amaze, and to make them as Christ the Jewes in the garden, to fall backwards, and to disable them from laying hands upon him. The Officers coming into the Church went towards the Altar where the Bishop stood, and kneeling down first to worship their God made a short prayer; which being ended, they propounded unto the Bishop with courteous and fair words the cause of their coming to that place, requiring him to lay down the Sacrament; and to come out of the Church, and to hear the notification of what orders they brought unto him in the Kings name. To whom the Archbishop replied, that whereas their

Master the Viceroy was excommunicated he looked upon him as one out of the pale of the Church, and one without any power, or authority to command him in the house of God, and so required them as they tendered the good of their souls to depart peaceably, and not to infringe the priviledges and immunity of the Church, by exercising in it any legall act of secular power and command; and that he would not go out of the Church, unlesse they durst take him and the Sacrament together. With this the head officer named *Tiroll*, stood up and notified unto him an order in the Kings name to apprehend his person in what place soever he should find him, and to guard him to the Port of *St. John de Ulhua*, and there to deliver him to whom by further order he should be directed there, to be shipped for *Spain* as a Traitor to the Kings crown, a troubler of the common peace, an author and mover of sedition in the Commonwealth. The Arch-bishop smiling upon *Tiroll* answered him, Thy Master useth too high termes and words, which do better agree unto himself; for I know no mutiny or sedition like to trouble the Commonwealth, unlesse it be by his and *Don Pedro Mexia* his oppressing of the poor. And as for thy guarding me to *St. John de Ulhua*, I conjure thee by *Jesus Christ*, whom thou knowest I hold in my hands, not to use here any violence in Gods house, from whose Altar I am resolved not to depart; take heed God punish thee not as he did *Jeroboam* for stretching forth his hand at the Altar against the Prophet, let his withered hand reminde thee of thy duty. But *Tiroll* suffered him not to squander away the time and ravell it out with further preaching, but called to the Altar a Priest, whom he had brought for that purpose, and commanded him in the Kings name to take the Sacrament out of the Arch-bishops hand; which the Priest doing, the Arch-bishop unvested himself of his Pontificals, and (though with many repetitions of the Churches immunity) yeilded himself unto *Tiroll*, and taking his leave of all his Prebends, requiring them to be witnesses of what had been done, he went prisoner to *St. John de Ulhua*, where he was delivered to the custody of the Governour of the Castle, and not many dayes after was sent in a ship prepared for that purpose to *Spain* to the King and Councell, with a full charge of all his carriages and misdemeanours. Some of the City of *Mexico* in private began to talke strangely against the Viceroy, and to stomach the banishment of their Arch-bishop, because he had stood out against so high a power in defence of the poor and oppressed, and these their private grudges they soon vented in publick with bold and arrogant speeches against *Don Pedro Mexia*, and the Viceroy, being set on and encouraged by the Priests and Prebends, who it seems had sworn blind obedience to their Arch-Prelate, and therewith thought they could dispense with their consciences in their obedience and duty to their Magistrate. Thus did those Incendiaries for a fortnight together blow the fire of sedition and rebellion, especially amongst the inferior sort of people and the Criolians or native *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* and Mulatto's, whom they knew brooked not the severe and rigorous justice and judgment of the Viceroy, no nor any Government that was appointed over them from *Spain*; untill at the fortnights end, *Tiroll* returned from *St. John de Ulhua*; and then began the spite and malice of all the malecontents to break out, then began a fire of mutiny to be kindled, which was thought would have consumed and buried in ashes that great and famous City. *Tiroll* was not a little jealous of what mischief the common rabble intended against him, and so kept close, not daring to walke the streets; yet his occasions inviting him to the Viceroy his Palace, ventured himself in a Coach with drawn curtains, which yet could not blind the eyes of the spightfull and malicious and male-contented, who had notice that he was in the Coach, and before he could get to the market place, three or four boyes began to cry out, *Judas, Judas, alla va Judas*, there goeth *Judas* that laid his hands upon Christs Vicar; others joyned with them saying, *ahorquemos a este Judas*, let us hang up this *Judas*; the number of boyes yet increased, crying aloud and boldly after the Coach, *Muera el Vellaco descomulgado la muerte de Judas, muera el picarro, muera el perro*; let this excommunicated rogue and dog die the death of *Judas*; the Coachman lashed the mules, the Coach posted, the boyes halted after with stones and dirt, the number increased so, that before *Tiroll* could get through two streets only, there were risen above two hundred boyes, of *Spaniards*, *Indians*, *Blackmores*, and Mulatto's. With much adoe *Tiroll* got to the Viceroy his Palace, posting for his life, and his first care was to wish the Porters to shut all the Palace gates: for he was fearfull of what presently happened, of a more generall insurrection and uproar. For

no sooner was he got into the Viceroy his house, and the gates shut up, but there were gathered to the Market place (as I was credibly informed by those that saw and observed diligently that dayes trouble) above two thousand people, all of inferiour rank and quality; and yet the number still increased till they were judged to be about six or seven thousand. They all cryed out for *Tiroll* the *Judas*, sparing neither stones nor dirt which they did sling at the Palace windowes.

The Viceroy sent a message to them desiring them to be quiet, and to betake themselves to their houses, certifying them that *Tiroll* was not in his Palace, but escaped out of a back door. The rude multitude would not be satisfied with this, being more set on by two or three Priests who were joyned with them, and so they began more violently to batter the Palace gates and wals, having brought pikes and holbards, and long poles; others had got a few Pistols and birding Pieces, wherewith they shot; not caring whom they killed or wounded in the Palace. It was wonderfull to see that none of the better sort, none of the Judges, no high Justice, no inferiour Officers durst or would come out to suppress the multitude, or to assist the Viceroy being in so great danger; nay I was told by some shopkeepers who lived in the Market place, that they made a laughing businesse of it, and the people that passed by went smiling and saying, Let the boyes and youngsters alone, they will right our wrongs, they will finde out before they have done, both *Tiroll* and *Mexia* and him that protects them, meaning the Viceroy; but amongst them was much noted one Priest, name *Salazar*, who spent much shot and bullets, and more his spirits in running about to spie some place of advantage, which he might soonest batter down. They found it seems the Prison doores easier to open, or else with helpe within they opened them, and let out all the malefactors, who joyned with them to assault the Palace. The Viceroy seeing no help came to him from the City, from his friends, from the Judges of the Chancery, from the Kings high Justices, nor other officers for the peace, went up to the *Zories* of his Palace with his Guard and Servants that attended on him, and set up the Royall Standard, and caused a Trumpet to be sounded to call the City to aide and assist their King. But this prevailed not, none stirred, all the chief of the City kept within doores. And when the multitude saw the Royall Standard out, and heard the Kings name from the *Zories*, they cryed out, and often repeated it, *Viva el Rey, muera el mal gobierno, mueran los descomulgados*, that is to say, Our King live long, but let the evill government die, and perish, and let them die that are excommunicated. These words saved many of them from hanging afterwards, when the businesse was tried and searched into by *Don Martin de Carrillo*. And with these words in their mouths they skirmished with them of the *Zories* at least three hours, they above hurling down stones, and they beneath hurling up to them and some shooting with a few Pistols and birding Pieces at one another: and marke that in all this bitter skirmish there was not a piece of Ordinance shot, for the Viceroy had none for the defence of his Palace or Person, neither had or hath that great City any for its strength and security, the *Spaniards* living fearlessse of the *Indians*, and (as they think) secure from being annoyed by any forain Nation. There were slain in about six houres in all that this tumult lasted, seven or eight beneath in the Market place, and one of the Viceroy his Guard and a Page in the *Zories* above. The day drawing to an end, the multitude brought Pitch and fire, and first fired the Prison, then they set on fire part of the Palace, and burnt down the chief gate. This made some of the City, of the Gentry, and of the Judges to come out, lest the fire should prevail far upon the City, and to perswade the people to desist, and to quench the fire. Whilest the fire was quenching, many got into the Palace, some fell upon the Viceroyes stables, and there got part of his mules and horses rich furnitures, others began to fall upon some chests, others to tear down the hangings, but they were soon perswaded by the better sort of the City, to desist from spoil or robbery, lest by that they should be discovered; others searched about for *Don Pedro Mexia*, for *Tiroll* and the Viceroy. None of them could be found, having disguised themselves and so escaped. Whither *Don Pedro Mexia* and *Tiroll* went, it could not be known in many dayes; but certain it was that the Viceroy disguised himself in a Franciscan habit, and so in company of a Fryer went through the multitude to the Cloister of the Franciscans, where he abode all that year, (and there I saw him the year after) not daring to come out, until he had informed the King and Councell of Spain,

with what hath happened, and of the danger himself and the City was in, if not timely prevented. The King and Councill of *Spain* took the businesse to consideration, and looked upon it as a warning piece, to a further mutiny and rebellion, and an example to other parts of *America* to follow upon any such like occasion, if some punishment were not inflicted upon the chief offenders. Wherefore the year following 1625. which was when I went to those parts, the King sent a new Viceroy the Marques of *Sarralvo* to govern in the place of the Count of *Gelves*, and especially to aid and assist *Don Martin de Carrillo*, a Priest and Inquisitor of the Inquisition of *Valladolid*, who was sent with large Commission and authority to examine the foresaid tumult and mutiny, and to judge all offenders that should be found in it, yea and to hang up such as should deserve death. I was at *Mexico* in the best time of the tryall, and had intelligence from *Don Martin de Carrillo* his own Ghostly father a Dominican Fryer of the chief passages in the examination of the businesse; and the result was, that if Justice should have been executed rightly, most of the prime of *Mexico* would have suffered, for not coming in to the Royall Standard, when called by the sound of the Trumpet; the Judges some were put out of their places, though they answered that they durst not stir out, for that they were informed that all the City would have risen against them if they had appeared in publick. The chief actors were found to be the Criolians or Natives of the Country, who do hate the *Spanish* Government, and all such as come from *Spain*; and reason they have for it, for by them they are much oppressed, as I have before observed, and are and will be always watching any opportunity to free themselves from the *Spanish* yoake. But the chief fomenters of the mutiny were found to be the Bishops party the Priests; and so had not *Salazar* and three more of them fled, they had certainly been sent to the Gallies of *Spain* for Gally slaves; this judgment was published against them. There were not above three or four hanged of so many thousands, and their condemnation was for things which they had stolen out of the Viceroyes Palace. And because further inquiry into the rebellion would have brought in at least half the City either for actors, or counsellors, or fomentors, the King was well advised to grant a generall pardon. The Archbishops proceedings were more disliked in the Court of *Spain*, then the Viceroyes, and was long without any preferment; though, at last that there might be no exceptions taken by his party, nor cause given for a further stirring the embers to a greater combustion, the Councill thought fit to honour him in those parts where he was born; and to make him Bishop of *Zamora* a small Bishoprick in *Castile*; so that his wings were clipped, and from Archbishop he came to be but Bishop, and from three score thousand Crownes yearly rent he fell to four or five thousand only a year. The Count of *Gelves* was also sent to *Spain*, and well entertained in the Court, and therein made Master of the Kings horse, which in *Spain* is a Noblemans preferment.

And this History shewing the state and condition of *Mexico*, when I travelled to those parts I have willingly set down, that the Reader may by it be furnished with better observations then my self (who am but a Neophyte) am able to deduct. Somewhat might be observed from the Viceroyes covetousnesse; which doubtlesse in all is a great sinne, for as *Paul* well adviseth, 1 *Tim. 6. 10.* *The love of money is the root of all evil;* but much more to be condemned in a Prince or Governour; whom it may blind in the exercise of Justice and Judgment, and harden those tender bowels (which ought to be in him) of a father and shepheard to his flock and children. We may yet from this Viceroyes practice and example against a chief head of the *Romish* Church, discover that errour of the Priests and Jesuites of *England*, who perswade the people here that no temporall Magistrate hath power over them, and that to lay hands on them in wrath and anger (being as they say Consecrated to God and his Altar) is *ipso facto* a deep excommunication; whereas we see the contrary in this Viceroy a member of the Church of *Rome*, and yet exercising his temporall power against an Arch-bishop, and by *Tirol* taking him from the Church, and as his prisoner sending him with just wrath and anger to a forain and remote place of banishment. But lastly it is my desire that the High and Honourable Court of Parliament which now is sitting for the good of this Kingdome, and for the good of it hath already pulled down the Hierarchy of such Prelates and Archprelates, would look upon the trouble and uproar which the keys of the Church in the hand of an undisceret Priest brought

brought upon that City of *Mexico*. Certainly as the strength of the Church well fetled, and governed with subordination to the Magistrate, is likewise the strength of the Common-wealth; so on the other side the power of the keyes in the Clergies hand, to cast out what incestuous *Corinthian* they please, without the rest of the *Corinthians* consent, 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. 5. may prove dangerous and troublesome to the Common-wealth and good. For if the Clergy may use by it self, without the overseeing eye of the Magistrates Commissioners, the power of the keyes; who shall be free from their censures, that any way will oppose them? The poor and ignorant will not only be the object of their censures, but the rich, and wise, and noble, Ruler and Magistrate will also come under their censures; wherein I finde a Minister may then as a Pope encroach upon the highest Crown of an Emperour. Nay certainly in *England* the thoughts of some such aspiring Ministers have been higher then the thoughts of this Archbishop of *Mexico* over a Viceroy, the conceit of their power with the Keyes have hoisted them above their Prince, for I have heard one of them say, he knew not but that by the power of the keyes he might as well excommunicate the King as any other private person. This conceit hath made the Pope of *Rome* fear no earthly Prince, Emperour, Ruler or Magistrate; nay this hath made him to be feared, and respected, and honoured by Kings and Princes; and why may not the same power in the hands of a Protestant Clergy, make the meanest and the highest to fear and dread them? But some will say, the Word of God being the Touchstone wherewith they are to try what points may be the subjects of their censures, by such a light and guidance they are not like to erre. But they then being themselves the Judges of the sense and meaning of the Word, who shall oppose their judgment, and their ensuing censures? What if to their triall and judgment they shall bring any Law enacted by a High Court of Parliament, and shall judge it not according to the Word of God, and so presse it to the peoples consciences; threatning with their censures such as shall obey it? in such a case how may the power of the keyes unlock and open a door to the people of rebellion against their lawfull Magistrates? Oh what dangers may befall a Common-wealth, when thus the Clergy shall stand over poor and rich, Subject and Magistrate, as *Peters* statue at *Rome*, with Crosse-keyes in his hand? What a rebellion did the Archbishop of *Mexico* cause by excommunicating *Don Pedro Mexia* first, and then the Viceroy? and how did the people fear his keyes more then their Viceroyes temporall power and authority, siding with him against such as he had excommunicated? What troubles did that Doctor *Smith* Bishop of *Chalcedon* bring among the Papiests, small and great ones, not long agoe here in *England*, laying upon them by the power of the Keyes a censure of Excommunication, if they confessed to, or did entertain and hear the Masse of any, that had not derived their authority from him? Then were they in open rebellion one against another; the secular Priests against the Monks, Fryers, and Jesuites, and the Laity all troubled, some siding with one, and some with another, untill Doctor *Smith* having thus kindled the fire, was faine to leave it burning, and to betake himself to *Paris*, and from thence to foment the dissension which with power of the Keyes he had caused here.

Oh surely the Church so far is a good Mother, as it allows a Magistrate to be a Father. And great comfort have those that live within the pale of the Church, to know that they have the Magistrate a Father to flye unto in their pressures and discomforts.

I must ingenuously confesse that one main point that brought me from the Church of *Rome*, was the too too great power of the Keyes in the Popes, Bishops, and Priests hands, who studying more self Policy, then common Policy, look upon the people, and with their power deal with them more as their subjects, then as politicall Members in a Common-wealth, rending and tearing them dayly by their censures from that common and Politicall body to which they belong, without any hopes of care to be had of them by their Magistrate and Politicall head and Governour. And I hope I shall not have fled from Antichrist who exalteth himself as head of the Church; and from that power hath his influence over all State and Politicall Heads and Rulers; to finde in a Protestant Church any of his spirit, making a distinction of a spirituall and temporall head, forgetting the only head Christ Jesus; which were it once granted, as the spirit is more noble then the body, so would the inferencé soon be made, that they that are over the spirit, are higher in power then they that are over the body; which conclusion would soon bring *Mexicoes* troubles among Protestants. Experience

once in all my travails by sea and land, in most parts of *Europe* and of *America*, hath ever taught me, that where the Clergy hath been too much exalted and enjoyed power over the people, there the Common-wealth hath soon fallen into heavy pressures and troubles. And let not this my observation seem strange as coming from a Minister, for I have learned from Christi, *Matth. 20. 25, 26, 27. That the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion, and they that are great exercise authority. But it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.*

I hope the High Court of Parliament will so settle the Church and State here that this shall not fear any further troubles from that; and that we who have our portion from the one, may be Ministers and Servants under the Commissioners of the other. And thus largely I have described the State and condition of *Mexico* in the time of *Montezuma*, and since his death the manner and proportion of it, with the troubled condition I found it in when I went thither, by reason of a mutiny and rebellion caused by an Archbishop the year before. I shall now come out of *Mexico*, and present unto you the places most remarkable about it; and from thence the severall parts and Countries of *America*, before I betake my self to the journey which I made from *Mexico* to *Guatemala* lying nine hundred *English* miles Southward, and from thence yet to *Costarica*, and *Nicoya*, being nine hundred miles further toward the South.

C H A P. XII.

Shewing the severall parts of this new World of America; and the places of note about the famous City of Mexico.

Although my travailes by Sea and Land in *America* were not above three or four thousand miles (which is not the fift part of it, if exactly compassed) yet for the better compleating of this my work; I thought fit to enlarge my self to a full division of the many and sundry parts thereof; here first in generall; and hereafter more in particular of those parts wherein I lived twelve years, and of those which I more exactly noted and observed as I travailed and passed through them. The chief division therefore of this greatest part of the World, is twofold only, to wit, the *Mexicans*, and the *Peruan* parts, which contain many great and sundry Provinces and Countries, some as big as our whole Kingdome of *England*. But *Mexico* giving name to half *America*, is now called *Nova Hispania*, *new Spain*, from whence the Kings of *Spain* do style themselves *Hispaniarum Reges*. The *Mexican* part containeth chiefly the Northern Tract, and comprehendeth these Provinces hitherto known and discovered, to wit, *Mexico*, *Quivira*, *Nicaragua*, *Jucatan*, *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumbega*, *Nova Francia*, *Corterialis*, and *Estotilandia*. The compass of this part of *America* is thirteen thousand miles. The *Peruan* part containeth all the Southern Tract, and is tyed to the *Mexican* by the *Isthmus* or strait of *Darien*, being no more then 17. or as others say, in the narrowest place but 12. miles broad from the North to the South Sea. And many have mentioned to the Councill of *Spain*, the cutting of a Navigable Channell through this small *Isthmus*, so to shorten the Voiage to *China*, and the *Molucces*. But the Kings of *Spain* have not as yet attempted to do it, some say left in the work he should lose those few *Indians* that are left (would to God it were so, that they were and had been so carefull and tender of the poor *Indians* lives, more populous would that vast and spacious Country be at this day:) but others say he hath not attempted that great work, lest the passage by the Cape *Bona Esperanza* good hope, being left off, those Seas might become a receptacle of Pirates. However this hath not been attempted by the *Spaniards*, they give not for reason any extraordinary great charge, for that would soon be recompensed with the speedy and easie conveying that way the Commodities from South to North Seas. This *Peruan* part of *America* containeth these Countries, or Kingdomes, to wit, *Castella aurea*, *Gziana*, *Peru*, *Brazil*, *Chille*; and the compass of it is seventeen thousand miles. I shall not speak distinctly of all these parts, which better writers, and of more knowledge

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ledge have before me discovered; and because some of them being out of the *Spaniards* reach and dominion, from whom I have received my best intelligence, I have from them had little notice of them, nor experience, which indeed I intend to make my best guide in this my worke. Therefore to return again to the *Mexican* part, and the Northern Tract; I shall fall again upon the first and chief member of that division; which I said was *Mexico*. This aboundeth with golden sanded rivers, in which are many Crocodiles (though not so big as those of *Egypt*) which the *Indian* people eat. It glorieth in the mountains *Popocampeche*, and *Popocatepec*, which are of the same nature with *Aetna* and *Vesuvius*. Nay all the way South-ward as far as *Leon* in *Nicaragua*, there are many of these fiery mountains. But *Popocatepec* is one of the chief of them, which signifieth a hill of smoake, for many times it casteth out smoake and fire; it standeth eight leagues from *Chololla*; the ascending up unto it is very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks. When *Cortez* passed that way to *Mexico*, he sent ten *Spaniards* to view it, with many *Indians* to carry their victuals, and to guide them in the way. They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not goe unto it; for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantity of ashes did much disturb their way. But yet two of them who seemed to be most hardy, and desirous to see strange things, went up to the top, because they would not return with a sleevelesse answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their fellowes behind them, proceeded forwards, and passed through that desert of ashes, and at length came under a great smoake very thick, and standing there a while, the darknesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the Vulcan and concavity, which is about half a league in compasse, out of the which the aire came rebounding with a very great noise, very shrill and whistling, so that the whole hill did tremble; it was like unto an oven where glasse is made. The smoake and heat was so great that they could not abide it, and of force were constrained to return by the way that they had ascended. But they were not gone farre, when the Vulcan began to flash out flames of fire, ashes and embers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire, and if they had not chanced to finde a rock, under which they shadowed themselves, undoubtedly they had there been burned. It is like unto the Vulcan of *Sicilia*, it is high and round, and never wanteth snow about some part of it. Before the coming of *Cortez* for ten years space it had left of expelling vapour or smoake; but in the year 1540. it began again to burn, and with the horrible noise thereof, the people that dwelt four leagues from it were terrified; the ashes that proceeded then from it reached to *Tlaxcallan*, which standeth ten leagues distant from it; yea some affirme that it extended fifteen leagues distant, and burned the herbs in the gardens, the corne in the fields, and clothes that lay a drying. And many such hills and mountains doth this *Mexican* part of *America*, or *new Spain* abound with. The limits of it are on the East, *Iucatan*, and the gulse of *Mexico*; on the West *California*, on the South the *Peruan* part. The Northern bounds are unknown, so that we cannot certainly avow this *America* to be continent, nor certainly affirme it to be an Island, distinguished from the old world. It was very populous before the arrivall of the *Spaniards*, who in seventeen years slew six millions of them, roasting some, plucking out the eyes, cutting off the armes of others, and casting them living to be devoured of wilde beasts. This chief Provice of *America* named *Mexico*, is further subdivided into four parts, that is to say, *Themistitan*, *Nova Galicia*, *Mechoacan*, and *Gausstachan*. *Themistitan* is the greatest and noblest of these four; for that it containeth six Cities, and of them one is *Mexico*, which giveth name to the half part of *America*, and is the seat of an Arch-bishop, and of the *Spanish* Viceroy, whose greatnesse within I have before laid open; the second City is *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of Angels, the third *Villaruca*; the fourth *Antiquera*; the fifth *Meccioca*; the sixth *Ostopan*. But all these, excepting the two first, are but small places, named Cities formerly, for that the *Spaniards* thought to have made them Bishops seats, which they have not been able to performe, by reason that *Mexico* and the City of *Angels* hath drawn to them the chief trading, and most of the Inhabitants of the other four. Especially the resort to *Mexico* is so great, that all the Towns about (which formerly were of *Indian*) are now inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Mestizoes*. I may not omit about *Mexico* that famous place of *Chapultepec*, which in the Heathens times was the burying place of the Emperours; and now by the *Spaniards* is the *Escuriell* of *America*, where the *Viceroyes*

royes that die are also interred. There is a sumptuous palace built with many fair gardens, and devises of waters, and ponds of fish, whither the Viceroyes and the Gentry of *Mexico* do resort for their recreation. The riches here belonging to the Viceroyes Chappell are thought to be worth above a million of crownes.

Tacuba is also a pleasant Town full of orchards and gardens, in the very way to *Chapultepec*. South-ward is *Toluco*, rich also for trading, but above all much mentioned for the Bacon, which is the best of all those parts, and is transported far and near. West-ward is the Town called *La Piedad*, at the end of a Cawsey, whither the people much resort from *Mexico*, being drawn to the superstitious worship of a picture of *Mary* which hath been enriched by the chief of *Mexico* with many thousand pounds worth of gifts of chains, and crowns of gold.

But more Northwest-ward three leagues from *Mexico* is the pleasantest place of all that are about *Mexico*, called *La Soledad*, and by others *el deserto*, the solitary or desert place and wildernesse. Were all wilderneses like it, to live in a wildernesse would be better then to live in a City. This hath been a device of poor Fryers named discalced, or barefooted Carmelites, who to make shew of their hypocriticall and apparenr godlinesse, and that whilst they would be thought to live like Eremites, retired from the world, they may draw the world unto them; they have built there a stately Cloister, which being upon a hill and among rocks makes it to be more admired. About the Cloister they have fashioned out many holes and Caves in, under, and among the rocks, like Fremites lodgings, with a room to lie in, and an Oratory to pray in, with pictures, and Images, and rare devices for mortification, as disciplines of wyar, rods of Iron, hair-cloths, girdles with sharpe wyar points to girdle about their bare flesh, and many such like toys which hang about their Oratories, to make people admire their mortified and holy lives. All these Eremeticall holes and caves (which are some ten in all) are within the bounds and compasse of the Cloister) and among orchards and gardens full of fruits and flowers, which may take up two miles compasse; and here among the rocks are many springs of water, which with the shade of the plantins and other trees, are most cool and pleasant to the Eremites; they have also the sweet smell of the rose and jazmin, which is a little flower, but the sweetest of all others; there is not any other flower to be found that is rare and exquisite in that Country, which is not in that wildernesse to delight the senses of those mortified Eremites. They are weekly changed from the Cloister, and when their week is ended, others are sent, and they return unto their Cloister; they carry with them their bottles of wine, sweet-meats, and other provision; as for fruits, the trees about do drop them into their mouths. It is wonderfull to see the strange devises of fountains of water which are about the gardens; but much more strange and wonderfull to see the resort of Coaches, and gallants, and Ladies and Citizens from *Mexico* thither, to walke and make merry in those desert pleasures, and to see those hypocrites, whom they look upon as living Saints, and so think nothing too good for them, to cherish them in their desert conflicts with Satan. None goes to them but carries some sweet-meats, or some other dainty dish to nourish and feed them withall; whose prayers they likewise earnestly sollicite, leaving them great almes of money for their Masses; and above all, offering to a picture in their Church, called our Lady of *Carmel*, treasures of diamonds, pearls, golden chains and crowns, and gownes of cloth of gold and silver. Before this picture did hang in my time twenty lamps of silver; the worst of them being worth a hundred pound; truly Satan hath given unto them what he offered Christ in the desert, All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me; all the dainties and of all the riches of *America* hath he given unto them in that their desert, for that they dayly fall down and worship him. In the way to this place there is another Town yet called *Tacubaya*, where is a rich Cloister of Franciscans, and also many gardens and orchards, but above all much resorted to for the musick in that Church, wherein the Fryers have made the *Indians* so dexterous and skilfull, that they dare compare with the Cathedrall Church of *Mexico*. These were the chief places of mine and my friends resort, whilst I abode about *Mexico*, which I found to be most worth a History, and so thought fit here to insert them, and so passe on to the other parts or Provinces of *Mexico*.

Next to this is the Province of *Guaftachan*, which lieth in the rode from *St. John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, which is not so poor as *Heylin* maketh it, for that now it doth abound with many rich farmes of Sugar, and of *Cochinil*, and reacheth as far as the Valley of

of *Guaxaca* which is a most rich place. The chief City of this Province was wont to be *Tlaxcallan*, whereof I have formerly spoken; but now the City of *Guaxaca* which is a Bishops seat, and *Xalappa* which is also of late made a Bishops seat, makes it more famous. It gloryeth also in *Villa Rica* a Port Town very wealthy, because all the traffique betwixt the Old and New *Spains* do passe through it. The *Spaniards* have in it two rich Colonies, called *Panico*, and *St. James* in the valleys. The third Province of *Mexico* is called *Mechoacan*, which containeth in circuite fourscore leagues. It is also an exceeding rich country, abounding in Mulberry trees, silk, honey, wax, black-amber, works of divers coloured feathers, most rich, rare and exquisite, and such sort of fish, that from thence it took its name, *Mechuoncan*, which signifieth a place of fishing.

The language of the *Indians* is most elegant and copious, and they tall, strong, active, and of very good wits, as may be seen in all their works, but especially in those of feathers, which are so curious, that they are presented for rich presents to the King and Nobles of *Spain*. The chief City of this Province is *Valladolid* a Bishops seat; and the best Towns are *Sinfonte*, which was the residence of the Kings of this country. There is also *Pascuar* and *Colima* very great Towns inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*. There are also two good havens, called *St. Anthony*, and *St. James*, or *Santjago*. This country of *Mechoacan* was almost as great as the Empire of *Mexico*, when *Cortez* conquered those parts. The King that was then of *Mechoacan* was called *Caconzin*, who was a great friend unto *Cortez*, and a servitor to the *Spaniards*, and willingly yeelded himself as vassall to the King of *Spain*; yet such was the cruelty of *Don Nunio de Guzman*, the first Ruler and President of the Chancery of *Mexico* after the conquest, that understanding he was put out of his office, he took his journey against the *Tenchichimecas*, and carried in his company five hundred *Spaniards*, with whom and six thousand *Indians* which by force he took out of *Mechoacan*, he conquered *Xalixco* which is now called the *new Galicia*. And as for this purpose he passed through *Mechoacan*, he took prisoner the King *Caconzin*, (who was quiet and peaceable and stirred not against him) and took from him ten thousand markes of plate, and much gold and other treasure, and afterwards burned him, and many other *Indian* Gentlemen and principall persons of that Kingdome, because they should not complain, saying that a dead dog biteth not. They were in this Kingdome as superstitious and idolatrous as in the rest of *America*. No divorcement was permitted amongst them, except the party made a solemn oath, that they looked not the one on the other stedfastly and directly at the time of their marriage. In the burying likewise of their Kings they were superstitious, cruell, and Idolatrous. When any King of *Mechoacan* happened to be brought to such extremity of sicknesse that hope of life was past, then did he name and appoint which of his sons should inherit the state and Crown, and being known the new King or heir presently sent for all the Governours, Captains, and valiant souldiers, who had any office or charge, to come unto the buriall of his father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was held for a Traitor, and so punished. When the death of the old King was certain; then came all degrees of estates, and did bring their presents to the new King for the approbation of his Kingdome: But if the King were not thoroughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter; and if he were thoroughly dead, then began a generall cry and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead King lay, and to touch him with their hands. This being done the carkass was washed with sweet waters, and then a fine shirt put upon him, and a payre of shooes made of Deer skin put on his feet, and about his ankles were tied bells of gold, about the wrists of his hands were put bracelets of Turkises and of gold likewise; about his neck they did hang collars of pretious stones and also of gold, and rings in his eares, with a great Turkie in his nether lip. Then his body was laid upon a large Beer, whereon was placed a good bed under him; on his one side lay a bow with a quiver of arrowes, and on his other side lay an Image made of fine mantles of his own stature or bignesse, with a great tuffe of fine feathers, shooes upon his feet, with bracelets and a collar of gold. While this was a doing, others were busied in washing the men and women, which should be slain for to accompany him into hell. These wretches that were to be slain, were first banqueted and filled with drink, because they should receive their death with lesse pain. The new King did appoint those who should die for to serve the King his father; and many of those simple souls esteemed that death so odious

odious for a thing of immortall glory. First six Gentlewomen of noble birth were appointed to die; the one to have the office of keeper of his jewels, which he was wont to wear; another for the office of cup-bearer; another to give him water with a bason and Ewer; another to give him alwayes the Urinall; another to be his Cooke; and another to serve for Landres. They slew also many women, slaves, and free-maidens for to attend upon the Gentlewomen, and moreover one of every occupation within the City. When all these that were appointed to die were washed, and their bellies full with meat and drinke, then they painted their faces yellow, and put garlands of sweet flowers upon each of their heads. Then they went in order of proceiſion before the Beere, whereon the dead King was carried; some went playing on instruments made of Snail shels, and others played upon bones and shels of Sea Tortois, others went whistling, and the most part weeping. The Sons of the dead King and other Noble men carried upon their shoulders the Beere where the Corpse lay, and proceeded with an easie pace towards the Temple of the God called *Curicaveri*; his kinsmen went round about the Beer singing a sorrowfull song. The officers and household-servants of the Court, with other Magistrates and Rulers of Justice bare the Standards and divers other Armes. And about midnight they departed in the order aforesaid out of the Kings Palace with great light of fire-brands, and with a heavy noise of their trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the Corpse passed, attended to make clean the street. And when they were come to the Temple, they went four times round about a great fire which was prepared of Pine tree to burn the dead body. Then the Beer was laid upon the fire, and in the mean while that the body was burning, they mawled with a club those which had the Garlands, and afterward buried them four and four as they were apparelled behind the Temple. The next day in the morning the ashes, bones and jewels were gathered and laid upon a rich mantle, the which was carried to the Temple gate, where the Priests attended to blesse those devillish reliques, whereof they made a dow or paste, and thereof an Image, which was apparelled like a man; with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of jewels that the dead King was wont to wear, so that it seemed a gallant Idoll. At the foot of the Temple staires they opened a grave ready made, which was square, large, two sadome deep, it was also hanged with new mats round about, and a fair bed therein, in the which one of the Priests placed the Idoll made of ashes with his eyes towards the East-part, and did hang round about the wals Targets of gold and silver, with bowes and arrows, and many gallant tuffes of feathers with earthen vessels, as pots, dishes, and platters, so that the grave was filled up with household-stuffe, chests covered with Leather, apparell, Jewels, meat, drinke and armour. This done, the grave was shut up and made sure with beams, boardes, and floored with earth on the top. All those Gentlemen who had served or touched any thing in the buriall, washed themselves and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any table, and having dined they wiped their hands upon certain lockes of Cotton-wooll, hanging down their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This ceremonie endured five dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the City, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet any corn was ground, or market kept, nor any durit go out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of their King. And this was the superstitious manner of burying the Kings of *Mechoacan*. This people did punish adultery most rigorously; for to commit it was death as well for the man as the woman. But if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers, and after that he was hanged, and his body burned; and for this offence was no pardon, either for man or woman. But for avoiding of adultery they did permit other common women, but no publick and ordinary stewes. Now the *Indians* of *Mechoacan* are greatly taken with the popish devices, and are strong in that religion, as any part of *America*.

The fourth and last Province of the Country or Empire of *Mexico*, is called *Galiciana nova*, and is watered with two very great rivers, the one named *Piaſtle*, and the other *San Sanbastian*. This Province gloryeth in many great Townes of *Indians*; but especially in six, inhabited both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*; the first and chiefest is *Xalisco*, taken by *Nunio de Guzman* 1530. when he fled from *Mexico* in a rage, and took prisoner and burned the King of *Mechoacan*. The second is *Guadalaiara*. The third *Coarum*. The fourth *Compostella*. The fifth *St. Esprit*. The sixth *Capala*, which now is called

Nova

Nova Mexico, new Mexico. And here it is that the *Spaniards* are dayly warring against the *Indians* which live Northward, and are not as yet reduced nor brought under the *Spanish* yoake and government. They are valiant *Indians*, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to it; and have great advantage against them in the rocks and mountains, where they abide and cut off many *Spaniards*. Their chief weapons are but bowes and arrowes, and yet with them from the thick Woods, hills and rocks they annoy and offend the *Spaniards* exceedingly. I have heard some *Spaniards* say that they flie and climbe up the rocks like Goats; and when they draw nigh unto them, then they cry out with a hideous noise shooting their arrowes at them, and in an instant are departed and fled unto another rock. The reason why the *Spaniards* are so earnest to periue and conquer these *Indians*, more then many others of *America*, which as yet are not brought in subjection to the *Spaniards*, is for the many mines of silver and treasure of gold which they know to be there. They have got already sure possession of part of those riches in the Mines, called *St. Lewis Sacatecas*, from whence they send all the silver that is coyned in the Mint houses of *Mexico* and the City of *Angels*, and every year besides to *Spain* in silver wedges at least six Millions. But the further the *Spaniards* go to the North, still more riches they discover; and fain would they subdue all those Northern parts (as I have heard them say) lest our *English* from *Virginia*, and their other plantations, get in before them. I have heard them wonder that our *English* enter no further into the main land; surely say they, either they fear the *Indians*, or else with a little paultry Tobacco they have as much as will maintain them in laziness. Certainly they intend to conquer through those heathenish *Indians*, untill by land they come to *Florida* and *Virginia*, (for so they boast) if they be not met with by some of our Northern Nations of *Europe*, who may better keep them off then those poor *Indians*, and may do God greater and better service with those rich Mines, then the *Spaniards* hitherto have done.

Thus having spoken somewhat of the four Provinces of *Mexico*, which was the first member of the division *Mexican* and *Peruan*; Now I shall briefly say somewhat further of three more Countries belonging to the *Mexican* or Northern Tract as opposite to the *Peruan*, omitting *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumbega*, *Nova Francia* *Corterialis*, and *Estotilandia*, because I will not write as many do by relation and heare say, but by more sure intelligence, insight and experience. In my first division next to *Mexico*, I placed *Quivira*, *Fucatan*, and *Nicaragua*; of these three therefore I shall say a little, and then somewhat of the *Peruan* part. *Quivira* is seated on the most Western part of *America*, just over against *Tartary*, from whence being not much distant some suppose that the Inhabitants first came into this new World. And indeed the *Indians* of *America* in many things seem to be of the race and progenie of the *Tartars*, in that *Quivira* and all the Westside of the Country towards *Asia* is farre more populous then the East towards *Europe*, which sheweth these parts to have been first inhabited. Secondly, their uncivility, and barbarous properties tell us that they are most like the *Tartars* of any. Thirdly, the West side of *America* if it be not continent with *Tartary*, is yet disjoyned by a small straight. Fourthly, the people of *Quivira* neereff to *Tartary*, are said to follow the seasons and pasturing of their Cattell like the *Tartarians*. All this side of *America* is full of herbage, and enjoyeth a temperate aire. The people are desirous of glasse more then of gold; and in some places to this day are Cannibals. The chief riches of this Country are their Kine, which are to them as we say of our Ale to drunkards, meat, drink and cloth, and more too. For the Hides yeeld them houses, or at least the coverings of them; their bones bodkins, their hair thred, their sinews ropes; their horns, mawes and bladders, vessels; their dung, fire; their Calve skines, budgets to draw and keep water; their blood, drink; their flesh, meat.

There is thought to be some traffique from *China*, or *Cathaya*, hither to those parts; where as yet the *Spaniards* have not entred. For when *Vazquez de Coronado* conquered some part of it, he saw in the further Sea certain ships, not of common making, which seemed to be well laden, and bare in their prowes, Pelicans, which could not be conjectured to come from any Country; but one of these two. In *Quivira* there are but two Provinces known unto us, which are *Cibola*, and *Nova Albion*. *Cibola* lyeth on the Eastside, whose chief City is of the same name, and denominates the whole Province. The chief Town next to *Cibola* is called *Tatontaa*, which is temperate and

pleasant, being situated upon a River so called. The third Town worth mentioning is called *Tinguez*, which was burnt by the *Spaniards*; who under the conduct of *Francisco Vasquez de Coronado* made this Province subject to the King of *Spain*, Anno Dom. 1540. And since this Town of *Tinguez* hath been rebuilt and inhabited by the *Spaniards*; There is a goodly Colledge of *Jesuites*, who only preach to the *Indians* of that country. *Nova Albion* lyeth on the West side towards *Tartary*, and is very little inhabited by the *Spaniards* who have found no wealth or riches there. Our ever Renowned and Noble Captain Sir *Francis Drake* discovered it, entred upon it, and he named it *Nova Albion*, because the King that then was, did willingly submit himself unto our *Queen Elizabeth*.

The Country abounds with fruits pleasing both to the eye and the Palate. The people are given to hospitality, but withall to witchcraft and adoration of devils. The bounds between this *Quivira* and *Mexico* Empire is *Mar Vermiglio*, or *California*. The third Kingdome belonging to the *Mexican* part and Northern Tract is *Yucatan*; which was first discovered by *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*, in the year 1517. It is called *Yucatan*, not as some have conceited from *Joltan* the son of *Heber*, who they thinke came out of the East, where the Scripture placeth him, *Gen. 12. 23.* to inhabite here, but from *Yucatan* which in the *Indian* tongue signifieth, what say you? for when the *Spaniards* at their first arriving in that Country did aske of the *Indians* the name of the place, the *Savages* not understanding what they meant, replied unto them *Yucatan*, which is, what say you? whereupon the *Spaniards* named it, and ever since have called it *Yucatan*. The whole Country is at least 900. miles in circuit, and is a *Peninsula*. It is situated over against the Isle of *Cuba*; and is divided into three parts, first *Yucatan* it self, whose Cities of greatest worth, are *Campeche*, *Valladolid*, *Merida*, *Simancas*, and one which for his greatnesse and beauty, they call *Caire*. This Country among the *Spaniards* is held to be poor; the chief Commodities in it are hony, wax, Hides, and some Sugar, but no Indigo, Chochinel nor Mines of silver; There are yet some drugs much esteemed of by the Apothecaries, *Cana fistula*, *Zarzaparilla* especially; and great store of *Indian Maiz*. There is also abundance of good Wood and Timber fit for shipping, whereof the *Spaniards* do make very strong ships, which they use in their voiajes to *Spain* and back again. In the year 1632. the *Indians* of this Country in many places of it were like to rebell against their *Spanish* Governour, who vexed them sorely, making them bring in to him their Fowles and Turkies (whereof there is also great abundance) and their hony and wax (wherein he traded) at the rate and price which he pleased to set them for his better advantage; which was such a disadvantage to them, that to enrich him they impoverished themselves; and so resolved to betake themselves to the Woods and Mountaines; where in a rebellious way they continued some months, untill the *Franciscan Fryers*, who have there great power over them, reduced them back, and the Governour (lest he should quite lose that Country by a further rebellion) granted to them not only a generall pardon in the Kings name, but for the future promised to use them more mildly and gently.

The second part of it is called *Guatemala*, (wherein I lived for the space of almost twelve years) whose Inhabitants have lost formerly half a million of their kinsmen and friends by the unmercifull dealing of the *Spaniards*; and yet for all the losse of so many thousands, there is no part of *America* more flourishing then this with great and populous *Indians* Townes. They may thanke the *Fryers* who defend them daily against the *Spaniards*; and this yet for their own ends; for while the *Indians* flourish and increase, the *Fryers* purses flourish also and are filled. The Countrey is very fresh and plentifull. The chief Cities are *Guatemala*, *Cassuca*, and *Chiapa*; whereof I shall speak more largely hereafter. The third part of *Yucatan* is *Acasamil*, which is an Island over against *Guatemala*, which is now commonly called by the *Spaniards*, *Sta. Cruz*, whose chief Town is *Sta. Cruz*.

The fourth and last Country of the division of the *Mexican* part and Northern Tract of *America*, (which is under the *Spanish* Government, and my best knowledge and experience) is *Nicaragua*, which standeth South-east from *Mexico*, and above four hundred and fifty leagues from it. Yet it agreeth somewhat with *Mexico* in nature both of soil and Inhabitants. The people are of good stature, and of colour indifferent white. They had, before they received Christianity, a settled and politick forme of Government; Only, as *Solon* appointed no Law for a mans killing of his father, so had this people none for the murderer of a King, both of them conceiting, that men

were not so unnatural, as to commit such crimes. A thief they judged not to death, but adjudged him to be a slave to that man whom he had robbed, till by his service he had made satisfaction: a course truly more mercifull and not lesse just, then the losse of life.

This Country is so pleasing to the eye, and abounding in all things necessary, that the *Spaniards* call it *Mahomet's Paradise*. Among other flowrishing trees, here groweth one of that nature, that a man cannot touch any of its branches, but it withereth presently. It is as plentifull of Parrets, as our Country of *England* is of Crows; Turkeys, Fowles; Quails and Rabbits are ordinary meat there. There are many populous *Indian Townes* (though not so many as about *Guatemala*) in this Country; and especially two Cities of *Spaniards*; the one *Leon*, a Bishops Seat, and the other *Granada*, which standeth upon a Lake of fresh water, which hath above three hundred miles in compasse, and having no intercourse with the Ocean, doth yet continually ebbe and flow. But of this Country, and of this City especially I say somewhat more, when I come to speak of my travailing through it.

Thus I have briefly touched upon the *Mexican* part, and so much of the Northern Tract as is under the King of *Spain* his Dominion, leaving more particulars, untill I come to shew the order of my being in and journeying through some of these Countries. I will now likewise give you a glimpse of the Southern Tract, and *Peruan* part of *America*. Which containeth chiefly five great Countries or Kingdoms, some in whole, and others in part, subject to the Crown of *Spain* and *Portugal*, which are, first *Castella aurea*; secondly, *Gujana*; thirdly, *Peru*; fourthly, *Brasile*; fifthly, *Chille*. But I will not fill my History with what others have written of the four last named Countries; wherein I was not much; but what I could learn of *Peru*, I will briefly speak, and so come to the first *Castella aurea*, through which I travailed. *Peru* is held to be yet more rich a Country then is *Mexico*; for although it hath not the conveniency of traffique by the North Sea, which *Mexico* hath, but doth send the Commodities in it to *Panama*; and from thence transports them either over the straight *Isthmus*; or by the River *Chicagree* to *Portabel* upon the North Sea; yet the Country is far richer then *Mexico*, by reason of the more abundance of Mines of silver which are in it. The mountaines named *Potosi* are thought to be of no other metall, which the King of *Spain* will not have to be opened untill they have exhausted those which are already discovered and digged, and have found the *Spaniards* work enough, and yeilded them treasure enough ever since they first conquered those parts. The soil is very fruitfull of all such fruits as are found in *Spain*. The Olives are bigger then those of *Spain*, the oile sweeter and clearer. The Grapes yeeld also a wine far stronger then any of *Spain*, and there is much made, by reason it cannot conveniently be brought from *Spain*. There is likewise wheat in great store; and all this fruitfull soile lyeth low under high Mountaines which divide betwixt *Indians* not as yet conquered and *Brasile*. But those Mountaines are a great help unto those pleasant Valleys with the waters that fall from them: for in all those parts inhabited by the *Spaniards* towards the South Sea, it is most certain and most observable that it never raineth, in so much that the houses are uncovered on the tops, and only mats laid over them to keep off the dust, and yet is this Country what with the waters that fall from the Mountains, what with the morning and evening dewes, as fruitfull and plentifull as any Country in the World. The chief City is called *Lima*, where there is a Viceroy and a Court of Chancery, and an Archbishop. It hath a Port some two miles from it named *Callau*; where lie the ships that convey yearly the treasure of that Kingdome to *Panama*. There lie also other ships, which traffique to the *East-Indias*, and to all the Coasts of *Guatemala*, and to *Acapulco* the Southern Haven of *Mexico*. The Port of *Callau* is not so strong as the great, nay inestimable wealth that is commonly in it and in the City of *Lima* should require, for I have heard many *Spaniards* say, that in the year 1620. a few ships of *Hollanders* (as some say) or of *English* (as others affirme) appeared before the Haven waiting for the ships that were to convey the Kings revenews to *Panama*, and hearing that they were departed (though by a false report) followed them; and so forooke the attempting to take the *Callau*; which certainly had they manly attempted; they had taken it, and in it the greatest treasure that in any one part of the world could have been found. But the *Spaniards* seldome see thereabout forain ships, and so live more carelessly in securing or strengthening that Coast. Though *Peru* be

thus rich in fruits and Mines, yet *Chille* far exceedeth it in gold; which edgeth the *Spaniards* to a constant and continuall war with the Inhabitants, which are a strong, warlike, and most valiant people. They are grown as skilfull in the use of weapons, swords, pittols, and muskets as the *Spaniards*, and have taken many *Spaniards*, men and women, prisoners; and of the *Spanish* women have had so many children, called *Mestizoes*, that by them (who have proved most valiant) they have much encreased both their strength and skill. They hold the *Spaniards* hard to it, and the War is become the most dangerous of any the *Spaniards* have; insomuch that the Councell of *Spain* doth pick out from *Flanders* and *Italy*, the best souldiers to send them thither. And a Captain that hath served long, well and faithfully in *Flanders*, by way of credit and promotion is sent to the Wars of *Chille*, to fight for that great treasure of gold, which certainly is there. The *Spaniards* have in it three fair Cities; the *Concepcion* (which is a Bishops Seat) and *Santjago*, and *Valdivia*. This last so named from one *Valdivia*, who was Governour of it, and the first cause and author of those Wars.

This man was so extraordinarily covetous of the gold of that Country, that he would not let the *Indians* possesse or enjoy any of it themselves, but did vex them, whip, and beat, yea and kill some of them, because they brought him not enough, and employed them dayly in seeking it out for him, charging them with a tax and imposition of so much a day: which the *Indians* not being able to performe, nor to satisfie an unsatisfiable minde and greedy covetousnesse, resolved to rebell, but so that first they would fill and satisfie his heart with gold so that he should never more covet after that yellow and glittering metall. Wherefore they joyned and combined themselves together in a warlike posture, and took some quantity of gold and melted it, and with it resolutely came upon *Valdivia* the Governour, saying, O *Valdivia* we see thou hast a greedy and unsatiabable minde and desire after our gold; we have not been able to satisfie thee with it hitherto; but now we have devised a way to satiate this thy greedy covetousnesse; here is now enough, drink thy full of it; and with these words they took him, and powred the melted gold down his throat, wherewith he died, never more coveting after that bright and shining drosse, and naming with his name and death that City of *Valdivia*, and with his covetousnesse leaving a rebellion which hath continued to a cruell and bloody War unto this day.

Guiana and *Brasile* I shall omit to speak of, not having been in any part of them. *Brasile* is little talked of by the *Spaniards*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugall*, and now part of it to the high and mighty States of the *Netherlands*, who will better satisfie by their Histories, and acquaint *Europe* with the riches that are in it.

I return unto the first part mentioned by me in the Southern and *Peruan* Tract, which was said to be *Castella aurea*, golden *Castile*, so called for the abundance of gold that is found in it. This containeth the Northern part of *Peruana*, and part of the *Isthmus*, which runneth between the North and South Sea. Besides the gold in it, yet it is admirably store with Silver, Spices, Pearls, and medicinall Herbes. It is divided into four Provinces. The first is called *Castella del oro*; the second, *Nova Andaluzia*; the third *Nova Granada*; the fourth, *Carthagena*. *Castella del oro* is situated in the very *Isthmus*; and is not very populous by reason of the unhealthfulnesse of the air, and noisome savour of the standing pooles. The chief places belonging to the *Spaniards*, are first *Theonimay*, or *Nombre de Dios* on the East; the second which is six leagues from *Nombre de Dios* is *Portabel*, now chiefly inhabited by the *Spaniards* and Mulattoes, and Blackmores, and *Nombre de Dios* almost utterly forsaken by reason of its unhealthfulnesse. The ships which were wont to anchor in *Nombre de Dios*, and there to take in the Kings treasure, which is yearly brought from *Peru* to *Panama*, and from thence to the North Sea, now harbour themselves in *Portabel*; which signifieth *Porto bello*, a fair and goodly Haven, for so indeed it is, and well fortified at the entrance with three Castles, which can reach and command one another. The third and chief place belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Castella del oro* is *Panama*, which is on the westside and upon the South Sea. This City and *Nombre de Dios* were both built by *Didacus de Niquefa*. And *Nombre de Dios* was so called, because *Niquefa* having been crossed with many mischances and misadventures at Sea, when he came to this place greatly rejoyced, and had his men now goe on shore in *Nombre de Dios*, in the name of God, in the name of God. But as I have before observed, the air being here very unhealthy, the King of *Spain* in the year 1584. commanded the houses of *Nombre de Dios* to be pulled down

down, and to be rebuilt in a more healthy and convenient place: which was performed by *Peter Arias* in *Portabel*. But being now upon *Nombre de Dios*, I should wrong my Country if I should not set out to the publick view the worth of her people shewed upon this place and to this day talked on and admired by the *Spaniards*, who do not only remember *Sir Francis Drake*, and teach their children to dread and fear even his name for his attempts upon *Carthagena* and all the Coast about, and especially upon *Nombre de Dios*, and from it marching as far as the great Mountain called *St. Pablo* towards *Panama*: but furthermore keep alive amongst them (and in this my History it shall not die) the name of one of *Sir Francis Drake* his followers and Captains named *John Oxenham*, whose attempt on this Coast was resolute and wonderfull.

This noble and gallant Gentleman arriving with threescore and ten souldiers in his company as resolute as himself, a little above this Town of *Nombre de Dios* drew a land his ship, and covering it with boughes, marched over the land with his Company guided by *Blackmores*, untill he came to a river. Where he cut down wood, made him a Pinnace, entred the South sea, went to the Island of *Pearles*, where he lay ten dayes waiting for a prize, which happily he got (though not so happily after kept it) for from that Island he set upon two *Spanish* ships, and finding them unable to fight, he speedily made them yeeld, and intercepted in them threescore thousand pound weight of gold, and two hundred thousand pound weight in barres or wedges of silver, and returned safely again to the main land. And though by reason of a mutiny made by his own Company he neither returned to his country nor to his hidden ship; yet was it such a strange adventure as is not to be forgotten, in that the like was never by any other attempted, and by the *Spaniards* is to this day with much admiration recorded.

Much part of this *Castella aurea* as yet is not subdued by the *Spaniards*, and so doubtlesse a great treasure lieth hid in it for that people and nation whose thoughts shall aspire to finde it out. In the year 1637. when I chanted to be in *Panama* returning homewards to my Country, there came thither some twenty *Indians* Barbarians by way of peace to treat with the President of the Chancery concerning their yeelding up themselves to the government of the King of *Spain*. But as I was informed afterwards at *Carthagena*, nothing was concluded upon, for that the *Spaniards* dare not trust those *Indians*, whom they have found to have rebelled often against them for their hard usage and carriage towards them. These *Indians* which then I saw were very proper, tall and lusty men, and well complexioned; and among them one of as red a hair as any our nation can shew; they had bobs of gold in their ears, and some of them little pieces of gold made like a half moon hanging upon their nether lips, which argues store of that treasure to be amongst them. Unto this Country is joyning *Nova Andaluza*, which hath on the North side *Castella del oro*, and on the South *Peru*: The best Cities in it are *Tocoio*, now by the *Spaniards* called *St. Margarets*, and another called *S. Espiritu*. *Nova Granada* is situated on the South side of *Carthagena*, and from the abundance and fertility of *Granada* in *Spain* it hath taken its name. The chief Towns and Cities in it are six. First *Tungia*, which is supposed to be directly under the *Aequator*. The second is *Tochamum*. The third, *Popaian*, the richest of them all. The fourth, *Sra. Fee*, or *St. Faith*, an Archbishops seat, and a Court of Justice and Chancery, governed like *Panama* and *Guatemala*, by a President and six Judges, and a Kings Attorney and two high Justices of Court; who have six thousand duckats a year allowed them out of the Kings treasure. The fifth City is *Palma*; and the sixth *Merida*. From *Carthagena* through this Country of *Granada* lieth the rode way to *Lima* in *Peru* all by land. This Country is very strong by reason of the situation of it much amongst stony rocks, which compasse and environ it, and through which there are very narrow passages. Yet it is full of pleasant valleys which do yeeld much fruit, *Corri* and *Indian Maiz*. There are also in it some Mines of silver, and many golden fanded rivers. *Carthagena* which is the last Province of *Castella aurea*, hath also a very fruitfull soil; in the which groweth a tree, which if any one do touch, he will hardly escape a poysoning.

The chief Cities in it are, first *Carthagena*, which *Sir Francis Drake* in the year 1585. surprised, and (as the *Spaniards* affirme) burned most part of it; and besides inestimable sums of mony, took with him from thence 230 pieces of Ordinance. I dare say now it hath not so many; yet it is reasonable well fortified; though not so strong as *Portabel*.

bel. It is a fair and gallant City and very rich, by reason of the pearls which are brought to it from *Margarita*, and the Kings revenues, which from all *Nova Granada* are sent thither. It is a Bishops seat, and hath many rich Churches and Cloisters. It is not governed by a Court of Justice and Chancery as *Sta. Fee* is, but only by one Governour. It hath been often moved to the Councill of *Spain* to have some galleys made to run about those Seas, and that *Carthagena* be the chief harbour of them. From this City received *England* the losse of that little Island named *Providence* by us, and by the Spaniards *Sta. Catalina*, which though but little, might have been of a great, nay greater advantage to our Kingdom, then any other of our Plantations in *America*; which the Spaniards well understood when they set all their strength of *Carthagena* against it: but I hope the Lord hath his time appointed when we shall advantage our selves by it again. To this City of *Carthagena* cometh every year also in small Frigots most of the Indigo, Cochinil and Sugar which is made in the Country of *Guatemala*; the Spaniards thinking it safer to ship these their goods in little Frigots upon the lake of *Granada* in *Nicaragua*, and from thence to send them to *Carthagena* to be shipped with the Galeons that come from *Portabel* with the treasure of *Peru*, then to send them by the ships of *Honduras*, which have often been a prey unto the *Hollanders*. These frigots were thought by the Spaniards to come too near the reach of *Providence*, and therefore it hath been their care and providence to remove us from this reach of their frigots. The second great Town of this Country of *Carthagena* is *Abuida*. The third *Sta. Martha*, which is a rich government of Spaniards, and doth much fear our *English* and *Holland* ships; it is seated on the river *de Abuida*, otherwise called *St John* and *Rio di Grand*. There is also *Venezuela* and *New Caliz*, great, rich, and strong Towns. And these three last regions, *Andaluzia Nova*, *Nova Granada*, and *Carthagena* are by the Spaniards called *Tierra firme*, or firme land, for that they are the strength of *Peru* from the North, and the basis of this reverfed *Pyramis*.

Thus have I brought thee, Gentle Reader, round about *America*, and shewed thee the Continent of that biggest part of the world; from the which thou mayest observe the power and greatnesse of the King of *Spain*, who hath got under his Scepter and Dominion so many thousand miles, which were they reckoned up, would be found to be more then are about all *Europe*. But not only is *America* great and spacious by land, but also by sea, glorying in more and some greater Islands, then any other part of the world. It would but cause tediousnesse, and seem prolixity to number them all up, which is a work hard and difficult, for that many as yet are not known nor inhabited, and whose goodnesse and greatnesse is not discovered; for the Islands called *Lucaidis* are thought to be four hundred at least. Therefore I will omit to be over tedious and prolix, and will but briefly speak of the best and chief of them, taking them in order from that part of the Continent, *Carthagena*, where even now I left thee. But in the first place calls upon my pen the Jewel Island called *Margarita*, which is situated in the sea nigh unto *Castella aurea*, and not far distant from two other Islands, named *Cubana* and *Trinidado*. True it is this Island of *Margarita* is by some much slighted for want of corn, grasse, trees and water; in so much that it hath been known sometime that an inhabitant of that Island hath willingly changed for a Tun of water a Tun of wine. But the great abundance of pretious stones in it maketh amends for the former wants and defects; for from them is the name of *Margarita* imposed on that Island. But especially it yeilded store of pearls, those gemmes which the Latine writers call *Uniones*, because *nulli duo reperiuntur indiscreti*, they alwayes are found to grow in couples. In this Island there are many rich Merchants, who have thirty, forty, fifty *Blackmore* slaves only to fish out of the sea about the rocks these pearls. These *Blackmores* are much made of by their Masters, who must needs trust them with a treasure hidden in the waters, and in whose will it is to passe by of those they find, none, few, or many. They are let down in baskets into the Sea, and so long continue under the water, untill by pulling the rope by which they are let down, they make their sign to be taken up. I have heard some say that have thus dealt in pearls, that the chief meat they feed their *Blackmores* with, is roast meat, which maketh them keep their wind and breath longer in the water. From *Margarita* are all the Pearls sent to be refined and bored to *Carthagena*, where is a fair and goodly street of no other shops then of these Pearl-dressers. Commonly in the month of *July* there is a ship or two at moit ready in that Island to carry the Kings revenue, and the Merchants pearls to *Carthagena*. One of these ships are valued commonly at threecore thousand, or fourscore thousand duckats,

and sometimes more; and therefore are reasonable well manned; for that the *Spaniards* much fear our *English* and the *Holland* ships. The year that I was in *Carthagena*, which was 1637. a ship of these laden with pearls was chased by one of our ships from the Island of *Providence* (by some it was thought to be our ship called the *Neptune*) which after a little fighting had almost brought the poor *Spaniard* to yeeld his pearls, and had certainly carried away that great treasure (as I was informed in *Carthagena* four dayes after the fight by a *Spaniard* who was in the ship of *Margarita*) had not two other ships of *Holland* come between to challenge from our *English* man that prize, alleading their privilege from the mighty States united for all prizes upon those seas and coast. And whilest our *English* and *Hollander* did thus strive for the Pearls, the *Spanish* ship ran on shore upon a little Island, and speedily unladen and hid in the woods part of the treasures, and perceiving the *Hollander* coming eagerly in pursuit of it, the *Spaniard* set on fire the ship, and neither *Spaniard*, *English*, nor *Hollander*, enjoyed what might have been a great and rich prize to *England*. From *Carthagena* was sent presently a man of War to bring home the pearls hid in the wood, which were not the third part of what was in the ship.

Jamaica is another Island under the power of the *Spaniards*, which is in length 280. miles, and 70. in breadth, which though it exceed *Margarita* in sweet and pleasant streames and fountains of water, yet is far inferiour to it in riches. Some Hides, some Sugar, and some Tobacco are the chief commodities from thence. There are only two Towns of note in it, *Oristana* and *Sevilla*; here are built ships which have proved as well at Sea, as those that are made in *Spain*. This Island was once very populous, and now is almost destitute of *Indians*; for the *Spaniards* have slain in it more the 60000; in so much that women as well here as on the Continent did kill their children before they had given them life, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruell a nation. But far beyond the two former is the Island of *Cuba*, which is three hundred miles long, and seventy broad, which was first made known to *Europe* by *Columbus* his second navigation. This Island is full of Forrests, Lakes, and mountains. The air is very temperate, the soil very fertill, producing brasse of exact perfection, and some gold though drossie hath formerly been found in it. It aboundeth also with Ginger, Cassia, Mastick, Aloes, some Cinnamon, Cana fistula, Zarzaparilla, and Sugar, and hath of flesh, fish, and fowles great plenty; but especially such store of sea Tortois, and Hogs, that the ships at their returne to *Spain* make their chief provision of them. My self chanced to take physick there, and whereas I thought that day I should have a fowle or rabbit after my physicks working, they brought me a boyled piece of fresh young Porke, which when I refused to eat, they assured me it was the best dish the Doctors did use to prescribe upon such dayes.

The chief Cities of this Island are *Santjago* on the Northern shore, built by *James de Valasco*, a Bishops seat; and secondly, *Havana*, which is also on the Northern shore, and is a safe roade for ships, and the staple of merchandize, and (as the *Spaniards* call it) the key of all the *West-Indias*, to lock up or unlock the door or entrance to all *America*. Here rideth the King of *Spains* Navy, and here meet all the Merchant ships from severall ports and Havens of all those Countries aforesaid, whether from the Islands, or from the Continent: in a word here commonly in the month of *September* is joyned all the treasure as I may say of *America*, all the King of *Spains* revenews, with as much more of Merchant goods, with the year that I was there were thought to be in all the worth of thirty millions. And the ships which that year there did meet to strengthen one another were 53. sail, and set out sooner that year than any other; upon the 16. of *September*, having that day a fair wind to waft them homewards through the Gulf of *Bahama*. *Havana* therefore being the store-house of all *Americas* treasure, it hath been the *Spaniards* great care to fortifie that; and truly it is so strong, that the *Spaniards* hold it impossible to be taken, and do boast of four impregnable forts, to wit at *Antwerp*, *Millan*, *Pamplona*, and *Havana*. This hath two strong Castles, the one at the point or entrance of the Haven toward the Sea; the other more within, on the other side almost over against it; which two Castles (the passage in the mouth of the haven being so narrow, that one only ship in breast may enter) will keep and defend the Port from many hundred sail. I was my selfe in the great and chief Castle; and truly found it very strong, though by land I judged it might be as easily taken, as other strong Castles here in *Europe* have been overpowered by a great and powerfull Army. It hath in it

it besides many others, twelve pieces of Ordnance of brasse exceeding great, which they call, The twelve Apostles. But for all this strength of the *Havana*, it could not once defend six or seven millions (according to the *Spaniards* own account) which the one part of the Kings Navy brought from *St. John de Ulhua* to the sight of this impregnable fort, and protected with such twelve Apostles. It was as I take it the year 1629. when that ever renowned *Hollander* (whom like unto our *Drake* the *Spaniards* to this day fear and tremble at, calling him *Pie de Palo*, that is, wooden leg) waited at the Cape of *St. Anthony* for the *Spanish* fleet of *Nova Hispania*; which according to his expectation coming, he manly set upon it, saluting and welcoming the great treasure in it with a full side of roaring Ordnance; the sound was more dolefull then joyfull and welcome to the *Spaniards*, who thought it safer sleeping in a whole skin, then to be unquieted by fighting, and with the sight of torn and mangled bodies, by *Mars* his furious and fiery bals, and so called a Councell of War to resolve what they should do to save the Kings great treasure which was intrusted to them in those ships. The result of the Councell was to flie and with some discharging of their Ordnance to defend themselves, untill they could put into a river in the Illand of *Cuba*, not far from *Havana* called *Matanzos*. There were in that fleet of *Spain* many gallants and Gentlemen, and two Judges of the Chancery of *Mexico*, which were that year sent to *Madrid* as guilty in the mutiny before mentioned, there was in it of my acquaintance a Dominican Fryer, named Fryer *Jacinto de Hozes*, who had been sent to those parts to visit all the Dominican Cloisters of *New Spain*, and had got of bribes at least eight thousand duckats (as I was informed the year after by a Fryer his companion, whom he sent from *Havana* to *Guatemala* to make known to his friends his losse of all that he had got, and to beg a new contribution to help him home) there was also in that fleet *Don Martin de Carillo*, who was the Inquisitor and Commissioner to judge the Delinquents in the fore-mentioned mutiny of *Mexico*, who was thought to have got twenty thousand duckats cleer; besides these a Bishop, and many rich Merchants, all under the command of *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres* Admirall to all the fleet. They all fled for their lives and goods; but the gallant *Hollanders* chased them. The *Spaniards* thinking the *Hollanders* would not venture up the river after them, put into *Matanzos*; but soon after they had entred, they found the river too shallow for their heavy and great bellied Galeons, and so run them upon ground; which done, the better and richer fort escaped to land, endeavouring to escape with what wealth they could; some got out Cabinets, some bags; which the *Hollanders* perceiving came upon them with bullet messengers, which soon overtook and stopt their flying treasures. Some few Cabinets were hid, all the rest became that day the gallant *Pie de Palo* or the wooden leg Captains prize for the mighty States of *Holland*. The Fryer *Hozes* was got into a boat with his Cabinet under his habit, which had in it nothing but chains of gold, diamonds, pearls and pretious stones; and half a dozen *Hollanders* leapt into the boat after him, and snatched it from him, as his own friend and companion related after to us in *Guatemala*. *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres* the Admirall when he came to *Spain* was imprisoned, lost his wits for a while, and after was beheaded. Thus in the sight of impregnable *Havana* and of those 12 brazen Apostles, was *Holland* glorious and made rich with a seven million prize.

But before I end this Chapter, I may not forget the chiefest of all the Illands of this new world, which is called *Hispaniola*, and formerly by the natives *Harie*, which lamenteth the losse of at least three millions of *Indians* murdered by her new Masters of *Spain*. This Illand is the biggest that as yet is discovered in all the world; it is in compasse about 1500. miles and enjoyeth a temperate aire, a fertill soil, rich mines; and trades much in Ambar, Sugar, Ginger, Hides, and Wax. It is reported for certain that here in twenty days herbes will ripen and roots also and be fit to be eaten, which is a strong argument of the exact temperature of the air. It yeeldeth in nothing to *Cuba*, but excelleth in three things especially; first in the fineness of the gold, which is here more pure and unmixed; secondly, in the increase of the Sugar, one Sugar Cane here filling twenty and sometimes thirty measures; and thirdly, in the goodness of the soil for tillage, the corn here yeelding an hundred fold. This fertility is thought to be caused by four great rivers, which water and enrich all the four quarters of the Illand; all four do spring from one only mountain, which standeth in the very midd and center of the Country, *Juna* running to the East, *Artihinnacus* to the West, *Jacchus* to the North, and *Naihus* to the South.

This Country is so replenished with Swine and Cattell, that they become wild among the Woods and Mountains, so that the ships that sail by this Island, and want provision, go here a shore where it is little inhabited, and kill of Cattell, wild swine and bores, till they have made up a plentiful provision. Much of this Countrey is not inhabited, by reason that the *Indians* are quite consumed. The chief places in it are first *St. Domingo*, where there is a *Spanish* President and Chancery with six Judges and the other officers belonging to it, and it is the Seat of an Archbishop, who though he enjoy not so much yearly rent and revenues as other Archbishops, especially they of *Mexico* and *Lima*; yet he hath an honour above all the rest, for that he is the primate of all the *Indias*, this Island having been conquered before the other parts, and so bearing antiquity above them all. There are also other rich Towns of trading, as *Sta. Isabella*, *S. Thome*, *S. John*, *Maragna*, and *Porto*. And thus hath my pen run over Sea and Land, Islands and most of the Continent that is subject to the *Spaniards*, to shew thee, my Reader, the state of *America* at this time. It is called *America* because *Americus Vesputius* first discovered it; though afterwards *Columbus* gave us the first light to discern these Countries both by example and directions. Besides the factions spoken of before between the Native *Spaniards* and those that come from *Spain*, there is yet further in most parts of it, but especiall in *Peru*, a deadly faction and mortall harted between the *Biscains* and the *Spaniards* of *Castile* and *Estremadura*, which hath much shaken the quiet state of it, and threatned it with rebellion and destruction.

There are in all *America* four Archbishopsricks, which are *Sto. Domingo*, *Mexico*, *Lima* and *Sta. Fee*, and above thirty inferiour Bishops. The politick Administration of Justice is chiefly committed to the two Viceroyes residing at *Lima* and *Mexico*, and with subordination unto them unto other Presidents, Governours, and high Justices, called *Alcaldes Majores*; except it be the President of *Guatemala*, and of *Santo Domingo*, who are as absolute in power as the Viceroyes, and have under them Governours, and high Justices; and are no wayes subordinate to the former Viceroyes, but only unto the Court and Councell of *Spain*.

CHAP. XIII.

Shewing my journey from Mexico to Chiapa Southward, and the most remarkable places in the way.

HAVING now gone round *America* with a brief and superficiall description of it, my desire is to shew unto my Reader what parts of it I travelled through, and did abide in; observing more particularly the state, condition, strength, and commodities of those Countries which lie Southward from *Mexico*. It is further my desire, nay the chief ground of this my History, that whilest my Country doth here observe an *English* man, become *American*, travailing many thousand miles there; as may be noted from *St. John de Ulua* to *Mexico*, and from thence Southward to *Panama*, and from thence Northward again to *Carthagen*a, and to *Havana*, Gods goodnesse may be admired, and his providence extolled who suffered not the meanest and unworthiest of all his Creatures to perish in such unknown Countries; to be swallowed by North and South sea, where shipwracks were often feared; to be lost in Wildernesses where no tongue could give directions; to be devoured by Wolves, Lions, Tigers or Crocodiles, which there so much abound; to fall from steepy rocks and mountains, which seem to dwell in the aereall Region, and threaten with fearful spectacles of deep and profound precipices, a horrid and inevitable death to those that climb up to them; to be eaten up by the greedy Earth which there doth often quake, and tremble, and hath sometimes opened her mouth to draw in Towns and Cities; to be stricken with those fiery darts of Heaven and thunderbolts which in winter season threaten the Rocks and Cedars; to be enchanted by Satans Instruments, Witches and Sorcerers, who there as on their own ground play their pranks more then in the parts of *Christendome*; to be quite blinded with *Romish* Errors and Superstitions, which have double blinded the purblind heathenish Idolaters; to be wedded to the pleasures

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and licentiousnesse; which do there allure; to be glutted with the plenty and dainties of fish, flesh, fowles, and fruits, which do there entice; to be puffed up with the spirit of pride and powerfull command and authority over the poor *Indians*, which doth there provoke; to be tied with the Cords of vanity and ambition, which there are strong; and finally to be glewed in heart, and affection to the drosse of gold, silver, Pearls, and Jewels, whose plenty there both bind, blind, captivate and enslave the soul. Oh I say, let the Lords great goodnesse and wonderfull providence be observed who suffered not an *English* stranger in all these dangers to miscarry, but was a guide unto him there in all his travailes, discovered unto him as to the spies in *Canaan*, and as to *Joseph* in *Egypt* the provision, wealth and riches of that world, and safely guided him back to relate to *England*, the truth of what no other *English* eye did ever yet behold. From the moneth of *October* untill *February* I did abide with my friends, and companions the Fryers under command of Fryer *Calvo* in that house of recreation called *St. Jacintho*, and from thence enjoyed the sight of all the Townes and of what else was worth the seeing about *Mexico*. But the time I was there, I was carefull to informe my self of the state of *Philippinas*, whither my first purposes had drawn me from *Spain*. It was my fortune to light upon a Fryer: and an acquaintance of some of my friends, who was that year newly come from *Manila* whither I was going; who wished me and some other of my friends as we tendred our souls and good never to go to those parts, which were but snares and trap-dores to let down to hell, where occasions and temptations to sin were daily, many in number, mighty in strength, and to get out of them, labor & opus, hard and difficult. And that himself, had not he by stealth gotten away (and that to save his soul) certainly he had never come from thence; who had often upon his knees begged leave of his superiours to return to *Spain*, and could not obtain it. Many particulars we could not get from him, nor the reasons of his coming away; Only he would often say, that the Fryers that live there are devils in private and in those retired places where they live among the *Indians* to instruct and teach them; and yet in publick before their superiours and the rest of Fryers they must appear Saints, they must put on the cloak of hypocrisie to cover their inward devilishnesse, they must be cloathed with sheeps skins though within they be *lupi rapaces*, ravenous Wolves, ravening after their neighbours Wives, and ravening after their neighbours wealth; and yet withall this unpreparednesse, with this outward, seeming and frothy sanctity, and inward hellishnesse and deep rooted worldliness and coverousnesse, when the Superiours command and please to send them, they must go in a disguised manner to *Japan* or *China* to convert to Christianity those people though with perill and danger of their lives. Many such like discourses we got out of this Fryer; and that if we went to live there, we must be subject to the penalties of many Excommunications for triviall toys and trifles, which the Superiours do lay upon the Consciences of their poor Subjects, who may assoon strive against the common course of nature not to see with their eyes, nor hear with their eares, nor speak with their tongues, as to observe all those things which against sense, reason and nature with grievous censures and Excommunications are charged and fastened upon them. He told us further of some Fryers that had despaired under those rigorous courses, and hanged themselves, not being able to bear the burden of an afflicted and tormented Conscience; and of others that had been hanged, some for murdering of their rigid and cruell Superiours; and some that had been found in the morning hanging with their queanes at the Cloister gates, having been found together in the night, and so murdered and hanged up either by the true Husband, or by some other who bare affection to the woman. These things seemed to us very strange, and we perceived that all was not gold that glittered, nor true zeal of souls that carried so many from *Spain* to those parts; or if in some there were at first a better and truer zeal then in others, when they came to *Philippinas*, and among those strong temptations, we found that their zeal was soon quenched. This reason moved me and three more of my friends to relent in our purposes of leaving of *America*, and going any further, for we had learned that maxime, *Qui amat periculum, peribit in illo*; and, *qui tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea*; He that loveth the danger, shall fall and perish in it; and he that toucheth pitch shall be smeared by it. Wherefore we communed privately with our selves, what course we might take, how we might that year return back to *Spain*, or where we might abide, if we returned not to *Spain*. For

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knew, if our Superiour *Calvo* should understand of our purposes to go no further, he would lay upon us an Excommunication to follow him, nay and that he would secure us in a Cloister prison until the day and time of our departure from *Mexico*. Our resolutions we made a secret of our hearts; yet could not I but impart it to one more speciall and intimate friend of mine, who was an *Irish* Fryer, named *Thomas de Leon*, whom I perceived a little troubled with so long a journey as was at hand, and found often wishing he had never come from *Spain*; and as soon as I had acquainted him with what I meant to do, he rejoiced and promised to stay with me. The time was short which we had to dispose of our selves; but in that time we addressed our selves to some *Mexican* Fryers and made known unto them, that if our Superiour *Calvo* would give us leave, we would willingly stay at *Mexico* or in any Cloister thereabouts, until we could better fit our selves to return to *Spain* again. But they being natives and born in that Country discovered presently unto us that inveterate spight and hatred which they bare to such as came from *Spain*; they told us plainly that they and true *Spaniards* born did never agree, and that they knew their Superiors would be unwilling to admit of us; yet furthermore they informed us that they thought we might be entertained in the Province of *Guaxaca*, where half the Fryers were of *Spain* and half *Criolians* and Natives; but in case we should not speed there, they would warrant us we should be welcome to the Province of *Guatemala*, where almost all the Fryers were of *Spain*, and did keep under such as were Natives born in that Country. It did a little trouble us to consider that *Guatemala* was three hundred leagues off; and that we were ignorant of the *Mexican* tongue, and unprovided of money and horses for so long a journey. But yet we considered *Philippinas* to be further, and no hopes there of returning ever again to Christendome; wherefore we resolved to rely upon Gods providence only, and to venture upon a three hundred leagues journey with what small means we had, and to sell what Books and small trifles we had, to make as much money as might buy each of us a horse. But while we were thus preparing our selves secretly for *Guatemala* we were affrighted and dishearted with what in the like case to ours happened. A Fryer of our company named Fryer *Peter Borrallo*, without acquainting us or any other of his friends with what he intended, made a secret escape from us, and (as after we were informed) took his way alone to *Guatemala*. This so incensed our Superiour *Calvo*, that after great search and enquiry after him, he betook himself to the Viceroy begging his assistance and Proclamation, in the publick Market place, for the better finding out his lost sheep, and alledging that none ought to hide or privily to harbour any Fryer that had been sent from *Spain* to *Philippinas* to preach there the Gospel, for that the foresaid Fryers were sent by the King of *Spain* whose bread they had eat, and at whose charges they had been brought from *Spain* to *Mexico*, and at the same Kings charges ought to be carried from *Mexico* to *Philippinas*; and therefore if any Fryer now in the halfe way should recant of his purpose of going to *Philippinas*, and should by flight escape from his Superiour and the rest of his company, the same ought to be punished as guilty of defrauding the Kings charges. This reason of *Calvo* being a politick and State reason prevailed so far with the Viceroy, that immediately he commanded a Proclamation to be made against whosoever should know of the said *Peter Borrallo* and should not produce him to his Highnesse, or should harbour him or any other Fryer belonging to *Philippinas* from that time forward until the ships were departed from *Acapulco*; and that whosoever should trespasse against this Proclamation, should suffer imprisonment at his Highnesse his will and pleasure, and the penalty of five hundred duckats to be paid in at the Kings Exchequer. With this Proclamation *Calvo* began to insult over us, and to tell us, we were the Kings slaves under his conduct, and that if any of us durst to leave him (for he was jealous of most of us) he doubted not but with the Viceroy his assistance and Proclamation he should find both us and *Peter Borrallo* out to our further shame and confusion. This did very much trouble us, and made my *Irish* friend *Thomas de Leon* his heart to faint, and his courage to relent, and utterly to renounce before me his former purpose of staying and hiding himself; yet he protested to me, if I was still of the same minde, he would not discover me; but seeing his weaknesse, I durst not trust him, but made as if I were of his minde. Thus I betook my self to the other three of my friends (of whom one was *Antonio Melendez* that had been the first cause of my coming from *Spain*) whom I found much troubled, doubtfull and wavering what course to take.

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They considered if we should flie, what a shame it would be to us to be taken and brought back to *Mexico* as prisoners, and forcedly against our wills to be shipped to *Philippinas*, they considered further if they went, what a slavish and uncomfortable life they should live in *Philippinas*, without any hopes of ever returning again to Christendom; yet further they looked upon the Viceroy his Proclamation, and thought it hard to break though the opposition and authority of so great a man; and lastly in the Proclamation they beheld the estimation that *Calvo* had of them, as of slaves and fugitives to be cryed in a publick Market place. But after all these serious thoughts our only comfort was that *Peter Borallo* was safely escaped, and (as we were informed) had been met farre from *Mexico* travailing alone towards *Guatemala*. And we thought, why might not we escape as well as he? Then I told them that my resolution was to stay, though alone I returned either to *Spain*, or took my journey to *Guatemala*; the rest were glad to see me resolute, and gave their hands that they would venture as much as I should. Then we set upon the time when we should take our flight, and agreed that every one should have a Horse in readinesse in *Mexico*, and that the night before the rest of our company should depart from *Mexico* towards *Acapulco* to take shipping, we should by two and two in the evening leave *St Jacinbo*, and meet in *Mexico* where our Horses stood, and from thence set out and travaile all that night, continuing our journey so the first two or three nights and resting in the day time, untill we were some twenty or thirty leagues from *Mexico*. For we thought the next morning *Calvo* awaking and missing us would not stop the journey of the rest of his company for our sakes, to search and inquire after us; or if he did, it would be but for one day or two at the most, till he had inquired for us in *Mexico*, or a dayes journey in some of the common or beaten rodes of *Mexico*, where we would be sure he should not hear of us; for we also agreed to travail out of any common or known rode for the first two or three nights. This resolution was by us as well performed and carried on, as it had been agreed upon, though some had been fearfull that a counsell betwixt four could never be kept secret, nor such a long journey as of nine hundred miles be compassed with such small means of money as was amongst us, for the maintenance of our selves and Horses; for after our Horses were bought, we made a common purse, and appointed one to be the purse-bearer, and found that amongst us all there were but twenty duckats, which in that rich and plentifull country was not much more then here twenty *English* shillings, which seemed to us but as a morning dew, which would soon be spent in provender only for our Horses; yet we resolved to go on, relying more upon the providence of God, then upon any earthly means; and indeed this proved to us a far better support then all the drosse of gold and silver could have done; and we reckoned that after we had travailed forty leagues from *Mexico*, and entred without fear into the rode, we had for our twenty duckats neer forty now in our common purse. The reason was, for that most commonly we went either to Fryers Cloisters who knew us not, or to rich farmes of *Spaniards* who thought nothing too good for us, and would not only entertain us stately, but at our departure would give us money for one or two dayes journey. All our fear was to get safely out of *Mexico*, for we had been informed that *Calvo* had obtained from the Viceroy officers to watch in the chiefest rodes both day and night untill he had departed with his Train of Fryers to *Acapulco*.

And for all the Viceroy his Proclamation we got a true and trustie friend, who offered to guide us out of *Mexico* by such a way as we needed not to fear any would watch for us. So with our friend and a map about us to guide us after he had left us in the morning, we cheerfully set out of *Mexico* about ten of the clock at night, about the middle of *February*, and meeting no body about *Guadalupe* which was the way we went out (though the contrary way to *Guatemala*, which on purpose we followed for fear the true way should be beset) we comfortably travailed all that night, till in the morning we came to a little Town of *Indians*, where we began to spend of our small stock, calling upon the *Indians* for a Turkey and Capon to break our fast with our friend and guide before he returned to *Mexico*. Breakfast being ended we took our leaves of him, and went to rest, that we might be more able to performe the next nights journey, which was to Crosse the Country towards *Alisco*, which is in a vally of twenty miles about at least, and doth give it the name of the vally of *Atlixco*, and is a vally much mentioned in all those parts, for the exceeding great plenty of wheat that is there reaped every year, and is the chief sustenance and relief of *Mexico* and all the Townes about. In this Valley

Valley are many rich Towns of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but we shunned to enter into them, and went from farme to farme out of the highwayes, where we found good entertainment of those rich Farmers and Yeomen, who bare such respect unto the Priests, that truly they thought themselves happy with our company. Here we began to shake off all fear, and would no more like Bats and Owles flie in the night, but that we might with more pleasure enjoy the prospect of that valley, and of the rest of the Country we travelled by day; yet still crossing the Country, we went from thence towards another valley called the valley of *St. Pablo*, or *Pauls* valley, which though it be not as big as the valley of *Atlisco*, yet is held to be a richer valley; for here they enjoy a double harvest of wheat every year. The first seed they sow is watered, and growes with the common season rain; and the second seed which they sow in Summer as soon as their first harvest is in, when the season of rain is past, they water with many Springs which fall into that valley from the Mountains which round beset it, and let in the water among their wheat at their pleasure, and take it away when they see fit. Here live Yeomen upon nothing but their farms, who are judged to be worth some twenty thousand, some thirty thousand, some forty thousand duckats. In this valley we chanced to light upon one farme where the Yeoman was country-man to my friend *Antonio Melendez*, borne in *Segovia* in *Spain*, who for his sake kept us three daies and nights with him. His table was as well furnished as the table of a Knight might be, his side board full of silver boules and cups, and plates in stead of trenchers; he spared no dainties which might welcome us to his table, no perfumes which might delight us in our chambers, no musick (which his daughters were brought up to) which might with more pleasure help to passe away the time. To him *Antonio Melendez* made known our journey towards *Guatemala*; and from him we received directions which way to steer our course untill we might be thoroughly freed from fear and danger; here we began to see the great providence of God, who had brought us being strangers to such a friends house, who not only welcomed us to him, but when we departed gave us a guide for a whole day, and bestowed upon us twenty duckats to help to bear our charges. From this valley we wheeled about to *Tasco*, a Town of some five hundred Inhabitants which enjoyeth great commerce with the Country about by reason of the great store of Cotton-wool which is there. And here we were very well entertained by a Franciscan Fryer, who being of *Spain* made the more of us, knowing we came from thence. Here we got into the Rode of *Guaxaca*, and went to *Chaula*, which also aboundeth with Cotton-wool, but in it we found no entertainment but what our own purses would afford us. Next to this place is a great Town called *Zumpango*, which doth consist of at least eight hundred Inhabitants, many of them very rich both *Indians* and *Spaniards*. Their commodities are chiefly Cotton-wool, and Sugar, and Cochineil. But beyond this Town are the Mountains called *la Misteça*, which abound with many rich and great Towns, and do trade with the best silk that is in all that Country. Here is also great store of Wax and Hony; and *Indians* live there who traffique to *Mexico* and about the Country with twenty or thirty mules of their own, chopping and changing, buying and selling commodities, and some of them are thought to be worth ten, or twelve, or fifteen thousand duckats, which is much for an *Indian* to get among the *Spaniards*, who thinke all the riches of *America* little enough for themselves. From these Mountains of *Misteça* to *Guaxaca* we saw little observable, only Towns of two or three hundred inhabitants; rich Churches, well built, and better furnished within with lampes, candlesticks, crownes of silver for the severall statues of Saints; and all the way we did observe a very fruitfull soil for both *Indian* and *Spanish* wheat, much Sugar, much Cotton-wool, Hony, and here and there some Cochineil, and of Plantins; and other sweet and luscious fruit great store; but above all great abundance of Cattell, whose Hides are one of the greatest commodities that from those parts are sent to *Spain*. Some reported that about *Misteça* formerly much gold had been found, and the *Indians* were wont to use it much, though now they will not be known of any; lest the greedinesse of the *Spaniards* bring them to misery and destruction; as it hath their neighbours about them. Also it is reported for certain that there are Mines of silver, though as yet the *Spaniards* have not found them.

There are many Mines of Iron which the *Spaniards* will not busie themselves in digging, because they have it cheaper from *Spain*; from hence we came to the City of *Guaxaca*, which is a Bishops Seat, though not very big, yet a fair and beautifull City

to behold. It standeth threescore leagues from *Mexico* in a pleasant vally from whence *Cortez* was named *Marques del Valle*, the Marquesse of the valley. This City, as all the rest of *America*, (except the Sea Towns) lyeth open without wals, Bulwarkes, Forts, Towers, or any Castle, Ordinance or Ammunition to defend it. It may consist of at the most two thousand Inhabitants, and are governed by a *Spanish* high Justice called *Alcalde Major*, whose power reacheth over all the Valley, and beyond it as far as *Nixapa*, and almost to *Tecoantepeque*, a Sea Town upon *Mar del Zur*. The Valley is of at least fifteen miles in length, and ten in breadth, where runneth in the midst a goodly River yeelding great store of fish. The Valley is full of Sheep and other Cattell, which yeeld much Wooll to the Clothiers of the City of *Angels*, store of Hides to the Merchants of *Spain*, and great provision of flesh to the City of *Guaxaca*, and to all the Towns about, which are exceeding rich, and do maintain many Cloisters of Fryers, and Churches with stately furniture belonging unto them. But what doth make the Valley of *Guaxaca* to be mentioned far and near, are the good horses which are bred in it, and esteemed to be the best of all the Country. In this Valley also are some farmes of Sugar, and great store of fruits, which two sorts meeting together have cried up the City of *Guaxaca* for the best Conserves and Preserves that are made in *America*. In the City there are some six Cloisters of Nuns and Fryers, all of them exceeding rich; but above all is the Cloister of the Dominican Fryers, whose Church treasure it worth two or three millions; and the building of it the fairest and strongest in all those parts, the wals are of stone so broad, that a part of them being upon finishing when I was there I saw Carts goe upon them, with stone and other materials. Here are also two Cloisters of Nuns, which are talked of far and near, not for their religious practises, but for their skill in making two drinks which are used in those parts, the one called *Chocolatte* (whereof I shall speak hereafter) and the other *Atole*, which is like unto our *Almond Milk*, but much thicker, and is made of the juyce of the yong *Maiz* or *Indian* wheat, which they so confect with spices, musk, and sugar, that it is not only admirable in the sweetnesse of the smell, but much more nourishing and comforting the stomach. This is not a commodity that can be transported from thence, but is to be drunk there where it is made. But the other, *Chocolatte*, is made up in Boxes, and sent not only to *Mexico* and the parts thereabouts, but much of it is yearly transported into *Spain*. This City of *Guaxaca* is the richer by reason of the safety they enjoy for the carriage of their Commodities to and from the port of *St. John de Ulhua* by the great River *Alvarado* which runneth not far from it; and although the Barks come not to the City of *Guaxaca*, yet they come up to the *Zapotecas*, and to *St. Ildesonso*, which is not far from *Guaxaca*. And the carelesnesse of the *Spaniards* here is to be wondred at, that all along this River which runneth up into the heart of their Country, they have built as yet no Castles, Towers, or watch-houses, or planted any Ordinance, trusting only in this, that great ships cannot come up, as if Frigots or smaller Barks, such as they themselves use, may not be made to annoy them. But of *Guaxaca* I shall say no more, but conclude that it is of so temperate an air, so abounding in fruits, and all provision requisite for mans life, so commodiously situated between the North and South Sea, having on the North side *St. John de Ulhua*, and on the South *Tecoantepeque* a small and unfortified harbour, that no place I so much desired to live in whilest I was in those parts as in *Guaxaca*, which certainly I had attempted as I travailed by it, had I not understood that the *Criolian* or Native Fryers were many and as deadly enemies unto those that came from *Spain* as were the *Mexicans*. And this their spight and malice they shewed whilest we were there, to an ancient and grave old Fryer Master in Divinity, who living had been for learning the Oracle of those parts. This old man died when I was there, and because when he lived they could pick no hole in his Coat, being dead they searched his chamber, and finding in a Coffer some monies which he had not made known to his Superior when living (which they would reduce to a sin agaiut his professed poverty, called Propriety, and subject to the censure of Excommunication) they reported that he had died excommunicated, and might not enjoy their Christian buriall in the Church or Cloister, and so ignominiously buried their old Divine, and with him his Credit and reputation in a grave made in one of their Gardens. A thing much talked on as scandalous to all the City and Country, which they salved with saying he was excommunicated; but the truth was, he was of *Spain*, and therefore at his death they would

would shew their spight unto him. For certainly they could not do it for the sin of Propriety which by him had been committed in his life; and to them all may be well said what our Saviour said to the Jews bringing to him a woman found in adultery to be stoned, Whosoever of you is without sin, let him cast the first stone; for all of them, yea even the best Fryers that live in *America*, are some way or other, much or lesse guilty of the sin of Propriety which they profess and vow against. With this which we saw with our eyes, besides what with our ears we had heard of discords and factions amongst them, we thought *Guaxaca* was no place for us to live in; so after three dayes we made hast out of it, and departed towards *Chiapa*, which lyeth three hundred miles from thence. And for our comtort in our further travailing we were informed in *Guaxaca*, that in most Towns of the Rode through that country, the *Indians* had an order from the high Justice to give unto Fryers travailing that way either horse to ride on, or to carry their carriages and provision of food freely without money, if they had none, so that at their departure they should write it down in the Town book what they had spent, not abiding above four and twenty houres in the Town; which expences of travailes the *Indians* afterwards at the years end of their ordinary Justice and Officers were to give an account of with carrying their Town book unto the *Spanish* Justice to whom they belonged, and by so doing these expences were allowed of to be discharged by the common Town Purse or Treasure; for the which a common plat of ground was allotted to be yearly sowed with wheat or *Maiz*. With this charitable relief and help of the Townes wee conceived better of the rest of our long journey, and hoped to compasse it with more ease. And so joyfully we went on, and the first place where we made triall of this order was at a great Town called *Antequera*, where we freely called for our fowles and what other provision we saw in the Town, fed heartily on them, and the next day when we were to pay and to depart, we called for the Town book, subscribed our hands to what we had spent our selves and horses, and went our way, praising the discretion of the Justices of that Country, who had settled a course so easie and comfortable for us, especially who had but shallow purses for our long journey. Yet we found in some small Towns that the *Indians* were unwilling, and (as they alleadged) unable to extend this Charity to us, being four in company, and bringing with us the charge likewise of four horses, which made us sometimes make the longer journey that we might reach unto some great and rich Town. The next to *Antiquera* in that Rode is *Nixapa*, which is of at the least eight hundred Inhabitans, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, standing upon the side of a River, which we were informed was an arme of the great River *Alvarado*. In this Town is a very rich Cloister of Dominican Fryers, where we were well entertained; and in it there is a picture of our Lady, which superstitiously they fancy to have wrought miracles, and is made a pilgrimage from far and near, and consequently hath great riches and lampes belonging unto it. This is counted absolutely one of the wealthiest places of all the Country of *Guaxaca*; for here is made much Indigo, Sugar, *Cochinil*; and here grow many trees of *Cacao*, and *Achioite*, whereof is made the *Chocolatte*, and is a commodity of much trading in those parts, though our *English* and *Hollanders* make little of it when they take a prize of it at Sea, as not knowing the secret virtue and quality of it for the good of the stomach. From hence we went to *Aguatulco* and *Capalita*; also great Towns standing upon a plain Country full of Sheep and Cattell, abounding with excellent fruits, especially *Pines* and *Sandia's*, which are as big as Pumpions, and so waterish that they even melt like snow in the mouth, and cool the heat which there is great, by reason it is a low and Marsh kind of ground, lying near the South Sea. The next chief Town and most considerable after *Capalita* is *Tecoantequepete*; this is a Sea Town upon *Mar del Zur*, and a harbour for small vessels, such as Trade from those parts to *Acapulco* and *Mexico*, and to *Realejo* and *Guatemala*, and sometimes to *Panama*. Here upon some occasions Ships which come from *Peru* to *Acapulco* do call in. It is a port no farther safe, then that no *English* or *Holland* Ships do come thereabouts, which if they did, they would there find no resistance, but from thence would find an open and easie Rode over all the Country. Upon all this South Sea side from *Acapulco* to *Panama*, which is above two thousand miles by land there is no open harbour, but this for *Guaxaca*; and *La Trinidad* for *Guatemala*, and *Realejo* for *Nicaragua*, and *Golfo de Salinas* for small vessels in *Costa Rica*, and all these unprovided of Ordinance and Ammunition, all open dores to let in any Nation that would take the pains to surround

the World to get a treasure. This port of *Tecoantepeque* is the chief for fishing in all that Country; we met here in the wayes sometimes with fifty, sometimes with a hundred mules together laden with nothing but salt fish for *Guaxaca*, the City of *Angels* and *Mexico*. There are some very rich Merchants dwell in it, who trade with *Mexico*, *Peru* and *Philippinas*, sending their small vessels out from Port to Fort, which come home richly laden with the Commodities of all the Southerne or Easterne parts. From hence to *Guatemala* there is a plain Rode along the Coast of the South sea, passing through the Provinces of *Soconusco* and *Sachutepeque's* but we aiming at *Chiapa* took our journey over the high Rocks and Mountains called *Quelenes*, travailing first from *Tecoantepeque* to *Estepeque*, and from thence through a desert of two dayes journey, where we were fain to lodge one night by a spring of water upon the bare ground in open wide fields, where neither Town nor house is to be seen; yet thatcht lodges are purposely made for travaillers. This plain lyeth so open to the Sea, that the wind from thence blows so strongly and violently that travaillers are scarce able to sit their horses and mules; which is the reason no people inhabit there, because the windes tear their houses; and the least fire that there breaks out, doth a great deal of mischief. This plain yet is full of Cattell, and Horses and Mares, some wilde, some tame; and through this windy Champaigne Country with much adoe we travailed; though my self thought I should even there end my dayes, for the second day being to reach to a Town, and my three friends riding before, thinking that I followed them, evening now drawing on they made more halt to find the Town. But in the mean while my horse refused to go any further, threatening to lie down if I put him to more then he was able. I knew the Town could not be far, and so I lighted, thinking to walk and lead my horse, who also refused to be led, and so lay down. With this a troop of thoughts beset me, and to none I could give a flat answer. I thought if I should go on foot to find out the Town and my company and leave my horse there saddled, I might both lose my selfe, and my horse and saddle; and if I should find the Town and come in the morning for my horse, the plain was so wide and spacious, that I might seek long enough, and neither find him, nor know the place where I left him, for there was nothing near to mark the place, nor where to hide the saddle, neither hedge, tree, shrub, within a mile on any side. Wherefore I considered my best course would be to take up my lodging in the wide and open wildernesse with my horse, and to watch him lest he should wander and stray away, untill the morning or untill my friends might send from the Town to see what was become of me; which they did not that night, thinking I had taken my way to another Town not far from thence, whither they sent in the morning to enquire for me. I looked about therefore for a commodious place to rest in, but found no choise of lodgings, every where I found a bed ready for me, which was the bare ground; a bolster only or pillow I wanted for my head, and seeing no bank did kindly offer it selfe to ease a lost stranger, and pilgrime, I unsaddled my weary Jade, and with my saddle fitted my head in stead of a pillow. Thus without a supper I went to bed in my Mothers own bosome, not a little comforted to see my tired horse pluck up his spirits, and make much of his supper, which there was ready for him, of short, dry and withered grasse, upon which he fed with a greedy and hungry stomach, promising me by his feeding that the next day he would performe a journey of at least thirty or forty miles. The poor beast fed apace, my carefull eye watched him for at least an hour, when upon a suddain I heard such an hideous noise of howling, barking and crying, as if a whole Army of dogs were come into the wildernesse, and howled for want of a prey of some dead horse or mule. At first the noise seemed to be a pretty way off from me; but the more I hearkened unto it, the nigher it came unto me, and I observed it was not of dogs by some intermixt shriekings as of Christians, which I perceived in it. An observation too sad for a lone man without any help or comfort in a wildernesse, which made my hair to stand upright, my heart to pant, my body to be covered with a fearful sweat as of death. I expected nothing else, not knowing from whence the noise proceeded; sometimes I thought of Witches, sometimes of Devils, sometime of *Indians* turned into the shape of beasts, (which amongst some hath been used) sometimes of wild and savage beasts, and from all these thoughts I promised my self nothing but sure death, for the which I prepared my self recommending my soul to the Lord, whilst I expected my body should be a prey to cruell and mercilesse beasts; or
some

some instruments of that roaring Lion who in the Apostle goeth about seeking whom he may devour. I thought I could not any wayes prevail by flying or running away, but rather might that way run my self into the jaws of death; to hide there was no place, to lie still I thought was safest, for if they were wilde beasts, they might follow their course another way from me, and so I might escape. Which truly proved my safest course, for while I lay sweating and panting, judging every cry, every howling and shrieking as an alarm to my death, being in this agony and fearfull conflict till about midnight, on a suddain the noise ceased, I sleep (though but the shadow of death) seized upon my wearied body, and forsook me not, till the mornings glorious lamp shining before my slumbering eyes and driving away death's shadow greeted me with life and safety. When I awaked, my soul did magnifie the Lord for my deliverance from that nights danger, I looked about and saw my horse also near the place where I had left him, I saddled him presently with desire to leave that wilderness and to find out my company, and to impart unto them what that night had happened unto me; I had not rid above a mile, when I came to a brook of water, where were two wayes, the one straight forward along the desert, where I could discover no Town, nor houses, nor trees in a prospect of five or six miles at least; the other way was on the left hand, and that way some two or three miles off I saw a wood of trees, I imagined there might be the Town; I followed that way, and within a quarter of a mile my horse began to complain of his poor provender the night before, and to slight me for it; I was fain to light and lead him; and thus again discouraged with my horse, and discomfited for the uncertainty of my way, looking about I spied a thatcht house on the one side of the way, and one on horseback, who came riding to me; it was an *Indian* belonging to that house which was the farme of a rich *Indian*, and Governour of the next Town, of whom I asked how far it was to the Town of *Estepeque*, he shewed me the trees, and told me that a little beyond them it stood, and that I should not see it untill I came unto it. With this I got up again and spurred my sullen jade, untill I reached unto the trees, where he was at a stand and would go no further. Then I unsaddled him, and hid my saddle under some low shrubs, and leaving my horse (whom I feared not that any would steal him) I walked unto the Town which was not above halfe a mile from thence, where I found my three friends were waiting for me, and grieved for the losse of me, had sent to another Town to enquire for me; it was the least thought they had that I had been a lodger in the desert. When I related unto them and to the *Indians* the noise and howling that I had heard, the *Indians* answered me that that was common musick to them almost every night, and that they were Wolves and Tigris which they feared not, but did often meet them, and with a stick or hollowing did scare them away, and that they were only ravenous for their Fowles, Colts, Calves or Kids. After a little discourse I returned with an *Indian* to seek my horse and saddle, and in that Town I sold my wearied *Mexican* beast, and hired another to *Ecatepeque* whither we went all four friends again in company. Where note that in this plain and champaign country of *Tecoantepeque* are five rich and pleasant Townes full of fruits and provision of victuall, all ending in *Tepeque*, to wit, *Tecoantepeque*, *Estepeque*, *Ecatepeque*, *Sanatepeque*, and *Tapanatepeque*. Now from *Ecatepeque* we could discover the high mountains of *Quelencs*, which were the subject of most of our discourse to *Sanatepeque*, and from thence to *Tapanatepeque*. For we had been informed by *Spaniards* and *Travailers* in the way, that they were the most dangerous mountains to travail over that were in all those parts; and that there were on the top of them some passages so narrow, and so high, and so open to the boisterous winds that came from the South-sea, which seemed to lie at the very bottom of them; and on each side of these narrow passages such deep precipices amongst rocks, that many times it had happened, that the wind blowing furiously had cast down Mules laden with heavy carriages down the rockes, and likewise Horse-men had been blown down both Horse and man. The sight of the rocks and mountains did terrifie us, and the report of them did much affright us, so that in all this way we did confer which way to take, whether the rode way to *Guatemala* which lieth under those mountains along the coast by the Country of *Socozuco*, from whence (though out of our way) we might have turned to *Chiapa*, or whether we should steer our right course to *Chiapa* over those mountains, which we had been informed, we might safely passe over if the winds did not blow too boisterously. We resolved that when we came to *Tapanatepeque* we would choose our way according as

the winds did favour or threaten us, but however to *Chiapa* we would go, because there we had understood was the Superiour and Provincial of all the Dominions of those parts, (to whom we ought to adresse our selves) and also because we would see that famous and much talked of Province of *Chiapa*. In *Sanatepeque* we met with a Fryer who gave us stately entertainment, and from thence gave us *Indians* to guide us to *Tapanatepeque*, and a letter to the chief of the Town (which also was at his command) to give us Mules to carry us, and *Indians* to guide us up the mountains. Here the rest of our Horses also failed us, but their weariness was no hinderance to us, for the *Indians* were willing to give us as much or more then they had cost us, because they were true *Mexican* breed; and all the way we went to *Chiapa* and through that country to *Guatemala* the Towns were to provide us of Mules for nothing. We came to *Tapanatepeque* (which standeth at the bottome and foot of *Queleues*) on Saturday night, and with the letter we carryed were very much welcomed and entertained well by the *Indians*.

This Town is one of the sweetest and pleasantest of any we had seen from *Guaxaca* thither, and it seems God hath replenished it with all sorts of comforts which Travailers may need to ascend up those dangerous and steepy rocks. Here is great plenty of cattell for flesh, and rich *Indians* which have farms, called there *Estantias*, in some a thousand, in some three or four thousand head of cattell; fowles here are in abundance, fish the best store and choicest of any Town from *Mexico* thither; for the Sea is hard by it, and besides there runneth by it a small river which yeelds divers sorts of fish. From the mountains there fall so many springs of water, that with them the *Indians* water at their pleasure their gardens which are stored with much herbage and fallets. The shade which defends from the heat (which there is great) is the daughter of most sweet and goodly fruit trees, and of Orange, Lemmon, Citron and Fig leaves. The Sabbath morning was so calme that we desired to make use of it, lest by longer delays the winds should stay us, or force us to the coast of *Soconusco*. But the *Indians* intreated us to be their guesse at dinner, not doubting but the weather would hold, and promising us to provide us strong and lusty Mules, and provision of fruits, and fried fish, or fowles, or what our selves desired. We could not refuse this their kind offer, and so stayed dinner with them. After dinner our Mules were brought, and two *Indians* to guide us and carry our provision, which was some fried fish, and a cold roasted Capon, with some fruit as much as might suffice us for a day, for the chief ascent and danger is not above seven leagues, or one and twenty *English* miles; and then beyond the top of the mountains three miles is one of the richest farms for Horses, Mules, and Cattell, in all the Country of *Chiapa*, where we knew we should be welcomed by one *Don John de Toledo*, who then lived there. Though these mountains shew themselves with severall sharpe pointed heads, and are many joyned together, yet one of them is only mentioned in that Country by the travailers, which is called *Maquilapa*, over the which lyeth the way to *Chiapa*. To this high, steepy, and craggy *Maquilapa* we took our journey after dinner, and were by the proud mountaine that night well entertained, and harboured in a green plat of ground resembling a meadow, which lay as a rib of the one side of that huge and more then *Pyrenian* monster. The *Indians* comforted us with the shews of fair weather, and told us that they doubted not but the next day at noon we should be at *Don John de Toledo* his *Estancia*, or farme. With this we spread our supper upon the green table-cloth, and at that first meal eat up our Capon and most of the provision of our cold fried fish, leaving only a bit for our mornings breakfast, the springs of water like Conduit-pipes, trickling down the rocks, gave us melodious musick to our supper; the *Indians* fed merrily, and our Mules contentedly, and so the fountain Nymphes sung us asleep till morning, which seemed to us as calme and quiet as the day before, and encouraged us hastily to snatch that bit which we had left and so up from breakfast, to say merrily, up to *Maquilapa*. We had not winded the mountain upwards much above a mile, when the higher we mounted, the more we heard the wind from above whistling unto us, and forbidding us to go any further. We were now half way up, and doubtfull what we should do, whether go forward, or return to *Tapanatepeque* to eat more fish, or to stay where we were a while untill the weather were more calme, which we thought might be at noon or towards evening. The *Indians* told us that about a mile further there was a fountain of water, and a lodge made under trees on purpose for Travailers that
were

were either benighted or hindred by the winds to compasse their journey up the mountain. Thither we went with much adoe, hoping the wind would fall; but still the higher we climed, the stronger we felt the breath of *Aeolus*, and durst not like the people called *Pfilli* (of whom *Herodotus* writeth) march against him, lest as they in stead of a victory found a grave in the sands where they met to oppose him, so we in stead of ascending should by a furious blast be made to descend into those deep and horrid precipices, which truly threatned death, and offered themselves to be a grave unto our torn and mangled bodies. We liked the fountain very well, and the lodge better for the harbour of trees which compassed it about. The winde kept on breaching, and we stood still fearing, till the day was so far spent that we had no hopes of going back, or forward. Of any supper we despaired that night, who would have been glad now to have picked a bone of a Capons leg, or to have sucked a fishes head, and law there was nothing for us, but only to feed our hungry stomachs with the remembrance of the plenty the night before. Thus gazing one upon another, and sometimes looking down to the fountain, sometimes looking up to the trees, we perceived amongst them a Lemmon tree, full of small and very sower green Lemmons. It was not with us as with *Tantalus* who could neither enjoy the fruit above him, nor the waters beneath him; we could and did most greedily catch and snatch the Lemmons, which were sawce for no meat, but only to fill an empty stomach; with them we supped and took our rest. The next morning the wind was rather stronger then calmer; and we as strong the second day as the first in our purpose of staying there, and not turning our backs like Cowards. The *Indians* were also willing to stay yet one day longer; so we fell to our breakfast of Lemmons which were somewhat cool to a fasting stomach, and relished nothing the better with a draught from the clear fountain. And of what we left on the tree we made our dinner and supper, adding to our water what we saw the *Indians* did drink, who had their small bags full of powder of their Maiz, of which first making cakes as dry as bisket they then grind them to powder, and when they travaile, carry with them that powder to drink with water. This we thought might be more nourishing to us, then Lemmons and water only; and so for that day we bought of them half a bagfull of powder giving for it in our want and necessity four rials, or two *English* shillings, which out of *Maquilapa* and that our fear of starving might not be worth above a penny; and yet this was but weak nourishment for our feeble bodies. Thus we waited all Tuesday for the laying of the wind, resolving the next morning either to go up the hill, or down again to *Tapana-tepeque*. But on Wednesday morning the wind seeming to be somewhat laid, we purposed to stay till noon hoping then it would be sure travailling; but it ceased not but rather increased a little; whereupon one of our company resolved to go upwards a mile or two on foot; and trie the passages; and the danger of the wind and to bring us word again; for we thought our fear might be greater then the danger, who had heard much talke, but had not as yet seen any thing worth our fear. Up therefore went our friend, who staid from us near two houres, and then returning back he told us he thought we might get up leading our Mules by the bridles. But what with further questions and debates the time passed away; so that we thought it might be too late; and for that day we put off our journey untill the next morning, resolutely purposing to go forwards altogether if the wind were not much increased. So that day we fell again to our green crabby Lemmons, water and Maiz powder; all which we found had much weakned our bodies and feared if we continued there any longer they might hasten our death. Wherefore on Thursday morning (the wind being as the day before) commending our selves first unto the protection of that Lord whom the winds and sea obey, we mounted up upon our Mules (leaving our names written in the bark of a great tree, and the dayes we stayed there without food) and so went upward. We perceived no great danger in the wind a great while, but some steps and passages upon stony rocks we feared for the narrowness of them, and there we lighted, thinking our selves safer upon our own two feet, then upon the four feet of a beast. But when we came up to the very top of *Maquilapa* (which signifies in that tongue, A head without hair) we perceived truly the danger so much talked of; and wished our selves again with our green Lemmons in the way to *Tapana-tepeque*, for we found it indeed a head without hair, a top without a tree or branch to shelter a fearfull Traveller; the passage that lieth open to the sea may be no more then a quarter of a mile, but the height and narrowness of it stupefieth, for if we look on the

the one side, there is the wide and spacious South sea lying so deep and low under it, that it dazzleth the eyes to behold it; if we look on the other side, there are rockes of at least six or seven miles depth; whose sight doth make the stoutest and hardest heart (though like themselves) to quake and quiver; so that here the sea expects to swallow, there the rocks threaten to tear with a downfall, and in the midst of those dangers in some places the passage is not above an ell broad. We needed better cordials for that quarter of a mile then feeding three dayes upon green Lemmons and water, and durst not man our selves so much as to go through it upon our Mules; we lighted, and gave the *Indians* our Mules to lead, and we followed them one by one not daring to walk upright for fear of head giddinesse with looking on either side, but bowing our bodies we crept upon our hands and feet as near unto the trackes which beasts and Travailers had made as we could without hindering our going. And when we had got to the end of that passage, and where the mountain was broader, and the trees promised relief, we then looked back boldly, and accused of folly both our selves and all other Travailers that sought no other way though ten miles about, to avoid that danger both for man and beast. From thence joyfully we made hast to *Don John de Toledo*, who made us welcome and gave us some warme broath to comfort our stomachs, which were so weak that no sooner had we eat any thing, but presently we cast it up again; till after many sups of broath and wine we recovered strength towards night, and eat our suppers; there we stayed two dayes; and thus thoroughly refreshed we went to *Acapala* a very great Town of *Indians* in the Province of *Chiapa*, standing by the same river that passeth by *Chiapa*, which is called *Chiapa de Indios*, or *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, to distinguish it from another *Chiapa*, called *Chiapa Real* the *Royal Chiapa*, or *Chiapa de Espanoles*, *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*. From *Acapala* we went first to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, which standeth almost as low as *Maquilapa* is high, seated upon a river as broad as is the *Thames* at *London*, which hath its spring from the mountains called *Cuchumatlanes*, in the roade from *Chiapa Real* to *Guatemala*, and runnes towards the Province of *Zoques*, where it entreteth into the river of *Tabasco*. But of this *Chiapa* I will speak a little more in the next Chapter, and now only say that here we were joyfully entertained by those Fryers, who looked upon us as members belonging to the Corporation of that their Province, and assured us that the Provincially and chief Superiour would be very glad of our coming, who wanted *Spanish* Fryers to oppose the *Criolians* and *Natives* who strived to get a head as they had done in *Mexico* and *Guanaxaca*. Here we understood that the Provincially was not above one dayes journey from thence. Here also we met with our friend *Peter Borallo*, who had come before us alone, and made his escape from *Mexico*; he comforted us much with the good and kind usage which he had found there; yet he told us how *Calvo* was gone with the rest of his train from *Mexico* to *Acapulco*, and from thence was shipped with them to *Philippinas*; but that at his departure he had writ a letter of bitter complaints unto the Superiour of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala* against him and us four, desiring the Provincially not to entertain us, but to send us back to *Mexico*, to be shipped from thence the next year unto *Philippinas*; which letter was not regarded, but much slighted by the Provincially. After we had been a week feasted in *Chiapa*, we thought it now fit to present our selves to the Provincially (whose name was Fryer *Peter Alvarez*) that from him we might receive judgement, and know whether we should stay in that Province, or be forced to return to *Spain*, for in no other part of *America* we could be entertained. We found the Provincially in a little Town called *St. Christopher*, between *Chiapa* of the *Indians* and the *Royal Chiapa*, recreating himself in the shady walkes, which are many sweet and pleasant in that small Town; where also there is store of fish, and great abundance of rare and exquisite fruits. He entertained us very lovingly with faire and comfortable words, with a stately dinner and supper, and before we went to bed, to shew his humility he did unto us what *Christ* to his *Disciples*, he washed our feet. The first day he said little or nothing unto us concerning our continuing in that Country; but the next day he discovered unto us his full resolutions, with many wise and cunning sophismes. For first he read unto us the letter which *Calvo* had writ unto him against us, glossing upon it how ill we had done in forsaking our first love and calling to *Philippinas*, and the danger many *Indian* souls might be in by reason of our not going thither to convert and instruct them, whose gifts and abilities he supposed might have been more profitable and comfortable to those souls, then those who in our stead and absence should be sent amongst them

them. And secondly, he told us how he had frustrated the King of *Spain's* good hopes of us who had allowed us means and maintenance from *Spain* to *Mexico*, hoping that by us many souls of *Indians* in *Philippinas* might be saved. Thirdly, he told us that he looked upon us as his prisoners, in whose power it was to imprison us, and to send us prisoners to *Mexico* to the Viceroy, to be shipped from thence to *Manila*, according to *Calvo's* demand. But for the present he would not let us know what he meant to do with us; Only he bad us not to be discouraged, but to be merry and recreate our selves, and that after dinner we should know more from him, when he had received an answer to a Letter which he had writ unto the City of *Chiapa* concerning the disposall of our persons. These reasonings of the grave and old Provinciall did not a little sad our hearts; for the losse of soules, the King of *Spain's* intentions and charity charged upon us, and imprisonment spoke of by the by, were words which seemed of a very high strain, and so could hardly be digested by us; this mornings breakfast had quite taken away from us our stomach to our dinner. And thus we departed from the presence of the venerable Fryer *Peter Alvarez*, and betook our selves to a shady walke under Orange trees belonging to the house where this Superiour was. In this shade we conferred with our selves upon the words of *Alvarez*, and finding them of so high a nature, as involving soules, a King and imprisonment, we thought verily we should be sent back to *Mexico*, and from thence like fugitive slaves be forced to *Philippinas*. Here my hopes of ever more seeing *England* were lost; *Antonio Melendez* his heart panted, wished himself again upon the highest top of *Maquilapa*; another wished himself with old *Calvo* at Sea sailing to *Manila*, though it were but to help him scrape his rusty Gammons of Bacon.

The motion was made to make an escape from *Alvarez*; as we had done from *Calvo*; but to this answer was made, that whither so ever we went, not knowing the Country, we should be discovered; and that put case the worst, we should be sent to *Mexico*, we might better escape in the way, then there where we were. At last I told the rest, that I could conceive no hard nor harsh usage from that smiling and loving countenance of the Provinciall, nor after that his low and humble act of washing our feet the night before; and that I thought verily he wished us well for having come so far to offer our selves for fellow labourers in that harvest of soules belonging to his charge, and whom we knew wanted such as we were newly come from *Spain* to oppose the Criolians or Natives faction in that Province; alleadging furthermore the example of our friend and companion *Peter Berallo*, whom he had already incorporated into that Province, and could do no lesse with us without partiality and acceptance of persons. And lastly, my opinion was, that in case we ought not to be entertained there, yet the Provinciall would not send us back to *Mexico*, there to be disgraced and affronted, but would give way unto us to return to *Spain*, or whither else we would, with some relief and mony in our purses. Whilst we were thus troubled, and in this sad and serious discourse, old *Alvarez* it seems had been eying of us from his window, and as *Joseph* could not long suppress and keep in the expressions of a loving and tender heart unto his brethren; so this good Superior perceiving that we were troubled with what he had said unto us, sent his companion unto us to comfort us; which we easily perceived by his discourse when he came unto us. For as soon as he came he asked us why we were so sad and melancholy? he told us, the Provinciall also had observed that we were troubled. But, said he, be of good cheer; be confident that the Provinciall wisheth you very well, and needeth such as you are, and having come into his Dominion to thrust your selves upon his mercy, by harsh and unkind usage he will not do what Martiall Law forbids a hard hearted Souldier to do unto his enemy upon such termes. Many such comfortable words did he speak unto us; and told us further that the Provinciall had been much censured by the Criolian party for entertaining of *Peter Berallo*; and that now they would stir worse seeing four more come to weaken their faction; and therefore he desired to be well advised concerning us, and to carry our businesse with such discretion, as might give little offence to those who were apt to judge and censure the best of all his actions. And finally he did assure us, that we should never be sent back as prisoners to *Mexico* by the Provinciall, who in case he could not entertain us in *Chiapa*, or *Guatemala*, would further us with all his favour, and friends, and mony in our purses to return again to *Spain*. These reasons were heart fainting Cordials unto us; and stomach preparatives to a
good

good dinner, to which by the sound of a bell we were invited. When we came in, the loving, smiling, and fatherly countenance of the good Provinciall did cheer us more than all the cheer that waited for us upon the table in severall dishes, all which were seasoned to our Palates with the sauce of the comfort, which the Provincials messenger had brought unto us in the shady Orange walke in the garden. The great provision of fish and flesh, with fruits and sweet meats were yet to us a strong argument that we were very welcome; for what we fed on that day, might well become a Noble mans Table; Besides in many passages of our discourse we perceived that good old *Alvarez* his heart was over-joyed with our coming to him. Dinner being ended the Provinciall desired to play a game at Tables with us round about, saying he would not win our money, because he judged us poor after so long a journey. But thus he setled the game and sport; that if he did win, we should pay for him five *Pater Nosters*, and five *Ave Marias*; but if we won, we should win our admittance, and Incorporation into that Province. This sport pleased us well, for our winnings we judged would be to us more profitable at that time, then to win pounds, and our losings we valued not; besides we were confident all went well with us, when from the favour of the Dice, we might challenge that favour which with many weary journeys we had come to seek above four hundred miles. The sport began, and we young blades taking one by one our turns, were too hard for the old man, who as we perceived would willingly be the loser, that his very losses might speak unto us what through policy and discretion he would not utter with words. Yet we boldly challenged our winnings, which as soon as we had ended our game were now surely confirmed unto us by the return of an *Indian* messenger, who that morning had been sent to the City of *Chiapa* for advice and counsell from the Prior and the chief of the Cloister concerning our disposall, and now was returned with an answer from the Prior, who in his letter expressed great joy unto the Provinciall for our coming, and so from the rest of the Seniors of the Cloister, and did earnestly beg of the Superiour, that he would send us to him to be his guests, for that our case had been his own some ten years before, for he had also at *Mexico* forsaken his company to *Philippinas*, and fled to *Guatemala*, where for his learning and good parts he had been as a stranger much envied by the Criolian faction; but now he hoped he should have some to side with him against such as spighted and malignd him. Old *Alvarez* was much taken with his letter, and told us he must pay what he had lost, and that the next day he would send us to *Chiapa*, there to abide untill he took further care of us, to send us to other parts of the Country, to learn the *Indian* languages, that we might preach unto them. This discourse being ended we betook our selves again to the Garden which smelled more of comfort then before dinner, and to our shady walks which now offered us a safer protection then they had done in the forenoon, countenancing that protection which we had gained from the Provinciall.

Here we began to praise God, who had looked upon us in our low estate, not forgetting the wise and politick Provinciall, who though he had lost his games for our comfort, we would not he should lose our prayers, which there we offered up to God for his health and safety. And so till supper time we continued our discourse in the Garden full of mirth and pleasant jests, then we had done before dinner, snatching now and then at the Oranges and Lemmons which were there both sowre and sweet, eating of some, and casting some one at another, but especially at him who had wished himself with *Calvo* dressing his rusty Bacon, whom we strived to beat out of the garden by force of Orange and Lemmon bullets; which sport we continued the more willingly, because we perceived the good Provinciall stood behind a Lattice in a Balcony beholding us, and rejoycing to see our hearts so light and merry. We had no sooner beat *Calvo* his friend out of the garden, when the bell to supper sounded a retreat to us all, and called us again to meet our best friend *Alvarez*, who had furnished us a Table again like that at noon. After supper he told us that the next morning he would send us to *Chiapa*, for that the Prior had writ unto him he would meet us in the way with a Breakfast at a Town called *St. Philip*; wherewith we conceited very highly of our selves to see that Provincials and Priors were so forward to feast us. Yet before we went to bed, the Provinciall would try again a game at Tables with every one of us; to see if now he could beat us that had been too hard for him at noon. The matter of our game was now altered, and what we played for was this; if the Provinciall

vinciall wun, we were to be his prisoners, (which mystery we understood not till the next day, for the old man was crafty and Politick, and knew he could win of us when he list, for he was an excellent gamester at Tables) but if we wun of him, he was to give us a box of *Chocolatte*, which was a drink we liked very well. The Game went on, and we every one of us one by one were losers, yet understood not how we should be his prisoners, but slighted our losses. Yet for all this the merry Provinciall told us, he was sory we had lost, and wished we might never be prisoners to a worse enemy than he; and that we should perceive it, he would comfort us each one as a prisoner with a box of *Chocolatte*, to drink for his sake, and to comfort our hearts, when most we should find them discomfited for our losses. We understood not his meaning till the next day at noon, but though it was a jest and a word of sport and mirth, like many such which in his discourse had come from him.

With this we took our leaves, and went to bed with light and merry hearts. In the morning two Mules of the Provinciall and two of his Companion were saddled for us, and at least a dozen *Indians* on horse back waited for us to conduct us up a steep hill and through woods to the Town of *St. Philip*. After our breakfast the good Provinciall embraced us, and bid us farewell, desiring us to pray for him; and not to be discouraged by any thing that might befall us, assuring us he wished us very well, and would do what lay in his power for our good; yet so, that he must use policy and discretion to stop the mouths of the *Criolians*, whom he knew hated both him and us. Thus we departed with Waits and Trumpets sounding before us, which rebounded an Echo all the way up the hill from us to old *Alvarez* whom we had left in a low bottom compassed about with hills on every side. We had no sooner ascended up to the top of the Mountain, when we discovered a little Valley, and in it the City of *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*; with two or three small Villages, of which one was *St. Philip* at the bottom of the Mountain, which we were to ascend. The Trumpets which still went sounding before us were a sufficient and loud Alarme to *St. Philips* Inhabitants of our coming, and a warning for the speedyer hastening of our second breakfast; for the which the cold morning aire (which we found somewhat piercing upon the Mountain) had whetted and through prepared our stomachs. We had not got down the Mountain half a mile, when we met with a matter of twenty gallant *Indians* on horseback with their trumpeters sounding before them, and behind them came upon a stately Mule the Prior of *Chiapa*, (whose name was Father *John Baptist*) a merry fat Fryer, who calling us his brethren fugitives from *Philippinas*, told us we were welcome to that country, and to him especially, and that in the next *St. Philip* he would shew us better sport than any *St. Philip* in all the *Philippinas* Islands could have showed us, if we had gone thither. Thus with a pleasant discourse, and many merry conceits from the good Prior we soon came down the hill, where the whole Village of *St. Philip* waited for us both men and women, some presenting unto us nosegaies, others hurling Roses and others flowers in our faces, others dancing before us all along the street, which was strowed with herbs and Orange leaves, and adorned with many Arches made with flowers and hung with garlands for us to ride under until we came to the Church, where for half an hour we were welcomed with the best musick from the City of *Chiapa*, which the Prior had hired to come with him to entertain us. Our Musick being ended, fat Father *John Baptist* stood up and made a short speech unto the *Indians*, giving them thanks for their kind and pompous entertainment of us his speciall friends, and that their souls might gain by it, he granted unto them a plenary indulgence of all their sins past to be gained by as many of them as should visit that Church the next Lords day either before or afternoon. And thus from the Altar we went unto our breakfasting Table, which was furnished with many well seasoned dishes of salt and well peppered and spiced meats, all fit to make us relish better a cup of *Spanish Pier Ximery* which the Prior had provided for us. After our salt meats, came such rare and exquisite sorts of sweet meats made by *John Baptist* his best devoted Nuns of *Chiapa*, that the like we had not seen from *St. John de Ulbua* to that place. These were to prepare our stomachs for a Cup of *Chocolatte*, with the which we ended our breakfast. But whilst all this was gallantly performed by the Prior, it was a hard Riddle unto us, what he often repeated unto us, saying, Brethren break your fast well, for your dinner will be the meanest as ever ye did eat in your lives, and now enjoy
this

this sweet liberty which will not last long unto you. We observed the words, but knew not what to make of them, till we came unto the Cloister. After our breakfast the *Indians* shewed us a little sport in the market place, running races on horse-back, and playing at *Juego de Canas*; which is to meet on horse-back, with broad Targets to defend their heads and shoulders, while passing by they hurl Canes, or darts one at another, which those *Indians* acted with great dexterity.

Thus the good Prior of *Chiapa* feasted us, and permitted us to enjoy our liberty as long as it seems it had been agreed upon by letters between him and the Provincially, which was till it might be dinner time in the Cloister of *Chiapa*, where we were to be before noon. The time drew near, and we had from St. *Philip* to the City of *Chiapa* some two *English* miles to ride; Wherefore the Prior commanded our Mules to be brought; the waits and trumpets gave warning to the Town of our departure; and so with many horsemen, with dances, Musick and ringing of Bells, we were as stately and joyfully conducted out of the Town, as we had been inducted into it. At the first half miles end the Prior gave thanks unto the *Indians*, and desired them to return, the Cloister being near where we expected another kind of entertainment, not using in the City and cloister that pomp and state, which in the Country might be allowed. The *Indians* took their leaves of us; and on we went with only two as guides before us. Within half a mile of the City, the Prior and a companion of his stopped, and took out of his pocket an order from the Provincially, which he read unto us, to this effect, That whereas we had forsaken our lawful Superiour *Calvo* in the way to *Philippinas*, and without his licence had come unto the Province of *Chiapa*, he could not in conscience but inflict some punishment upon us before he did enable us to abide there as members under him; therefore he did strictly command the Prior of *Chiapa*, that as soon as we should enter into his Cloister, he should shut us up two by two in our chambers, as in prisons, for three dayes, not suffering us to go out to any place, save only to the publick place of refection (called Refectory) where all the Fryers met together to dine and sup, where at noon time we were to present our selves before all the Cloister sitting upon the bare ground, and there to receive no other dinner, but only bread and water; but at supper we might have in our chambers or prisons, what the Prior would be pleased to allow us. This was the Penance enjoyned upon us by the wise and cunning Provincially. This newes at the first was but fowre sawce, or a dry Postpast after a double sumptuous breakfast; it was a dolefull ditty to us after our Musick and dances, to hear of a treble fast after our feast; to hear of imprisonment after so great liberty. We now began to remember the Provincials winnings at Tables the night before, and the mystery thereof, and began to thinke how comfortable his boxes of *Chocolatte* would be unto us after a meale of bread and water. Now we called to minde the short dinner the Prior had told us at St. *Philips* we were like to have that day, and of the liberty he had us then make much of. But the good Prior seeing us sad upon a suddain, and our countenances changed, smiled upon us, wishing us not to thinke the worse of him, nor of the Provincially, who did that out of Policy, and to stop the Criolians mouths, whom he knew would murmur, if no punishment were inflicted upon us. He assured us, after our imprisonment, of honours and preferments, and that as long as we were with him, we should want no incouragement; and that after a bread and water dinner he could send us to our chambers a supper, that should strongly support our empty stomachs, and sur and line them well for the next four and twenty hours. With these incouragements on we went to the Cloister of *Chiapa*, where we were welcomed by most of the Fryers, but in some few we noted a frowning and disaffected countenance. We were no sooner conducted to our Chambers, when the bell sounded to dinner for the rest, and cryed aloud to us Penance with bread and water. Down we went to the common dining place, and thanks being given, the Fryers sitting round the tables, we four *Philippinian* *Jonahs* (so some Criolians were pleased to term us) betook our selves to the middle of the Refectory, where without cushions, stooles, seats or formes, we sat upon the bare ground crosse legged like tailors, acting humility now for our disobedience to slovenly *Calvo*. While the first dish was presented round the tables, to each of us was presented a loaf of reasonable bignesse, and a pot of pure Crystall water, whereof we fed and dranke most heartily though with full stomachs from a double breakfast before. Yet even here in this publick Act of shame and disgrace (which we knew was usuall among Fryers for lesse faults then ours) we had this comfort, that we had

a Prior and Provinciall for friends, and that that punishment came from a friendly hand, whose Chocolate we had to comfort our tasting bodies; and secondly, we knew that we should have that night in our prison chambers a better supper then any of those before us, who fed upon their three or four dishes. But thirdly, it was our comfort that at that very time a Criolian Fryer also sat upon the ground with us (of whose company we had been informed by some friends before we went into the refectory) for some love-letters which had been intercepted between him and a Nun of that City, tending to much uncivility, and breaking their oath of professed chastity. But when I perceived this Frier to look discontentedly upon us, I chose my place as near unto him as I could, and hearing him mutter within himself against us, calling us disobedient *Philippinian Jonahs*, I softly and friendly spoke unto him with these two following Hexameters, which suddainly came unto my mind about his misdemeanour,

*Si Monialis Amor te turpia scribere fecit,
Ecce tibi frigida præbent medicamina lymphæ.*

But my good neighbour snuffing and puffing at my suddain muse, seemed to be more discontented then before, and would fain withdraw himself by degrees from me, not rising up (for that was not lawfull to do till dinner had been ended) but wrigling his elbowes and shoulders scornfully from me, whom in like manner I followed; cleaving friendly to him with this verse,

Solamen misero est socios retinere Panettes,

He thought I followed him to steal away his loaf from him. This new found word, *Panettes*, had almost choaked him, had he not made use of the medicinall water which stood before him; of the which he dranke a good draught, whereby I perceived his courage against me and my friends was tamed, and I told him, I hoped his burning wanton love was cooled.

Thus with my Criolian neighbours company my bread and water went down cheerfully; and dinner being ended, we were again conducted to our chambers, where we dranke a cup of old *Alvarez* his *Chocolate*. The *Castilian* Fryers stocked unto our prisons, some to talke with us, some bringing us conserves and sweet-meats, others other dainties, which they had prepared to help our digestion of bread and cold water. My suddain verses to my Criolian neighbour were presently noyted about the Cloister, and were the chief subject of our talke that afternoon. Our supper was provided for us according to the promise and generous spirit of the Prior, who also honoured our prison that night with his own and two other Fryers company, supping with us all in one chamber together. And thus we passed our three dayes of imprisonment merrily and contentedly, wishing we might never suffer harder usage in any prison then we had done in this, which was not to us such a punishment as did bring with it the privation of any liberty of enjoying the company of friends, of feasting with them, but only the privation of the liberty of our legs to walke about those three daies; and this rather an ease then a punishment, for that we wanted rather rest, then much stirring after so long and tedious a journey as we had compassed from *Mexico* thither. We were no sooner set at liberty, but we presently found the Provinciall and Prior ready to dispose of us so, that in lieu of our imprisonment we might receive honour and credit. Two were sent into the Country to learn some *Indian* language, that so they might be benefited and preach unto the *Indians*. My self and another desired to goe farther to *Guatemala*, that there we might practise Philosophy and Divinity in the famous University of that City. Nothing that we desired was denied unto us, only the time was thought not fit untill *Michaelmas*, because then the schooles were renewed, and new Orders setled. In the mean time the Provinciall having also heard of my verses *ex tempore* to the Criolian Fryer, and knowing that the *Latine* tongue is better grounded in *England* then among the *Spaniards* (who abuse poor *Priscian* and daily break his pate with foolish solæcismes) and considering the want he had of a Master of the *Latine* tongue to supply a Lecture of Grammar and Syntax to the youthes of *Chiapa* in a Schoole in that Cloister; which brought a sufficient yearly stipend unto the Covent, desired me to accept of that place untill such time as he should take care to send me to *Guatemala*, promising me all encouragements in the mean time fitting, and that I should when I would go about to see the Country (which I much desired) and also that out of the schoole annuity I should have my allowance for books

and other necessaries. I could not but accept of this good offer; and so with this employment I remained in that City from *April* to the end of *September*, where I was much esteemed of by the Bishop and Governour, but especially by the Prior, who would never ride about the Country for his recreation, but he would take me with him, whereby I had occasion to note concerning the Province, riches, commodities, and government of *Chiapa*, what in the ensuing Chapter I shall faithfully commend unto the Presse.

C H A P. XV.

Describing the Country of Chiapa, with the chiefest Towns and Commodities belonging unto it.

Though *Chiapa* in the opinion of the *Spaniards* be held to be one of the poorest Countries of *America*; because in it as yet there have been no mines discovered, nor golden sands found in the rivers, nor any haven upon the South sea, whereby commodities are brought in and carried out, as to *Mexico*, *Guaxaca*, and *Guatemala*; yet I may say it exceedeth most Provinces in the greatnesse and beauty of fair Towns, and yeeldeth to none except it be to *Guatemala*; nay it surpasseth all the rest of *America* in that one, and famous and most populous Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*. And it ought not to be so much slighted by the *Spaniards* as it is, if they would look upon it as standing between *Mexico* and *Guatemala*, whose strength might be all *Americas* strength, and whose weaknesse may prove dangerous to all that flourishing Empire, for the easy entrance into it by the river of *Tabasco*, or for its near joyning and bordering unto *Jucatan*. Besides, the commodities in it are such as do uphold a constant trading and commerce amongst the inhabitants themselves, and with other neighbouring Countries, and from no one part of *America* doth *Spain* get more *Cochinil* then from one of the Provinces of *Chiapa*; the Towns also being great and populous, by their yearly pole tribute do add much to the King of *Spains* revenues.

This Country is divided into three Provinces, to wit, *Chiapa*, *Zeldales*, and *Zoques*; whereof *Chiapa* it self is the poorest. This contains the great Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Towns and farms Northward towards *Maquilapa*, and Westward the Priory of *Comitlan*, which hath some ten Towns, and many farms of Cattle, Horses, and Mules subject unto it; and neighbouring unto it lyeth the great valley of *Capanabastla*, which is another Priory reaching towards *Socónuzco*. This valley glorieth in the great river, which hath its spring from the mountains called *Cuchumatlanes*, and runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and from thence to *Tabasco*. It is also famous for the abundance of fish which the river yeeldeth, and the great store of Cattell which from thence minister food and provision both to the City of *Chiapa*, and to all the adjacent Towns. Though *Chiapa* the City, and *Comitlan* as standing upon the hills, be exceeding cold, yet this valley lying low is extraordinary hot, and from *May* to *Michaelmas* is subject to great stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning. The head Town where the Priory stands, is called *Copanabastla*, consisting of above eight hundred *Indian* inhabitants. But greater then this is *Izquintenango* at the end of the valley and at the foot of the mountains of *Cuchumatlanes* Southward. And yet bigger then this is the Town of *St. Bartholomew* Northward at the other end of the valley, which in length is about forty miles, and ten or twelve only in breadth. All the rest of the Towns lie toward *Socónuzco*, and are yet hotter and more subject to thunder and lightning, as drawing nearer unto the South sea coast. Besides the abundance of Cattell, the chief commodity of this valley consisteth in Cotton-wooll, whereof are made such store of mantles for the *Indians* wearing, that the Merchants far and near come for them. They exchange them to *Socónuzco* and *Xuchutepeques* for *Cacao*, whereby they are well stored of that drink. So that the inhabitants want neither fish (which they have from the river) nor flesh (for that the valley abounds with Cattell) nor clothing (for of that they spare to others) nor bread, though not of wheat, for there growes none; but *Indian* Maiz they have plenty of; and besides they are exceedingly stored with fowles and Turkeys, fruits, Hony, Tobacco and Sugar canes.

canes. Neither is money here nor in *Chiapa* so plentiful as in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca*; and whereas there they reckon by *Patacones*, or pieces of eight; here they reckon by *Tostones* which are but half *Patacones*. Though the river be many ways profitable to that valley, yet it is cause of many dyasters to the inhabitants; who lose many times their children, and their Calves and Colts drawing neare to the water-side, where they are devoured by *Caymanes*; which are many and greedy of flesh, by reason of the many prizes they have got. The City of *Chiapa Real*, is one of the meanest Cities in all *America*, consisting of not above four hundred householders *Spaniards*; and about an hundred houses of *Indians* joyning to the City, and called *el barrio de los Indios*, who have a Chappell by themselves. In this City there is no Parish Church, but only the Cathedral, which is mother to all the inhabitants. Besides, there are two Cloisters, one of *Dominicans*, and the other of *Franciscans*, and a poor Cloister of *Nuns*, which are burdensome enough to that City. But the *Jesuites* having got no footing there (who commonly live in the richest and wealthiest places and Cities) is a sufficient argument of either the poverty of that City, or of want of gallant parts; and prodigality in the gentry, from whose free and generous spirits they like *Horse-leeches* are still sucking extraordinary and great almes for the Colledges where they live; but here the Merchants are close handed, and the Gentlemen hard, and sparing, wanting of wit and Courtiers parts and bravery, and so poor *Chiapa* is held no fit place for *Jesuites*. The Merchants chief trading there is in *Cacao*, Cotton-wooll from the adjacent parts of the Country, in Pedlers small wares, and in some Sugar from about *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, in a little *Cochinill*; for commonly the Governour (whose chief gain consisteth in this) will not suffer them to be too free in this commodity, lest they hinder his greedy traffique. These have their shops all together in a little Market-place before the Cathedral Church, built with walkes and Porches under which the poor *Indian* wives meet at five a clock at evening to sell what flap and drugges they can prepare most cheap for the empty *Criolian* stomachs. The richer sort of these Merchants go and send yet further to *Tabasco* for wares from *Spain*, such as wines, Linnen cloth, Figs, Raisins, Olives, and Iron; though in these commodities they dare not venture too much, by reason the *Spaniards* in that Country are not very many, and those that are there, are such as are loath to open their purses to more then what may suffice nature. So that what are *Spanish* commodities are chiefly brought for the Fryers who are the best and joviallest blades of that Country. The Gentlemen of *Chiapa* are a by-word all about that Country, signifying great Dons (dones, gifts or abilities I should say) great birth, phantastick pride, joynd with simplicity, ignorance, misery and penury. These Gentlemen will say they descend from some Dukes house in *Spain*, and immediately from the first Conquerors; yet in carriage they are but clownes, in wit, abilities, parts and discourse as shallow brained, as a low brook, whose waters are scarce able to leap over a pibble stone; any small reason soon tries and tires their weak brain, which is easily at a stand when sense is propounded, and slides on speedily when non-sense carrich the stream. The chief families in this City, are named, *Cortez*, *Solis*, *Velasco*, *Toledo*, *Zerna*, and *Mendoza*. One of these, who was thought the chief in my time, called *Don Melchor de Velasco*, one day fell into discourse with me concerning *England*, and our *English* nation, and in the best, most serious and judicious part of his Don-like conference, asked me whether the Sun and Moon in *England* were of the same colour as in *Chiapa*, and whether *English* men went barefoot like the *Indians*, and sacrificed one another as formerly did the Heathens of that Countrey? and whether all *England* could afford such a dainty as a dish of *Frixoles* (which is the poorest *Indians* daily food there, being black and dry Turkey or French beanes boyled with a little biting Chille or *Indian* pepper with garlick, till the broath become as black as any Inke) And whether the women in *England* went as long with child, as did the *Spanish* women? And lastly, whether the *Spanish* nation were not a far gallanter nation then the *English*? When I perceived my Don ran farther and farther into his simple and foolish questions, I cut him off suddenly, telling him, Sir, It is long since I came out of *England*, if you give me leave to recollect my memory, I will answer some of these your hard questions the next time we meet (thinking hereby to try my Dons wit further, whether he could perceive I jeared him.) To which my simple Don replied, I pray Sir do, and whensoever you come, you shall be welcome to a dish of *Frixoles*. With this I took my leave of him, and at our farewell he again desired

me to study well his questions, and to return him a speedy answer, whereby I was more confirmed in my conceit of my *Don*, that he was either *ronto* or *bobo*, fool or simple. Yet thought I my best way to answer is to answer a fool according to his folly, and so resolved within two or three dayes to return unto him some simple answer according to his simple and foolish questions. Therefore speedily I singled out a good occasion of meeting with him at his own house, who welcomed me with much *Spanish* gravity, and sitting down before *Donna Angela*, his painted wife and Angel; began to answer, or more to jeer his *Donship*. I began with the Sun and Moon, telling him that they were planets, and had their speciall influences upon severall nations, as all planets have upon mans body. And so they did shew themselves according to the inclination of the people of severall Kingdomes. And therefore as the *Spaniards* were much inclined to *Venus* and to beauty, and not contenting themselves with the naturall beauty of their fair Ladies, would yet have Art add to nature by the skill and use of the best painting colours; so these glorious planets of the Sun and Moon among the *Spaniards*, and especially in *Chiapa*, shewed themselves most comely, bright, glorious and beautifull, working the like inclination to beauty upon, and in all *Spaniards*. My instance was in the land of the *Blackmores*, where I told them that their bodies were black, and that among them the Sun appeared with a dark and sad usage. Here my *Don* cried out; An excellent example. I gave him yet a second instance from the Eclipse of the Sun; which being eclipsed, made all the Earth, mens faces and bodies seem of a darke, or yellow colour, to shew the proportion or sympathy of sublunary bodies to that high and overmastering planet. To this that good *Don* replied, *senor no se puede decirmas*, sir, nothing can be answered or said more or better. *Vengamos agora a Inglatierra*, Let us draw now to *England*. To which I answered him, that in *England* the Sun and Moon appeared half year of one colour, and half of another; for the women one half year it appeared as in *Spain* and *Chiapa*, beautifull and glorious, for that naturally without painting they yielded to none in beauty. But the other half year it appeared as red as bloud, or scarlet; and the reason might easily be guessed at, for that no Nation is more warlike and high spirited then the *English*, whose very clothes were fiery, wearing more scarlet then any nation in the World; as he might perceive by their coming so much with their ships to the *Indian* Coasts to fight with the *Spaniards*; and that as they delighted to go in red, and to be like the Sun, so naturally they were brought to those Seas to single out such ships as from *America* carried the rich Commodity of *Chochinill*, whereof they make more use then *Spain* it self to dye their cloaths and Coats withall. Here my *Don* jogged his head, and replied, Sir, I thought no nation had been so like the Sun as the *Spaniards*; for I have read that when our Ancestors came to conquer these parts, the *Indians* called them, *hijos del Sol*, that is, sons of the Sun, being comely and gallant, and more like the Sun then any other people. To this I answered him. Sir, no doubt but you are like the Sun here, and none more glittering and bright, your very hatbands shining with Pearls and Diamonds like the brightnesse of the Sun; But as I said before the *Blackmores* are like their Sun, so I say, the *English* is like their Sun, which is red, and so do and will affect to wear Searlet, as long as any *Cochinill* is to be found in the *India's*.

Now *Don Melchor* began to understand me, and told me, never man had satisfied him with better reasons then my self. He thanked me heartily, and told me, he thought no Gentleman in *Chiapa* could tell so well as himself now why the *English* ships came so much upon their Coasts; and that my discourse had satisfied him to the full. He desired me to go on to his other questions. To his second demanding whether the *English* went barefoot like the *Indians*, I told him I thought that the Count of *Gondomar*, (who had been many years Ambassadour from *Spain* in *England*) had satisfied all the *Spaniards* that doubt, who coming from *England* to *Madrid*, and being there asked by some Courtiers, whether *London* was as big as *Madrid*, and as well peopled; he made answer, that he thought there was scarce a hundred left in *London*. He proved it from the use and custome of his own Countrymen of *Spain*; who when they are to make a journey, shew themselves two or three daies before in colours; walking with boots and spurs, that their friends may take notice that they are departing out of the Town or City. So said the Count of *Gondomar*, I think by this there are very few People in *London*; for when I came from thence I left them all almost in cloaths of colours, booted and spurred as ready to depart and take some journey

journey. And truly my *Don* (quoth I) your own Count hath answered for me; yet I say, the *English* are so far from going bare-foot, that they go booted, and are all in a readinesse to move out of *England* for any noble and generous designe; but above all they are still ready for *America*, where they know is store and abundance of Hides to make them Bootes to cover the barenelle of their legs, that they may not be suspected to be like bare-footed *Indians*. Here *Don Melchor* replied, I pray sir, when they come by Sea to these parts doe they come also booted and spurred? For I should think, when they fight, their spurs should hinder them. To this his doubt I answered first, as concerning spurres in the ships, with the example of one of his own Nation, and of the best Divines in *Spain*, living in my time in *Valladolid*, called *Maestro Nunno*, (Reader of Divinity in the Colledge of *St. Gregorie*, but in his carriage and experience in the World a simple nobby) who being invited by a Noble man to go with him in his Coach out of the City a mile or two to a garden of recreation, went hastily about the Colledge to borrow boots and spurs; and when he had put them on, being asked whither he went, and why he put on boots and spurs, answered that he was to go in a Coach out of the City, and that he thought the Coach and Mules would want spurs to go and come the sooner. Even so my *Don* (quoth I) the *English* men come booted and spurred in their ships, to make their ships sail on the swifter. And this is the reason why the *English* ships sail faster, and when they are in fight turn about quicker then a *Spanish* Galeon, because they are spurred and kicked within. O sir, I humbly thank you (said *Don Melchor*) for that by your discourse now I know the truth of what indeed I have often heard say, that the *English* ships are nimbler, and quicker at Sea then our heavy Galeons. Now as for fighting the *English* mens spurs (said I) are no hinderance to them, but rather a great advantage. For they fight with weapons, with their hands and with their feet, wherein they exceed the *Spaniards*; for when they have shot with their pieces, or cut down with their swords any enemy, or knocked him with their holbards, then with their feet and spurs, they fall upon him, and so soon rid him out of the way, that he may no more rise up against them. All you have told me (said the wise *Velazco*) stands with so much reason, that my judgment is convinced by you. As for eating and sacrificing one another like the *Indians* (I told him) that the *English* filled their bellies so well with fat Beef and Mutton, Fowles, Rabbits, Partridges and Pheasants, that they had no stomach at all to mans flesh. And that truly for frixoles dressed with garlick, that only dainty dish was wanting in *England*; and that for Garlick, three reasons moved the *English* not to be lavishing of that little they had; first, for fear they should want it for their horses drenches; secondly, for that they felt not themselves so much troubled with the wind, nor puffed up with windy and vain conceits as other nations did; but thirdly and chiefly they refrained from it among themselves; that they might not smell of it, and that by the sent and smell of it afar off at Sea they might when they come to the Coast of *America*, smell out a *Spanish* ship, and know it from a *Hollander*. Here my *Don Melchor* fell into admiration, assuring me, he had never heard more solid reasons from any man. Alas poor Criolian of *Chiapa* (thought I) if I had spoken sense, thy shallow brain had not been able to have leaped over it, but after non-sense thou art easily carried away. As for his last question, I told him that was above my reach; for that poor Fryers ought not to meddle with women, neither had my mother ever told me how long she went with me. But however if *Dona Angela* would tell me how long she went with her children, I would by the constellations of the Heavens search out against our next meeting, how long the *English* women went with their children. To this my *Don Melchor* answered that he would not trouble me to study what he thought was not belonging to my profession; but he knew that if I would study that or any other hard and difficult point, I could give him more and better satisfaction then any scholar in that City.

And thus (Reader) by this *Don Melchor*'s wit and ability would I have thee judge of the Gentlemen Criolians or natives of *Chiapa*; and yet as presumptuous they are and arrogant, as if the noblest bloud in the Court of *Madrid* ran through their veins. It is a common thing amongst them to make a dinner only with a dish of Frixoles in black broth boiled with pepper and garlick, saying it is the most nourishing meat in all the *India's*; and after this so stately a dinner they will be sure to come out to the street-dore of their houles to see and to be seen, and there for half an hour will they stand

shaking off the crums of bread from their cloaths, bands (but especially from their ruffles when they used them) and from their mustachoes. And with their tooth-pickers they will stand picking their teeth, as if some small Partridge bone stuck in them; nay if a friend passe by at that time, they will be sure to find out some crum or other in their mustacho (as if on purpose the crums of the table had been shaken upon their beards, that the losse of them might be a gaining of credit for great house-keeping) and they will be sure to vent out some non-truth, as to say, *A Senor que linda perdiz he comido oy*, O Sir, what a dainty Partridge have I eat to day! where as they picke out nothing from their teeth but a black husk of a dry frixole or Turkey bean. Though great in bloud and in birth they say they are, yet in their employments they are but rich Grasiere, for most of their wealth consisteth in farmes of Cattell and Mules. Some indeed have Towns of *Indians* subject unto them, whereof they are called *Encomendero's*, and receive yearly from every *Indian* a certain Pole tribute of fowles and money. They have most cowardly spirits for War, and though they will say, they would fain see *Spain*, yet they dare not venture their lives at Sea; they judge sleeping in a whole skin the best maxime for their *Criolian* spirits. One hundred fighting Souldiers would easily lay low those *Chiapa Dons*, and gain the whole City, which lieth so open to the fields, that the Mules and Asses come in and graze, the streets being very commodious to entertain Asses from within, and from without. Yet in this City liveth commonly a Governour, or Alcalde Major, and a Bishop. The Governours place is of no small esteem and interest, for that his power reacheth far, and he tradeth much in Cacao and Cochinil, and domineers over both *Spaniards* and *Indians* at his will and pleasure. But ill gotten goods never thrive, as was seen in *Don Gabriel de Orellana* (Governour of this City and Countrey in my time) who having sent the worth of eight thousand crownes in Cochinil, Cacao, Sugar, and Hides by the river of *Tabasco* towards the *Havana* lost it all into the hands of the *Hollanders*, who doubtlesse knew how to make better use of it, then would have done that tyrannizing Governour. The Bishops place of that City is worth at least eight thousand duckats a year, which truly he had need of that comes so far from *Spain* to live in such a City where are such able *Dons*, as *Don Melchor de Velasco*, and where Asses are so freely fed and bred. Most of this Bishops revenues consisteth in great offerings which he yearly receiveth from the great *Indian* Towns, going out to them once a year to confirme their children, whose confirmation is such a means to confirme and strengthen the Bishops revenues; that none must be confirmed by him who offer not a fair white Wax-candle, with a ribban and at least four Rials. I have seen the richer sort offer him a Candle of at least six pound weight with two yards of twelve penny broad ribban, and the Candle stuck from the top to the bottome with single Rials round about. Nay the poor *Indians* make it the chief master piece of their vanity to offer proudly in such occasions. *Don Bernardino de Salazar* was the Bishop of this City in my time, who desired my company to ride with him his circuit but one moneth, about the Towns near to *Chiapa*, and in this time I was appointed by him to hold the basin wherein the *Spaniards* and *Indians* (whilest he confirmed their children) did cast their offerings, which my selfe and another Chaplain did alwayes tell and cast up by good account before we carried the mony up into his chamber, and I found that at our return at the moneths end he had received one thousand and six hundred duckats of only offerings, besides the fees due to him for visiting the severall companies, or sodalities and confraternities belonging to the Saints or soules in their Purgatory (which are extraordinary rich there) whereof he and all other Bishops in their district take account yearly. This Bishop was (as all the rest are there) somewhat covetous; but otherwise a man of a temperate life and conversation, very zealous to reforme whatsoever abuses committed in the Church, which cost him his life before I departed from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*. The women of that City it seems pretend much weaknesse and squemishnesse of stomach, which they say is so great, that they are not able to continue in the Church while a Masse is briefly hudled over, much lesse while a solemn high Masse (as they call it) is sung, and a Sermon preached, unlesse they drink a cup of hot Chocolate, and eat a bit of sweet-meats to strengthen their stomachs. For this purpose it was much used by them to make their maids bring to them to Church in the middle of Masse or Sermon a cup of Chocolate, which could not be done to all, or most of them without a great confusion and interrupting both Masse and Sermon. The Bishop perceiving this abuse

and having given faire warning for the omitting of it, but all without amendment, thought fit to fix in writing upon the Churches doores an excommunication against all such as should presume at the time of service to eat or drink within the Church. This excommunication was taken by all, but especially by the Gentlewomen much to heart, who protested if they might not eat or drink in the Church, they could not continue in it to hear what otherwise they were bound unto. The chief of them knowing what great friendship there was between the Bishop and the Prior, and my self, came to the Prior and me desiring us to use all means we could with the Bishop for the revoking that his excommunication so heavily laid upon them, and threatening their soules with damning judgement for the violation of it. The good Prior and my self laboured all we could, alleading the custome of the Country, the weaknesse of the sex whom it most concerned, and also the weaknesse of their stomachs, the contempt that might from them ensue unto his person, and many inconveniences which might follow to the breeding of an uproar in the Church and in the City, whereof we had some probable conjecture from what already we had heard from some. But none of these reasons would move the Bishop; to which he answered that he preferred the honour of God, and of his house before his own life. The women seeing him so hard to be intreated, began to stomach him the more and to sleight him with scornfull and reproachfull words; others sleighted his excommunication, drinking in iniquity in the Church, as the fish doth water, which caused one day such an uproare in the Cathedral, that many swords were drawn against the Priests and Prebends, who attempted to take away from the maids the cups of Chocolate, which they brought unto their mistresses, who at last seeing that neither fair nor foul means would prevail with the Bishop, resolved to forsake the Cathedral, where the Bishops own and his Prebends eyes must needs be watching over them; and so from that time most of the City betook themselves to the Cloister Churches, where by the Nuns and Fryers they were not troubled nor resisted, though fairly counselled to obey the command of the Bishop; whose name now they could not brook, and to whose Prebends they denied now all such relief and stipend for Masses which formerly they had used to bestow upon them, conferring them all upon the Fryers, who grew rich by the poor impoverished Cathedral. This lasted not long, but the Bishop began to stomach the Fryers, and to set up another excommunication, binding all the City to resort unto their own Cathedral Church; which the women would not obey, but kept their houses for a whole moneth; in which time the Bishop fell dangerously sick, and desired to retire himself to the Cloister of Dominicans, for the great confidence he had in the Prior that he would take care of him in his sickness. Physitians were sent for far and near, who all with a joynt opinion agreed that the Bishop was poisoned; and he himself doubted not of it at his death, praying unto God to forgive those that had been the cause of it, and to accept of that sacrifice of his life, which he was willing to offer for the zeal of Gods house and honour. He lay not above a week in the Cloister, and as soon as he was dead, all his body, his head and face did so swell, that the least touch upon any part of him caused the skin to break and cast out white matter, which had corrupted and overflowed all his body. A Gentlewoman with whom I was well acquainted in that City, who was noted to be somewhat too familiar with one of the Bishops Pages, was commonly censured to have prescribed such a cup of Chocolate to be ministred by the Page, which poisoned him who so rigorously had forbidden Chocolate to be drunk in the Church. My self heard this Gentlewoman say of the deceased Bishop, that she thought few grieved for his death, and that the women had no reason to grieve for him, and that she judged, he being such an enemy to Chocolate in the Church, that which he had drunk at home in his house had not agreed with his body. And it became afterwards a Proverbe in that Country, Beware of the Chocolate of *Chiapa*; which made me so cautious, that I would not drink afterwards of it in any house, where I had not very great satisfaction of the whole Family. The women of this City are somewhat light in their carriage, and have learned from the Devill many enticing lessons and baits to draw poor souls to sinne and damnation; and if they cannot have their wils, they will surely work revenge either by Chocolate or Conserves, or some fair present, which shall surely carry death along with it. The Gentlewoman that was suspected, (nay was questioned for the death of the Bishop) had often used to send me boxes of Chocolate or Conserves; which I willingly received from her, judg-
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ing it to be a kind of gratuity for the pains I took in teaching her son *Latine*. She was of a very merry and pleasant disposition, which I thought might consist without sin; untill one day she sent unto me a very fair plantin wrapped up in a handkerchief, buried in sweet Jazmines and roses; when I untied the handkerchief, I thought among the flowers I should find some rich token, or some pieces of eight, but finding nothing but a plantin, I wondred; and looking further upon it, I found worked upon it with a knife the fashion of a heart with two of blind Cupids arrows sticking in it, discovering unto my heart the poisoned heart and thoughts of the prisoner that sent it. I thought it a good warning to be wary and cautious of receiving more presents or Chocolate from such hands, and so returned unto her again her plantin with this short rime cut out with a knife upon the skin *fruta tan fria, amor no cria*, as much as to say, fruit so cold, takes no hold. This answer and resolution of mine was soon spread over that little City, which made my Gentlewoman outrageous, which presently she shewed by taking away her son from Schoole, and in many meetings threatned to play me a *Chiapaneca* trick. But I remembred the Bishops Chocolate and so was wary, and staid not long after in that poisoning and wicked City, which truly deserves no better relation then what I have given of the simple *Dons*, and the Chocolate-confectioning *Donnás*.

There is yet twelve leagues from this City of *Chiapa*, another *Chiapa* which deserveth better commendations. This consisteth most of *Indians*, and is held to be one of the biggest *Indian* Towns in all *America*, containing at least four thousand families. This Town hath many priviledges from the King of *Spain*, and is governed chiefly by *Indians* (yet with subordination unto the *Spanish* government of the City of *Chiapa*) who do choose an *Indian* Governour with other inferiour officers to rule with him. This Governour may wear a rapier and dagger, and enjoyeth many other liberties which to the rest of the *Indians* are denied. No Town hath so many *Dons* in it of *Indian* blood as this. *Don Philip de Guzman* was Governour of it in my time, a very rich *Indian*, who kept up commonly in his stable a dozen of as good Horses for publick shewes, and ostentation as the best *Spaniard* in the Countrey. His courage was not inferiour to any *Spaniard*, and for defence of some priviledges of his Town sued in the Chancery, of *Guatemala* the proud and high minded Governour of the City of *Chiapa*, spending therein great sums of money till he had overcome him, whereupon he caused a feast to be made in the Town, both by water and land, so stately, that truly in the Court of *Madrid* it might have been acted.

This Town lyeth upon a great river, whereunto belong many boats and Canoes, wherein those *Indians* have been taught to act sea-fights, with great dexterity, and to represent the Nymphes of *Parnassus*, *Neptune*, *Aolus*, and the rest of the heathenish Gods and Goddesses, so that they are a wonder of their whole nation. They will arme with their boats a siege against the Town, fighting against it with such courage till they make it yeeld, as if they had been trained up all their life to sea-fights. So likewise within the Town they are as dexterous at baiting of buls, at *juego de Camas*, at Horseraces, at arming a Campe, at all manner of *Spanish* dances, instruments, and musick, as the best *Spaniards*. They will erect Towers and Castles made of wood and painted cloth, and from them fight either with the boats or one against another, with squibs, darts, and many strange fire-works, so manfully, that if in earnest they could perform it as well as they do it in sport and pastime, the *Spaniards* and Fryers might soon repent to have taught them what they have. As for acting of playes, this is a common part of their solemne pastimes; and they are so generous, that they think nothing too much to spend in banquets and sweet-meats upon their Fryers, and neighbouring Towns, whensoever they are minded to shew themselves in a publick feast. The Town is very rich, and many *Indians* in it that trade about the Countrey as the *Spaniards* do. They have learned most trades besitting a Commonwealth, and practise and teach them within their Town. They want not any provision of fish or flesh, having for the one that great river joyning unto their Town, and for the other many *Estancias* (as they call them) or farmes abounding with Cattell. In this Town the Dominican Fryers bear all the sway, who have a rich and stately Cloister with another Church or Chappel subordinate unto it. The heat here is so great, that both Fryers and *Indians* commonly wear a linnen towel about their necks to wipe up the constant sweat from their faces, which maketh the Fryers sit longer at their dinner then els they would do, for that at every bit they eat,

eat, and draught they drink, they are fain to make a stop to wipe their dropping browes. Yet the evenings are fresh and cool, which are much made of there, and spent in the many walkes and gardens which joyne close unto the River side. Two or three leagues from the Town, there are two *Ingenio's* or *Farmes* of Sugar, the one belonging to the Cloister of the Dominicans of the City of *Chiapa*; the other unto the Cloister of this Town, which contain near two hundred Blackmores, besides many *Indians*, who are employed in that constant work of making Sugar for all the Country. Hereabouts are bred great store of Mules, and excellent horses for any service. The Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Towns about it want nothing but a more temperate climate and cooler aire, and Wheat, which there cannot be sowne, yet for *Spaniards* and such as cannot live without it, it is brought from *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards* and from about *Comitlan*; yet this is not generally acknowledged a want by reason of the great plenty of *Maiz* which all the Towns enjoy, and which is now more used both by *Spaniards* and dainty toothed Fryers then bread of Wheat. Yet your poor *Spaniards*, and some *Indians* who have got the trick of trading from them do gain not a little in bringing to these Towns biskets of wheaten bread, which though it be dry and hard; yet because they are Novelties to the *Indians*; they get by changing them for other commodities, especially of Cotton-wooll, which here is more abounding then in the Valley of *Copanabastlan*.

Upon this Country of *Chiapa* of the *Indians* bordereth the Province of *Zoques*, which is absolutely the richest part of *Chiapa*. This reacheth on the one side to *Tabasco*, and by the River named *Grijalva* sendeth commonly the Commodities which are in it with safety unto *St. John de Ulhua*, or *Vera Cruz*. It traffiqueth also with the Country of *Jucatan* by the Haven called *Puerto Real*, which lyeth between *Grijalva* and *Jucatan*. Yet these two, the River of *Tabasco*, alias *Grijalva*, and *Puerto Real*, though they be commodious to this Province of *Zoques*, yet they are causes of daily feares unto the *Spaniards*, who well know the weaknesse of them, and that if a forain Nation should manfully thrust into that Country by any of these two wayes, they might so conquer all *Chiapa*, and from thence passe easily unto *Guatemala*. But the River of *Tabasco* lying low, and being somewhat hot, and the Towns about it infested with many gnats, and the chiefest commodity there being but *Cacao*; have often discouraged both our *English* and *Hollanders*, who have come up some part of the River, and minding more the foresaid reasons, then what was forward to be had, have turned back, losing a rich Country and slighting an eternall name, for few and frivolous present difficulties. In this Province of *Zoques*, the Towns are not very big, yet they be very rich; the chief Commodities are Silk and *Cochinill*; whereof the latter is held the best of *America*, and the store of it so great that no one Province alone exceeds it. Few *Indians* there are who have not their Orchards planted with the trees whereon the worms bread which yeeld unto us that rich Commodity; not that the *Indians* themselves esteem otherwise of it, then as they see the *Spaniards* greedy after it, offering them mony for it, and forcing them to the preservation of it in those parts, which have proved most successfull for this kind. There is a great store of silke in this Country, in so much that the *Indians* make it their great Commodity to imploy their wives in working Towels with all colours of silke, which the *Spaniards* buy, and send into *Spain*. It is rare to see what works those *Indian* women will make in silke, such as might serve for Patterns and samplers to many School-mistresses in *England*. The people of this Country are witty and ingenious, and fair of complexion; the Country towards *Tabasco* is hot, but within in some places very cold. There is also plenty of *Maiz*, but no wheat; neither is there such plenty of Cattell as about *Chiapa*, but Fowles and Turkeys as many as in other parts. The Province called *Zeldales* lyeth behind this of the *Zoques*, from the North Sea within the continent, running up towards *Chiapa*, and reacheth in some parts near to the borders of *Comitlan* north-westward. South-eastward it joyns to such *Indians* which as yet have not been conquered by the *Spaniards*, who make many invasions upon the Christian *Indians*, and burn their Towns, and carry away their Cattell. The chief and head Town in this Province is called *Ocoingo*, which is a Frontier against those Heathens. This Province is esteemed rich for the *Spaniards*, who make much of *Cacao*, which serveth to make their drink of *Chocolatte*, and here is great store of it. There is also another Commodity, great among the *Spaniards*, called *Achiotte*, wherewith they make their *Chocolatte* look of the colour of a brick. Here is also plenty of Hogs and Bacon, Fowles, Turkeys,

Turkies, Quailes, Cattell, Sheep, Maiz, Hony, and not far from *Ocozingo*, in my time was setting upon an *Ingenio*, or Farm of Sugar, which was thought would prove as well as those about *Chiapa* of the *Indians*. The Country in most parts is high and hilly; but *Ocozingo* stands in a pleasant Valley, injoying many Brooks and streams of fresh water, and therefore hath been thought a fit place for Sugar. Here also in this valley the Fryers have attempted to sow Wheat, which hath proved very good. Thus Reader, I have shewed you the Country of *Chiapa*, which as it is compassed about on the one side by *Soconuzco*, and from thence almost to *Guatemala*, by the Province of *Suchutepeques*, on the other side by *Tabasco*, and on the other side by *Zeldales* with excessive plenty of *Cacao* and *Achiote*, which are the chief drugs for the making of *Chocolatte*; I will yet before I depart from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*, say somewhat of that drink so much used by the *Spaniards*, and in my judgement not to be sleighted, but rather to be published and made known to all Nations, whose use might remedy the great abuse of wines and strong drinks which too much are esteemed amongst us here in *Europe*.

C H A P. XVI.

Concerning two daily and common Drinkes, or Potions much used in the India's, called *Chocolatte*, and *Atole*.

CHocolatte being this day used not only over all the *West-India's*, but also in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Flanders*, with approbation of many learned Doctors in Physick, among whom *Antonio Colmenero* of *Ledesma*; (who lived once in the *India's*) hath composed a learned and curious Treatise concerning the nature and quality of this drink; I thought fit to insert here also somewhat of it concerning my own experience for the space of twelve years. This name *Chocolatte* is an *Indian* name, and is compounded from *Atte*, as some say, or as others, *Atle*, which in the *Mexican* language signifieth water, and from the sound which the water (wherein is put the *Chocolatte*) makes, as *Choco*, *Choco*, *Choco*, when it is stirred in a cup by an instrument called a *Molinet*, or *Molinillo*, untill it bubble and rise unto a froath. And as there it is a name compounded, so in *English* we may well call it a compounded or a confectioned drink wherein are found many and severall Ingredients, according to the different disposition of the Body of them that use it. But the chief Ingredient (without which it cannot be made) is called *Cacao*, a kind of Nut or kernell bigger then a great Almond, which growes upon a tree called the tree of *Cacao*, and ripens in a great huske, wherein sometimes are found more, sometimes lesse *Cacao's*, sometimes twenty, sometimes thirty, nay forty and above. This *Cacao*, though as every simple it contains the quality of the four Elements, yet in the common opinion of most Physitians, it is held to be cold and dry, à *pradominio*; It is also in the substance that rules these two qualities, restringent and obstructive, of the nature of the Element of the earth. And as it is thus a mixed, and not a simple Element, it hath parts correspondent to the rest of the Elements; and particularly it partakes of those which correspond with the Element of Aire, that is heat and moisture, which are governed by unctious parts; there being drawn out of the *Cacao* much Butter, which in the *India's* I have seen drawn out of it by the *Criolian* women for to oint their faces. And let not this seem impossible to believe, that this grain or Nut of *Cacao* should be said to be first cold and dry, and then hot and moist; for though experience be a thousand witnesses, yet instances will further clear this truth; and first in the *Rubarbe*, which hath in it hot and soluble parts, and parts which are binding, cold and dry, which have a virtue to strengthen, bind and stop the looseness of the belly. Secondly, we see this clearly in the steel, which having so much of the nature of the earth, as being heavy, thick, cold, and dry, should be thought unproper for the curing of *Oppilations*, but rather to be apt to increase them; and yet it is given for a proper remedy against them. The authority of *Galen* may further clear this in the third book of the *Qualities* of simples, where he teacheth that almost all those medicines, which to our sense seem

to be simple, are notwithstanding naturally compounded, containing in themselves contrary qualities, that is to say, a quality to expell, and to retain, to incrassate and to extenuate, to rarifie and to condense. And in the fiteenth Chapter following in the same book, he puts an example of the broth of a Cock, which moves the belly, and the flesh hath the virtue to binde. Yet further that this differing virtue and quality is found in divers substances, or parts of simple medicaments, he shewes in the first book of his simple medicines in the seventeenth Chapter, bringing the example of milke, in which three substances are found and separated, that is to say, the substance of cheese, which hath the virtue to stop the flux of the belly; and the substance of whay, which is purging, and butter, as it is expressed Chap. 15. Also we finde in wine which is in the Must, three substances, that is to say, earth, which is the chief; and a thinner substance, which is the flower, and may be called the scum, or froath; and a third substance which we properly call wine; and every one of these substances contains in it self divers qualities and virtues, in the colour, in the smell, and in other accidents.

And this is very conformable to reason, if we consider that every aliment, be it never so simple, begets and produceth in the liver four humours, not only differing in temper, but also in substance; and begets more or lesse of that humour, according as the aliment hath more or fewer parts corresponding to the substance of that humour, which is most ingendred. From which examples we may gather that when the Cacao is grinded and stirred, the divers parts which nature hath given it, do artificially and intimately mixe themselves one with another; and so the unctuous, warme, and moist parts, mingled with the earthy represseth, and leaveth them not so binding, as they were before; but rather with a mediocrity, more inclining to the warme, and moist temper of the aire, then to the cold and dry of the earth; as it doth appear, when it is made fit to drink, that scarce two turns are given with the Molinet, when there ariseth a fatty scum, by which is seen, how much it partaketh of the oily part. So that from all that hath been said, the error of those is well discovered, who speaking of this drink of Chocolatte, say, that it causeth oppilations, because Cacao is astringent; as if that astringent were not corrected and modified by the intimate mixing of one part with another, by means of the grinding, as is said before. Besides it having so many ingredients, which are naturally hot, it must of necessity have this effect, that is to say, to open, attenuate, and not to binde. And leaving aside more reasons, this truth is evidently seen in the Cacao it self; which if it be not stirred, grinded and compounded to make the Chocolatte; but be eaten as it is in the fruit (as many Criolian and *Indian* women eat it) it doth notably obstruct and cause stoppings, and make them look of a broken, pale and earthy colour, as do those that eat earthen ware, as pots, or pieces of lime-wals (which is much used amongst the *Spanish* women thinking that pale and earthy colour, though with obstructions and stoppings, well becomes them) and for this certainly in the Cacao thus eaten there is no other reason, but that the divers substances which it contains, are not perfectly mingled by the mastication only, but require the artificiall mixture, which we have spoken of before.

The tree which doth bear this fruit, is so delicate, and the earth where it groweth so extream hot, that to keep the tree from being consumed by the Sun, they first plant other trees, which they call, *las Madres del Cacao*, mothers of the Cacao; and when these are grown up to a good height fit to shade the Cacao trees, then they plant the Cacaorals, or the trees of Cacao; that when they first shew themselves above the ground, those trees, which are already grown may shelter them; and as mothers nourish, defend, and shadow them from the Sun; and the fruit doth not grow naked, but many of them (as I have said before) are in one great huske or cod, and therein besides every grain is closed up in a white juicy skin, which the women also love to suck off from the Cacao, finding it cool, and in the mouth dissolving into water. There are two sorts of Cacao; the one is common, which is of a darke colour inclining towards red, being round and peeked at the ends; the other is broader, and bigger, and flatter, and not so round, which they call, *Patlaxte*, and this is white, and more drying, and is sold a great deal cheaper then the former. And this especially, more then the other, causeth watchfulness, and drives away sleep, and therefore is not so usefull as the ordinary, and is chiefly spent by the ordinary and meaner sort of people. As for the rest of the ingredients which make this Chocolatticall confection, there is notable variety; for some put into it black Pepper, which is not well approved of by the Physicians.

sicians, because it is so hot and dry, but only for one who hath a very cold liver; but commonly in stead of this Pepper, they put into it long red Pepper, called Chile, which though it be hot in the mouth, yet is cool and moist in the operation. It is further compounded with white Sugar, Cinnamon, Clove, Anniseed, Almonds, Hafell-nuts, *Orejuela*, *Bainilla*, *Sapoyall*, Orenge flower water, some Muske, and as much of Achiotte, as will make it look of the colour of a red brick. But how much of each of these may be applyed to such a quantity of Cacao, the severall dispositions of mens bodies must be their rule. The ordinary receipt of *Antonio Colmenero* was this; To every hundred Cacao's, two cods of Chile, called long red Pepper, one handfull of Anniseed and *Orejuela's*, and two of the flowers called *Mechafuchil*, or *Bainilla*, or instead of this six roses of *Alexandria*, beat to powder, two drams of Cinnamon, of Almonds and Hafel-nuts, of each one dozen; of white Sugar half a pound, of Achiotte, enough to give it the colour. This Author thought neither Clove, nor Musk, nor any sweet water fit, but in the *India's* they are much used. Others use to put in Maiz, or *Paniso*, which is very windy, but such do it only for their profit, by increasing the quantity of the Cocolatte; because every fanega or measure of Maiz containing about a bushel and a half, is sold for eight shillings, and they that sell Chocolate, sell it for four shillings a pound, which is the ordinary price. The Cinnamon is held one of the best ingredients, and denied by none, for that it is hot and dry in the third degree, it provokes urine, and helps the kidneys and reins of those who are troubled with cold diseases, and it is good for the eyes, and in effect it is cordiall, as appeareth by the Author of these verses,

Commoda & urine Cinamonum & renibus affert.

Lumina clarificat, dira venena fugat.

The *Achiotte* hath a piercing, attenuating quality, as appeareth by the common practice of the Physitians of the *India's*, experienced daily in the effects of it, who do give it to their Patients to cut and attenuate the grosse humors, which do cause shortnesse of breath, and stopping of urine: and so it is used for any kind of oppilations, and is given for the stoppings which are in the breast, or in the region of the belly, or any other part of the body. This *Achiotte* also groweth upon a tree in round huskes, which are full of red graines, from whence the *Achiotte* is taken, and first made into a paste, and then being dried up, is fashioned either into round bals or cakes, or into the forme of little bricces, and so is sold. As concerning the long red Pepper there are four sorts of it; one is called *Chilchotes*; the other is very little, which they call *Chilterpin*, and these two kinds are very quick and biting. The other two are called, *Tonalchiles*, and these are but moderately hot, for they are eaten with bread by the *Indians*, as they eat other fruits. But that which is usually put into Chocolate, is called *Chilpaclagua*, which hath a broad huske, and is not so biting as the first, nor so gentle as the last. The *Mechafuchil*, or *Bainilla* hath a purgative quality. All these ingredients are usually put into the Chocolate, and by some more, according to their fancies. But the meaner sort of people, as *Blackmores* and *Indians*, commonly put nothing into it, but *Cacao*, *Achiotte*, *Maiz*, and a few *Chiles* with a little Anniseed. And though the *Cacao* is mingled with all these ingredients, which are hot; yet there is to be a greater quantity of *Cacao*, then of all the rest of the ingredients, which serve to temper the coldnesse of the *Cacao*; from whence it followeth that this Chocollatticall confection is not so cold as the *Cacao*, nor so hot as the rest of the ingredients, but there results from the action and reaction of these ingredients, a moderate temper, which may be good, both for the cold and hot stomachs, being taken moderately.

Now for the making or compounding of this drink, I shall set down here the method. The *Cacao*, and the other ingredients must be beaten in a mortar of stone, or (as the *Indians* use) ground upon a broad stone, which they call *Metate*, and is only made for that use. But first the ingredients are all to be dried, except the *Achiotte*, with care that they may be beaten to powder, keeping them still in stirring, that they be not burnt, or become black; for if they be overdried, they will be bitter, and lose their virtue. The Cinnamon and the long red pepper are to be first beaten, with the Anniseed, and then the *Cacao*, which must be beaten by little and little, till it be all powdered; and in the beating it must be turned round, that it may mixe the better. Every one of these ingredients must be beaten by it self, and then all be put into the vessell, where the *Cacao* is, which you must stir together with a spoon, and then take out that

paste,

paste, and put it into the mortar, under which there must be a little fire, after the confection is made, but if more fire be put under then will only warm it, then the unctuous part will dry away. The *Achiote* also must be put in in the beating, that it may the better take the colour. All the ingredients must be searced, save only the Cacao, and if from the Cacao the dry shell be taken, it will be the better. When it is well beaten, and incorporated (which will be known by the shortness of it) then with a spoon (so in the *India's* is used) is taken up some of the paste, which will be almost liquid, and made into tablets, or else without a spoon put into boxes, and when it is cold it will be hard. Those that make it into tablets, put a spoonfull of the paste upon a piece of paper (the *Indians* put it upon the leaf of a plantain tree) where, being put into the shade (for in the sun it melts and dissolves) it grows hard; and then bowing the paper or leaf, the tablet falls off, by reason of the fatness of the paste. But if it be put into any thing of earth, or wood, it sticks fast, and will not come off, but with scraping or breaking. The manner of drinking it, is divers; the one (being the way most used in *Mexico*) is to take it hot with *Atolle*, dissolving a tablet in hot water, and then stirring and beating it in the cup, where it is to be drunk, with a *Molinet*, and when it is well stirred to a scumme or froath, then to fill the cup with hot *Atolle*, and so drink it sup by sup. Another way is, that the *Chocolatte*, being dissolved with cold water and stirred with the *Molinet*, and the scumme taken off and put into another vessell; the remainder be set upon the fire, with as much sugar as will sweeten it, and when it is warme, then to powre it upon the scum which was taken off before, and so to drink it. But the most ordinary way is, to warme the water very hot, and then to powre out half the cup full that you mean to drink; and to put into it a tablet or two, or as much as will thicken reasonably the water, and then grinde it well with the *Molinet*, and when it is well ground and risen to a scum, to fill the cup with hot water, and so drink it by sips (having sweetned it with Sugar) and to eat it with a little Conserve, or maple bred, steeped into the *Chocolatte*. Besides these ways there is another way (which is much used in the Island of *Santo Domingo*) which is to put the *Chocolatte* into a pipkin, with a little water, and to let it boyle well till it be dissolved, and then to put in sufficient water and sugar according to the quantity of the *Chocolatte*, and then to boyle it again, untill there comes an oily scumme upon it, and then to drink it. There is another way yet to drink *Chocolatte*, which is cold, which the *Indians* use at feasts, to refresh themselves, and it is made after this manner. The *Chocolatte* (which is made with none or very few ingredients) being dissolved in cold water with the *Molinet*, they take off the scumme or crassy part, which riseth in great quantity, especially when the Cacao is older and more putrefied. The scumme they lay aside in a little dish by it self, and then put Sugar into that part from whence was taken the scumme, and then powre it from on high into the scumme, and so drink it cold. And this drink is so cold, that it agreeth not with all mens stomachs; for by experience it hath been found, that it doth hurt, by causing pains in the stomach, especially to women. The third way of taking it is the most used, and thus certainly it doth no hurt, neither know I why it may not be used as well in *England* as in other parts both hot and cold; for where it is so much used, the most if not all, as well in the *India's*, as in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders* (which is a cold Country) find that it agreeth well with them. True it is, it is used more in the *India's*, then in the *European* parts, because there the stomachs are more apt to faint then here, and a cup of *Chocolatte* well confectioned comforts and strenghtens the stomach. For my self I must say, I used it twelve years constantly, drinking one cup in the morning, another yet before dinner between nine or ten of the clock; another within an hour or two after dinner, and another between four and five in the afternoon; and when I was purposed to sit up late to study, I would take another cup about seven or eight at night, which would keep me waking till about midnight. And if by chance I did neglect any of these accustomed houres, I presently found my stomach fainty. And with this custome I lived twelve years in those parts healthy, without any obstructions, or oppilations, not knowing what either ague, or feaver was. Yet will I not dare to regulate by mine own the bodies of others, nor take upon me the skill of a Physitian, to appoint and define at what time and by what persons this drink may be used. Only I say, I have known some that have been the worse for it, either for drinking it with too much sugar, which hath relaxed their stomachs, or for drinking it too often. For certainly if it

be drunk beyond measure, not only this Chocolate but all other drinks, or meats, though of themselves they are good and wholefome, they may be hurtfull. And if some have found it oppilative, it hath come by the too too much use of it; as when one drinks over much wine, instead of comforting and warming himself, he breeds and nourisheth cold diseases, because nature cannot overcome it, nor turn so great a quantity into good nourishment. So he that drinks much Chocolate, which hath fat parts, cannot make distribution of so great a quantity to all the parts; and that part which remains in the slender veins of the liver must needs cause oppilations and obstructions. But lastly to conclude with this *Indian* drink, I will add what I have heard Physitians of the *India's* say of it, and have seen it by experience in others (though never I could find it in my self) that those that use this Chocolate much, grow fat and corpulent by it: which indeed may seem hard to believe; for considering that all the ingredients, except the Cacao, do rather extenuate, then make fat, because they are hot and dry in the third degree. And we have already said, that the qualities which do predominate in Cacao, are cold and dry, which are very unfit to adde any substance to the body. Nevertheless it may be answered that the many unctuous parts, which have been proved to be in the Cacao, are those which pinguesce and make fat; and the hotter ingredients of this composition serve for a guide, or vehicle to passe to the liver, and the other parts, untill they come to the fleshy parts; and there finding a like substance which is hot and moist, as is the unctuous part, converting it self into the same substance, it doth augment and pinguesce. But how then might this Cacao with the other *Indian* ingredients be had in *England*? even by trading in *Spain* for it, as we do for other commodities; or not sleighting it so much as we and the *Hollanders* have often done upon the *Indians* seas; of whom I have heard the *Spaniards* say that when we have taken a good prize, a ship laden with Cacao, in anger and wrath we have hurled over board this good commodity, not regarding the worth and goodnesse of it, but calling it in bad *Spanish*, *Cagaruta de Carnero*, or sheeps dung in good *English*. It is one of the necessariest commodities in the *India's*, and nothing enricheth *Chiapa* in particular more then it, whither are brought from *Mexico* and other parts, the rich bags of Patacons only for this *Cagaruta de Carnero*, which we call sheeps dung. The other drink which is much used in the *India's* is called *Atolle*; of which I will say but a little, because I know it cannot be used here. This was the drink of the ancient *Indians*, and is a thick pap made of the flower of Maiz, taking off the huskes from it, which is windy and melancholy. This is commonly carried by the *Indian* women to the Markets hot in pots, and there is sold in cups. The *Criolian* students, as we go to a Tavern to drink a cup of wine, so they go in company to the publick Markets, and as publickly buy and drink by measure of this *Atolle*; which sometimes is seasoned with a little Chile, or long Pepper, and then it pleaseth them best. But the Nuns and Gentlewomen have got a trick of confectioning it with Cinnamon, Sweet-waters, Amber, or Muske, and store of Sugar, and thus it is held to be a most strong and nourishing drink, which the Physitians do prescribe unto a weak body, as we do here our Almond-milke. But of what *England* never knew nor tasted, I will say no more, but hasten my pen to *Guatemala*, which hath been my second *patria*.

C H A P. XVII.

Shewing my journey from the City of Chiapa, unto Guatémala, and the chief places in the way.

THE time now being come that I was to leave the little City of *Chiapa*, I took some occasion before-hand to take my leave of my best friends, whose children I had taught, and at my departure I must confesse I found them kind and bountifull, except it were *Donna Magdalena de Morales*, from whom I did not expect, neither did I desire any farewell, or Adieu token. But among all, the Governours wife was most liberall unto me, sending me many boxes of Aromaticall Chocoiatte, and one extraordinary great box with four severall divisions of different Conserves gilt over, besides many Maple breads, and Biskets made with Eggs and Sugar, a present it was which might have been sent to a greater man then to a poor worthlesse Mendicant Fryer, and with this in a handkerchief a dozen pieces of eight. *Don Melchor del Valazco* yet exceeded her, in words and complements I mean, but in deeds, he and all the crew of the Criolians must think to come short of them, who are born in *Spain*. The first Town I went unto, was *Theopixca*, six leagues from *Chiapa*, a fair and great Town of *Indians*, who are held to be next unto the *Indians* of the other *Chiapa* in fitting and riding a horse. In this Town is nothing so considerable as the Church, which is great and strong, and the musick belonging unto it sweet and harmonious. The Vicar or Curate of this place was one Fryer *Peter Martir* a Criolian, whom I knew could not endure the Prior nor me, yet he would dissemble a love complementall exceeding well, and in outward shews raise it up to *gradus ut Otto*. He knowing my prevalency with the Prior, durst not but give me very good entertainment, which continued two dayes, untill I was weary of his complements.

The third day I took my leave of him, who would not yet leave me, but would conduct me to *Comitlan*, whither I was invited by the Prior of that Cloister, named Fryer *Thomas Rocolano*, a *French* man, who being a stranger to the *Spaniards* (for besides him and my self there was no other stranger in that County) desired acquaintance with me, which he began to settle by meeting me at the half way with many *Indians* on horse back, having provided an harbour where we might more conveniently confer and rest while our Chocoiatte and other refreshments were provided. But the Criolian *Peter Martir* was not a little envious, (as I was afterwards informed in the Cloister) to see me so much made of and esteemed in the Countrey, yet his fair words and complements far exceeded the sincerity and down-rightnesse of my *French* friend. At *Comitlan* I stayed a whole week, riding about with the Prior unto the *Indian* Towns, and down the hill to the valley of *Copanabastla*, where I enjoyed much pastime and recreation among the Fryers and *Indians*, and was feasted after the manner of that Countrey, which knoweth more of an Epicurian diet then doth *England*, or any part of *Europe*; nay I am perswaded (and I have heard *Spaniards* confesse it) that *Spain* hath taken from the *India's* since the conquest many lessons for the dressing of severall dishes and compleating a feast or banquet. After the week was ended my *French* friend the Prior conducted me to *Izquintenango*, to see me well furnished up the Mountains of *Cuchumatlanes*. This Town (as I have formerly observed) standeth almost at the end of the Valley of *Copanabastla*, and within two leagues of the *Cuchumatlanes*. It is one of the finest *Indian* Towns of all the Province of *Chiapa*, and very rich, by reason of the much Cotton wooll in it, and especially by reason of its situation, for standing in the Roade way to *Guatémala*, all the Merchants of the Countrey that trade with their mules that way, passe through this Town, and there buy and sell, enriching it with mony and far brought Commodities. It is most plentifully storeed with fruits, especially with what they call *Pina's* or *Piné* fruit. It standeth close by the great River, which runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and hath its spring not far off from the *Cuchumatlanes*, and yet at this Town is very broad and deep. No man nor beast travelling to *Guatémala* can go into it, or from *Guatémala* can go out of it, but by ferrying over. And the Rode being much used and beaten by travellers,

and by such as they call Requas of mules (every Requa consisting of fifty or threescore mules) this Ferry is day and night employed, and yeelds much treasure to the Town at the years end. The *Indians* of the Town besides the ferry boat, have made many other little boats, or Canoa's to go up and down the River. Hither when the Prior of *Comitlan* had brought me, we were waited for by the Vicar or Fryer of that Town with the chief and principall *Indians*, and most of the Canoa's. As we ferryed over, the little Canoa's went before us with the Quiristers of the Church singing before us, and with others sounding their Waits and Trumpets. The Fryer that lived in this Town was called Fryer *Geronymo de Guevara*, little in stature, but great in state, pride and vanity, as he shewed himself in what he had provided for us both of fish and flesh. A brave professour or vower of Mendicancy and poverty he was, who in twelve years that he had lived in that Town, what by mumming of Masses for the dead and living, what by shearing and fleecing the poor *Indians*, what by trading and trafficking with the Merchants that used that Rode, had got six thousand Duckats, which he had sent to *Spain* to the Court of *Madrid*, to trade with them Simoniacally for the Bishoprick of *Chiapa*, which if he obtained not, (yet when I came out of that Countrey the report went that he had obtained it) he would and was well able with a second supply to obtain a better. After two dayes feasting with him, he and the Prior of *Comitlan* both joynded their power and authority to see me well manned with *Indians*, to the first Towne of the *Cucumatlanes*. A mule was prepared to carry my bedding, (which we commonly carried with us in chests of leather called *Petaca's*) another *Indian* to carry my *Petaquilla* wherein was my *Chocolatte* and all implements to make it; and three more *Indians* to ride before and behinde to guide me; but to all these nothing was to be paid, (lest a custome of paying should be brought in, for so they doctored me as a novice in that Countrey) except it were to give them a cup of *Chocolatte* if I drank in the way, or when I came to my journeys end. Here I took my leave of my good *French* friend, (who yet continued friendship with me by frequent letters to *Guatemala*) and of my low but high minded *Guevara*, who bad me expect no friendly entertainment, untill I were well passed over the *Cuchumatlanes* and arrived at *Sacapula*, which was four days journey from thence. Yet he told me I might demand what service I list from the *Indians*, and call for what I had a mind to eat without paying any money, so that I did write down my expences in the common Town Book.

Thus I went away from my friends somewhat heavy, having no other company but unknown *Indians*, leaving a pleasant and delightfome valley behind me, and seeing nothing before me but high and steepy hills and mountaines, and considering that in four or five dayes I should see no more gallant *Dominicans* and of mine own profession. Now I wished I had the company of my *Melendez* and other friends, who were a comfort one to another upon the hills and rocks of *Maguilapa*. Yet at last I concluded, up *English* heart and courage, *quondam hac meminisse juvabit*. Though the Mountains seemed high a far off, yet as I travelled on, I found the way lie between them very easie and passable, and met now and then Requas of mules, which were no little comfort unto me to consider, if they being heavily laden could go through those Mountains, my mule that had in me but a light burden would easily overcome any danger; it comforted me also to consider that there were Towns (though but little ones) where I might rest every night. The further I went, the better and more open I found the Rode; Only the rain and dirt troubled me, which I could not avoid, it being the end of *September*, or as there they reckon, the end of winter. The first Town I came to amongst those Mountains was called *St. Martin*, a little place of some twenty houses; I went to the house that belonged to the *Franciscan* Fryers (who seldom in the year came to that poverty of house and house room) where I lighted and caused the *Indians* to be called who were appointed to give attendance to travellers and passengers. I found them very tractable and dutifull, bidding me welcome, bringing me hot water for my *Chocolatte*, which I drunk off heartily, and gave unto my *Indians* of *Izquimtenango*, who refreshed themselves and their mules well for nothing, this being a custome among those Towns in the Rode to welcome one another whensoever they come with travellers. I might have had for my supper any thing that place would afford, but I made choice of a pullet, which I thought would be cheapest for the poor *Indians*. I was glad I had brought with me a good

big Frasco, as they call it, or bottle of wine, for I began already to find the *Cuchumatlanes* cooler then the valley of *Copanabastla*. My bed was made in a little thatched Cobe, and *Indian* boyes appointed to sleep in the next room to me, and to be at hand if in the night I should want any thing. Thus having appointed what attendance I had need of in the morning to the next Town, discharging the *Indians* that had brought me from *Izquin-senango*, I went into my rest, which I took as quietly as if I had been in the company of my best friends. The next day being accompanied by two *Indians*, having sent my carriage by another, I took my journey to the next Town, which is called *Cuchumatlan grande*, because it standeth on the highest part of those Mountains, and in the way the *Indians* shewed me the head spring or fountain of the great River of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, which is the only remarkable thing in that Rode. *Cuchumatlan grande* is a Town a little bigger then *St. Martin*, and of *Indians* very courteous, who are used and beaten to daily travellers, and to make very much of them. Here I was entertained as the night before; and found the poor *Indians* willing to give me whatsoever I demanded for my better and safer guiding and conducting the next day, and that night for my supper what I pleased to call for, without any pay, but only writing down my name and expences with the day and month in their common book of accounts. This are those poor wretches brought to by the Fryers and commanding Justices, though of themselves they have no more then a Milpa of Maiz as they term it, or a little *Indian* Wheat Plantation, with as much Chile as will suffice them for the year, and what the Merchants and Travellers give them voluntarily, which is little enough. From this Town I would not follow the Rode to the next, which was a long journey of seven or eight leagues without baiting by the way; and also because I had been enformed at *Chiapa* and at *Copanabastla* of a strange picture of our Lady, which was amongst these Mountains in a little Town of *Indians* called *Chiantla*, which in this dayes journey being not above a league out of my way, I was resolved to see. The ways were bad, lying out of the Rode, yet by noon I got to *Chiantla*, which is a Town belonging unto Mercenarian Fryers, who doubtlesse would not be able to subsist in so poor a place, had they not invented that loadstone of their picture of *Mary* and cried it up for miraculous, to draw people far and near, and all travellers from the Rode to pray unto it, and to leave their gifts and almes unto them for their prayers and Masses. Such an income of treasure and riches hath been from deluded and ignorant souls to this beggerly Town, that the Fryers have had wherewith to build a Cloister able to maintain four or five of them. The Church is richly furnished, but especially the high Altar where the picture standeth in a Tabernacle with half a dozen curtains of Silk, Sattin, cloth of gold, with borders of golden lace before it, wearing a rich Crown of gold, thickly beset with Diamonds and other precious stones. There hang before it at least a dozen rich lampes of silver; and in the vestry of the Church are many gownnes, Candlestickes of silver, Censers to burn Frankincense before it, besides rich Copes, Vestments, Ornaments for the Altar, and hangings for all the Church.

To conclude, here is a treasure hid in the Mountains; Oh that it could be found out to do the Lord service! I was welcomed to this place by those Fryers, who were strangers unto me; my head was filled that day by them with relations of strange and many miracles or lies, which they told me of that picture; but the heaviness of my head did me good in something, for it made me more drowsie at night and apter to take good rest. The next day I got into the Rode again, and went to the last Town of these *Cuchumatlanes* called *Chautlan*, where I staid all that day and night, and sent before a letter to the Prior of *Sacapula* of my going thither the next day. In *Chautlan* I was very kindly used by the *Indians*, and liked the Town the better for the excellent grapes which there I found, not planted like vineyards, but growing up in harbours, which shew that if that land were planted, it would certainly yeeld as good grapes for wine, as any are in *Spain*. They are carried from that place to *Guatemala*, which stands from it near forty leagues, and are sold about the streets for rarities and great dainties; and well may they, for from *Mexico* to *Guatemala* there are none like them. The next morning I made hast to be gone, that I might come sooner to *Sacapula*, where I was to finde those of mine own profession, with whom I knew I might stay and rest a whole week if I pleased. I had not rid above three leagues, when I began to discover at a low and deep bottome, a pleasant and goodly valley, laced with a River, whose

waters receiving the glorious brightnesse of *Phabus* beames reverberated up to the top of the Mountain, a delightfome prospect to the beholders; the more I halted to that seeming Paradise, the more did the twinkling and wanton streame invite me down the hill; which I had no sooner descended, but I found in an harbour by the water side the Prior of *Sacapula* himself with a good train of *Indians* waiting for me with a cup of *Chocolatte*. At the first sight I was a little daunted to behold the Prior, who looked most fearfully with a bladder from his throat swelled almost round his neck, which hung over his shoulders and breast, and stayed up his chin, and lifted up his head so, that he could scarce look any whither but up to heaven. In our discourse he told me that disease had been upon him at least ten years, and that the water of that River had caused it in him, and in many others of that Town. This made me now as much out of love with the River, as above the hill I had liked the goodly sight of it, and therefore resolved not to stay so long in that place as I had thought, lest the waters should marke me for all my life, as they had done this Prior; whose name was Fryer *John de la Cruz*, a *Biscaine* born, and (like some of that Nation) a little troubled with the simples, but a good hearted man, humble and well beloved over all the Country both by *Spaniards* and *Indians*. When I came to the Town I discovered many men and women with bladders in their throats like the poor Prior, which made me almost unwilling to drink there any *Chocolatte* made with that water, or eat any thing dressed with it; untill the Prior did much encourage me and told me that it did not hurt all but only some, and those who did drink it cold; wherewith I resolved to stay there four or five dayes, because of the old Priors importunity, who would fain have had me continue to live with him, promising to teach me the *Indian* language in a very short time. But higher matters calling me to *Guatemala*, I excused myself, and continued there five dayes with much recreation. The Town though it be not in the generall very rich, yet there are some *Indian* Merchants who trade about the Country and especially to *Suchtepeques* where is the chief store of *Cacao*, and thereby some of this Town of *Sacapula*, have enriched themselves; the rest of the people trade in pots and pans, which they make of an earth there fit for that purpose. But the principall Merchandize of this place is salt, which they gather in the morning from the ground that lyeth near the River. The aire is hot, by reason the Town standeth low, and compassed with high hills on every side. Besides many good fruits which are here, there are Dates as good as those that come from *Barbary*, and many trees of them in the Garden belonging to the Cloister. After I had here wearied out the wearinesse, which I brought in my bones from the *Cuchumatanes*, I departed taking my way to *Guatemala*, and from *Sacapula* I went to a Town called *St. Andres*, or *St. Andrews*, which standeth six or seven leagues from *Sacapula*, a great Town, but nothing remarkable in it, save only Cotton wooll and *Turkies*, and about it some rich *Estancia's* or *Farmes* of Cattell, which are commodiously seated here, it being a plain *Champaign* Country. Yet at further end of this plain there is a Mountain which discourageth with the sight all such as travell to *Guatemala*; from *St. Andres* I prepared myself for the next dayes journey, which was of nine long leagues, to a very great Town called by two names, by some *Sacnalpa*, by others *Sra. Maria*, *Zojabab*, to the which I could not go without passing over that Mountain. I sent word of going to *Zojabab* the day before (as is the custome there) that mules and horses might meet me upon the Mountain; and the night before I went to a *Rancho* (which is a lodge built for travellers to rest when the journey is long) which stood within a league of the Mountain by a River, where with the waters murmur, and refreshing gales I took good rest. In the morning having refreshed my self, and my *Indians* with *Chocolatte* I set out to incounter with that proud Mountain; and when I came unto it I found it not so hard to overcome, as I had conceited, the way lying with windings and turnings; But the higher I mounted the more my eyes were troubled with looking to the River below, whose rockes were enough to astonish and make a stout heart tremble. About the middle of the Mountain the *Indians* of *Zojabab* met with a mule for me, and another for my carriage in a narrow passage where the way went wheeling. Here I lighted, whilst the *Indians* helped one another to unload and load the mule that came of refresh. Out of the narrow way the side of the Mountain was steepy, and a fearfull precipice of two or three miles to the bottome, almost bare of trees, here and there one only growing. My heart was true unto me, wishing

me to walke up a foot untill I came unto some broader passage; but the *Indians* perceiving my fear told me there was no danger; assuring me further that the Mule they had brought was sure, and had been well used to that mountain. With their perswasions I got up, but no sooner was I mounted when the Mule began to play her pranks and to kick, and to leap out of the way, casting me down and herself, both rouling and tumbling apace to the rocks and death, had not a shrub prevented me, and a tree stopped the Mules blind fury. The *Indians* cried out, *milagro, milagro*, miracle, miracle, *Santo, Santo*, a Saint, a Saint, to me so loud as if they would have had their cry reach to *Rome* to help forward my canonization; for many such miracles have some been noised at *Rome*, and with further contribution of mony have been enrolled in the book and Catalogue of Saints. Whilst the *Indians* helped me up and brought the Mule again into the way, they did nothing but flatter me with this term Saint; which they needed not have done, if as they considered my dangerous fall and stopping at a shrub (which was by chance, and not by miracle) they had further considered my passion and hasty wrath (not befitting a Saint) wherewith I threatned to bast their ribs for deceiving me with a yong Mule not well accustomed to the saddle. But all my hasty words and anger could not discredit me with them, nor lesson their conceipt of my holinesse and sanctity, who hold the anger and wrath of a Priest to be the breath of Gods nostrils, and with this their foolish conceit of me, they kneeled before me kissing my hands. The businesse being further examined, they confessed that they had been mistaken in the Mules, having saddled for me that which should have carried my Petaca's, or leatherne chests, which was a young Mule accustomed only to carriages, and not to the saddle, and upon that which should have been saddled they put my carriage. Whilst they unloaded and loaded again and saddled the right Mule, I walked up the hill about a mile, and when they overtook me I got up and rid till I met with my refreshing harbour and Chocolate, and many *Indians* that came to receive me, among whom it was presently noised that I was a Saint and had wrought a miracle in the way; with this the rest of the *Indians* kneeled to me and kissed my hands, and in the way that we went to the Town, all their talk was of my sanctity. I was much vexed at their simplicity, but the more they saw me unwilling to accept of that honour, the more they pressed it upon me. When I came to the Town I told the Fryer what had happened, and what the foolish *Indians* had conceited; at which he laughed, and told me that he would warrant me if I stayed long in the Town, all the men and women would come to kisse my hands and to offer their gifts unto me. He knew well their qualities, or else had taught them this superstition with many others; for no sooner had we dined, but many were gathered to the Church to see the Saint that was come to their Town, and that had wrought a miracle in the mountain as he came. With this I began to be more troubled then before at the folly of the simple people, and desired the Fryer to check and rebuke them, who by no means would, but rather laughed at it, saying, that in policy we ought to accept of any honour from the *Indians*, for as long as we had credit and an opinion of Saints among them, so long we should prevail to do any thing with them, yea even to command them and their fortunes at our pleasure. With this I went down with the Fryer to the Church, and sat down with him in a chair in the Quire, representing the person of such a Saint as they imagined me to be, though in reality and truth but a wretched sinner.

No sooner had we taken up our places, when the *Indians*, men, women and children came up by three and four, or whole families to the Quire, first kneeling down for my blessing, and then kissing my hands, they began to speak to me in their *Indian* complements to this purpose, that their Town was happy and doubtlesse blessed from heaven by my coming into it, and that they hoped their soules should be much the better if they might partake of my prayers to God for them. And for this purpose some offered unto me mony, some hony, some eggs, some little mantles, some Plantins, and other fruits, some fowles, and some Turkies. The Fryer that sat by me I perceived was overjoyed with this, for he knew I was to be gone, and would leave unto him all those offerings. I desired him to make answer unto the *Indians* in my behalfe, excusing me as not well versed in their language (yet the fools if they thought and judged me to be a Saint, might have expected from me also the gift of tongues) which he did telling them that I had been but a while in that Countrey, and though I understood part of their language, yet could not speak nor pronounce it perfectly, and therefore

therefore from me he did give them hearty thanks for the great love they had shewed unto an Ambassadour of God, witnessing it with so many sorts of offerings, which assuredly should remind him and me of our offerings for them, in our prayers and hearty recommendations of them and their children unto God. Thus was that ceremony ended, the *Indians* dismissed, and the Fryer and I went up to a chamber, where he began to tell his eggs, and fowles and to dispose of some of them for our supper; he told me he would take them, but at my departure would give me somewhat for them; he bad me keep what mony they had given me, and told me I was welcome unto him, and no burdensome gueffe, but very profitable, who had brought with me store of provision for my self and for him many dayes after. The mony I received came to forty Rials, besides twenty which he gave me for the other offerings, which might be worth forty more; all this I got for having a fall from a Mule, and for not breaking my neck. I would faine have departed the next morning, but *John Vidall* (so was the Fryer named) would not permit me, for that the next journey was of at least 10 leagues, and therefore he would have me rest my self the next day.

This Town of *Zojabah*, or *Sacualpa* is the biggest and fairest of all the Towns that belong unto the Priory of *Sacapula*; the *Indians* are rich, and make of their Cotton-wool many mantles, they have plenty of hony, and great flocks of goats and kids; but here, nor in all the Towns behind there is no wheat, save only *Indians* Maiz. The next day some small offerings fell unto me, but nothing like the day before; and so I told the Fryer, that now the peoples devotion was decayed, I would be gone in the morning before day. That night the chief *Indians* of the Towne came to offer their service and attendance upon me to a Rancho or lodge that standeth in the middle way; but I would not accept of the great ones, but desired that I might have three only of the meaner sort to guide me till I met with company from the Town whither I was going, and whither I had sent warning of my coming. The time appointed was three of the clock in the morning; at which hour after a little sleep I was called, and having drunk my *Chocolatte*, and eat a maple bread with a little Conserve, I prepared my self for my journey, and found the *Indians* ready waiting for me in the yard, with pieces of pine-wood, which burn like torches, and with which they use to travell in the night, and to shew the way to him whom they guide. A little from the Town we had some craggy wayes, which indeed had need of lights, but afterwards we came into a plain champaign Countrey, which continued till within a league of the middle way lodge; to the which we were to descend a steep hill. When we came thither (which was about seven in the morning) we found our fresh supply waiting for us, who had set out from their Town at midnight to meet us (note the *Indians* subjection to their Priests command) and had made us a fire, and warmed water for our *Chocolatte*. Which whilst I was drinking, the *Indians* of *Zojabah*, who had guided me thither, gave notice to those that came to receive from *St. Martin* (so was the Town called whither I was that day minded) of my miracle and sanctity, wishing them to reverence and respect me in the way. But not for this their foolish report did I make the *Indians* of *Zojabah* drink every one a cup of *Chocolatte*, and so dismissed them; and took forwards my journey to *St. Martin*. Most of the way was hilly and craggy till we came within two miles of the Town; to the which we arrived by noon. This Town is cold, standing high, yet pleasant for the prospect almost to *Guatemala*; here, and in most of the Towns about it is most excellent Wheat. The hony of this Town is the best in the Countrey; but above all it furnisheth *Guatemala* with Quales, Partridges, and Rabbits. It is the first Town we enter into belonging to the City and command of *Guatemala*; which did not a little comfort me, that now I wanted but one good journey to make an end of my long, tedious and wearisome travelling. The Fryer of this Town named *Thomas de la Cruz* belonged unto the Dominican Cloister of *Guatemala*; he was a *Criolian*, but yet he entertained me very lovingly. I stayed with him but that night. And in the morning (though I might have gone to dinner to *Guatemala*) I would needs go by the way to one of the biggest Townes in that Countrey, called *Chimaltenango*, standing in an open valley three leagues from the City, consisting of a thousand houle-keepers, and rich *Indians* who trade much about the Countrey. In this Town in my time there was one *Indian*, who alone had bestowed upon the Church five thousand duckates. The Church yeelds to none in the City of *Guatemala*, and in musick it exceeds most about the Countrey. The chief feast of *Chimaltenango* is upon

upon the 26. day of July, (which they call St. *Annes* day) and then is the richest fair that ever my eyes beheld in those parts of all sorts of Merchants and Merchandize; It is further set forth with Bul-baiting, Horse-racing, Stage-playes, Maskes, dances, Musick, and all this gallantly performed by the *Indians* of the Town. The Fryer of this Town was a Dominican, belonging to the Cloister of the Dominicans of *Guatemala*, named *Alonso Hidalgo*, a four eyed old man, for he alwayes wore spectacles. He was a *Spaniard* born, but having been brought up in that Country from his youth, and having taken his habit and voves in *Guatemala* amongst the *Criolians*, he degenerated from his birth and Country-men, hating all such as came from *Spain*. He was a deadly enemy to the Provinciall (ayming indeed himself to be Provinciall with the favour of the *Criolians*) and so I perceived he would have picked a quarrell with me) whilst I was with him; he told me I was welcome, though he had little reason to bid any welcome that had come from *Spain*, who he thought came but to supplant those that had been born and brought up there in their own Country, and that for ought he knew, I learning the language of those *Indians* might one day dispossesse him of that Town, wherein he had continued above ten years; he inveyed much against the Provinciall and Fryer *John Baptist* the Prior of *Guatemala*, whom he knew to be my friend; But to all this I answered not a word, respecting his grave and old age, and Crytall spectacles. At last he told me that he had heard say, that the *Indians* of *Zujabab* had cried me up for a Saint, which he could not believe of any that came from *Spain*; much lesse of me that came from *England* a country of hereticks; but he feared rather that I might come as a spie, to view the riches of that their Country, and betray them hereafter to *England*; and that in *Guatemala* there were many rich pieces, especially a picture of our Lady, and a lampe in the Cloister of the Dominicans, which he doubted not but I would be carefull to pry into. But all this I put up with a jest, saying, I would be sure to take notice first of the riches of his chamber in pictures, hangings, and rich Cabinets, and that if the *English* came thither in my time, I would surely conduct them to it; and if he himself would but cause a set of teeth of silver to be set in his gums and jawes in stead of those leaden ones, (for he was so old that he had lost all his teeth, and had got some of lead in their stead) then surely I would also conduct the *English* to him as to a rich prize for his teeth, and that I would warrant him he should be well used for his outward and inward riches; and that this my counsell might be profitable and of consequence to him, I told him; for if the *English* should come, certainly they would try of what metall his teeth were made, thinking that they might be of some rare and exquisite substance found only in that Country, and so might cause him to drink such hot and scalding broath, (to try whether they were lead) as might melt them in his mouth, and make the melted lead to run down his throat, which if they were of silver they would not do. He perceived I jeared him, and so he let me alone; I was glad I had put him out of his former byas of railing; so dinner being ended, I told him I would not stay supper, but go to *Guatemala* to a light supper in the Cloister, for that he had given me such a dinner, as I feared I should not have digested it in few dayes. I desired him to let me have *Indians* to guide me to *Guatemala*, which he willingly performed, peradventure fearing that if I stayed supper with him, I should melt the teeth in his mouth with some scalding cup of my Chocolate brought from *Chimpa*, or that in the night I should rife or plunder his chamber of his rich Idols and Ebony Cabinets. The *Indians* being come, I made hast to be gone from that four eyed beast, being now desirous of a constant rest in *Guatemala*. Within a league from this Town of *Chimaltenango*, the Rode way leaving that open, wide, and spacious valley, contracts and gathereth in it self between hills and mountains standing on each side, and so continueth to the City. From this Valley unto *Guatemala*, neither is there any ascent or descent, but a plain, broad and sandy way. The eye hath much to view, though compassed with Mountains, in these two last leagues; for yet it may behold a Town of *Indians* which taketh up most of the way, and is counted as big as *Chimaltenango*, if not bigger, the houses lying scattered with a distance one from another, mingled with many fair buildings of *Spaniards*, who resort much thither from the City for their recreation. This Town is called *Xocotenango*, of a fruit named *Xocotte*, which is most plentiful there, and all about the Country: it is fresh and cooling, of a yellow colour when ripe, and of two sorts, some sweet, and others sowre, of the stones whereof the *Indians* make a
fire.

fire; they lie so thick in the way, dropping from the trees for want of gathering and spending them all, that the *Spaniards* have begun to practise the buying of Hogs on purpose to let them run about that high way, finding that they fat as speedily and as well with those plummets, as our Hogs do in *England* with Akorns. All this way are also many fair gardens, which supply the Markets of *Guatemala* with herbs, roots, fruits, and flowers all the year. There are further in this Rode three water mills for the corn of the City, whereof the chief and the richest belongs to the Dominican Fryers of *Guatemala*, who keep there a Fryer constantly with three or four Blackmores to do and oversee the work; What will not those Fryers do to satisfie their covetous mindes? Even dusty Millars they will become to get wealth. The Frontispice of the Church of this Town is judged one of the best pieces of work thereabouts; the high Altar within is also rich and stately, being all daubed with gold. I made no stay in this place, because I knew I should have many occasions after my settling in the City to come unto it. And thus keeping between the hills I continued on my journey till I came to *Guatemala*; whose Dominions, riches and greatnesse the following Chapter shall largely shew.

C H A P. XVIII.

Describing the Dominions, Government, Riches, and greatnesse of the City of Guatemala, and Country belonging unto it.

I Had not rid on above a mile from the Church of *Xocotenango*, when the Hills and Mountains seemed to depart one from another, leaving a more spacious object for the eye to behold, and a wider Valley to wander in. The fame of that City from *Mexico* and *Chiapa* had raised up my thoughts to conceit of some strong wals, Towers, Forts or Bulwarks to keep out an aspiring or attempting enemy; But when I came near and least thought of it, I found my self in it without entering through wals, or gates, or passing over any bridge, or finding any watch or guard to examine who I was; but passing by a new built Church, standing near a place of dunghills, where were none but mean houses, some thatched, and some tyled, and asking what Town that was, answer was made me that it was the City of *Guatemala*, and that that, being called *St. Sebastian*, was the only Parish Church of the City. With this my high conceiting thoughts stooped down to think of some second *Chiapa*; till having continued on a while by houses on my right hand and dunghills on my left, I came to a broader street having houses on each side, which seemed to promise a City at hand. At my first turning I discovered a proud and stately Cloister, which was the place of rest to my wearied body. I surrounded it to find out the back gate, and there lighted, and enquired for the Prior, who bad me very welcome, assuring me that for the Provincials sake, I should want no encouragement, and that he would do for me much more then what the Provinciall had signified unto him by Letters. He told me he had been brought up in *Spain*, in the Countrey of *Asturias*, where many *English* ships did use to come, and having seen there many of my Nation, he affected them very much, and to me as one of so good a Nation, and as a stranger and Pilgrime out of my own Country, he would shew all the favour that the utmost of his power could afford. How glad was I, to find in him so contrary an opinion to that of four eyed *Hidalgo*? And how did he performe his words? He was the chief Master and Reader of Divinity in the University, his name Master *Jacinto de Cabanas*, who finding me desirous to follow the Schools, and especially to hear from him some lessons of Theologie, within the first quarter of year, that I had been his constant and attentive Auditor, graced me with a publick act of conclusions of Divinity, which I was to defend under his direction and moderation in the face of the whole University and Assembly of Doctors and Divines, against the Tenents of *Scotus* and *Suarez*. But the principall and head conclusion was concerning the birth of the Virgin *Mary*, whom both Jesuites, *Suarez* and Franciscans, and Scotists hold to have been borne without Originall sinne, or
any

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any guilt or stain of it, against whose fond, foolish and ungrounded fancies, I publickly derided with *Thomas Aquinas*, and all Thomists, that shee (as well as all *Adams* posterity) was born in Originall sin. It was an act, the like whereof had not been so controverted in that Univerſity with arguments in *contra*, and their answers and solutions, and with reasons and arguments in *pro*, many years before. The Jesuites stamped with their feet, clapt with their hands, railed with their tongues, and condemned it with their mouths for a heresie, saying; that in *England*, where were hereticks, such an opinion concerning Christs mother might be held, and defended by me who had my birth among hereticks, but that Master *Cabannas* born among *Spaniards*, and brought up in their Univerſities, and being the chief Reader in that famous Academy should maintain such an opinion, they could not but much marvel and wonder at it. But with patience I told them, that strong reasons, and the further authority of many learned *Thomists* Divines should satisfie their vain and clamorous wondring. The Act was ended, and though with Jesuites I could get no credit, yet with the Dominicans, and with Master *Cabannas*, I got so much that I never after lost it for the space of almost twelve years; but was still honored by the means of this *Cabannas* and Fryer *John Baptist* the Prior of *Chiapa* (who at Christmas ensuing was made Prior of *Guatemala*) with honours and preferments as great as ever stranger was living among *Spaniards*. These two above named being at Candlemas or beginning of *February* that same year at *Chiapa* at the election of a new Provinciall, would not forget me their poorest friend still abiding in *Guatemala*, but remembering that the Univerſity (which belonged chiefly to the Cloister) at Michaelmas would want a new Reader or Master of Arts to begin with Logick, continue through the eight books of Physicks, and to end with the Metaphysicks, propounded me to the new elected Provinciall (whose name was Fryer *John Ximeno*) and to the whole Chapter and conventicle of the Province for Reader of Arts in *Guatemala* the Michaelmas next ensuing. Their suit for me was so earnest and their authority so great that nothing could be denied them; and so they brought unto me from the Provinciall Chapter these ensuing Letters Patents, from Fryer *John Ximeno*, whose form and manner I thought fit here to insert out of the Original in *Spanish* (which to this day abideth with me) for curiosity and satisfaction of my Reader.

Fray Juan Ximeno Predicador General y Prior Provincial desta Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, Orden de Predicadores, Por quanto nuestro Convento de Sancto Domingo de Guatemala carece de Lector de Artes, Por la presente Instituyo y doy por Lector Al Padre fray Thomas de Sancta Maria (so was my name then, and by this name will some *Spaniards* know me, who may chance hereafter to read this, and curse me) por la satisfaccion que tengo de su sufficiencia. Y mando al Pe. Prior del dicho nuestro Convento, le ponga en possession del tal Officio. Y para mayor merito de obedientia, le mande in virtute Spiritus sancti, et sanctae obedientiae, et sub praecepto formalis; In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen. Fecho en este nuestro Convento de Chiapa la Real en nueve de Febrero de 1627. Y la mande sellar con sello mayor de nuestro officio.

Fray Juan
or
Ximeno Plis

Por Mandado de Nostro Rdo.
Padre, Fray Juan de Sto.
Domingo Not'.

Notifique esta Patente a el Contenido, en 12 dias del mes de Abril de 1627.
Fray Juan
Baptista Por.

This Form according to the Originall in *Spanish* is thus in *English*, and to this purpose.

Fryer *John Ximeno* Preacher General, and Prior Provinciall of this Province of Saint Vincent of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, Order of Preachers,
Whereas

Whereas our Convent of Saint *Dominick* of *Guatemala* wanteth and stands in need of a Reader of Arts: By these presents I do institute, name and appoint for Reader Fryer *Thomas* of Saint *Mary*, for the great satisfaction which I have of his sufficiency. And I command the Prior of the aforesaid our Convent, that he put him into full possession and enjoyment of the said Office. And for the greater merit of obedience I command him (our fore-named Reader) by vertue of the Holy Ghost, and of holy obedience, and under a formall precept, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Dated in this our Convent of *Chiapa* the Royall, the ninth of *February*, 1627. And I commanded these to be sealed with the great Seal of our Office.

Fryer *John*
or
Ximeno Pal.

By the command of our Reverend
Father Fryer *John* of *St. Dominick*. Notary.

I notified these Letters Patents, unto the contained in them the 12. day of the moneth of *Aprill*, 1627.

Fryer *John*
Baptist. Por.

This honour conferred upon me a stranger, and new commor to the Province, made the *Criolian* party and some others (who had aymed at that place and preferment in the *Univerfity*) to stomack me. But to me it was a spurre to stir and prick me on to a more eager pursuit of learning, to frequent the *Academy* lessons with more care and diligence; and to spend my self and time, day and night, more in studying; that so I might performe with like honour that which was laid upon me, and answer the expectation of my best and forwardest friends. Three years I continued in this Convent and City in obedience to the forecited Patents; oftentimes I thought within my self that the honour of my *English* Nation here lay upon me in *Guatemala*, in not suffering any *Spaniard* to go beyond me, or to outbrave me with gallant, witty and well seeming arguments; and so many times I would at nine of the clock at night, when others were gone to bed, take in my chamber a cup of hot *Chocolatte*, that with it I might banish sleep from mine eyes, and might the better continue in my study till one or two in the morning, being bound to awake and be up again by six. I was loath in these three years to take upon me any other of such charges which are common in such Convents; but especially to preach much, and to hear the Confessions of such both men and women as resorted to the Church of that Cloister, lest hereby my studies might be hindered, and time spent in other ways. Yet the Prior and Master *Cabannas* would often be very importunate with me, to obtain the Bishops License for hearing of Confessions, and Preaching abroad in the City and Country (for in the Church of that Cloister I might and did sometimes, though seldome, preach with Permission of the Provinciall) but this I strongly refused, untill such time as the Provinciall himself came to *Guatemala*, who hearing me once Preach, would by all means have me further licensed and authorized from the Bishop, that so I might not be straitned within the Cloisters limits, but abroad in other Churches might freely Preach, and thereby get some mony for the better furnishing my self with Bookes. He therefore commanded me to be examined by five examiners all able Divines, for the space of three hours (as is the custome of that Order) and having three hours stood under their hard and rigid questions and examination, having also at the end obtained their approbation, then the Provinciall presented me unto the Bishop with these words following, being taken out of the Originall yet abiding with me.

Fray *Juan Ximeno* Predicador General, y Provincial desta Provincia de *San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala*, Orden de Predicadores, Presento a
Vestra

Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima al Padre Fray Thomas de Sancta Maria, examinado y a provado por cinco examinadores per vota Secreta, conforme a nuestras Constituciones, Para que Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima se sirva de darle licencia para Confessar y Predicar a todo genero de Gente en su Obispado, Conforme a la Clementina, Dudum de Sepulturis.

A Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima Suplico le aya por Presentado, y se sirva de dalle la dicha licencia, que en ello recibire merced.

Fray Juan
or
Ximeno. Palis.

This forme of Presentation, used among them, naming the party presenting, and the party presented, is in English much to this purpose.

FRyer *John Ximeno*, Preacher Generall, and Provinciaall of this Province of *St. Vincent*, of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, Order of Preachers, do present unto your Lordship the father Fryer *Thomas* of *St. Mary* (already examined, and approved by five Examiners by secret Votes, according to our Rule and Constitutions) that your Lordship may be pleased to grant him licence to hear Confessions and to preach to all sorts of people in your Bishoprick, according to that Rule and Canon of Pope *Clement*, beginning with these words, *Dudum de Sepulturis*.

I humbly beseech your Lordship, to have him for presented, and to grant him your foresaid Licence; and therein I shall receive great favour.

Fryer *John*
or
Ximeno. Palis.

The Bishop of *Guatemala* being my great friend, and a well-wisher to learning and especially to that Univerfitee, needed not many words of intreaty, but presently gave me this Licence written on the back-side of the Presentation, and that without any further examination by his Clergy and part of his Chapter, which he may and doth use when he pleaseth.

NOs el Maestro Don Fray Joan de Sandoval, y Capata, de la Orden de San Augustin por la Divina Gracia Obispo de Guatemala y la Vera Paz, del Consejo de su Magistad etc. Por la Presente damos licencia al Padre Fray Thomas de Santa Maria de la Orden de Predicadores Contenido en la Presentation de su Religion atras Conteniada, Para que en todo este nuestro Obispado pueda Predicar, y Predique la Palabra de Dios, y para que pueda administrar, y administre el Sacramento Santo de la Penitencia generalmente a todas las Personas que con el tubieren Devocion de Confessare (excepto Monias) y a las Personas que Confessare pueda absolver, y absuelva de todos sus pecados, Crimines y excessos, excepto de los casos reservados a su santidad, y a Nos por Derecho. Dada en la Ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala, en quarto de Diciembre de Mill, y Seyscientos y veynte y nueve Annos.

Cl. Obispo de
Guatemala

Por Mandado del Ill^{mo}. mi Sen-
nor Pedro Ramirez de Valdes,
Secretario.

This forme of licence to preach and hear confessions, from the Bishop of Guatemala, is worth Englishing for some things in it, which I shall observe with inclosed Parentheses as I goe along for the better reminding my Reader of them.

WTEE (*Bishops in that Church scorn the name of a singular person, shewing they have the power of all persons joyned together in them, of rich and poor, of subject and Prince*) Master and Lord Fryer John de Sandoval y Capata of the Order of St. Augustin (*though brought up in a poor Mendicant Cloister, yet now he takes upon him the title of a Lord, and shewes how Prelates in that Church use to Lord it over the people*) by the Divine Grace Bishop of Guatemala and the Vera Paz (*he styles himself a Bishop by Divine Grace, whereas he himself according to the common report of him, as also are most Bishops there made, was made Bishop not by any Divine Grace, but by unwarranted Simony and favour from Courtiers, having given many thousand Crowns for that his Bishopricke*) of his Majesties Councill (*Bishops there must be Counsellors to Kings, and meddle in Court and Politicke affaires*) by these Present give licence to Father Fryer Thomas of Saint Mary, of the Order of Preachers, contained in the Presentation from his religious Order on the back-side of this our licence, that throughout all our Bishoprick he may and do preach the word of God (*yet I confesse This word of God is little used in Sermons in that Church, but rather the words of Saints of theirs and Fathers, and lying words of miracles, wherewith they stuffe up a whole houres preaching*) and that he may and do administer the holy Sacrament of Penance (*not holy as it came from the mouth of him to whom the Seraphims cry Holy, Holy, Holy, but as it came from the head of Rome, who sacrilegiously styles himself Holinesse and most Holy Father. Not a Sacrament as so left and ordained by Christ, but one of Romes seven Sacraments, which as it is a City known and distinguished by seven hills, so will that Church be known and distinguished from the true Church by seven Sacraments*) generally to all persons, which shall have devotion to confesse with him, excepting Nuns (*this Bishop had in that City one of the six Judges of the Chancery his daughter a Nun called Donna Juana de Maldonado y Paz, whom he loved dearly, and much conferred with her in private in the Cloister, whose private conferences he was jealous they should be known in Confession, and therefore would suffer none to hear Nuns Confessions, but such as were his most intimate friends, and of whom he had great satisfaction, alleading this reason that such as heard Nuns Confessions ought to be very skilfull and experienced in such wayes, and men of age; for that greater cases of Conscience were to be met with in Nuns Confessions, then in others. By which reason he unwisely brought an aspersion upon those Virgins, who should live chastly and holily as separated from the world and inclosed, and yet it seems by this Bishops opinion, that within their inclosed wals sins are committed more grievous then abroad in the wide world, and such as may puzzle a Ghostly Father if not skilfull and ancient*) and that he may and do absolve all persons which shall confesse with him (*if only God can pardon and absolve from sin, Oh how is Gods power arrogated and taken, yea and abused by those sacrilegious Priests!*) from all their sins, crimes, and excesses, excepting such cases as are reserved to his Holinesse, and to us by Canon right. (*A wicked rule and Canon, a Government certainly most cruell and tyrannicall, that binds poor wretches in some cases to go from America to Rome, at least eight thousand miles to clear their Consciences before the Pope, or else they must die without pardon and absolution from sin, many having not meanes to go thither, nor gifts to bestow upon their Pope, who must be bribed to absolve them. O how more sweet,*

comfor-

comfortable and safe is it for a heinous sinner and offendour even at home or in the Church grieving within his heart, and keeping within himself, to lift up a broken heart, and make that poste and flie with wings of Eagles to the high Throne of Gods grace and mercy, with assured confidence that there only is pardon, remission and absolution granted to all such as do truly and unfeignedly repent of their sins, crimes and excesses !) Dated in the City of St. James of Guatemala, the fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1629.

The Bishop of
Gnatemala.

By the Command of my most
Illüstrious Lord, Peter Ramirez
de Valdes. Secretary.

This with full and ample Commission from the Bishop and the Provinciaall was I settled in Guatemala, to read and preach, where (although I might have continued many years, and was offered to read Divinity, having in part begun it one quarter of a year) I continued yet but three years and almost an half for the reason I shall shew hereafter. So what in that time I could observe of that City, and of the Countrey round about, having had occasions to travaile about it both when I lived in Guatemala, and afterwards when I lived for above seven years in the Countrey Towns, I shall truly and faithfully recommend unto my Reader. This City of Guatemala (called by the Spaniards, Santjago, or St. James of Guatemala is seated in a valley, which is not above two miles and a halfe broad, for the high mountains do keep it close in, but in length towards the South-sea it contains a wide and champaigne Countrey, opening it self broader a little beyond that Town, which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, standing somewhat above three miles from Guatemala, Though the mountains on each side do strongly environ it, and especially on the East-side seem to hang over it, yet none of them are hinderers to Travellers, who over them have opened wayes easie for man and beafts though heavily laden with wares of all sorts. The way from Mexico, if taken by the coast of Soconuzco, and Suchutepeques comes into the City North-west-ward, which is a wide, open and sandy rode; if it be taken by Chiapa, it lyeth North-east, and entreth into the City between the mountains, as before hath been noted. West-ward to the South-sea the way lyeth open through the valley and a champaigne Countrey. But South or South-east, the entrance is over high and steepy hills, which is the common rode from Comayagua, Nicaragua, and the Golfo dulce or sweet Gulfe, where the ships come yearly and unlade all the Commodities which are brought from Spain for Guatemala. This also is the way followed by them who take a journey meer East-ward from this City. But the chiefeft mountains, which straighten in this City and valley are two, called Vulcanes, the one being a Vulcan of water, and the other a Vulcan or mountain of fire, termed so by the Spaniards, though very improperly a Vulcan may be said to contain water, it taking its name from the heathenish God Vulcan, whose profession and imployment chiefly was in fire. These two famous mountains stand almost the one over against the other, on each side of the valley; that of water hanging on the South-side almost perpendicularly over the City, the other of fire standing lower from it, more opposite to the old City. That of water is higher then the other, and yeelds a goodly prospect to the sight, being almost all the year green, and full of Indian Milpa's which are plantations of Indian wheat; and in the small and petty Towns which lie some half way up it, some at the foot of it, there are Roses, Lillies, and other flowers all the year long in the Gardens, besides Plantins, Apricookes, and many sorts of sweet and delicate fruits. It is called by the Spaniards, *el Vulcan del agua*, or the Vulcan of water, because on the other side of it from Guatemala it springs with many brooks towards a Town called Saint Christopher, and especially is thought to preserve and nourish on that side also a great lake of fresh water, by the Towns called *Amatitlan* and *Petapa*. But on the side of it towards Guatemala and the valley it yeelds also so many springs of sweet and fresh water, as have caused and made a river which runneth along the valley close by the City, and is that which drives the water-mills spoken of before in *Xocotenango*. This river was not known when first the Spaniards conquered that Countrey; but since, according to their constant Tradition,

on; the City of *Guatemala* standing higher and nearer to the *Vulcan* in that place and Town which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, there lived in it then about the year 1534. a Gentlewoman called *Donna Maria de Castilia*, who having lost her husband in the warres, and that same year buried also all her children, grew so impatient under these her crosses and afflictions, that impiously she defied God, saying, What can God do more unto me now then he hath done? he hath done his worst without it be to take away my life also, which I now regard not. Upon these words there gushed out of this *Vulcan* such a flood of water as carried away this woman with the stream, ruined many of the houses, and caused the inhabitants to remove to the place where now standeth *Guatemala*. This is the *Spaniards* own Tradition, which if true, should be our example to learn to fear and not to defie God, when his judgments shew him to us angry and a God that will overcome, when he judgeth. From that time, and from this their Tradition is the Town now standing where first stood *Guatemala*, called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, and hath continued a river which before was not known, having its head and spring from this high *Vulcan*, whose pleasant springs, gardens, fruits, flowers and every green and flourishing prospect might be a fair object to a *Martials* wit, who here would fancie a new *Parnassus*, find out new steps of flying *Pegasus*, and greet the Nymphes and nine Sisters with this their never yet discovered and *American* habitation. This *Vulcan* or mountain is not so pleasing to the sight (whose height is judged full nine miles unto the top) but the other which standeth on the other side of the valley opposite unto it, is unpleasing and more dreadfull to behold; for here are ashes for beauty, stones and flints for fruits and flowers, baldnesse for greenesse, barrennesse for fruitfulnessse, for water whisperings and fountain murmurs, noise of thunders and roaring of consuming metals, for running streams, flashings of fire, for tall and mighty trees and Cedars, Castles of smoak rising in height to out-dare the skie and firmament, for sweet and odórisferous and fragrant smels, a stink of fire and brimstone, which are still in action striving within the bowels of that ever burning and fiery *Vulcan*. Thus is *Guatemala* seated in the midst of a *Paradise* on the one side and a hell on the other, yet never hath this hell broke so loose as to consume that flourishing City. True it is formerly many years agoe it opened a wide mouth on the top, and breathed out such fiery ashes as filled the houses of *Guatemala* and the Countrey about, and parched all the plants and fruits, and spued out such stones and rocks which had they fallen upon the City would have crushed it to pieces, but they fell not far from it, but to this day lie about the bottome and sides of it, causing wonder to those that behold them, and taking away admiration from them that admire the force and strength of fire and power in carrying on a weighty bullet from the mouth of a canon, whereas here the fire of this mountain hath cast up into the aire and tumbled down to the bottom of it such rockes as in bignesse exceed a reasonable house, and which not the strength of any twenty Mules (as hath been tried) have been able to remove. The fire which flasheth out of the top of this mountain is sometimes more and sometimes lesse; yet while I lived in the City, on a certain time for the space of three or four dayes and nights it did so burne that my friend Mr. *Cabannas* confidently avouched to me and others, that standing one night in his window he had with the light of that fire read a letter, the distance being above three *English* miles. The roaring also of this monstrous beast is not constantly alike, but is greater in the summer time then in the winter, that is, from *October* to the end of *April*, then all the rest of the year; for then it seems, the winds entring into those concavities set the fire on work harder then at other times, and cause the mountain to roar and the earth about to quake. There was a time three years before my coming to that City, when the inhabitants expected nothing but utter ruine and destruction, and durst not abide within their houses for nine dayes (the earthquakes continuing and encreasing more and more) but made bowers and arbours in the Market place, placing there their Idoll Saints and Images, especially St. *Sebastian*, whom they hoped would deliver them from that judgment, and for this purpose they dayly carried him through the streets in solemn and Idolatrous procession and adoration. But all the while I lived there the noise within the mountain, the smoak and flashes of fire without, and the Sumner earth-quakes were such that with the use and custome of them I never feared any thing, but thought that City the healthiest and pleasantest place of dwelling that ever I came into in all my travels. The climate is very temperate, far exceeding either *Mexico* or *Guaxaca*. Neither are the two fore-named Cities better stored

stored with fruits, herbes for salets, provision of fish, and flesh, Beef, Mutton, Veal, Kid, Fowles, Turkeys, Rabbits, Quails, Partridges, Pheasants, and of *Indian* and *Spanis* Wheat, then is this City: from the South Sea (which lyeth in some places not above twelve leagues from it) and from the Rivers of the South Sea Coast, and from the fresh Lake of *Amatitlan* and *Petapa*, and from another Lake lying three or four leagues from *Chimaltenango*, it is well and plentifully provided for of fish. But for Beef there is such plenty, that it exceeds all parts of *America*, without exception, as may be known by the Hydes, which are sent yearly to *Spain* from the Countrey of *Guatemala*, where they commonly kill their Cattell, more for the gain of their Hydes in *Spain*, then for the goodnesse or fatnesse of the flesh, which though it be not to compare to our *English* Beef, yet it is good mans meat, and so cheap, that in my tyme it was commonly sold at thirteen pound and a half for half a Riall, the least coyne there, and as much as three pence here. Though all about this Countrey there are very great and spacious Estancia's, or Farms for breeding only, even neer to the *Golfo Dulce*, where the ships ride that come from *Spain*, yet from *Comayagua*, *St. Salvador* and *Nicaragua*, is *Guatemala* stored; But above all are the great Estancia's in the South Sea Coast or Marsh, where in my tyme there was a Grazier that reckoned up going in his own Estancia and ground, forty thousand heads of Beasts, small and great, besides many which are called there *Simarrones*, or wild Cattell, which were strayed among the Woods and Mountains, and could not be gathered in with the rest, but were hunted by the *Black-mores* like wild Bores, and dayly shot to death, lest they should too much increase and do hurt. My self chanced to be present at the Fair of the Town of *Petapa*, with a friend named *Lope de Chaves*, (who was as they call there, *Obligado*, or charged to provide flesh for six or seven Towns thereabouts) who at one bargain, and of one man, bought six thousand head of Cattell, great and small, paying one with another eighteen Rials, or nine *English* shillings a head.

The manner and custome of *Guatemala* for the better providing both Beef and Mutton for it, and the Countrey Towns about, is this. Nine dayes before *Michaëlmās*, every day Proclamation is made about the City for an *Obligado*, or one that will be bound to the City and Countrey for competent provision of Flesh meat upon forfeiture of such a summe of money to his Majesty, if he fail, as shall be agreed upon between him and the Court; and to the Inhabitants of the City; if he fail in Beef, he is to allow in Mutton so many pounds at the same rate as he should have allowed Beef. If the *Obligado* fail in Mutton, he is to allow in Fowle flesh, so many pounds and at the same rate as he was to allow the Mutton; and this with consideration of the family, what competent allowance of flesh meat shall be judged for a day, or the dayes that the *Obligado* shall fail. Besides this the Proclamation is made for whom offers most to his Majesty for one years Obligation. So that sometimes it happeneth that the eight dayes severall men come into the Court, offering more and more, till upon the ninth day and last Proclamation, the Office is settled for one year upon him that hath offered most unto his Majesty. Thus many Butchers are not allowed but one only *Obligado*, who also is abridged to so many pound for so much money, so that if any other besides him offer to kill or sell, he may follow an action and the Court against him: Thus the *Obligado* (who commonly is a monied man) buyeth by the hundred or by the thousand, as for the present he findeth the expence of the City, without he be himself such a Grazier, as hath Cattell enough of his own. Though Mutton be not so plentifull as is Beef, yet there never wants from the Valley of *Mixco*, *Penola*, *Pitapa*, and *Amatitlan*, and the Marsh and other places. In the Valley forenamed I lived, and was well acquainted with one *Alonso Capata*, who had constantly going in the Valley four thousand sheep. *Guatemala* therefore is so well stored with good provision, plentifull and cheap, that it is hard to finde in it a begger, for with half a Riall the poorest may buy Beef for a week, and with a few Cacao's they may have bread of *Indian* Maiz, if not of *Spanis* Wheat. This City may consist of about five thousand families, besides a Suburb of *Indians* called *el Barrio de Sto. Domingo*, where may be two hundred families more. The best part of the City is that which joyneth to this Suburb of *Indians*, and is called also *el Barrio Santo de Domingo*, by reason of the Cloister of *Saint Dominick* which standeth in it. Here are the richest and best shops of the City, with the best buildings, most of the houses being new, and stately. Here is also a dayly Tianguetz (as they call it) or petty Market, where some

Indians all the day sit selling fruits, Herbs, and Cacao, but at the four in the afternoon, this Market is filled for a matter of an hour, where the *Indian* women meet to sell their Countrey flap, (which is dainties to the *Criolians*) as *Atolle*, *Pinole*, scalded *Plantains*, butter of the *Cacao*, puddings made of *Indian Maiz*, with a bit of *Fowle* or fresh *Porke* in them seasoned with much red biting *Chille*, which they call *Anacatamales*. The trading of the City is great, for by mules it partakes of the best commodities of *Mexico*, *Guaxaca* and *Chiapa*, and Southward of *Nicaragua*, and *Costarica*. By Sea it hath commerce with *Peru*, by two Sea ports and Havens, the one called *la Villa de la Trinidad*, the Village of the *Trinity*, which lyeth Southward from it five and twenty leagues; and by another called *el Realejo*, which lyeth five or six and forty leagues from it. It hath traffique with *Spain* by the North Sea from *Golfo dulce*, lying threescore leagues from it. It is not so rich as other Cities, yet for the quantity of it, it yeelds to none. There were in my time five (besides many other Merchants who were judged worth twenty thousand Duckats, thirty thousand, fifty thousand, some few a hundred thousand) who were judged of equally wealth, and generally reported to be worth each of them five hundred thousand Duckats; the first was *Thomas de Silvezer*, a *Biscain* born, and *Alcalde de Corte*, the Kings high Justice, or chief Officer at Court; the second was *Antonio Justiniانو*, a *Genovois* born, and one that bore often Offices in the City, and had many Tenements and houses, especially a great and rich Farm for Corn and Wheat in the Valley of *Mexico*. The third was *Pedro de Lira*, born in *Castilia*, the fourth and fifth, *Antonio Fernandez*, and *Barrotoime Nunez*, both *Portingals*, whereof the first in my time departed from *Guatemala* for some reasons which here I must conceale. The other four I left there, the three of them living at that end of the City called *Barrio de Santo Domingo*, or the street of *St. Dominick*, whose houses and presence makes that street excell all the rest of the City, and their wealth and trading were enough to denominate *Guatemala* a very rich City. The Government of all the Countrey about, and of all *Honduras*, *Soconusco*, *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua*, *Costa Rica*, *Vera Paz*, *Cuchurepeques*, and *Chiapa*; is subordinate unto the Chancery of *Guatemala*; for although every Governour over these severall Provinces is appointed by the King and Councill of *Spain*, yet when they come to those parts to the enjoyment of their charge and execution office, then their actions, if unjust, are weighed, judged, censured, and condemned by the Court residing in the City. This Court of Chancery consisteth of a President, six Judges, one Kings Attourney, and two chief Justices of Court. The President though he have not the name and title of Viceroy, as they of *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet his power is as great and absolute as theirs. His Pension from the King is but twelve thousand Duckats a year; but besides this, if he be covetous, he makes by bribes and trading twice as much more, nay what he list, as was seen in the Count de la *Gomera*, President of that City and Chancery for the space of fourteen years, who departed in old age from *Guatemala* to *Canaria* (where was his house and place of birth) worth Millions of Duckats. After him succeeded *Don Juan de Guzman*, formerly President of *Santo Domingo*, who losing his Wife and Lady in the way, lost also his former spirit and courage, betaking himself wholly to his devotions, contemning wealth and riches, governing with love and mildnesse, which made the rest of the Judges, who were all for lucre, soon weary him out of his office, continuing in it but five years. His successor (whom I left there when I came away) was *Don Gonfalo de Paz y Lorenzana*, who was promoted from the Presidency of *Panama* to that place, and came into it with such a spirit of covetousnesse as the like had not been seen in any former President. He forbid all gaming in private houses in the City, which there is much used (though by women not so much as in *Mexico*) not for that he hated it, but because he envied others, what they got and gained by their Cards, drawing to himself thereby all that gain, spending sometimes in one night four and twenty paire of Cards, appointing a Page to assist at the Tables, and to see the box well paid for every pair of Cards, which for his, and his Court respect, was seldome lesse then a crown or two for every pair. Thus did he lick up with his Cards most of the gamblers gaines, and would grudge and pick quarrels with such rich men whom he knew to affect gaming; if they frequented not his Court at night time for that bewitching Rerreation.

The Pension which the King alloweth to every Judge of Chancery is four thousand
Duckats

Duckats yearly, and three thousand to his Attorney, all which is paid out of the Kings Exchequer abiding in that City. Yet what besides they get by bribes, and trading is so much, that I have heard a Judge himself *Don Luis de las Infantas*, say, that though a Judges place at *Mexico* and *Lima* be more honourable, yet none more profitable then *Guatemala*. In my time were such causes at Chancery tried, as had never been, of murthers, robberies, and oppressions, and whereas it was expected the offendants should be hanged, some banished, some imprisoned, some by fines impoverished, bribes took all off, so that I never knew one hanged in that City for the space of above eight years. The Churches though they be not so fair and rich as those of *Mexico*, yet they are for that place wealthy enough. There is but one Parish Church and a Cathedrall which standeth in the chief Marketplace: All the other Churches belonging to Cloisters, which are of Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenarians, Augustines, and Jesuites, and two of Nuns, called the Conception and *St. Catharine*. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarians are stately Cloisters, containing neer a hundred Fryers a piece; but above all is the Cloister where I lived, of the Dominicans, to which is joyned in a great Walk before the Church the University of the City. The yearly revenues which come into this Cloister, what from the *Indian* Towns belonging to it, what from a water-mill, what from a farme for Corn, what from an Estancia, or farme for Horses and Mules, what from an Ingenio, or farme of Sugar, what from a Mine of silver given unto it the year 1633. are judged to be (excepting all charges) at least thirty thousand duckats; wherewith those fat Fryers feast themselves, and have to spare to build, and enrich their Church and Altars. Besides much treasure belonging to it; there are two things in it, which the *Spaniards* in merriment would often tell me that the *English* Nation did much enquire after; when they took any ship of theirs at Sea, and that they feared I was come to spie them, which were a Lampe of silver hanging before the high Altar, so big as required the strength of three men to hale it up with a rope; but the other is of more value; which is a picture of the Virgin *Mary* of pure silver, and of the stature of a reasonable tall woman, which standeth in a Tabernacle made on purpose in a Chappel of the Rosary with at least a dozen lampes of silver also burning before it. A hundred thousand duckats might soon be made up of the treasure belonging to that Church and Cloister. Within the wals of the Cloister there is nothing wanting which may further pleasure and recreation. In the lower Cloister there is a spacious garden, in the midst whereof is a fountain casting up the water, and spouting it out of at least a dozen pipes, which fill two ponds full of fishes, and with this their constant running give musicke to the whole Cloister, and encouragement to many water-fowles and Ducks to bath and wash themselves therein. Yet further within the Cloister, there are other two gardens for fruits and herbage, and in the one a pond of a quarter of a mile long, all paved at the bottom, and a low stone wall about, where is a boat for the Fryers recreation, who often goe thither to fish, and do sometimes upon a suddain want or occasion take out from thence as much fish as will give to the whole Cloister a dinner. The other Cloisters of the City are also rich; but next to the Dominicans is the Cloister of Nuns, called the Conception, in which at my time there were judged to live a thousand women, not all Nuns, but Nuns, and their serving maids or slaves, and young children which were brought up and taught to work by the Nuns. The Nuns that are professed bring with them their portions, five hundred duckats the least, some six hundred, some seven, and some a thousand, which portions after a few years (and continuing to the Cloister after the Nuns decease) come to make up a great yearly rent. They that will have maids within to wait on them may, bringing the bigger portion, or allowing yearly for their servants diet. In this Cloister lived that *Donna Juana de Maldonado* Judge *Juan Maldonado de Paz* his daughter, whom the Bishop so much conversed withall. She was very fair and beautifull, and not much above twenty years of age; and yet his love blinding him, he strove what he could in my time against all the ancient Nuns and Sisters, to make her Superiour and Abbesse; and caused such a mutiny and strife in that Cloister, which was very scandalous to the whole City, and made many rich Merchants and Gentlemen run to the Cloister with their swords drawne, threatening to break in amongst the Nuns to defend their daughters against the powerfull faction which the Bishop had wrought for *Donna Juana de Maldonado*, which they had performed if the President *Don Juan de Guzman* had not sent *Juan Maldonado de Paz*, the yong Nuns father, to intreat her to desist in regard

of her yong age from her ambitious thoughts of being Abbesse. With this the mutiny both within and without ceased, the Bishop got but shame, and his young sister continued as before under command and obedience, to a more religious, grave, and aged Nun then her self. This *Donna Juana de Maldonado y Paz* was the wonder of all that Cloister, yea of all the City for her excellent voice, and skill in musick, and in carriage, and education yeelded to none abroad nor within; she was witty, well spoken and above all a *Calliope*, or Muse for ingenious and suddain verses; which the Bishop said, so much moved him to delight in her company and conversation. Her Father thought nothing too good, nor too much for her; and therefore having no other children, he dayly conferred upon her riches, as might best beseem a Nun, as rich and costly Cabinets faced with gold and silver, pictures and Idols for her chamber with crowns and jewels to adorn them; which with other presents from the Bishop (who dying in my time left not wherewith to pay his debts, for that as the report went, he had spent himself and given all unto this Nun) made this *Donna Juana de Maldonado* so rich and stately, that at her own charges she built for herself a new quarter within the Cloister with rooms and galleries, and a private garden walke, and kept at worke and to wait on her half a dozen *Black-more* maids; but above all she placed her delight in a private chappell or Closet to pray in, being hung with rich hangings, and round about it costly lamina's (as they call them) or pictures painted upon brasse set in black Ebony frames with corners of gold, some of silver brought to her from *Rome*; her Altar was accordingly decked with Jewels, Candlesticks, Crownes, Lamps, and covered with a Canopie embroidered with gold; in her Closet she had her small organ, and many sorts of musicall instruments, whereupon she played sometimes by herself, sometimes with her best friends of the Nuns; and here especially she entertained with musick her beloved the Bishop. Her Chappell or place of devotion was credibly reported about the City to be worth at least six thousand crowns which was enough for a Nun that had vowed chastity, poverty, and obedience. But all this after her decease she was to leave to the Cloister; and doubtlesse with this State, and riches she would win more and more the hearts of the common sort of Nuns, till she had made a strong party, which by this may have made her Abbesse. Thus is ambition and desire of command and power crept into the walls of Nunneries, like the abominations in the wall of *Ezekiel*, and hath possessed the hearts of Nuns, which should be humble, poor, and mortified Virgins.

But besides this one Nun, there are more, and also Fryers, who are very rich, for if the City be rich (as is this) and great trading in it, they will be sure to have a share. Great plenty and wealth hath made the inhabitants as proud and vicious, as are those of *Mexico*. Here is not only Idolatry, but Fornication and uncleannesse as publick as in any place of the *India's*: The *Mulatta's*, *Black-mores*, *Mestica's*, *Indians*, and all common sort of people are much made on by the greater and richer sort, and go as gallantly apparrelled as do those of *Mexico*, fearing neither a Vulcan, or mountain of water on the one side; which they confesse hath once powred out a flood and river executing Gods wrath against sin there committed; neither a Vulcan of fire, or mouth of hell on the other side, roaring within and threatning to rain upon them *Sodom's* ruine and destruction; neither the weaknesse of their habitation; lying wide open on every side, without wals, or workes, or bulwarkes, to defend them, or without guns, drakes, bullets, or any Ammunition to scare away an approaching enemy, who may safely come and without resistance upon them who live as professed enemies of Jesus Christ. This is the City of *St. James* or *Santjago de Guatimala*, the head of a vaste and ample Dominion, which extendeth it self nine hundred miles to *Nicoya* and *Costa Rica* South-ward; three hundred miles to *Chiapa* and *Zoques* North-ward; a hundred and fourscore miles to the further parts of *Vera Paz*, and the *Golfo dulce* East-ward; and to the South-sea twenty or thirty, in some places forty miles West-ward.

From *Tepoantepeque* (which is no harbour for any great ships) which standeth from *Guatemala* at least four hundred miles, there is no landing place for ships nearer to this City then is the village *de la Trinidad*, or of the Trinity. The chief commodities which from along that coast are brought to *Guatemala*, are from the Provinces of *Socunusco* and *Suchutepeques*, which are extreame hot, and subject to thunder and lightning, where groweth scarce any remarkable commodity, save only *Cacao*, *Achiotte*, *Mecasuchil*,

Mechasuchil, *Bainillas* and other drugs for Chocolate, except it be some *Indigo* and *Cochinil* about *St. Antonio*, which is the chief and head Town of all the *Suchetepeques*. But all the coast neer joyning to *Guatemala*, especially about a Town called *Izgrinta*; or *Izquintepeque* twelve leagues from *Guatemala*, is absolutely the richest part of the Dominion of this City; for there is made the greatest part of the *Indigo* which is sent from *Honduras* to *Spain*; besides the mighty farms of Cattell which are all along that marsh. Though the living there be profitable and the soil rich, yet it is uncomfortable by reason of the great heat, thundrings and lightnings, especially from *May* to *Michaelsmas*. If *Guatemala* be strong (though not in Weapons or Ammunition) in people, it is strong from hence from a desperate sort of *Black-mores*, who are slaves in those *Estancia's* and farms of *Indigo*. Though they have no weapons but a *Machete*, which is a short Tuck, or lances to run at the wilde Cattell, yet with these they are so desperate, that the City of *Guatemala* hath often been afraid of them, and the Masters of their own slaves and servants. Some of them fear not to encounter a Bull though wild and mad, and to grapple in the rivers (which are many there) with Crocodiles, or Lagarto's, as there they call them, till they have overmastered them, and brought them out to land from the water.

This hot, but rich Countrey runs on by the Sea side unto the Village of the Trinity, which (though somewhat dangerous) yet is a haven for ships from *Panama*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*; It serves to enrich *Guatemala*, but not to strengthen it, for it hath neither fort, nor bulwarke, nor Castle, nor any Ammunition to defend it self. Between this Village and the other Haven called *Realejo*, there is a great Creek from the Sea; where small vessels do use to come in for fresh water and Victuals to *St. Miguel* a Town of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, from whence those that travaile to *Realejo* passe over in lesse then a day to a Town of *Indians* called *La Vieja*, two miles from *Realejo*, whither the journey by land from *St. Miguel* is of at least three dayes. But neither this Creek or Arme of the Sea is fortified (which might be done with one or two pieces of Ordinance at most placed at the mouth of the seas entrance) neither is the *Realejo* strong with any Ammunition, no nor with people, for it consists not of above two hundred families, and most of them are *Indians* and *Mestico's*; a people of no courage, and very unfit to defend such an open passage to *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, which here begins and continues in small and petty *Indian* Towns unto *Leon* and *Granada*.

On the North side of *Guatemala* I shall not need to add to what hath been said of *Suchetepeques* and *Soconusco*, and my journey that way from *Mexico* and *Chiapa*. The chief side of *Guatemala* is that on the East, which points out the way to the Golfe, or Golfe dulce, or as others call it *St. Thomas de Castilia*. This way is more beaten by Mules and Travellers, then that on the North side, for that *Mexico* standeth three hundred leagues from this City, and the Golfe but threescore, and no such passages as are in some places in the Rode to *Mexico*. Besides the great trading, commerce, and traffique, which this City enjoyeth by that Golfe from *Spain*, hath made that Rode exceed all the rest. In *July* or at farthest in the beginning of *August* come into that Golfe three ships, or two, and frigate, and unlade what they have brought from *Spain* in *Bodega's* or great Lodges, built on purpose to keep dry and from the weather the commodities. They presently make hast to lade again from *Guatemala* those Merchants commodities of return, which peradventure have lien waiting for them in the *Bodega's* two or three moneths before the ships arrivall. So that these three moneths of *July*, *August* and *September*, there is sure to be found a great treasure. And O the simplicity or security of the *Spaniards*, who appoint no other watch over these their riches, save only one or two *Indians* and as many *Mulatto's*, who commonly are such as have for their misdemeanours been condemned to live in that old and ruinated Castle of *St. Thomas de Castilia*! True it is, above it there is a little and ragged Town of *Indians*, called *St. Pedro*, consisting of some thirty families, who by reason of the exceeding heat, and unhealthinesse of the air, are alwayes sickly and scarce able to stand upon their legs. But the weaknesse of this Golfe within might well be remedied and supplied at the mouth of the Sea, or entrance into it by one or two at the most good pieces of Ordinance placed there. For the entrance into this Golfe is but as one should come in at the door of some great Palace, where although the dore and entrance be narrow, the house within is wide and capacious. Such is this Golfe, whose entrance is straitned with two rocks or mountains on each side (which would well become two great Pieces, and

and so scorne a whole fleet, and secure a Kingdome of *Guatemala*, nay most of all *America*) but here being no watch nor defence, the ships come freely and safely in (as have done some both *English* and *Holland* ships) and being entred find a rode and harbour so wide and capacious as may well secure a thousand ships there riding at anchor, without any thought of fear from *St. Pedro*, or *Santo Thomas de Castilia*. I have often heard the *Spaniards* jeer and laugh at the *English* and *Hollanders*, for that they having come into this Golfe, have gone away without attempting any thing further upon the land. Nay while I lived there, the *Hollanders* set upon *Truxillo* the head Port of *Comayagua* and *Honduras*, and took it (though there were some resistance) the people for the most part flying to the woods, trusting more to their feet then to their hands and weapons (such cowards is all that Countrey full of) and whilst they might have fortified themselves there, and gone into the Countrey, or fortifying that have come on to the Golfe (all *Guatemala* fearing it much and not being able to resist them) they left *Truxillo*, contenting themselves with a small pillage, and gave occasion to the *Spaniards* to rejoyce and to make processions of thanksgiving for their safe deliverance out of their enemies hands.

The way from this Golfe to *Guatemala* is not so bad as some report and conceive, especially after *Michaelmas* untill *May*, when the winter and rain is past and gone, and the winds begin to dry up the wayes, For in the worst of the year Mules laden with four hundred waight at least go easily thorow the steepest, deepest, and most dangerous passages of the Mountains that lie about this Golf. And though the wayes are at that time of the year bad, yet they are so beaten with the Mules, and so wide and open, that one bad step and passage may be avoided for a better; and the worst of this way continues but fifteen leagues, there being Rancho's or Lodges in the way, Cattell and Mules also among the Woods and Mountains, for relief and comfort to a weary Traveller. What the *Spaniards* most fear untill they come out of these Mountains, are some two or three hundred *Black-mores*, *Simarrones*, who for too much hard usage, have fled away from *Guatemala* and other parts from their Masters unto these woods, and there live and bring up their children and encrease dayly, so that all the power of *Guatemala*, nay all the Countrey about (having often attempted it) is not able to bring them under subjection. These often come out to the rode way, and set upon the Requa's of Mules, and take of Wine, Iron, Clothing and Weapons from them as much as they need, without doing any harme unto the people, or slaves that go with the Mules; but rather these rejoyce with them, being of one colour, and subject to slavery and misery which the others have shaken off; by whose example and encouragement many of these shake off their misery, and joyne with them to enjoy liberty, though it be but in the Woods and Mountains. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes which they use and carry about them, only to defend themselves, if the *Spaniards* set upon them; else they use them not against the *Spaniards*, who travell quietly and give them part of what provision they carry. These have often said that the chief cause of their flying to those mountains is to be in a readinesse to joyne with the *English* or *Hollanders*, if ever they land in that Golfe; for they know, from them they may enjoy that liberty which the *Spaniards* will never grant unto them. After the first fifteen leagues the way is better, and there are little Towns and villages of *Indians*, who relieve with provision both man and beast. Fifteen leagues further is a great Town of *Indians*, called *Acasabaflan*, standing upon a river, which for fish is held the best in all that Countrey. Though there are many forts, yet above all there is one which they call *Bobo*, a thick round fish as long or longer then a mans arme, with only a middle bone, as white as milke, as fat as butter, and good to boil, fry, stew or bake. There is also from hence most of the way to *Guatemala* in brooks and shallow rivers, one of the best sort of fishes in the world, which the *Spaniards* judge to be a kind of Trout, it is called there *Tepemechin*, the fat whereof resembles veal more then fish.

This Town of *Acasabaflan* is governed by a *Spaniard* who is called *Corrigidor*; his power extendeth no further then to the Golfe, and to those Towns in the way. This Governour hath often attempted to bring in those *Simarrones* from the mountains, but could never prevaile against them. All the strength of this place may be some twenty muskets (for so many *Spanish* houses there may be in the Town) and some few *Indians* that use bowes and arrowes, for the defence of the Town against the *Black-more Simarrones*.

About *Acacabaflan*, there are many *Eftancia's* of Cattell and Mules, much Cacao, Achiotte, and drugs for Chocolate; There is also Apothecary drugs, as *Zarzaparilla*, and *Canna fistula*, and in the Town as much variety of fruits and gardens, as in any one *Indian* Town in the Country; But above all *Acacabaflan* is far known, and much esteemed of in the City of *Guatemala*, for excellent Muskmillions, some small, some bigger then a mans head, wherewith the *Indians* load their mules and carry them to sell all over the Country. From hence to *Guatemala*, there are but thirty short leagues, and though some hills there be, ascents and descents, yet nothing troublesome to man or beast. Among these Mountains there have been discovered some mines of metall, which the *Spaniards* have begun to digge, and finding that they have been some of Copper, and some of Iron, they have let them alone, judging them more chargeable then profitable. But greater profit have the *Spaniards* lost, then of Iron and Copper, for using the poor *Indians* too hardly, and that in this way, from *Acacabaflan* to *Guatemala*, especially about a place called, *el Ague Caliente* the hot water, where is a River, out of which in some places formerly the *Indians* found such store of gold, that they were charged by the *Spaniards*, with a yearly tribute of gold. But the *Spaniards* being like *Valdivia* in *Chille*, too greedy after it, murdering the *Indians* for not discovering unto them wherabout this treasure lay, have lost both treasure and *Indians* also. Yet unto this day search is made about the Mountains, the River, and the sands for the hidden treasure, which peradventure by Gods order and appointment, doth and shall lie hid, and be kept for a people better knowing and honouring their God. At this place called *el Ague Caliente*, or the hot water, liveth a Blackmore in an *Eftancia* of his own, who is held to be very rich, and gives good entertainment to the Travellers that passe that way; he is rich in Cattell, Sheep, and Goats, and from his Farm stores *Guatemala* and the people thereabout with the best Cheese of all that Country. But his riches are thought not so much to increase from his Farm and cheeses, but from this hidden treasure, which credibly is reported to be known unto him. He hath been questioned about it in the Chancery of *Guatemala*, but hath denyed often any such treasure to be known unto him. The jealousy and suspicion of him, is, for that formerly having been a slave, he bought his freedome with great summes of money, and since he hath been free, hath bought that farm and much land lying to it, and hath exceedingly increased his stock; To which he answereth, that when he was young and a slave, he had a good Maister, who let him get for himself what he could, and that he playing the good husband, gathered as much as would buy his liberty, and at first a little house to live in, to the which God hath since given a blessing with a greater increase of stock. From this hot water three or four leagues, there is another River called, *Rio de las Vaccas*, or the River of *Cowes*, where are a company of poor and Country people most of them *Mestizo's*, and *Mulatto's*, who live in thatched houses, with some small stock of Cattell, spending their time also in searching for sands of Gold, hoping that one day by their diligent search they and their children, and all their Country shall be enriched, and that *Rio de las Vaccas*, shall parallel *Patolus*, and stirre up the wits of Poets to speak of it as much as ever they have spoke of that. From this River is presently discovered the pleafantest valley in all that Country, (where my self did live at least five years) called the Valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola*, lying six leagues from *Guatemala*, being fifteen miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth; Out of the inclosures this Valley is stored with sheep; the ground inclosed is divided into many *Farmes*, where groweth better wheat then any in the Country of *Mexico*. From this Valley the City is well provided of wheat, and Bisket is made for the ships that come every year unto the Golf. It is called the Valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola* from two Townes of *Indians*, so called, standing opposite the one to the other on each side of the Valley, *Pinola*, on the left side from *Rio de las Vaccas*, and *Mixco* on the right. Here do live many rich Farmers, but yet Country and clownish people, who know more of breaking clods of earth, then of managing Armes offensive or defensive. But among them I must not forget one friend of mine, called *Juan Palomeque*, whom I should have more esteemed of then I did if I could have prevailed with him to have made him live more like a man then a beast, more like a free man then a bond slave to his gold and silver. This man had in my time three hundred lusty mules trained up in the way of the Golf, which he divided into six *Requa's*, or companies; and for them he kept above a hundred *Black-more* slaves, men, women,

and

and children, who lived neer *Mixco* in severall thatched cottages. The house he lived in himself was but a poor thatched house, wherein he took more delight to live then in other houses which he had in *Guatemala*, for there he lived like a wilde *Simarron* among his slaves and *Black-mores*, whereas in the City he should have lived civilly; there he lived with milke, curds, and black, hard and mouldy biscuit, and with dry tañajo, which is dry salted beef cut out in thin slices and dried in the sun and wind, till there be little substance left in it, such as his slaves were wont to carry to the Golfe for their provision by the way, whereas if he had lived in the City, he must have eat for his credit what others of worth did eat. But the miser knew well, which was the best way to save, and so chose a field for a City, a cottage for a house, company of *Simarrones* and *Black-mores* for Citizens, and yet he was thought to be worth six hundred thousand duckats. He was the undoer of all others who dealed with Mules for bringing and carying commodities to the Golfe for the Merchants; for he having lusty Mules, lusty slaves, would set the price or rate for the hundred weight so, as he might get, but others at that rate hiring *Indians* and servants to goe with their Mules, might lose. He was so cruell to his *Black-mores*, that if any were untoward, he would torment them almost to death; amongst whom he had one slave called *Macaco* (for whom I have often interceded, but to little purpose) whom he would often hang up by the armes, and whip him till the blood ran about his back, and then his flesh being torne, mangled, and all in a goar bloud, he would for last cure powre boyling greafe upon it; he had marked him for a slave with burning irons upon his face, his hands, his armes, his back, his belly, his thighes, his legs, that the poor slave was weary of life, and I think would two or three times have hanged himselfe, if I had not counselled him to the contrary. He was so sensuall and carnall that he would use his own slaves wives at his pleasure; nay when he met in the City any of that kind handsome and to his liking, if he would not yeeld to his desire, he would go to her master or mistresse, and buy her, offering far more then she was worth, boasting that he would pull down her proud and haughty looks, with one years slavery under him. He killed in my time two *Indians* in the way to the Golfe, and with his mony came off, as if he had killed but a dog. He would never marry, because his slaves supplied the bed of a wife, and none of his neighbours durst say him nay; wherby he hastned to fill that valley with bastards of all sorts and colours, by whom, when that rich miser dieth, all his wealth and treasure is like to be consumed.

Besides the two Townes which denominate this valley, there standeth at the East end of it close by the *Rio de las Vacas* an Ermitage, called *Nofra Sennora del Carmel*, or our Lady of *Carmel*, which is the Parish Church to all those severall farmes of *Spaniards* living in the valley; though true it is, most constantly they do resort unto the *Indian* Towns to Masse, and in *Mixco* especially, the *Spaniards* have a rich sodality of our Lady of the Rosary, and the *Black-mores* another. In all the valley there may be between forty and fifty *Spanish* farmes or houses belonging to the Ermitage, and in all these houses, some three hundred slaves, men and women, *Black-mores* and *Mullatto's*. *Mixco* is a Town of three hundred families, but in it nothing considerable, but the riches belonging unto the two forenamed Sodalities, and some rich *Indians*, who have learned of the *Spaniards* to break clods of earth, and to sow wheat, and to traffique with Mules unto the Golfe. Besides what fowles and great store of Turkeys which in this Town are bred, there is a constant slaughter house, where meat is sold to the *Indians* within, and to the farmes without, and provision is made for all the Requa's and slaves that go to the Golfe with their Masters Mules. Besides the six Requa's before named of *Juan Palomeque*, there are in this valley four brothers, named *Don Gaspar*, *Don Diego*, *Don Thomas*, *Don Juan de Colindres*, who have each of them a Requa of threecore Mules (though few slaves, and only hired *Indians* to go with them) to traffique to the Golfe, and over all the Country as far as *Mexico* sometimes. Yet besides these there are some six more Requa's belonging to other farmes, which with those of the Town of *Mixco* may make up full twenty Requa's; and those twenty Requa's contain above a thousand Mules, which only from this valley are employed to all parts of the Country by the rich Merchants of *Guatemala*. But to return again to the Town of *Mixco*, the constant passage thorow it of these Requa's, of rich Merchants, of all passengers that go and come from *Spain*, hath made it very rich; where-

as in the Town it self there is no other commodity, except it be a kind of earth, whereof are made rare and excellent pots for water, pans, pipkins, platters, dishes, chafing-dishes, warming-pans, wherein those *Indians* shew much wit, and paint them with red, white, and severall mingled colours, and sell them to *Guatemala*, and the Towns about, which some *Criolian* women will eat by full mouth-fuls, endangering their health and lives, so that by this earthly ware they may look white and pale. The Town of *Pinola* in bignesse is much like unto *Mixco*, but a far pleasanter Town, more healthy and better seated, standing upon a plain, whereas *Mixco* stands on the side of a hill, which carryeth the Travellers quite out of the sight of the valley. In *Pinola* there is also a slaughter house, where Beef is dayly sold, there is plenty of fowles, Fruits, Maiz, Wheat, (though not altogether so bright as that of *Mixco*) hony, and the best water thereabout; it is called in the *Indian* tongue *Panac*, (some say) from a fruit of that name which is very abundant there. On the North and South side of this valley are hills, which are most sown with wheat, which proveth better there then in the low valley. At the West end of it, stand two greater Towns then *Mixco* and *Pinola*, named *Petapa*, and *Amatitlan*, to the which there are in the midit of the valley some descents and ascents, which they call *Baranca's* or *bottomes*, where are pleasant streams and fountains, and good feeding for sheep, and Cattell.

Petapa is a Town of at least five hundred inhabitants very rich, who suffer also some *Spaniards* to dwell amongst them, from whom also those *Indians* have learned to live and thrive in the world. This Town is the passage from *Comayagua*, *St. Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, and *Costa Rica*, and hath got great wealth by the constant goers and comers. It is esteemed one of the pleasanter Towns belonging unto *Guatemala*, for a great Lake of fresh water neer unto it, which is full of fish, especially Crabs, and a fish called *Mojarra*, which is much like unto a Mullet (though not altogether so big) and eateth like it. In this Town there is a certain number of *Indians* appointed, who are to fish for the City, and on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, are bound to carry such a quantity to *Guatemala*, of Crabs and *Mojarra's*, as the Corregidor, and Regidores, Maior and Aldermen (who are but eight) shall command weekly to be brought.

This Town *Petapa* is so called from two *Indian* words, *Petap*, which signifieth a Mat, and *ba*, which signifieth water, and a Mat being the chief part of an *Indians* bed, it is as much as to say a bed of water, from the smoothnesse, plainnesse, and calmnesse of the water of the Lake. There liveth in it a principall family of *Indians*, who are said to descend from the ancient Kings of those parts, and now by the *Spaniards* are graced with the noble name of *Guzman*; out of this family is chosen one to be Governour of the Town with subordination unto the City and Chancery of *Guatemala*. *Don Bernabe de Guzman* was Governour in my time, and had been many years before, and governed very wisely and discreetly, till with old age he came to lose his sight; and in his place entred his son *Don Pedro de Guzman*, of whom the rest of the *Indians* stood in great awe, as formerly they had to his Father. Had not these *Indians* been given to drunkennesse (as most *Indians* are) they might have governed a Town of *Spaniards*. This Governour hath many priviledges granted unto him (though none to wear a sword, or rapier, as may the Governour of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*) and appoints by turnes some of the Town to wait and attend on him at dinner and supper, others to look to his Horses, others to fish for him, others to bring him wood for his house spending, others to bring him meat for his Horses; and yet after all this his attendance, he attends and waits on the Fryer that lives in the Town, and doth nothing concerning the governing of the Town and executing of justice, but what the Fryer alloweth and adviseth to be done. There is also great service appointed for this Fryer, of Fishermen, and other attendants in his house, who liveth as stately as any Bishop. Most trades belonging to a well settled Common-wealth are here exercised by these *Indians*. As for herbage, and garden-fruits, and requisites, it hath whatsoever may be found, or desired in the City of *Guatemala*. The Church treasure is very great, there being many Sodalities of our Lady and other their Saints, which are enriched with crowns, and chains, and bracelets, besides the lamps, censers, and silver candle-sticks belonging unto the Altars. Upon *Michaelmas* day is the chief fair and feast of the Town, which is dedicated unto *St. Michael*, whither many Merchants resort from *Guatemala* to buy and sell; in the afternoon, and the next day following, Bull-baiting is the

common sport for that feast with some *Spaniards* and *Black-mores* on Horse-backe, and other *Indians* on foot, who commonly being drunk, some venture, some lose their lives in the sport. Besides this generall concourse of people every year at that time, there is every day at five a clock in the afternoon a *Tianguex* or market, upheld by the concourse of the *Indians* of the Town among themselves. Besides the lake, there runneth by this Town a river, which in places is easily waded over, and waters the fruits, gardens, and other plantations, and drives a mill which serves most of the valley to grind their wheat. Within a mile and a half of this Town there is a rich Ingenio or farme of Sugar belonging to one *Sabaſtian de Savaletta*, a *Biscaine* borne, who came at first very poor into that Countrey, and served one of his Countrey men; but with his good industry and pains, he began to get a Mule or two to traffique with about the Countrey, till at last he increased his stock to a whole Requa of Mules, and from thence grew so rich that he bought much land about *Petapa*, which he found to be very fit for Sugar, and from thence was encouraged to build a princely house; whither the best of *Guatemala* do resort for their recreation. This man maketh a great deal of Sugar for the Countrey, and sends every year much to *Spain*; he keepeth at least threeſcore slaves of his own for the work of his farme, is very generous in house keeping, and is thought to be worth above five hundred thousand Duckats. Within halfe a mile from him there is another farme of Sugar, which is called but a *Trapiche* belonging unto the *Augustin Fryers* of *Guatemala*, which keeps some twenty slaves, and is called a *Trapiche*, for that it grinds not the Sugar Cane with that device of the Ingenio, but grinds a lesse quantity, and so makes not so much Sugar as doth an Ingenio. From hence three miles is the Town of *Amatitlan*, neer unto which standeth a greater Ingenio of Sugar, then is that of *Savaletta*, and is called the Ingenio of one *Anis*, because he first founded it, but now it belongeth unto one *Pedro Crespo* the Post-master of *Guatemala*; this Ingenio seemeth to be a little Town by it self for the many cottages and thatched houses of *Black-more* slaves which belong unto it, who may be above a hundred, men, women, and children. The chief dwelling house is strong and capacious, and able to entertain a hundred lodgers. These three farmes of Sugar standing so neer unto *Guatemala*, enrich the City much, and occasion great trading from it to *Spain*. The Town of *Amatitlan*, though in it there live not so many *Spaniards* as in *Petapa*, yet there are in it more *Indian* families then in *Petapa*. The streets are more orderly made and framed like a Chequer board, they are wide, broad, plain, and all upon dust and sand. This Town also enjoyeth the commodity of the lake, and furnissheth with fish the City of *Guatemala*, upon those dayes before named of *Petapa*. And though it standeth out of the rode-way, yet it is almost as rich as *Petapa*. For the *Indians* of it get much by the concourse of common people, and the Gentry of *Guatemala*, who resort thither to certain bathes of hot waters, which are judged and approved very wholesome for the body. This Town also getteth much by the salt which here is made, or rather gathered by the lake side, which every morning appeareth like a hoary frost upon the ground, and is taken up and purified by the *Indians*, and proves very white and good. Besides what they get by the salt, they get also by the Requa's of Mules in the valley, and about the Countrey, which are brought to feed upon that salt earth a day, or half a day, untill they be ready to burst (the owner paying six pence a day for every Mule) and it hath been found by experience, that this makes them thrive and grow lusty, and purgeth them better then any drench, or blood-letting. They have further great trading in Cotton-wool, more abundance of fruits then *Petapa*, a fairer market place with two extraordinary great Elm-trees, under which the *Indians* daily meet at evening to buy and sell. The Church of this Town is as fair and beautifull as any about *Guatemala*, the riches and state whereof hath caused the *Dominican Fryers* since the year 1635, to make that place the head and Priory over the other Towns of the valley, and to build there a goodly and sumptuous Cloister, in which in my time there was (for I told then most of it, and doubtlesse since it hath much increased) eight thousand Duckats laid up in a chest, with three lockes for the common expences of the Cloister. Thus my Reader, I have led thee through the valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola*, *Petapa* and *Amititlan*, which in riches and wealth, what with the great trading in it, what with the sheep and cattell, what with the abundance of mules, what with three Farmes of Sugar, what with the great Farmes of Corn and Wheat, what with the Churches treasures yeelds to no other place belonging unto the dominions

of *Guatemala*. I may not forget yet a double wheat harvest (as I may well term it) in this Vally. The first being of a little kinde of Wheat, which they call *Trigo Tremefino*, a word compounded in *Spanisb* from these two words, *tres meses*, or from the Latine *tres menses*) which after three months sowing is ripe and ready to be cut down, and being sowed about the end of *August*, is commonly harvested in about the end of *November*, and although in the smalnesse of it, it seems to have but a little Flower, yet it yeelds as much as their other sorts of Wheat, and makes as white bread, though it keep not so well as that which is made of other Wheat, but soon groweth stale and hard. The other harvest (which is of two sorts of Wheat, one called *Rubio* or red Wheat, the other called *Blanquillo*, or white like *Candia* Wheat) followeth soon after this first of *Tremefino*, for presently after Christmas every one begins to bring their sickles into the field; where they do not only reap down their Wheat, but instead of threshing it in barnes, they cause it to be trod by Mares inclosed within floores made on purpose in the fields; and when the Wheat is trod out of the Eares by the Mares trampling, who are whipped round about the floores that they may not stand still, but tread it constantly and thoroughly; then the Mares being let out of the floores, the Wheat is winnowed from the chaffe, and put up clean into sacks, and from the field carried to the Barnes; but the chaffe and most of the straw is left to rot in the fields, which they esteem as good as dunging; and further set all the fields on fire, burning the stubble that is left a little before the time of the first showers of rain, which with the ashes left after the burning fatteth the ground, and by them is held the best way to husband or dung their ground. Others that will sow a new and woody piece of land, cause the trees though timber trees to be cut down, and sell not a stick of that wood, (which there is so plentifull, that they judge it would not quit their cost to carry it to *Guatemala*, though in *England* it would yeeld thousand pounds) but they let it lie and dry, and before the winter rain begins, they set on fire all the field, and burn that rich timber, with the ashes whereof that ground becomes so fat and fertile, that where upon an Aker we sow here three bushels of Wheat, or upwards, they sow such ground so thin, that they scarce dare venture a full bushell upon an Aker, lest with too much spreading upon the ground it grow too thick, be lodged, and they lose their crop. The like they do unto the pasture of the Valley, about the end of *March*, it is short and withered and dry, and they also set it on fire, wch being burnt causeth a dismall sight, and prospect of a black valley; but after the first two or three showres, it puts on again its green and pleasant garment, inviting the Cattell, Sheep, Lambs, Goats, and Kids, (which for a while were driven away to other pasturing) to return and sport again, to feed and rest in its new flourishing bosome. But now it is time, I return again back to the other end of this valley, to the *Rio de las Vacas* (from whence I have viewed the compasse of it, and made my long digression from East to West, to the farthest Town of *Amatitlan*) to shew thee, my Reader, the little part of thy way remaining unto *Guatemala*. True it is, from the Ermitage of our Lady, there is a streight way through the middle of the valley leading almost to *Amatitlan*, and then turning up a hill out of the valley on the right hand; But that hath many ascents and descents, bottomes, falls and risings, and therefore is not the constant Rode, which from the Ermitage pointeth on the right hand, observing the Town of *Mixco*, standing but five miles from *Guatemala*, from *Mixco* the way lyeth up a hill, and leadeth to a Town somewhat bigger then *Mixco*, of *Indians*, called *San Lucas*, or *St. Luke*, a cold Town, but exceeding rich; the temper and coldnesse of it, hath made it the storehouse, or Granary for all the City; for whereas below in the Valley, the Wheat will not keep long without musting, and breeding a worm called *Gurgojo*, such is the temper of this Town of *St. Luke*, that in it the Weat will keep two or three years ready threshed, with a little turning now and then; and as it lyeth will give and yeeld, (as experience taught me there) so that he that hath laid up in that Town two hundred bushels of Wheat, at the years end shall find neer upon two hundred and twenty bushels. This Town therefore receives from the Valley most of the harvest, and is full of what we call Barnes, but there are called *Trojas*, without floores, but raised up with stackes and bords a foot or two from the ground, and covered with mats, whereon is laid the Wheat, and by some rich Monopolists from the City is kept and hoarded two and three years, untill they find their best opportunity to bring it out to sale, at the rate of their own will and pleasure. From hence to

Guatemala there is but three little leagues, and one only *Barauca* or bottome, and on every side of the way little petty Towns, which they call *Milpas*, consisting of some twenty Cottages. In the middle of the way is the top of a hill, which discovereth all the City, and standeth as overmastring of it, as if with a piece or two of Ordinance it would keep all *Guatemala* in awe; But besides this hill, which is the wide and open Rode, there stand yet forwarder on the right and left hand other mountains which draw neerer to the City, and what this top peradventure with too much distance, is not able to do or reach, the others certainly would reach with Canon shot, and command that far commanding City. Down this hill the way lies broad and wide, and as open as is the way down *Barnet* or *Highbate* Hill; and at the bottome it is more straitned between the Mountains, for the space of a bowshot, which passage also is craggy by reason of stones and some small pieces of rocks which lie in a brook of water that descends from the Mountains, and runs toward the City. But at a little Ermitage called *St. John*, the way opens again it self, and sheweth *Guatemala*, welcoming the weary travellers with a pleasant prospect, and easing theirs, or their Mules or Horses feet, what with green walkes, what with a sandy and gravelly Rode unto the City, which never shut gate against any goer or comer, nor forbade their entrance with any fenced wals, or watchmens jealous questions; but freely and gladly entertains them either by the back side of the Dominicans Cloister, or by the Church and Nunnery called the Conception. And thus my Reader, and Countrey man I have brought and guided thee from the Golfe unto *Guatemala*, shewing what that way is most remarkable. I shall not now shew thee any more of this Cities Dominions toward *Nicaragua* and the South (having already shewed thee the way as far as *Realejo*) leaving that untill I come to tell thee of my journey homewards, which I made that way. There remains yet the Countrey of the *Vera Paz* and the way unto it to discover, and so to close up this Chapter. The *Vera Paz* is so called, for that the *Indians* of that Countrey hearing how the *Spaniards* had conquered *Guatemala*, and did conquer the Countrey round about, wheresoever they came, yeelded themselves peaceably and without any resistance unto the Government of *Spain*. This Countrey formerly had a Bishop to it self distinct from *Guatemala*, but now is made one Bishoprick with that. It is governed by an *Alcalde Maior*, or high Justice sent from *Spain*, with subordination unto the Court of *Guatemala*. The head or shire Town of it, is called *Coban*, where is a Cloister of Dominican Fryers, and the common place of residence of the *Alcalde Maior*. All this Countrey as yet is not subdued by the *Spaniards*, who have now and then some strong encounters with the barbarous and heathen people, which lie between this Countrey and *Jucatan*; and fain would the *Spaniards* conquer them, that they might make way through them unto a Town called *Campin* belonging to *Jucatan*, and settle commerce, and Traffique by land with that Countrey, which is thought would be a great furtherance to the Countrey and City of *Guatemala*, and a safer way to convey their goods to the Havana, then by the Golfe, for oftentimes the ships that go from the Golfe to the Havana, are met with by the *Hollanders* and surpris'd. But as yet the *Spaniards* have not been able to bring to passe this their design, by reason they have found strong resistance from the heathenish people, and a hot service to attempt the conquering of them. Yet there was a Fryer a great acquaintance of mine, called Fryer *Francisco Moran*, who ventured his life among those barbarians, and with two or three *Indians* went on foot through that Countrey, untill he came unto *Campin* where he found a few *Spaniards*, who wondred at his courage and boldnesse in coming that way. This Fryer came back again to *Coban* and *Vera Paz*, relating how the Barbarians hearing him speak their language, and finding him kind, loving and courteous to them, used him also kindly, fearing (as he said) that if they should kill him, the *Spaniards* would never let them be at rest and quiet, untill they had utterly destroyed them. He related when he came back, that the Countrey which the Barbarians inhabite, is better then any part of the *Vera Paz*, which is subject to the *Spaniards*, and spoke much of a Valley, where is a great lake, and about it a Town of *Indians*, which he judged to be of at least twelve thousand Inhabitants, the Cottages lying in a distance one from another. This Fryer hath writ of this Countrey, and hath gone to *Spain* to the Court to motion the conquering of it, for the profit and commodity that may ensue both to *Guatemala* and *Jucatan*, if a way were opened thither. But though as yet on that side the *Spaniards* and the

Country

Country of the *Vera Paz*, be straightned by that heathenish people, yet on the other side it hath free passage unto the Golf, and trade there when the ships do come, carrying Fowles and what other Provision the Countrey will afford for the ships, and bringing from thence wines, and other *Spanish* wares unto *Coban*. This Countrey is very hilly and craggy, and though there be some bigge Towns in it, they are not above three or four that are considerable. The chief commodities are *Achiotte* (which is the best of all the Countrey belonging to *Guatemala*) and *Cacao*, Cotton-wooll, hony, *Canna fistula*, and *Zarzaparilla*, great store of *Maiz*, but no Wheat, much wax, plenty of fowles and birds of all coloured feathers, wherewith the *Indians* make some curious works, but not like unto those of *Mecboacan*. Here are also abundance of Parrets, Apes and Monkeys which breed in the Mountains. The way from *Guatemala*, to this Countrey is that which hitherto hath been spoken of from the Golf, as far as the Town of *St. Luke*; and from thence the way keeps on the hills and mountains which lie on the side of the Valley of *Mixco*. These hills are called *Sacatepeques*, (compounded of *Sacate* and *Tepec*, the latter signifying a hill, and the former, herbe or grasse, and thus joyned, they signifie mountains of grasse) and among them are these chief Towns, first *Santjago* or *St. James*, a Town of five hundred Families, secondly, *San Pedro* or *St. Peter*, consisting of six hundred families, thirdly, *St. Juan* or *St. John* consisting also of at least six hundred families, and fourthly, *Sto. Domingo Senaco*, or *St. Dominic* of *Senaco*, being of three hundred families. These four Towns are very rich, and the two last very cold, the two first are warmer; there are about them many farmes of Corn and good Wheat, besides the *Indian Maiz*. These *Indians* are somewhat of more courage then those of other Towns, and in my time were like to rise up against the *Spaniards* for their unmercifull tyranny over them. The Churches are exceeding rich; in the Town of *Santjago*, there was living in my time one *Indian*, who for only vain-glory had bestowed the worth of six thousand Duckats upon that Church, and yet afterwards this wretch was found to be a Wizard and Idolater. These *Indians* get much money by letting out great tusses of feathers, which the *Indians* use in their dances upon the feasts of the Dedication of their Towns. For some of the great tusses may have at least threecore long feathers of divers colours, for every feather hiring they have half a Riall, besides what price they set to every feather, if any should chance to be lost. From the Town of *St. John*, which is the furthest, the way lies plain and pleasant unto a little village of some twenty Cottages, called *St. Ramundo* or *St. Raymond*, from whence there is a good dayes journey up and down *Barrancas*, or bottoms unto a *Rancho*, or lodge standing by a River side, which is the same River, that passeth by the Town of *Acacabastlan* spoken of before. From this is an ascent or a very craggy and rocky Mountain, called the Mountain of *Rabinall*, where are steps cut out in the very Rocks for the mules feet, and slipping on one or the other side, they fall surely down the rocks, breaking their neckes, and mangling all their limbs and joynts; but this danger continueth not long nor extendeth above a league and a half, and in the top and worit of this danger, there is the comfort of a goodly valley, called *El Valle de San Nicholas*, *St. Nicholas* his Valley, from an *Estantia* called *St. Nicholas* belonging to the *Dominicans* Cloister of *Coban*. This Valley though it must not compare with that of *Mixco* and *Pinola*; yet next after it, it may well take place for only three things considerable in it. The first is an *Ingenio* of Sugar, called *San Geronymo*, or *St. Hierome*, belonging unto the *Dominicans* Cloister *Guatemala*, which indeed goeth beyond that spoken of *Amatitlan*, both for abundance of Sugar made there, and sent by mules to *Guatemala* over that rocky Mountain, and for multitude of slaves living in it under the command of two Fryers, and for the excellent horses bred there, which are incomparably the best of all the Countrey of *Guatemala* for metle, and gallantry, and therefore (though mules are commonly used for burthens) are much desired and looked after by the Gallants and Gentry of the City, who make it a great part of their honour to prance about the streets. The second thing in this Valley is the *Estantia* or farm of *St. Nicholas* which is as famous for breeding of mules, as is *St. Hierome* for horses. The third ornament to it is a Town of *Indians*, called *Rabinall*, of at least eight hundred Families, which hath all that heart can wish for pleasure and life of man. It inclineth rather to heat then cold, but the heat is moderate and much qualified with the many cool and shady walkes. There is not any *Indian* fruit, which is not there to be found; besides the fruits of *Spain*, as Oranges, Lemmons, sweet and sowre, Citrons, Pomegranates, Grapes, Figs, Almonds and Dates; the only want of wheat is not a want to them that mind bread of Wheat more then of *Maiz*, for in two dayes it is easily brought from the Towns of *Sacatepeques*.

peques. For flesh, it hath Beef, Mutton, Kid, Fowles, Turkeys, Quails, Partridges, Rabbits, Pheasants; and for fish, it hath a River running by the houses, which yeeldeth plenty both great and small. The *Indians* of this Town are much like unto those of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, for bravery, for feasting, for riding of horses, and shewing themselves in sports and pastimes. This Town my friend Fryer *John Baptist*, after he had been Prior of many places, and especially of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, chose to live in to enjoy quietnesse; pleasure and content; and in this Town was I feasted by him in such a sumptuous, prodigall and lavishing way, as truly might make poor mendicant Fryers ashamed to come so neer unto Princes in vanity of life and dyet. From this Valley unto the *Vera Paz*, or *Coban*, the head Town of it, there is nothing considerable, save only one Town more called *St. Christoval*, or *St. Christopher*, which enjoyeth now a pleasant Lake, and bottomlesse, as is reported. Formerly there being no Lake at all, in a great Earthquake, the earth there opened, and swallowed up many houses, leaving this Lake which ever since hath continued. From hence to *Coban* the wayes are bad and mountainous, yet such as through the worst of them, those Countrey mules with heavy burthens easily go through. And thus with my pen, Reader, have I gone through most of the bounds and limits of *Guatemala*, which is more furnished with gallant Towns of *Indians*, then is any part of all *America*; and doubtlesse were the *Indians* warlike, industrious, active for Warre or weapons, no part in all *America* might be stronger in people then *Guatemala*. But they being kept under and oppressed by the *Spaniards*, and no weapons allowed them, not so much as their naturall Bowes and Arrows, much lesse Guns, Pistols, Muskets, Swords, or Pikes, their courage is gone, their affections alienated from the *Spaniards*, and so the *Spaniards* might very well fear, that if their Countrey should be invaded, the multitude of their *Indian* people, would prove to them a multitude of enemies, either running away to another side; or forced to help would be to them but as the help of so many flies.

C H A P. XIX.

Shewing the condition, quality, fashion, and behaviour of the Indians of the Countrey of Guatemala since the Conquest, and especially of their Feasts, and yearly Solemnities.

THE condition of the *Indians* of this Countrey of *Guatemala* is as sad, and as much to be pitied as of any *Indians* in *America*, for that I may say it is with them in some sort, as it was with *Israel* in *Egypt*, of whom it is said, *Exod. 1. 7. They were fruitfull and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them*, and therefore *Pharaoh* said unto his people, *Verf. 10. Let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to passe, that when there shall be out any War, they joyne also unto our enemies, and fight against us*. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they made their lives bitter with bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; and all their service wherein they made them serve was with rigor. Though it is true there ought not to be any comparison made betwixt the *Israelites* and the *Indians*, those being Gods people, these not as yet; nevertheless the comparison may well hold in the oppression of the one and the other, and in the manner and cause of the oppression, that being with bitterness, rigour, and hard bondage, and lest they should multiply and increase too much. Certain it is, these *Indians* suffer great oppression from the *Spaniards*, live in great bitterness, are under hard bondage, and serve with great rigor; and all this, because they are at least a thousand of them for one *Spaniard*, they daily multiply and increase, in children and wealth, and therefore are feared lest they should be too mighty, and either rise up of themselves, or joyn themselves to any enemy against their oppressors; for both which fears and jealousies, they are not allowed the use of any weapons or armes, no not their bowes and arrows, which their ancestors formerly used; so that as hereby the *Spaniards* are secured from any hurt or annoyance
from

from them as an unarmed people; so may any other nation, that shall be encouraged to invade that land, be secure also from the *Indians*, and consequently the *Spaniards* own policy for themselves against the *Indians* may be their greatest ruine and destruction, being a great people and yet no people; for the abundance of their *Indians* would be to them as no people; and they themselves (who out of their few Towns and Cities live but here and there, too thinly scattered upon so great and capacious a land) would be, but a handfull for any reasonable Army; and of that handfull very few would be found able or fitting men; and those able men would do little without the help of guns and ordinance; and if their own oppressed people, *Black-mores*, and *Indians* (which themselves have always feared) should side against them, soon would they be swallowed up both from within and from without. And by this it may easily appear how ungrounded they are, who say, it is harder to conquer *America* now then in *Cortez*'s time, for that there are now, both *Spaniards* and *Indians* to fight against, and then there were none but bare and naked *Indians*. This I say is a false ground; for then there were *Indians* trained up in wars one against another, who knew well to use their bows and arrows, and darts, and other weapons, and were desperate in their fights and single combats, as may appear out of the histories of them; but now they are cowardized, oppressed, unarmed, soon frightened with the noise of a musket, nay with a fowre and grim look of a *Spaniard*, so from them there is no fear; neither can there be from the *Spaniards*, who from all the vast dominions of *Guatemala* are not able to raise five thousand able fighting men, nor to defend so many passages as lie open in severall parts of that Countrey, which the wider and greater it is, might be advantagious to an enemy, and while the *Spaniard* in one place might oppose his strength, in many other places might his land be over-run by a forain nation; nay by their own slaves the *Black-mores*, who doubtlesse to be set at liberty would side against them in any such occasion; and lastly, the *Criolians* who also are fore oppressed by them, would rejoyce in such a day, and yeeld rather to live with freedom and liberty under a forain people, then to be longer oppressed by those of their own blood.

The miserable condition of the *Indians* of that Countrey is such, that though the Kings of *Spain* have never yeilded to what some would have, that they should be slaves, yet their lives are as full of bitterness as is the life of a slave. For which I have known my selfe some of them that have come home from toying and moyling with *Spaniards*, after many blowes, some wounds, and little or no wages, who have fully and stubbornly lain down upon their beds, resolving to die rather then to live any longer a life so slavish, and have refused to take either meat or drinke, or any thing else comfortable and nourishing, which their wives have offered unto them, that so by pining and starving they might consume themselves. Some I have by good persuasions encouraged to life rather then to a voluntary and wilfull death; others there have been that would not be perswaded, but in that wilfull way have died. The *Spaniards* that live about that Countrey (especially the Farmers of the Valley of *Mixco*, *Pimola*, *Petapa*, *Amatitlan*, and those of the *Sacatepeques*) alleadge that all their trading, and farming, is for the good of the Common-wealth, and therefore whereas there are not *Spaniards* enough for so ample and large a Countrey to do all their work, and all are not able to buy slaves and *Black-mores*; they stand in need of the *Indians* help to serve them for their pay and hire; whereupon it hath been considered, that a partition of *Indian* labourers be made every Munday, or Sunday in the afternoon to the *Spaniards*, according to the farms they occupie, or according to their severall employments, calling, and trading with mules, or any other way. So that for such and such a district there is named an officer who is called *Juez Repartidor*, who according to a List made of every farm, house, and person, is to give so many *Indians* by the week. And here is a door opened to the President of *Guatemala*, and to the Judges to provide well for their menial servants, whom they commonly appoint for this office, which is thus performed by them. They name the Town and place of their meeting upon Sunday or Monday, to the which themselves and the *Spaniards* of that district do resort. The *Indians* of the severall Towns are to have in a readinesse so many labourers as the Court of *Guatemala* hath appointed to be weekly taken out of such a Town, who are conducted by an *Indian* officer to the Town of generall meeting; and when they come thither with their tooles, their spades, shovels, bills, or axes, with their provision of victuals for a week (which are commonly some dry cakes of Maiz, puddings,

puddings of frixoles, or *French* beans, and a little Chile or biting long pepper, or a bit of cold meat for the first day or two) and with beds on their backs (which is only a course woollen mantle to wrap about them when they lie on the bare ground) then are they shut up in the Town-house, some with blowes, some with spurnings, some with boxes on the ear, if presently they go not in. Now all being gathered together, and the house filled with them, the Juez Repartidor or officer, calls by the order of the List such and such a *Spaniard*, and also calls out of the house so many *Indians* as by the Court are commanded to be given him (some are allowed three, some four, some ten, some fifteen, some twenty, according to their employments) and delivereth unto the *Spaniard* his *Indians*, and so to all the rest till they be all served; who when they receive their *Indians*, take from them a toole, or their mantles, to secure them that they run not away, and for every *Indian* delivered unto them, they give unto the Juez Repartidor or officer halfe a Riall, which is three pence an *Indian* for his fees, which mounteth yearly to him to a great deal of money; for some officers make a partition or distribution of four hundred, some of two hundred, some of three hundred *Indians* every week, and carryeth home with him so many half hundred Rials for one, or half a dayes work. If complaint be made by any *Spaniard* that such and such an *Indian* did run away from him, and served him not the week past, the *Indian* must be brought, and surely tied to a post by his hands in the Market place, and there be whipped upon his bare back. But if the poor *Indian* complain that the *Spaniards* coufened and cheated him of his shovell, axe, bill, mantle or wages, no justice shall be executed against the cheating *Spaniard*, neither shall the *Indian* be righted, though it is true the order runs equally in favour of both *Indian* and *Spaniard*. Thus are the poor *Indians* sold for three pence a piece for a whole weeks slavery, not permitted to go home at nights unto their wives, though their work lie not above a mile from the Town where they live; nay some are carried ten or twelve miles from their home, who must not return till Saturday night late, and must that week do whatsoever their Master pleaseth to command them. The wages appointed them will scarce find them meat and drinke, for they are not allowed a Riall a day, which is but six-pence, and with that they are to find themselves, but for six dayes work and diet they are to have five Rials, which is half a Crown. This same order is observed in the City of *Guatemala*, and Towns of *Spaniards*, where to every family that wants the service of an *Indian* or *Indians*, though it be but to fetch water and wood on their backs, or to go of arrants, is allowed the like service from the nearest *Indian* Towns. It would grieve a Christians heart to see how by some cruell *Spaniards* in that weeks service those poor wretches are wronged and abused; some visiting their wives at home, whilst their poor husbands are digging and delving; others whipping them for their slow working, others wounding them with their swords, or breaking their heads for some reasonable and well grounded answer in their own behalf, others stealing from them their tooles, others cheating them of half, others of all their wages, alleading that their service cost them half a Riall, and yet their work not well performed. I knew some who made a common practice of this, when their seat was sowne, and they had little to do for the *Indians*; yet they would have horse as many as were due unto their farme, and on Munday and Tuesday would make them cut and bring them on their backs as much wood as they needed all that week, and then on Wednesday at noon (knowing the great desire of the *Indians* to go home to their wives, for the which they would give any thing) would say unto them, What will you give me now, if I let you go home to do your own work? whereunto the *Indians* would joyfully reply and answer, some that they would give a Riall, others two Rials, which they would take and send them home, and so would have much work done, wood to serve their house a week, and mony as much as would buy them meat, and Cacao for Chocolate two weeks together; and thus from the poor *Indians* do those unconscionable *Spaniards* practice a cheap and lasie way of living. Others will sell them away for that week unto a neighbour that hath present need of work, demanding Rials a piece for every *Indian*, which he that buyeth them, will be sure to defray out of their wages. So likewise are they in a slavish bondage and readinesse for all passengers and travellers, who in any Town may demand unto the next Town as many *Indians* do go with his Mules, or to carry on their backs a heavy burthen as he shall need, who at the journeys end will pick some quarrell with them, and so send them

back;

back with blowes and stripes without any pay at all. A Petaca, or leathern Trunke, and chest of above a hundred weight, they will make those wretches to carry on their backs a whole day, nay some two or three dayes together, which they do by tying the chest on each side with ropes, having a broad leather in the middle, which they crosse over the forepart of their head, or over their forehead, hanging thus the weight upon their heads and browes, which at their journeyes end hath made the blood stuck in the foreheads of some, galling and pulling off the skin, and marking them in the fore-top of their heads, who as they are called *Tamemez*, so are easily known in a Town by their baldnesse, that leather girt having worn off all their hair. With these hard usages, yet do those poor people make a shift to live amongst the *Spaniards*, but so that with anguish of heart they are still crying out to God for justice, and for liberty, whose only comfort is in their Priests and Fryers, who many times do quiet them when they would rise up in mutiny; and for their own ends do often prevail over them with fair and cunning perswasions, to bear and suffer for Gods sake, and for the good of the Common-wealth that hard task and service which is laid upon them. And though in all seasons, wet and dry, cold and hot, and in all wayes plain and mountainous, green and dirty, dusty and stony, they must performe this hard service to their commanding Masters, their apparell and cloathing is but such as may cover the nakednesse of their body, nay in some it is such torne rags as will not cover halfe their nakednesse. Their ordinary cloathing is a pair of linnen or woollen drawers broad and open at the knees, without shooes (though in their journeyes some will put on leathern sandals to keep the soles of their feet) or stockins, without any doublet, a short course shirt, which reacheth a little below their waste, and serves more for a doublet then for a shirt, and for a cloake a woollen or linnen mantle, (called *Aiate*) tied with a knot over one shoulder, hanging down on the other side almost to the ground, with a twelve penny or two shilling hat, which after one good shower of raine like paper falls about their necks and eies; their bed they carry sometimes about them, which is that woollen mantle wherewith they wrap themselves about at night, taking off their shirt and drawers, which they lay under their head for a pillow; some will carry with them a short, slight, and light Mat to lie on, but those that carry it not with them, if they cannot borrow one of a neighbour, lie as willingly in their mantle upon the bare ground, as a Gentleman in *England* upon a soft down-bed, and thus do they soundly sleep, and lowdly snort after a dayes work, or after a dayes journey with a hundred weight upon their backs. Those that are of the better sort, and richer, and who are not employed as *Tamemez* to carry burthens, or as Labourers to work for *Spaniards*, but keep at home following their own farmes, or following their own Mules about the Countrey, or following their trades and callings in their shops, or governing the Townes, as Alcaldes, or Alguaziles, officers of justice, may goe a little better apparelled, but after the same manner. For some will have their drawers with a lace at the bottom, or wrought with some coloured Silke or Crewel; so likewise the mantle about them, shall have either a lace, or some work of birds on it, some will wear a cut linnen doublet, others shooes, but very few stockins or bands about their neckes; and for their beds, the best *Indian* Governour, or the richest, who may be worth four or five thousand Duckats, will have little more then the poor *Tamemez*; for they lie upon boards, or Canes bound together, and raised from the ground, whereon they lay a broad and handsome Mat, and at their heads for man and wife two little stumps of wood for bolsters, whereon they lay their shirts and mantles, and other cloaths for pillowes, covering themselves with a broader blanket then is their mantle, and thus hardly would *Don Bernabe de Guzman* the Governour of *Petapa* lie, and so do all the best of them. The womens attire is cheap and soon put on; for most of them also go barefoot, the richer and better sort wear shooes, with broad ribbons for shooe-strings, and for a petticoate, they tie about their waste a woollen mantle, which in the better sort is wrought with divers colours, but not sowed at all, pleated or gathered in, but as they tie it with a list about them; they wear no shift next their body; but cover their nakednesse with a kind of surplice (which they call *Guaipil*) which hangs loose from their shoulders down a little below their waste, with open short sleeves, which cover halfe their armes; this *Guaipil* is curiously wrought, especially in the bosome, with Cotton, or feathers. The richer sort of them wear bracelets and bobs about their wrists and necks; their hair is gathered up with fillets, without any quaise

or covering, except it be the better sort. When they go to Church or abroad, they put upon their heads a vail of linnen, which hangeth almost to the ground, and this is that which costs them most of all their attire, for that commonly it is of *Holland* or some good linnen brought from *Spain*, or fine linnen brought from *China*, which the better sort wear with a lace about. When they are at home at work they commonly take off their Guapil, or surplice, discovering the nakednesse of their breasts and body. They lie also in their beds as do their husbands, wrapped up only with a mantle, or with a blanket. Their houses are but poor thatched cottages, without any upper rooms, but commonly one or two only rooms below, in the one they dresse their meat in the middle of it, making a compasse for fire, with two or three stones, without any other chimney to convey the smoak away, which spreading it self about the room filleth the thatch and the rafters so with sut, that all the room seemeth to be a chimney. The next unto it, is not free from smoak and blacknesse, where sometimes are four or five beds according to the family. The poorer sort have but one room, where they eat, dresse their meat and sleep. Few there are that sets any locks upon their dores, for they fear no robbing nor stealing, neither have they in their houses much to lose, earthen pots, and pans, and dishes, and cups to drinke their Chocolate, being the chief commodities in their house. There is scarce any house which hath not also in the yard a stew, wherein they bath themselves with hot water, which is their chief physick when they feel themselves distempered. Among themselves they are in every Town divided into Tribes, which have one chief head, to whom all that belong unto that Tribe, do resort in any difficult matters; who is bound to aid, protect, defend, counsell, and appear for the rest of his Tribe before the officers of justice in any wrong that is like to be done unto them. When any is to be married, the father of the son that is to take a wife out of another Tribe, goeth unto the head of his Tribe to give him warning of his Sons marriage with such a maid. Then that head meets with the head of the maids Tribe, and they conferre about it. The businesse commonly is in debate a quarter of a year; all which time the parents of the youth or man are with gifts to buy the maide; they are to be at the charges of all that is spent in eating and drinking, when the heads of the two Tribes do meet with the rest of the kindred of each side, who sometimes sit in conference a whole day, or most part of a night. After many dayes and nights thus spent, and a full triall being made of the one and other sides affection, if they chance to disagree about the marriage, then is the Tribe and parents of the maid to restore back all that the other side hath spent and given. They give no portions with their daughters, but when they die, their goods and lands are equally divided among their sons. If any one want a house to live in, or will repair and thatch his house anew, notice is given, to the heads of the Tribes, who warn all the Town to come to help in the work, and every one is to bring a bundle of straw, and other materials, so that in one day with the help of many they finish a house without any charges more then of Chocolate, which they minister in great cups as big as will hold above a pint, not putting in any costly materials, as do the *Spaniards*, but only a little Anniseed, and Chile, or *Indian* pepper; or else they halfe fill the cup with Atolle, and powre upon it as much Chocolate as will fill the cup and colour it. In their diet the poorer sort are limited many times to a dish of Frixoles, or Turkey beans, either black or white (which are there in very great abundance, and are kept dry for all the year) boyled with Chile; and if they can have this, they hold themselves well satisfied; with these beans, they make also dumplings, first boiling the bean a little, and then mingling it with a masse of Maiz, as we do mingle Currants in our cakes, and so boil again the Frixoles, with the dumplin of Maiz masse, and so eat it hot, or keep it cold; but this and all whatsoever else they eat, they either eat it with green biting Chile, or else they dip it in water and salt, wherein is bruised some of that Chile. But if their means will not reach to Frixoles, their ordinary fare and diet is their Tortilla's (so they call thin round cakes made of the dow and masse of Maiz) which they eat hot from an eathen pan, whereon they are soon baked with one turning over the fire; and these they eat alone either with Chile and salt, and dipping them in water and salt with a little bruised Chile. When their Maiz is green and tender, they boil some of those whole stalkes or clusters, whereon the Maiz groweth with the leaf about, and so casting a little salt about it, they eat it. I have often eat of this, and found it as dainty as our young green pease, and very nourishing, but it much increa-

increaseth the blood. Also of this green and tender Maiz they make a Furmity, boiling the Maiz in some of the milke which they have first taken out of it by bruising it. The poorest *Indian* never wants this diet, and is well satisfied, as long as his belly is thorowly filled. But the poorest that live in such Towns where flesh meat is sold, will make a hard shift, but that when they come from work on Saturday night, they will buy one halfe Riall, or a Riall worth of fresh meat to eat on the Lords day. Some will buy a good deal at once, and keep it long by dressing it into Tassajo's, which are bundles of flesh, rowled up, and tied fast; which they do, when for examples sake they have from a leg of beef sliced off from the bone all the flesh with the knife, after the length, form, and thinnesse of a line, or rope. Then they take the flesh and salt it, (which being sliced and thinly cut, soon takes salt) and hang it up in their yards like a line from post to post, or from tree to tree, to the wind for a whole week, and then they hang it in the smoak another week, and after rowle it up in small bundles, which become as hard as a stone, and so as they need it, they wash it, boil it and eat it. This is *America's* powdered beef, which they call Tassajo, whereof I have often eaten, and the *Spaniards* eat much of it, especially those that trade about the Countrey with Mules; nay this Tassajo is a great commodity, and hath made many a *Spaniard* rich, who carry a Mule or two loaden with these Tassajo's in small parcels and bundles to those Towns where is no flesh at all sold, and there they exchange them for other commodities among the *Indians*, receiving peradventure for one Tassajo or bundle, (which cost them but the half part of a farthing) as much Cacao, as in other places they sell for a Riall or six pence. The richer sort of people will fare better, for if there be fish or flesh to be had, they will have it, and eat most greedily of it; and will not spare their fowls and Turkeys from their own bellies. These also will now and then get a wild Dear, shooting it with their bows and arrows. And when they have killed it, they let it lie in the Wood in some hole or bottom covered with leaves for the space of about a week, untill it stink and begin to be full of wormes; then they bring it home, cut it out into joints, and parboil it with a herbe which groweth there somewhat like unto our Tanzy, which they say sweetneth it again, and maketh the flesh eat tender, and as white as a piece of Turkey. Thus parboiled, they hang up the joints in the smoake for a while, and then boil it again, when they eat it, which is commonly dressed with red *Indian* pepper; and this is the Venison of *America*, whereof I have sometimes eaten, and found it white and short, but never durst be too bold with it, not that I found any evill taste in it, but that the apprehension of the wormes and maggots which formerly had been in it, troubled much my stomack. These *Indians* that have little to do at home, and are not employed in the weekly service under the *Spaniards* in their hunting, will look seriously for Hedge-hogs, which are just like unto ours, though certainly ours are not meat for any Christian. They are full of pricks and bristles like ours, and are found in woods and fields, living in holes, and as they say feed upon nothing but Amits and their eggs, and upon dry rotten sticks, herbs, and roots; of these they eat much, the flesh being as white and sweet as a Rabbit, and as fat as is a *January* hen, kept up and fatted in a Coop. Of this meat I have also eaten, and confesse it is a dainty dish there, though I will not say the fame of a Hedge-hog here; for what here may be poyson, there may be good and lawfull meat, by some accidentall difference in the creature it self, and in that which it feeds upon; or in the temper of the air and climate. This meat not only the *Indians* but the best of the *Spaniards* feed on it; and it is so much esteemed of, that because in Lent they are commonly found, the *Spaniards* will not be deprived of it, but do eat it also then, alleadging that it is no flesh (though in the eating it be in fatnesse and in taste, and in all like unto flesh) for that it feeds not upon any thing that is very nourishing, but chiefly upon Amits eggs, and dry sticks. It is a great point of controversie amongst their Divines, some hold it lawfull, others unlawfull for that time; it seems the pricks and bristles of the *Indian* Hedge-hog prick their consciences with a foolish scruple. Another kind of meat they feed much on which is called *Iguana*; of these some are found in the waters, others upon the land. They are longer then a Rabbit, and like unto a Scorpion, with some green, some black scales on their backs. Those upon the land will run very fast like Lizards, and will climbe up trees like Squerrils, and breed in the roots of trees or in stone wals. The sight of them is enough to affright one; and yet when they are dressed and stewed in broth with a little spice, they make a dainty broth, and eat also as white as a Rabbit, nay the middle bone is made just like
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the backe bone of a Rabbit. They are dangerous meat, if not throughly boiled, and they had almost cost me my life for eating too much of them, not being stewed enough. There are also many water and land Tortoi's, which the *Indians* find out for themselves, and also relish exceeding well unto the *Spaniards* palate. As for drinking, the *Indians* generally are much given unto it; and drink if they have nothing else, of their poor and simple Chocollatte, without Sugar or many compounds, or of Atolle, untill their bellies be ready to burst. But if they can get any drink that will make them mad drunk, they will not give it over as long as a drop is left, or a penny remains in their purse to purchase it. Amongst themselves they use to make such drinks as are in operation far stronger then wine; and these they confection in such great Jarres as come from *Spain*; wherein they put some little quantity of water, and fill up the Jar with some Melasso's, or juice of the Sugar Cane, or some hony for to sweeten it; then for the strengthening of it, they put roots and leaves of Tobacco, with other kinde of roots which grow here, and they know to be strong in operation, nay in some places I have known where they have put in a live toad, and so closed up the Jar for a fortnight, or moneths space, till all that they have put in him, be throughly steeped and the toad consumed, and the drink well strengthened, then they open it, and call their friends to the drinking of it, (which commonly they do in the night time, lest their Priest in the Town should have notice of them in the day) which they never leave off, untill they be mad and raging drunk. This drink they call Chicha, which stinketh most filthily, and certainly is the cause of many *Indians* death, especially where they use the toads poyson with it. Once I was informed living in *Mixco*, of a great meeting that was appointed in an *Indians* house; and I took with me the officers of Justice of the Town, to search that *Indians* house, where I found four Jarres of Chicha not yet opened, I caused them to be taken out, and broken in the street before his door, and the filthy Chicha to be poured out, which left such a stinking sent in my nostrils, that with the smell of it, or apprehension of its loathsomenesse, I fell to vomiting, and continued sick almost a whole week after.

Now the *Spaniards* knowing this inclination of the *Indians* unto drunkenesse, do herein much abuse and wrong them; though true it is there is a strict order, even to the forfeiting of the wine of any one who shall presume to sell wine in a Town of *Indians*, with a mony mulct besides. Yet for all this the baser and poorer sort of *Spaniards* for their lucre and gain contemning authority, will go out from *Guatemala*, to the Towns of *Indians* about, and carry such wine to sell and inebriate the Natives as may be very advantagious to themselves; for of one Jar of wine, they will make two at least, confectioning it with hony and water, and other strong drugs which are cheap to them, and strongly operative upon the poor and weak *Indians* heads, and this they will sell for currant *Spanish* wine, with such pint and quart measures, as never were allowed by Justice Order, but by themselves invented. With such wine they soon intoxicate the poor *Indians*, and when they have made them drunk, then they will cheat them more, making them pay double for their quart measure; and when they see they can drink no more, then they will cause them to lie down and sleep, and in the mean while will pick their pockets. This is a common sin among those *Spaniards* of *Guatemala*, and much practised in the City upon the *Indians*, when they come thither to buy or sell. Those that keep the Bodegones (so are called the houses that sell wine, which are no better then a Chandlers shop, for besides wine they sell Candles, Fish, Salt, Cheefe and Bacon) will commonly intice in the *Indians*, and make them drunk, and then pick their pockets, and turn them out of doores with blowes and stripes, if they will not fairly depart. There was in *Guatemala* in my time one of these Bodegoners, or shopkeeper of wine and small ware, named *Joan Ramos*, who by thus cheating and tipping poor *Indians* (as it was generally reported) was worth two hundred thousand duckates, and in my time gave with a daughter that was married, eight thousand Duckats. No *Indian* should passe by his door, but he would call him in, and play upon him as afore said. In my time a *Spanish* Farmer, neighbour of mine in the Valley of *Mixco*, chanced to send to *Guatemala* his *Indian* servants with half a dozen mules loaden with wheat to a Merchant, with whom he had agreed before for the price, and ordered the money to be sent unto him by his servant (whom he had kept six years, and ever found him trusty) the wheat being delivered, and the money received (the which mounted to ten pound, sixteen shillings, every mule carrying

rying six bushels, at twelve Rials a bushell, as was then the price) the *Indian* with another Mate of his walking along the streets to buy some small commodities, passed by *John Ramos* his shop, or bodegon, who enticing him and his mate in, soon tripped up their heels with a little confectioned wine for that purpose, and took away all his mony from the intrusted *Indian*; and beat them out of his house; who thus drunk being forced to ride home, the *Indian* that had received the money, fell from his Mule, and broke his neck; the other got home without his mate or money. The Farmer prosecuted *John Ramos* in the Court for his money, but *Ramos* being rich and abler to bribe, then the Farmer, got off very well, and so had done formerly in almost the like cases. These are but peccadillo's among those *Spaniards*, to make drunke, rob, and occasion the poor *Indians* death; whose death with them is no more regarded nor vindicated, then the death of a sheep or bullock, that falls into a pit. And thus having spoken of apparell, houses, eating and drinking, it remains that I say somewhat of their civility, and Religion of those who lived under the Government of the *Spaniards*. From the *Spaniards* they have borrowed their Civill Government, and in all Towns they have one or two *Alcaldes*, with more or lesse *Regidores*, (who are as Aldermen or Jurates amongst us) and some *Alguaziles*, more or lesse, who are as Constables, to execute the orders of the *Alcalde* (who is a Maior) with his Brethren. In Towns of three or four hundred families, or upwards, there are commonly two *Alcaldes*, six *Regidores*, two *Alguaziles* Maiors, and six under or petty *Alguaziles*. And some Towns are privileged with an *Indian* Governour, who is above the *Alcaldes*, and all the rest of the Officers. These are changed every year by new election, and are chosen by the *Indians* themselves, who take their turns by the tribes or kindreds, whereby they are divided. Their offices begin on New years day, and after that day their election is carried to the City of *Guatemala* (if in that district it be made) or else to the heads of Justice, or *Spanish* Governours of the severall Provinces, who confirm the new Election, and take account of the last years expences made by the other officers, who carry with them their Town book of accounts; and therefore for this purpose every Town hath a Clerk or Scrivener, called *Escrivano*, who commonly continueth many years in his office, by reason of the paucity and unfitnesse of *Indian* Scriveners, who are able to bear such a charge. This Clerk hath many fees for his writings and informations, and accounts, as have the *Spaniards*, though not so much money or bribes, but a small matter, according to the poverty of the *Indians*. The Governour is also commonly continued many years, being some chief man among the *Indians*, except for his misdemeanours he be complained of, or the *Indians* in generall do all stomach him.

Thus they being settled in a civill way of government, they may execute justice upon all such *Indians* of their Town as do notoriously and scandalously offend. They may imprison, fine, whip, and banish, but hang and quarter they may not; but must remit such cases to the *Spanish* Governour. So likewise if a *Spaniard* passing by the Town, or living in it, do trouble the peace, and misdemean himself, they may lay hold on him; and send him to the next *Spanish* Justice, with a full information of his offence, but fine him or keep him above one night in prison they may not. This order they have against *Spaniards*, but they dare not execute it, for a whole Town standeth in awe of one *Spaniard*, and though he never so haينously offend, and be unruly, with oathes, threatnings, and drawing of his sword, he maketh them quake and tremble, and not presume to touch him; for they know if they do, they shall have the worst, either by blowes, or by some mis-information, which he will give against them. And this hath been very often tried, for where *Indians* have by virtue of their order endeavoured to curbe an unruly *Spaniard* in their Town, some of them have been wounded, others beaten, and when they have carried the *Spaniard* before a *Spanish* Justice and Governour, he hath pleaded for what he hath done, saying it was in his own defence; or for his King and Sovereign; and that the *Indians* would have killed him, and began to mutiny all together against the *Spanish* authority, and Government; denying to serve him with what he needed for his way and journey; that they would not be slaves to give him or any *Spaniard* any attendance; and that they would make an end of him, and of all the *Spaniards*. With these and such like false and lying mis-informations, the unruly *Spaniards* have often been beleaved, and too much upheld in their rude and uncivill misdemeanors, and the *Indians* bitterly curbed, and punished, and answer made them in such cases, that if they had been killed for their mutiny

mutiny and rebellion against the King, and his best subjects, they had been served well enough; and that if they gave not attendance unto the *Spaniards* that passed by their Town, their houses should be fired, and they and their children utterly consumed. With such like answers from the Justices, and credency to what any base *Spaniard* shall inform against them, the poor *Indians* are fain to put up all wrongs done unto them, not daring to meddle with any *Spaniard*, be he never so unruly, by virtue of that Order which they have against them. Amongst themselves, if any complaint be made against any *Indian*, they dare not meddle with him until they call all his kindred, and especially the head of that tribe to which he belongeth; who if he and the rest together, find him to deserve imprisonment, or whipping, or any other punishment, then the Officers of Justice, the Alcaldes or Maiors, and their Brethren the Jurates inflict upon him that punishment; which all shall agree upon. But yet after judgement and sentence given, they have another which is their last appeal, if they please, and that is to their Priest and Fryer, who liveth in their Town, by whom they will sometimes be judged, and undergo what punishment he shall think fittest. To the Church therefore they often resort in points of Justice, thinking the Priest knoweth more of Law and equity, than themselves: who sometimes reverteth what judgement hath been given in the Town house, blaming the Officers for their partiality and passion against their poor Brother, and setting free the party judged by them; which the Priest does oftentimes, if such an *Indian* do belong to the Church, or to the service of their house, or have any other relation to them, peradventure for their wives sake, whom either they affect or employ in washing, or making their Chocolate. Such, and their husbands may live lawlesse as long as the Priest is in the Town. And if when the Priest is absent, they call them to trial for any misdemeanor, and whip, fine, or imprison, (which occasion they will sometimes pick out on purpose) when the Priest returnes, they shall be sure to hear of it, and smart for it, yea, and the Officers themselves peradventure be whipped in the Church, by the Priests order and appointment; against whom they dare not speak, but willingly accept what stripes and punishment he layeth upon them, judging his wisdom, sentence, and punishing hand, the wisdom, sentence and hand of God; whom as they have been taught to be over all Princes, Judges, worldly Officers, so likewise they believe, (and have been so taught) that his Priests and Ministers are above theirs, and all worldly power and authority. It happened unto me living in the Town of *Mixco*, that an *Indian* being judged to be whipped for some disorders, which he committed, would not yeeld to the sentence, but appealed to me, saying he would have his stripes in the Church, and by my order, for so he said his whipping would do him good, as coming from the hand of God. When he was brought unto me, I could not reverse the *Indians* judgment, for it was just, and so caused him to be whipped, which he took very patiently and merrily, and after kissed my hands and gave me an offering of money for the good he said, I had done unto his soul. Besides this civility of justice amongst them, they live as in other Civill and Politick and well governed Common-wealths; for in most of their Towns, there are some that professe such trades as are practised among *Spaniards*. There are amongst them Smiths, Taylors, Carpenters, Masons, Shoemakers, and the like. It was my fortune to set upon a hard and difficult building in a Church of *Mixco*, where I desired to make a very broad and capacious vault over the Chappell, which was the harder to be finished in a round circumference, because it depended up a triangle, yet for this work I sought none but *Indians*, some of the Town, some from other places, who made it so compleat, that the best and skilfullest workmen among the *Spaniards* had enough to wonder at it. So are most of their Churches vaulted on the top, and all by *Indians*; they only in my time built a new Cloister in the Town of *Amatitlan*, which they finished with many Arches of stone both in the lower walks and in the upper galleries, with as much perfection as the best Cloister of *Guatemala*, had before been built by the *Spaniard*. Were they more encouraged by the *Spaniards*, and taught better principles both for soul and body, doubtlesse they would amongst themselves make a very good Common-wealth. For painting they are much inclined to it, and most of the pictures, and Altars of the Country Towns are their workmanship. In most of their Towns they have a Schoole, where they are taught to read, to sing, and some to write. To the Church there do belong according as the Town is in bignesse, so many Singers, and Trumpeters, and Waits, over whom the Priest hath

one Officer, who is called *Fiscal*; he goeth with a white Staffe with a little Silver Crosse on the top to represent the Church, and shew that he is the Priests Clerk and Officer. When any case is brought to be examined by the Priest, this Fiscal or Clerk executeth Justice by the Priests Order. He must be one that can read and write, and is commonly the Master of musick. He is bound upon the Lords day and other Saints dayes, to gather to the Church before and after Service all the young youths and maids, and to teach them the Prayers, Sacraments, Commandements, and other points of Catechisme allowed by the Church of *Rome*. In the morning he and the other Musicians at the sound of the Bell, are bound to come to the Church to sing and officiate at Masse, which in many Towns they performe with Organs and other Musicall instruments, (as hath been observed before) as well as *Spaniards*. So likewise at evening at five of the clock they are again to resort to Church, when the Bell calleth to sing Prayers, which they call Completa's, or Complementary, with *Salve Regina*, a prayer to the Virgin *Mary*. This Fiscal is a great man in the Town, and beares more sway then the Maiors, Jurates, and other Officers of Justice, and when the Priest is pleased, giveth attendance to him, goeth about his arrants, appointeth such as are to wait on him when he rideth out of Town. Both he and all that doe belong unto the Church, are exempted from the common weekly service of the *Spaniards*, and from giving attendance to Travellers, and from other Officers of Justice. But they are to attend with their Wait, Trumpets and Musick, upon any great man or Priest that cometh to their Town, and to make Arches with boughs and flowers in the streets for their entertainment. Besides these, those also that do belong unto the service of the Priests house, are privileged from the *Spaniards* service. Now the Priest hath change of servants by the week, who take their turnes so, that they may have a week or two to spare to do their work. If it be a great Town, he hath three Cooks allowed him; (if a small Town, but two) men Cooks who change their turn, except he have any occasion of feasting, then they all come. So likewise he hath two or three more (whom they call *Chahal*) as Butlers, who keep whatsoever provision is in the house under lock and key; and give to the Cook what the Priest appointeth to be dressed for his dinner or supper; these keep the Table Clothes, Napkins, Dishes, and Trenchers, and lay the Cloth, and take away, and wait at the Table; he hath besides three or four, and in great Towns half a dozen of boyes to do his arrants, wait at the Table; and sleep in the house all the week by their turns, who with the Cooks and Butlers dine and sup constantly in the Priests house, and at his charges. He hath also at dinner and supper times the attendance of some old women (who also take their turns) to oversee half a dozen yong maids, who next to the Priests house do meet to make him and his family *Tortilla's* or Cakes of Maiz, which the boyes do bring hot to the Table by halfe a dozen at a time. Besides these servants, if he have a Garden he is allowed two or three Gardeners; and for his stable, at least half a dozen *Indians*, who morning and evening are to bring him *Sacate* (as there they call it) or herb and grasse for his Mules and Horses, these diet not in the house; but the groom of the stable, who is to come at morning, noon and Evening, (and therefore are three or four to change) or at any time that the Priest will ride out; these I say and the Gardners (when they are at work) dine and sup at the Priests charges; who sometimes in great Towns hath above a dozen to feed and provide for. There are besides belonging to the Church privileged from the weekly attendance upon the *Spaniards* two or three *Indians*, called *Sacristanes*, who have care of the Vestry and Copes, and Altar Clothes, and every day make ready the Altar or Altars for Masse; also to every Company or Sodality of the Saints, or Virgin, there are two or three, whom they call *Mayordomo's*, who gather about the Town Almes for the maintaing of the Sodality; these also gather Egges about the Town for the Priest every week; and give him an account of their gatherings, and allow him every moneth, or fortnight, two Crownes for a Masse to be sung to the Saint.

If there be any fishing place near the Town, then the Priest also is allowed for to seek him fish three or four, and in some places half a dozen *Indians*, besides the offerings in the Church, and many other offerings which they bring whensoever they come to speak unto the Priest, or confesse with him; or for a Saints feast to be celebrated, and besides their Tithes of every thing, there is a monethly maintenance in money allowed unto the Priest, and brought unto him by the *Alealdes*, or Maiors, and Jurates,

which he setteth his hand unto in a book of the Towns expences. This maintenance (though it be allowed by the *Spanish* magistrate, and paid in the Kings name for the preaching of the Gospel) yet it comes out of the poor *Indians* purses and labour, and is either gathered about the Town, or taken out of the Tribute, which they pay unto the King, or from a common plat of ground which with the help of all is sowed and gathered in and sold for that purpose. All the Towns in *America*, which are civilized and under the *Spanish* government, belong either to the Crown, or to some other Lords, whom they call *Encomendero's*, and pay a yearly tribute unto them. Those that are tenants to their Lords or *Encomendero's* (who commonly are such as descend from the first conquerers) pay yet unto the King some small tribute in money, besides what they pay in other kind of commodities unto their own *Encomendero*, and in money also. There is no Town so poor, where every married *Indian* doth not pay at the least in money four Rials a year for tribute to the King, besides other four Rials to his Lord or *Encomendero*. And if the Town pay only to the King, they pay at least six, and in some places eight Rials by statute, besides what other commodities are common to the Town or Countrey where they live, as Maiz, (that is paid in all Towns) hony, Turkeys, fowles, salt, Cacao, Mantles of Cotton-wool; and the like commodities they pay who are subject to an *Encomendero*; but such pay only mony, not commodities to the King. The mantles of tribute are much esteemed of, for they are choise ones, and of a bigger size then others, so likewise is the tribute *Cacao*, *Achiotte*, *Cochinil*, where it is paid; for the best is set apart for the Tribute; and if the *Indians* bring that which is not prime good, they shall surely be lashed, and sent back for better. The heads of the severall Tribes have care to gather it, and to deliver it to the Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurates, who carry it either to the Kings Exchequer in the City, or to the nearest *Spanish* Justice (if it belong to the King) or to the Lord, or *Encomendero* of the Town. In nothing I ever perceived the *Spaniards* mercifull and indulgent unto the *Indians*, but in this, that if an *Indian* be very weak, poor and sickly and not able to work, or threescore and ten years of age, he is freed from paying any tribute. There be also some Towns priviledged from this tribute; which are those which can prove themselves to have descended from *Tlaxcallan*, or from certain Tribes or families of or about *Mexico*, who helped the first *Spaniards* in the conquest of that Countrey. As for their carriage and behaviour, the *Indians* are very courteous and loving, and of a timorous nature, and willing to serve and to obey, and to do good, if they be drawn by love; but where they are too much tyrannized, they are dogged, unwilling to please, or to work; and will choose rather strangling and death then life. They are very trusty, and never were known to commit any robbery of importance, so that the *Spaniards* dare trust to abide with them in a wilderneffe all night, though they have bags of gold about them. So for secrecy they are very close; and will not reveal any thing against their own Natives, or a *Spaniards* credit and reputation, if they be any way affected to him. But above all unto their Priest they are very respective unto him; and when they come to speak unto him, put on their best clothes, study their complements and words to please him. They are very abundant in their expressions, and full of circumlocutions adorned with parables and similes to expresse their mind and intention. I have often sat still for the space of an hour, only hearing some old women make their speeches unto me, with so many elegancies in their tongue (which in *English* would be non-sense, or barbarous expressions) as would make me wonder, and learn by their speeches more of their language, then by any other endeavour or study of mine own. And if I could reply unto them in the like phrases and expressions (which I would often endeavour) I should be sure to win their hearts, and get any thing from them. As for their Religion, they are outwardly such as the *Spaniards*, but inwardly hard to believe that which is above sense, nature, and the visible sight of the eye; and many of them to this day do incline to worship Idols of stocks and stones, and are given to much superstition, and to observe crosse wayes, and meeting of beasts in them, the flying of birds, their appearing and singing near their houses at such and such times. Many are given to witchcraft, and are deluded by the Devill to believe that their life dependeth upon the life of such and such a beast (which they take unto them as their familiar spirit) and think that when that beast dieth they must die; when he is chased, their hearts pant, when he is faint they are faint; nay it happeneth that by the devils delusion they appear in the shape

shape of that beast, (which commonly by their choice is a Buck, or Doe, a Lion, or Tigre, or Dog, or Eagle) and in that shape have been shot at and wounded, as I shall shew in the Chapter following. And for this reason (as I came to understand by some of them) they yeeld unto the Popish Religion, especially to the worshipping of Saints Images, because they look upon them as much like unto their forefathers Idols; and secondly, because they see some of them painted with Beasts; as *Hierom* with a Lyon, *Anthony* with an Asse, and other wild beasts, *Dominick* with a Dog, *Blas* with a Hog, *Marke* with a Bull, and *John* with an Eagle, they are more confirmed in their delusions, and think verily those Saints were of their opinion, and that those beasts were their familiar spirits in whose shape they also were transformed when they lived, and with whom they died. All *Indians* are much affected unto these Popish Saints, but especially those which are given to witchcraft, and out of the smalnesse of their means they will be sure to buy some of these Saints and bring them to the Church, that there they may stand and be worshipped by them and others. The Churches are full of them, and they are placed upon standers gilded or painted, to be carried in procession upon mens shoulders, upon their proper day. And from hence cometh no little profit to the Priests; for upon such Saints daies, the owner of the Saint maketh a great feast in the Town, and presenteth unto the Priest sometimes two or three, sometimes four or five crownes for his Masse and Sermon, besides a Turkey and three or four fowls, with as much Cacao as will serve to make him Chocolate for all the whole *Octave* or eight dayes following. So that in some Churches, where there are at least forty of these Saints Statues and Images, they bring unto the Priest at least forty pounds a year. The Priest therefore is very watchfull over those Saints dayes, and sendeth warning beforehand unto the *Indians* of the day of their Saint, that they may provide themselves for the better celebrating it both at home and in the Church. If they contribute not bountifully, then the Priest will chide, and threaten that he will not preach. Some *Indians* through poverty have been unwilling to contribute any thing at all, or to solemnize in the Church and at his house his Saints day, but then the Priest hath threatned to cast his Saints image out of the Church, saying that the Church ought not to be filled with such Saints as are unprofitable to soul and body; and that in such a statues room one may stand, which may do more good by occasioning a solemn celebration of one day more in the year. So likewise if the *Indian* that owed one of those Images die and leave children, they are to take care of that Saint as part of their inheritance; and to provide that his day be kept; but if no son, or heirs be left, then the Priest calleth for the heads of the severall Tribes, and for the chief officers of justice, and maketh a speech unto them, wherein he declareth that part of the Church ground is taken up in vain by such an image, and his stander, without any profit either to the Priest, the Church, or the Town, no heir or owner being left alive to provide for that orphan Saint, to own it; and that in case they will not seek out who may take charge of him, and of his day, the Priest will not suffer him to stand idle in his Church, like those whom our Saviour in the Gospell rebuked, *Quid hic statis tota die otiosi?* for that they stood idle in the market all the day (these very expressions have I heard there from some Priests) and therefore that he must banish such a Saints picture out of the Church, and must deliver him up before them into the Justices hands to be kept by them in the Town-house; untill such time as he may be bought and owned by some good Christian. The *Indians* when they hear these expressions, begin to fear, lest some judgement may befall their Town for suffering a Saint to be excommunicated and cast out of their Church, and therefore present unto the Priest some offering for his prayers unto the Saint, that he may do them no harme, and desire him to limit them a time to bring him an answer for the disposing of that Saint (thinking it will prove a disparagement and affront unto their Town, if what once hath belonged to the Church, be now out, and delivered up to the secular power) and that in the mean time; they will find out some good Christian, either of the neereft friends and kindred to him or them who first owned the Saint, or else some stranger, who may buy that Saint of the Priest (if he continue in the Church) or of the secular power (if he be cast out of the Church and delivered up unto them, which they are unwilling to yeeld to, having been taught of judgements in such a case like to befall them) and may by some speedy feast and solemnity appease the Saints anger towards them, for having been so sleighted by the Town. Alas poor *Indians*; what will they not be brought unto by those

Fryers and Priests, who study nothing more then their own ends, and to enrich themselves from the Church and Altar ! their policies (who are the wise and prudent children of this world spoken of in the Gospell) can easily overtop and master the simplicity of the poor *Indians*; who rather then they will bring an affront upon their Town, by suffering any of their Saints to be cast out of their Church, or to be with money redeemed out of the secular powers hands, will make halt to present unto him an owner of that orphan Saint, who for him shall give to the Priest not only what he may be prized to be worth in a Painters shop for the workmanship, gold and colours belonging to him; but besides shall present him what before hath been observed, for the solemnizing of his feast. These feasts bring yet unto the Saints more profit then hitherto hath been spoken of; for the *Indians* have been taught that upon such dayes they ought to offer up somewhat unto the Saints; and therefore they prepare either money (some a Riall, some two, some more) or else commonly about *Guatemala* white wax-candles, and in other places Cacao, or fruits, which they lay before the image of the Saint, whilst the Masse is celebrating. Some *Indians* will bring a bundle of candles of a dozen tied together of Rials a piece some, some of three or four for a Riall, and will if they be let alone light them all together and burn them out, so that the Priest at the end of the Masse will find nothing but the ends. Therefore (knowing well of the wayes of policy and covetousnesse) he chargeth the Church officers, whom I said before were called *Mayordomo's* to look to the offerings, and not to suffer the *Indians* who bring candles to light more then one before the Saint, and to leave the other before him unlighted (having formerly taught them, that the Saints are as well pleased with their whole candles as with their burnt candles) that so he may have the more to sell and make money of. After Masse the Priest and the *Mayordomo's* take and sweep away from the Saint whatsoever they find hath been offered unto him; so that sometimes in a great Town upon such a Saints day the Priest may have in money twelve or twenty Rials, and fifty or a hundred candles, which may be worth unto him twenty or thirty shillings, besides some ends and pieces. Most of the Fryers about *Guatemala* are with these offerings as well stored with candles, as is any Wax-chandlers shop in the City. And the same candles which thus they have received by offerings they need not care to sell them away to *Spaniards*, who come about to buy them (though some will rather sell them together to such though cheaper, that their money might come in all at once) for the *Indians* themselves when they want again any candles for the like feast, or for a Christening, and for a womans Churching (at which times they also offer candles) will buy their own again of the Priest, who sometimes receivech the same candles and money for them again five or six times. And because they find that the *Indians* incline very much to this kind of offerings, and that they are so profitable unto them, the Fryers do much presse upon the *Indians* in their preaching this point of their Religion, and devotion. But if you demand of these ignorant, but zealous offerers the *Indians* an account of any point of faith, they will give you little or none. The mystery of the Trinity, and of the incarnation of Christ, and our redemption by him is too hard for them; they will only answer what they have been taught in a Catechisme of questions and answers; but if you aske them if they believe such a point of Christianity, they will never answer affirmatively, but only thus, Perhaps it may be so. They are taught there the doctrine of *Rome*, that Christs body is truly and really present in the Sacrament, and no bread in substance, but only the accidents; if the wisest *Indian* be asked, whether he believe this, he will answer, Perhaps it may be so. Once an old woman, who was held to be very religious, in the Town of *Mixco*, came to me about receiving the Sacrament, and whilst I was instructing of her, I asked her if she believed that Christs body was in the Sacrament, she answered, Peradventure it may be so. A little while after to try her and get her out of this strain and common answer, I asked her what and who was in the Sacrament which she received from the Priests hand at the Altar; she answered nothing for a while, and at last I pressed upon her for an affirmative answer: and then she began to look about to the Saints in the Church, (which was dedicated to a Saint which they call *St. Dominick*) and, as it seemed, being troubled and doubtful what to say, at last she cast her eyes upon the high Altar; but I seeing she delayed the time, asked her again, who was in the Sacrament? to which she replied, *St. Dominick*, who was the Patron of that Church and Town. At this I smiled, and would yet further try her simplicity with a simple question. I told her she saw *St. Dominick*

was painted with a dog by him holding a torch in his mouth, and the globe of the world at his feet; I asked her, whether all this were with St. *Dominick* in the Sacrament? To which she answered, Perhaps it might be so; wherewith I began to chide her, and to instruct her. But mine instruction, nor all the teaching and preaching of those *Spanish* Priests hath not yet well grounded them in principles of faith; they are dull and heavie to believe or apprehend of God, or of heaven, more then with sense or reason they can conceive. Yet they go and run that way they see the *Spaniards* run, and as they are taught by their Idolatrous Priests: Who have taught them much formality, and so they are (as our Formalists formerly in *England*) very formall, but little substantiall in Religion. They have been taught that when they come to confession, they must offer somewhat to the Priest, and that by their gifts and almes, their sins shall be sooner forgiven; this they do so formally observe; that whensoever they come to confession, but especially in Lent, none of them dareth to come with empty hands; some bring money, some honey, some eggs, some fowls, some fish, some Cacao, some one thing, some another, so that the Priest hath a plentifull harvest in Lent for his pains in hearing their Confessions. They have been taught that also when they receive the Communion, they must surely every one give at least a Riall to the Priest, (surely *England* was never taught in *America* to buy the Sacrament with a two pence offering, and yet this custome too much practised and pressed upon the people) which they performe so, that I have known some poor *Indians*, who have for a week or two forbore from coming to the Communion untill they could get a Riall offering. It is to be wondred what the Priests do get from those poor wretches in great Towns by Confession and Communion Rials in great Towns, where they denie the Sacrament to none that will receive it, (and in some Towns I have known a thousand Communicants) and force all above twelve and thirteen years of age to come to Confession in the Lent. They are very formall also in observing *Romes* Munday, Thursday, and good-Friday, and then they make their monuments and sepulchers, wherein they set their Sacrament, and watch it all day and night, placing before it a Crucifix on the ground, with two basins on each side to hold the single or double Rials, which every one must offer when he cometh creeping upon his knees, and bare-footed to kisse Christs hands, feet, and side. The candles which for that day and night and next morning are burned at the Sepulchre are bought with another Contribution-Riall, which is gathered from house to house from every *Indian* for that purpose. Their Religion is a dear and lick-penny religion for such poor *Indians*, and yet they are carried along in it formally and perceive it not. They are taught that they must remember the souls in Purgatory, and therefore that they must cast their Almes into a Chest, which standeth for that purpose in their Churches, whereof the Priest keepeth the key, and openeth it when he wanteth money, or when he pleaseth. I have often opened some of those chests, and have found in them many single Rials, some halfe pieces of eight, and some whole pieces of eight. And because what is lost and found in the high-ways, must belong to some body, if the true owner be not known, they have been taught that such monies or goods belong also to the souls departed; wherefore the *Indians* (surely more for fear or vanities sake that they may be well thought on by the Priest) if they find any thing lost will bestow it upon the soules surer then the *Spaniards* themselves (who if they find a purse lost will keep it,) and will bring it either to the Priest or cast it into the Chest. An *Indian* of *Musco* had found a Patacon or piece of eight in a high-way, and when he came to Confession, he gave it unto me telling me he durst not keep it, lest the souls should appear unto him, and demand it. So upon the second day of *November* which they call All-soules day, they are extraordinary foolish and superstitious in offering monies, fowles, eggs and Maiz, and other commodities for the souls good, but it proves for the profit of the Priest, who after Masse gives away to his chamber all that which the poor gulled and deluded *Indians* had offered unto those souls, which needed neither money, food, nor any other provision, and he fills his purse, and pampers his belly with it. A Fryer that lived in *Petapa* boasted unto me once that upon their All-soules day, his offerings had been about a hundred Rials, two hundred Chickens and fowls, half a dozen Turkeyes, eight bushels of Maiz, three hundred eggs, four fontles of Cacao, (every fontle being four hundred granes) twenty clusters of plantins, above a hundred wax-candles, besides some loaves of bread, and other trifles of fruits. All which being summed up according

to the price of the things there, and with consideration of the coyn of mony there (half a Riall, or three pence being there the least coin) mounts to above eight pounds of our money, a fair and goodly stipend for a Masse, brave wages for half an hours work; a politick ground for that Error of Purgatory, if the dead bring to the living Priest such wealth in one day only. Christmas day with the rest of those holy daies is no lesse superstitiously observed by these *Indians*; for against that time they frame and set in some corner of their Church a little thatched house like a stall, which they call *Bethlehem*, with a blazing Star over, pointing it unto the three Sage wise men from the East; within this stall they lay in a Crib, a child made of wood, painted and gilded (who represents Christ new borne unto them) by him stands *Mary* on the one side, and *Joseph* on the other, and an Ass likewise on the one side and an Oxe on the other, made by hands, the three wise men of the East kneel before the Crib offering gold, Frankincense and Myrrhe, the shepherds stand aloof off offering their Countrey gifts, some a Kid, some a Lambe, some Milk, some Cheefe and Curds, some fruits, the fields are also there represented with flocks of Sheep and Goats; the Angels they hang about the stall some with Vials, some with Lutes, some with Harps, a goodly mumming and silent stage play, to draw those simple souls to look about, and to delight their senses and fantasies in the Church.

There is not an *Indian* that cometh to see that supposed *Bethlehem*, (and there is not any in the Town but doth come to see it) who bringeth not either money or somewhat else for his offering. Nay the policy of the Priests hath been such, that (to stir up the *Indians* with their Saints example) they have taught them to bring their Saints upon all the holy dayes, untill Twelfth day in Procession unto this *Bethlehem* to offer their gifts, according to the number of the Saints that stand in the Church, some daies there come five, some daies eight, some daies ten, dividing them into such order, that by Twelfth day all may have come and offered, some mony, some one thing, some another; The owner of the Saint, he cometh before the Saint with his friends and kindred (if there be no sodality or company belonging unto that Saint) and being very well apparelled for that purpose, he bowes himself and kneels to the Crib, and then rising takes from the Saint what he, bringeth and leaveth it there, and so departs. But if there be a sodality belonging to the Saint, then the Mayordomo's or chief Officers of that company they come before the Saint, and do homage, and offer as before hath been said. But upon Twelfth day the Alcaldes, Maiors, Jurates, and other Officers of Justice, must offer after the example of the Saints, and the three Wise men of the East (whom the Church of *Rome* teacheth to have been Kings) because they represent the Kings power and authority. And all these daies they have about the Town and in the Church a dance of Shepherds, who at Christmas Eve at midnight begin before this *Bethlehem*, and then they must offer a sheep amongst them. Other dance clothed like Angels and with wings, and all to draw the people more to see sights in the Church, then to worship God in Spirit and in Truth. Candelmas day is no lesse superstitiously observed; for then the picture of *Mary* comes in procession to the Altar, and offereth up her Candles and Pigeons, or Turtle-Doves unto the Priest, and all the Town must imitate her example, and bring their Candles to be blessed and hallowed; of four or five, or as many as they bring, one only shall be restored back unto them, because they are blessed, all the rest are for the Priest, to whom the *Indians* resort after to buy them, and give more then ordinary, because they are hallowed Candles. At Whitsuntide they have another sight, and that is in the Church also, whilst a Hymne is sung of the Holy Ghost, the Priest standing before the Altar with his face turned to the people, they have a device to let fall a Dove from above over his head well dressed with flowers, and for above half an hour, from holes made for that purpose, they drop down flowers about the Priest shewing the gifts of the Holy Ghost to him, which example the ignorant and simple *Indians* are willing to imitate, offering also their gifts unto him. Thus all the year are those Priests and Fryers deluding the poor people for their ends, enriching themselves with their gifts, placing Religion in meer Policy; and thus doth the *Indians* Religion consist more in sights, shewes and formalities, then in any true substance. But as sweet meat must have sowre sawce; so this sweetnesse and pleasing delight of shewes in the Church hath its sowre sawce once a year (besides the lowrenesse of poverty which followeth to them by giving so many gifts unto the Priest) for, to shew that in their Religion there is some bitterness and sowrenesse, they

they make the *Indians* whip themselves the week before Easter, like the *Spaniards*, which those simples both men and women perform with such cruelty to their own flesh, that they butcher it, mangle and tear their backs, till some swoond; nay some (as I have known) have died under their own whipping, and have selfe murdered themselves, which the Priests regard not, because their death is sure to bring them at least three or four Crownes for a Masse for their soules, and other offerings of their friends.

Thus in Religion they are superstitiously led on, and blinded in the observance of what they have been taught more for the good and profit of their Priests, then for any good of their souls, not perceiving that their Religion is a Policy to enrich their teachers. But not only do the Fryers and Priests live by them and eat the sweat of their browes; but also all the *Spaniards*, who not only with their work and service (being themselves many given to idlenesse) grow wealthy and rich; but with needlesse officés, and authority are still fleecing them, and taking from them that little which they gain with much hardnesse and severity.

The President of *Guatemala*, the Judges of that Chancery, the Governours and High Justices of other parts of the Countrey, that they may advance and enrich their meniall servants, make the poor *Indians* the subject of their bountifulnesse towards such. Some have offices to visit as often as they please their Towns, and so see what every *Indian* hath sowed of Maiz, for the maintenance of his wife and children; Others visite them to see what fowles they keep for the good and store of the Countrey; others have order to see whether their houses be decently kept and their beds orderly placed according to their Families; others have power to call them out to mend and repair the high wayes, and others have Commission to number the Families and Inhabitants of the severall Towns, to see how they increase, that their Tribute may not decrease, but still be raised. And all this, those officers do never perform but so, that for their pains they must have from every *Indian* an allowance to bear their charges, (which indeed are none at all) for as long as they stay in the Town, they may call for what fowles and provision they please without paying for it. When they come to number the Towns, they call by list every *Indian* and cause his children, sonnes and daughters to be brought before them, to see if they be fit to be married; and if they be of growth and age, and be not married, the fathers are threatened for keeping them unmarried, and as idle lives the Town without paying tribute; and according to the number of the sonnes and daughters that are marriageable, the Fathers tribute is raised and increased, untill they provide husbands and wives for their sons and daughters, who as soon as they are married, are charged with tribute; which that it may increase, they will suffer none above fifteen yeers of age to live unmarried. Nay the set time of age of marriage appointed for the *Indians*, is at fourteen years for the man, and thirteen for the woman, alleadging that they are sooner ripe for the fruit of Wedlock, and sooner ripe in knowledge and malice, and strength for work and service, then are any other people. Nay sometimes they force them to marry who are scarce twelve and thirteen years of age, if they find them well limbed, and strong in body, explicating a point of one of *Romes* Canons, which alloweth fourteen and fifteen years, *nisi matritia suppleat aetatem*. When I my self lived in *Pinola*, that Town by order of *Don Juan de Guzman*, (a great Gentleman of *Guatemala*, to whom it belonged) was numbered, and an increase of tributary *Indians* was added unto it by this means. The numbring it lasted a full week, and in that space was commanded to joyn in marriage neer twenty couple, which, with those that before had been married since the last numbring of it, made up to the *Encomendero* or Lord of it an increase of about fifty Families. But it was a shame to see how young some were that at that time were forced to marriage, neither could all my striving and reasoning prevail to the contrary, nor the producing of the Register Book to shew their age, but that some were married of between twelve and thirteen years of age, and one especially who in the Register book was found to be not fully of twelve years, whose knowledge and strength of body was judged to supply the want of age. In this manner even in the most free act of the will, (which ought to be in marriage) are those poor *Indians* forced and made slaves by the *Spaniards*, to supply with tribute the want of their purses, and the meannesse of their Estates. Yet under this yoke and burden they are cheerfull, and much given to feasting, sporting and dancing, as they particularly shew in the chief feasts of their Townes, which are kept
upon

upon that Saints day to whom their Town is dedicated. And certainly this superstition hath continued also in *England* from the Popish times, to keep Faires in many of our Towns upon Saints dayes (which is the intent of the Papists to draw in the people and Country by way of commerce and trading one with another, to honor, worship, and pray to that Saint to whom the Town is dedicated) or else why are our Faires commonly kept upon *John Baptist, James, Peter, Matthew, Bartholomew, Holy Rood, Lady* days, and the like, and not as well a day or two before, or a day or two after, which would be as good and fit dayes to buy and sell, as the other? True it is, our Reformation alloweth not the worshipping of Saints, yet that solemn meeting of the people to Fairs and mirth, and sport upon those dayes it hath kept and continued, that so the Saints and their dayes may be and continue still in our remembrance. There is no Town in the *India's* great or small (though it be but of twenty families) which is not dedicated thus unto our Lady or unto some Saint, and the remembrance of that Saint is continued in the mindes not only of them that live in the Town, but of all that live far and near by commercing, trading, sporting and dancing, offering unto the Saint, and bowing, kneeling, and praying before him. Before this day cometh, the *Indians* of the Town two or three Monthes have their meetings at night, and prepare themselves for such dances as are most commonly used among them; and in these their meetings they drinke much both of Chocolate and Chicha. For every kind of dance they have severall houses appointed, and masters of that dance, who teach the rest that they may be perfected in it against the Saints day. For the most part of these two or three months the silence of the night is unquieted, what with their singing, what with their hollowing, what with their beating upon the shels of fishes, what with their Waits, and what with their piping. And when the feast cometh, then they act publicly, and for the space of eight dayes, what privately they had practised before. They are that day well apparelled with silkes, fine linnen, ribbands and feathers according to the dance; which first they begin in the Church before the Saint, or in the Church yard, and from thence all the *Octave*, or eight dayes they go from house to house dancing, where they have Chocolate or some heady drink or Chicha given them. All those eight dayes the Town is sure to be full of drunkards; and if they be reprehended for it; they will answer, that their heart doth rejoyce with their Saint in heaven, and that they must drink unto him, that he may remember them. The chief dance used amongst them is called *Toncontin*, which hath been danced before the King of *Spain*, in the Court of *Madrid* by *Spaniards*, who have lived in the *India's* to shew unto the King somewhat of the *Indians* fashions; and it was reported to have pleased the King very much. This dance is thus performed. The *Indians* commonly that dance it (if it be a great Town) are thirty or forty, or fewer, if it be a small Town. They are clothed in white, both their doublets, linnen drawers, and Aiates, or towels, which on the one side hang almost to the ground. Their drawers and Aiates are wrought with some workes of Silke, or with birds, or bordered with some Lace. Others procure doublets and drawers and Aiates of Silke, all which are hired for that purpose. On their backs they hang long tuffes of feathers of all colours, which with glew are fastned into a little frame made for the purpose, and guilded on the outside; this frame with Ribbands they tie about their shoulders fast that it fall not, nor slacken with the motion of their bodies. Upon their heads they wear another lesse tuffe of Feathers either in their hats, or in some guilded or painted head-piece, or helmet. In their hands also they carry a fan of feathers, and on their feet most will use feathers also bound together like short wings of birds; some wear shooes, some not. And thus from top to toe they are almost covered with curious and coloured feathers. Their Musick and tune to this dance is only what is made with a hollow stock of a tree, being rounded, and well pared within and without, very smooth and shining, some four times thicker then our viols, with two or three long clefts on the upper side and some holes at the end which they call *Tepanabaz*. On this stock (which is placed upon a stool or fourm in the middle of the *Indians*) the Master of the dance beates with two sticks, covered with wooll at the ends, and a pitched leather over the wooll that it fall not away. With this Instrument and blowes upon it (which soundeth but dull and heavy, but somewhat loud) he giveth the dancers their severall tunes, and changes, and signes of the motion of their bodies either straight or bowing, and giveth them warning what and when they are to sing. Thus they dance in compasse and circle

circle round about that instrument, one following another sometimes straight, sometimes turning about, sometimes turning half way, sometimes bending their bodies and with the feathers in their hands almost touching the ground, and singing the life of that their Saint, or of some other. All this dancing is but a kind of walking round, which they will continue two or three whole hours together in one place, and from thence go and perform the same at another house.

This Toncontin the chief and principall only of the Town do dance it; It was the old dance which they used before they knew Christianity; except that then, in stead of singing the Saints lives, they did sing the praises of their heathenish Gods. They have another kind of dance much used, which is a kind of hunting out some wild Beast (which formerly in time of Heathenisme was to be sacrificed to their Gods) to be offered unto the Saint. This dance hath much variety of tunes, with a small Tepanabaz, and many shels of Tortoi's, or in stead of them with pots covered with leather, on which they strike as on Tepanabaz, and with the sound of pipes; in this dance they use much hollowing and noise and calling one unto another; and speaking by way of Stage play, some relating one thing, some another concerning the Beast they hunt after; these dancers are all clothed like Beasts, with painted skins of Lions, Tigers, Wolves, and on their heads such headpieces as may represent the heads of such Beasts, and other wear painted heads of Eagles or Fowles of rapine; and in their hands they have painted Staves, Bills, Swords and Axes, wherewith they threaten to kill that Beast they hunt after. Others in stead of hunting after a Beast, hunt after a man, as Beasts in a wildernesse should hunt a man to kill him. This man that is thus hunted after must be very nimble and agil, as one flying for his life, and striking here and there at the Beasts for his defence, whom at last they catch and make a prey of. As the Toncontin consists most of walking and turning and leasurely bending their bodies, so this dance doth wholly consist in action, running in a circle round, sometimes out of circle, and leaping and striking with those tooles and instruments which they have in their hand. This is a very rude sport, and full of screeching and hideous noise, wherein I never delighted. Another Mexican dance they use, some clothed like men, others like women, which in Heathenish times they did use with singing praises unto their King or Emperour; but now they apply their songs unto the King of Glory, or unto the Sacrament, using these or commonly the like words with very little difference, and some variety of praise,

Salid Mexicanas, bailad Toncontin.

Cansalas galanas en cuerpo gentil. And again,

Salid Mexicanas bailad Toncontin.

Al Rey de la gloria tenemos aqui. Thus they go round dancing, playing in some places very well upon their Guitarres, repeating now and then all together a verse or two, and calling the Mexican Dames to come out to them with their gallant mantles to sing praise unto their King of Glory. Besides these they have, and use our Morris dances, and Blackmore dances with Sonajas in their hands, which are a round set of small Morris dancing bells, wherewith they make variety of sounds to their nimble feet. But the dance which doth draw to it the peoples wondering is a Tragedy acted by way of dance, as the death of St. Peter, or the beheading of John the Baptist. In these dances there is an Emperour, or a King Herod with their Queens clothed, another clothed with a long loose Coat who represents St. Peter, or John the Baptist, who while the rest danceth walketh amongst them with a book in his hands, as if he were saying his prayers, all the rest of the Dancers are apparelled like Captains and Souldiers with Swords, Daggers or Holbards in their hands. They dance at the sound of a small drum and pipes, sometimes round, sometimes in length forward, and have and use many speeches to the Emperour or King, and amongst themselves concerning the apprehending and executing the Saint. The King and Queen sit sometimes down to hear their pleading against the Saint, and his pleading for himself, and sometimes they dance with the rest; and the end of their dance is to crucifie St. Peter downwards with his head upon a Crosse, or behead John the Baptist, having in readinesse a painted head in a dish, which they present unto the King and Queen, for joy whereof they all again dance merrily and so conclude, taking down him that acted Peter from the Crosse. The Indians that dance this dance most of them are superstitious for what they do, judging as if it were indeed really acted and performed what only is by way of dance represented. When I lived amongst them,

them, it was an ordinary thing for him who in the dance was to act *St. Peter* or *John the Baptist*, to come first to Confession, saying they must be holy and pure like that Saint whom they represent, and must prepare themselves to die. So likewise he that acted *Herod* or *Herodias*, and some of the Souldiers that in the dance were to speak and to accuse the Saints, would afterwards come to confesse of that sin, and desire absolution as from bloudguiltineffe. More particular passages of the *Indians* according to my experience of them, I shall in the Chapter following truly relate unto my Reader.

C H A P. X X.

Shewing how and why I departed out of Guatemala to learn the Poconchi language and to live amongst the Indians, and of some particular passages and accidents whilst I lived there.

HAVING read in the University of *Guatemala* for three years space a whole course of Arts, and having begun to read part of Divinity, the more I studied and grew in knowledge, and the more I controverted by way of Arguments some Truths and points of Religion, the more I found the Spirit of Truth inlightening me, and discovering unto me the lies, errors, falsities and superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. My conscience was much perplexed and wavering, and I desirous of some good and full satisfaction: which I knew might not be had there; and that to professe and continue in any opinion contrary to the Doctrine of *Rome*, would bring me to the Inquisition, that Rack of tender Consciences, and from thence to no lesse then burning alive, in case I would not recant of what the true Spirit had inspired into me. The point of Transubstantiation, of Purgatory, of the Popes power and authority, of the merit of mans works, of his free will to choose all soul-saving wayes, the sacrifice of the Masse, the hallowing the Sacrament of the Lords Supper unto the lay people, the Priests power to absolve from sin, the worshipping of Saints though with *δουλεία*, as they call it, and not with *λατρεία*, and the Virgin *Mary* with a higher degree of worship then that of the Saints, which they call *εὐσεβήδουλεία*, the strange lies and blasphemies which they call miracles, recorded in the Legend and lives of their Saints, the infallibility of the Pope, and councill in defining for truth and point of Faith, what in it selfe is false and erroneous; these points especially, with many more of *Romes* policies, and the lewd lives of the Priests, Fryers, Nuns, and those in authority, did much trouble and perplex my conscience, which I knew would be better satisfied if I could returne again to my own Countrey of *England*; where I knew many things were held contrary to the Church of *Rome*, but what particulars they were, I could not tell, not having been brought up in the Protestant Church, and having been sent young over to *St. Omers*. Wherefore I earnestly addressed my self to the Provincial; and to the President of *Guatemala*, for a Licence to come home, but neither of them would yeeld unto it, because there was a strict order of the King and Council, that no Priest sent by his Majesty to any of the parts of the *Indias* to preach the Gospell, should return again to *Spain* till ten years were expired. Hereupon I seeing my self a prisoner, and without hopes for the present of seeing *England* in many years, resolved to stay no more in *Guatemala*, but to go out to learn some *Indian* tongue, and to preach in some of their Towns, where I knew more money might be got to help me home, when the time should come, then if I did continue to live in the Cloister of *Guatemala*. Yet in the meantime I thought it not unfit to write to *Spain* to a friend of mine an *English* Fryer in *San Lucar*, called Fryer *Pablo de Londres* to desire him to obtain for me a License from the Court, and from the Generall of the Order at *Rome*, that I might return unto my Countrey. In this season there was in *Guatemala*, Fryer *Francisco de Moran*, the Prior of *Coban* in the Province of *Vera Paz*, who was informing the President and whole Chancery, how necessary it was that some *Spaniards* should be ayding and assisting him for the discovery

of a way from that Countrey unto *Jucatan*, and for the suppressing of such barbarous people and Heathens, as stopped his passage, and did often invade some *Indian Towns* of Christians. This *Moran* (being my speciall friend, and having been brought up in *Spain* in the Cloister of *San Pablo de Valladolid*, where my self was first entred Fryer) was very desirous of my company along with him, for the better bringing into Christianity those Heathens and Idolaters, telling me that doubtlesse in a new Countrey new treasure and great riches was like to be found, whereof no small share and proportion should befall him and me for our pains and adventure. I was not hard to be perswaded, being above all desirous to convert to Christianity a people that had never heard of Christ; and so purposed to forsake that honour which I had in the University, for to make Christ known unto that Heathenish people. The Provinciall was glad to see this my courage, and so with some gifts and money in my purse, sent me with *Moran* to the *Vera Paz* in the company of 50. *Spaniards*, who were appointed by the President to aid and assist us.

When we came to *Coban* we were well refreshed and provided for a hard and dangerous enterprize. From *Coban* we marched to two great Towns of Christians called *St. Peter*, and *St. John*, where were added unto us a hundred *Indians* for our further assistance. From these Towns two daies journey we could travail on Mules safely amongst Christians and some small villages; but after the two daies we drew near unto the Heathens Frontiers, where there was no more open way for Mules, but we must trust unto our feet. We went up and down Mountains amongst Woods for the space of two daies; being much discouraged with the thickets and hardnesse of the way, and having no hope of finding out the Heathens. In the night we kept watch and guard for fear of enemies, and resolved yet the third day to go forward. In the mountains we found many sorts of fruits and in the bottomes springs and brookes with many trees of *Cacao* and *Achiote*. The third day we went on, and came to a low valley in the midst whereof ran a shallow river, where we found some *Milpas* and plantations of Maiz. These were a testimony unto us of some *Indians* not far off, and therefore made us keep together and be in readinesse, if any assault or onset should be made upon us by the Heathens. Whilest we thus travelled on, we suddenly fell upon half a dozen poor cottages, covered with boughs and plantin leaves, and in them we found three *Indian* women, two men and five young children, all naked, who fain would have escaped, but they could not. We refreshed our selves in their poor cottages and gave them of our provision, which at the first they refused to eat, howling and crying and puling, till *Moran* had better encouraged and comforted them; whose language they partly understood. We clothed them and took them along with us, hoping to make them discover unto us some treasure or some bigger plantation. But that day they were so fullen that we could get nothing out of them. Thus we went on, following some tracks which here and there we found of *Indians*, till it was almost evening, and then we did light upon above a dozen cottages more, and in them a matter of twenty men, women, and children, from whom we took some bowes and arrowes; and found there store of plantins, some fish, and wild Venison, wherewith we refreshed our selves. These told us of a great Town two daies journey off, which made us be very watchfull that night. Here I began with some more of our company to be sick and weary, so that the next day I was not able to go any further; whereupon we resolved to set up our quarters there, and to send out some scouts of *Indians* and *Spaniards* to discover the Countrey, who found further more cottages and plantations of Maiz, of *Chile*, of *Turkey beans*, and *Cotton-wooll*; but no *Indians* at all, for they were all fled. Our scouts returned, and gave us some incouragement for the pleasantnesse of the Countrey; but withall wished us to be watchfull and carefull; for that certainly the flight of those *Indians* was a signe that our coming was noised about the Countrey. The next day we purposed to move forward to that plantation which our scouts had discovered, being (as we were informed) safer and more open to foresee any danger ready to befall us. All these plantations lay along by the river, where the sun was exceeding hot, which had caused feavers and a flux in some of us. With much wearinesse and faintnesse I got that day to our journeys end; beginning now to repent me of what I was engaged in and on foot, and fearing some suddain danger; by reason our coming was now known by the *Indians*. The prisoners we had with us began to tell us of some gold that they did sometimes find in that river; and of a great lake yet

forward, about which did inhabit many thousand *Indians*, who were very warlike, and skilfull in their bows and arrows. The one incouraged some, the other much discouraged the rest, who wished themselves out of those woods and unknown places, and began to murmure against *Moran*, who had been the cause of their ingagement in that great danger. Our night was set, and I and the rest of the sick *Spaniards* went to rest, some upon the bare ground, but my self and others in hamacca's, which are of net-work tied at two posts or trees, and hanging in the air, which with the least stirring of the body, rock one asleep as in a Cradle. Thus I took my rest till about midnight; at which time our watches gave an alarm against our approaching enemies, who were thought to be about a thousand. They came desperately towards us, and when they saw they were discovered, and our drums beat up, and our fowling pieces and muskets began to shoot, they hollowed and cried out with a hideous noise, which uproar and suddain affrightment, added sweat and fear to my feaver. But *Moran* (who came to confesse with me, and to prepare himself for death or for some deadly wound) comforted me, wishing me to fear nothing, and to lie still, for that I could do them no good, and that lesse was my danger then I apprehended, because our Souldiers had compassed me about, so that on no side the Heathens could come in, and sie we could not without the losse of all our lives. The skirmish lasted not above an hour, and then our enemies began to flie back. We took ten of them, and in the morning found thirteen dead upon the ground, and of ours five only were wounded, whereof one died the next day.

In the morning our Souldiers began to mutiny and to talke of returning back, fearing a worse and more violent onset that day or the night following, for some of the *Indians* who were taken, told them plainly that if they went not away there would come six or seven thousand against them. They told us further, that they knew well that the *Spaniards* had all the Countrey about except that little portion of theirs, which they desired to enjoy quietly and peaceably, and not to meddle with us, but rather if we would see their Countrey and go through it as friends, they would let us without doing us any hurt; but if we came in a warlike manner to fight and to bring them into slavery, as we had done their neighbours, they were all resolved to die fighting rather then to yeeld. With these words our Souldiers were divided, some with *Moran* were of opinion to try the *Indians*, and to go peaceably through their Countrey till they could come to some Town of *Jucatan*; others were of opinion to fight, others to return back again, considering their weaknesse against so many thousands of *Indians* as were in the Countrey. But that day nothing was agreed upon, for that we could not stir by reason of the sick and wounded. So we continued there that night, and as the night before much about the same time the enemies came again upon us, but finding us ready and watching for them, they soon fled. In the morning we resolved to return back, and *Moran* sent the Heathens word, that if they would let him go through their Countrey quietly to discover some land of *Jucatan*, he would after a few monthes come peaceably unto them with half a dozen *Indians*, no more, trusting his life upon them, whom he knew if they wronged, all the *Spaniards* in the Countrey would rise up against them, and not leave one alive. They answered that they would entertain him, and any few *Indians* well and willingly; all which *Moran* and they performed according to their agreement the next yeer following.

Thus we returned that day back the same way that we had come, and I began to find my self better, and my feaver to leave me. We carried with us some of those young children which we had taken, to present them unto the President of *Guatemala*. And in *Coban* the Prior *Moran* thought he might first do God good service if he christened those young children, saying that they might become Saints, and that afterwards their prayers might prevail with God for the conversion of their parents and of all that Countrey to Christianity. I could not but oppose this his ignorance, which seemed much like unto that of the Fryers who entred *America* with *Cortez*, and increased after the conquest daily more in number, who boasted to the Emperour, that they had some of them made above thirty thousand *Indians* Christians by baptizing them; which truly they did as sheep are forced to the waters and driven to be washed; so were those first *Indians* by thousands sprinkled (or if I may use their word, baptized) for they were driven by compulsion and force to the rivers, neither were they first principled in any grounds of belief and Christianity, neither themselves believers, nor children

of believing and faithfull parents. So would *Moran* christen these children, though I told him that they ought not to partake of that Sacrament and Ordinance of Christ, unlesse they were grounded in articles of Christianity and believed, or were children of believing parents. But as he had been brought up in errors, whereof that Church of *Rome* is a wide and spacious nest, so he would be obstinate in this point against me and the truth, sprinkling with water those children, and naming them with names of Christians. After this he sent them well apparelled to the President of *Guatemala*, who commanded them to be kept, and brought up in the Cloister of the Dominican Fryers.

I remained after this for a while in *Coban*, and in the Towns about, untill such time as the ships came to the Gulfe; whither I went with *Moran* to buy wines, oyle, iron, cloth and such things as the Cloister wanted for the present. At which time there being a frigate ready to depart to *Truxillo* (some occasions drawing *Moran* thither) I took ship with him. We staid not long above a week in that Port (which is a weak one, as the *English* and *Hollanders* taking of it can witnesse) but presently we thought of returning back to *Guatemala* by land through the Countrey of *Comayagua* commonly called *Honduras*. This is a woody and mountainous Countrey, very bad and inconvenient for Travellers, and besides very poor; there the commodities are Hides, *Canna fistula*, and *Zarzaparilla*, and such want of bread, that about *Truxillo* they make use of what they call *Cassave*, which is a dry root, that being eaten dry doth choak, and therefore is soaked in broth, water, wine or Chocolate, that so it may go down. Within the Countrey, and especially about the City of *Comayagua* (which is a Bishops seat, though a small place of some five hundred inhabitants at the most) there is more store of Maiz by reason of some *Indians*, which are gathered to Towns, few and small. I found this Countrey one of the poorest in all *America*. The chief place in it for health and good living is the valley which is called *Gracias a Dios*, there are some rich farms of Cattle and Wheat; but because it lieth as neer to the Countrey of *Guatemala* as to *Comayagua*, and on this side the wayes are better then on that, therefore more of that Wheat is transported to *Guatemala* and to the Towns about it; then to *Comayagua* or *Truxillo*. From *Truxillo* to *Guatemala* there are between fourscore and a hundred leagues, which we travelled by land, not wanting in a barren Countrey neither guides nor provision, for the poor *Indians* thought neither their personall attendance, nor any thing that they enjoyed too good for us.

Thus we came again to *Guatemala*, and were by the Fryers joyfully entertained, and by the President highly rewarded, and by the City called true Apostles, because we had ventured our lives for the discovery of Heathens, and opened a way for their conversion, and found out the chief place of their residence; and sent before us those children to the City, who witnessed with being in the Cloister our pains and indevours. *Moran* was so puffed up with the Presidents favour, and the popular applause, that he resolved in *Guatemala* to venture again his life, and, according to that message which he had sent before to the Heathen *Indians*, to enter amongst them in a peaceable way with half a dozen *Indians*. He would fain have had me gone with him; but I considered the hardnesse of the journey, which I thought I should not be able to perform on foot; and also I feared that the *Barbarians* might mutiny against us for those children which we had brought; and lastly I liked not the Countrey, which seemed poor and not for my purpose, to get means sufficient to bring me home to *England*, which was the chiefest thought and desire of my heart for the satisfaction of my conscience, which I found still unquiet. Wherefore I resolved to forsake the company of my friend *Moran*, and to desist from new discoveries of Heathens, and such difficult undertakings, which might endanger my health and life, and at last bring no profit, but only a little vain glory, fame and credit in that Countrey. I thought I might better employ my time, if I learned some *Indian* tongue neerer to *Guatemala*, where I considered the riches of the Towns, the readinesse of the *Indians*, and their willingnesse to further their Priests wants; and lastly their ignorance in some points of Religion, which I thought I might help and clear with some sound doctrine, and with preaching Christ crucified unto them, and bringing them unto that rock of eternall blisse and salvation. I trusted in my friends so much, that I knew it would not be hard for me to take my choise of any place about *Guatemala*; from whence I might facilitate my return to *England*, and write to *Spain*; and have every year an answer easier then any where else. I opened my

mind unto the Provincially (who was then at *Guatemala*) and he presently and willingly condescended to my request, and counselled me to learn the *Poconchi* language, (whereof I had already got some grounds in the *Vera Paz*) which is most used about *Guatemala*, and also is much practised in *Vera Paz*, and in the Countrey of *San Salvador*. He promised to send me to the Town of *Petapa*, to learn there the language, with a speciall friend of his named Fryer *Peter Molina*, who was very old, and wanted the help and company of some younger person to ease him in the charge that lay upon him, of so great a Town, and many Travellers that passed that way. The Provincially, as if he had known my mind, pitched upon my very hearts desire; and thus two weeks before *Midsummer* day I departed from *Guatemala* to *Petapa*, which is six leagues from thence, and there settled my self to learn that *Indian* tongue. The Fryers of those parts that are any way skilfull in the *Indian* languages, have composed Grammars and Dictionaries for the better furthering of others who may supply their places after their decease; but whilest they live are unwilling to teach the languages unto others, lest their scholars should after a good and well grounded knowledge of the tongues, supplant their own Masters, and be means of taking from them that great profit which they have by living as Curates in the *Indian* Towns. Yet this old *Molina* considering himself in years, and for his good friends sake the Provincially, was not unwilling to accept of my company, and to impart unto me what knowledge he had got by many years practice of the *Poconchi* tongue. He gave me therefore a short abstract of all the rudiments belonging unto it, which did consist chiefly of declining Nounes, and conjugating Verbs, (which I easily learned in the first fortnight that I had been with him) and then a Dictionary of *Indian* words, which was all the rest of my study to get without book, untill I was able of my self to preach unto the *Indians*, which with much easinesse I obtained by discoursing and conferring with them, what with my private study I had learned.

After the first six weeks *Molina* writ down for me in the tongue a short exhortation, which he expounded to me, and wished me to learn it without book, which I preached publicly upon the feast of *St. James*. After this he gave me another short exhortation in *Spanish*, to be preached the fifteenth of *August*, which he made me translate into the *Indian* tongue, and he corrected in it what he found amisse, where-with I was a little more emboldened, and feared not to shew my self in publick to the *Indians*. This practice I continued three or four times untill *Michaelmas*, preaching what with his help I had translated out of *Spanish*, untill I was able to talke with the *Indians* alone, and to make my own Sermons. After *Michaelmas* *Molina* being not a little vain glorious of what he had done with me, in perfecting me in an unknown tongue in so short a space, which was very little above one quarter of the year, writ unto the Provincially acquainting him of what pains he had taken with me, and of the good successe of his endeavours, assuring him that I was now fit to take a charge of *Indians* upon me, and to preach alone, further desiring him that he would bestow upon me some *Indian* Town and Benefice, where I might by constant preaching practice and further that which with so much facility I had learned. The Provincially (who had alwayes been my friend) needed not spurs to stir him up to shew more and more his love and kindnesse unto me; but immediately sent me order to go unto the two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, and to take charge of the *Indians* in them, and to give quarterly an account of what I received thence unto the Cloister of *Guatemala*, unto which all that valley did appertain. All the *Indian* Towns and the Fryers that live in them are subordinate unto some Cloister; and the Fryers are called by their Superiours to give up for the Cloisters use what monies they have spared, after their own and their servants lawfull maintenance. Which order yet in *Peru* is not observed, for there the Fryers who are once beneficed in *Indian* Towns, depend not upon any Cloister, but keep all that they get for themselves, and so receive not from their Cloisters any clothing, or help for their provision, neither give they any account to their Superiours, but keep, clothe and maintain themselves, with what offerings and other duties fall unto them from the *Indians*; which is the cause that the Fryers of *Peru* are the richest in all the *Indias*, and live not like Fryers but rather like Lords, and game and Dice publicly without controul. But the Fryers of *Guatemala*, *Guaxaca* and *Mexico*, though they have enough and more then is well suitable to their vow and profession of poverty, yet they enjoy not the liberty of the *Peruan* Fryers in their *Indian* Benefices;

for what is over and above their expences, they give to their Superiours, and from them they receive every month a jar of wine, of an Arrobe and a half. and every year a new habit with other clothing. Yet with what I have said I must not excuse the Fryers of *Guatemala* from liberty, and the enjoyment of wealth and riches; for they also game and sport, and spend, and fill their bags, and were in their accounts and reckonings to the Cloisters they might well give up in a year five hundred Crowns besides their own expences, they give up peradventure three hundred, and usurpe the rest for themselves, and their vain and idle uses; and trade and traffique under hand with Merchants against their vow of poverty.

With this subordination therefore (which I have shewed) unto the Prior and Cloister of *Guatemala*, was I sent to preach unto the *Indians* of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, from whence for my sake was removed an old Fryer of almost fourscore years of age, and called to his cloister to rest, who was not able to performe the charge which lay upon him of two Towns, three leagues distant one from another. The settled means for maintenance which I enjoyed in these Towns, and the common offerings and duties which I received from the *Indians* was this. In *Mixco* I was allowed every moneth twenty Crowns, and in *Pinola* fifteen, which was punctually payed by the Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurates, before the end of the moneth; for which payment, the Town sowed a common peece of land with Wheat or Maiz, and kept their book of accounts, wherein they set down what crops they yearly received; what monies they took in for the sale of their Corne, and in the same book I was to write down what every month I received from them; which book at the years end they were to present to be examined by some officer appointed thereunto by the Court of *Guatemala*. Besides this monthly allowance, I had from the Sodalities of the soules in Purgatory every week in each Town two Crownes for a Masse; every moneth two Crowns in *Pinola* upon the first Sunday of the moneth from the Sodality of the Rosary; and in *Mixco* likewise every moneth from three Sodalities of the Rosary of the Virgin *Mary*, which were there belonging unto the *Indians*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Black-mores*, two Crowns a peece. Further from two more Sodalities belonging to the *Vera Cruz*, or the Crosse of Christ, every moneth two Crowns a peece. And in *Mixco* from a Sodality of the *Spaniards* belonging to St. *Nicolas de Tolentino*, two Crowns every moneth; And from a Sodality of St. *Blas* in *Pinola* every moneth two more Crowns; and finally in *Mixco* from a Sodality entituled of St. *Jacinto* every moneth yet two Crowns; besides some offerings of either money, fowles, or candles, upon those dayes whereon these Masses were sung; all which amounted to threecore and nine Crowns a moneth, which was surely settled and paid before the end of the moneth. Besides from what I have formerly said of the Saints statues which do belong unto the Churches, and do there constantly bring both money, fowles, candles, and other offerings upon their day, unto the Priest, the yearly revenues which I had in those two Towns will appear not to have been small; for in *Mixco* there were in my time eighteen Saints Images, and twenty in *Pinola*; which brought unto me upon their day four Crowns a peece for Masse and Sermon, and procession, besides fowles, Turkeys and Cacao, and the offerings before the Saints, which commonly might be worth at least three Crowns upon every Saints day, which yearly amounted to at least two hundred, three-score and six Crownes. Besides the Sodalities of the Rosary of the Virgin, (which as I have before said were four, three in *Mixco*, and one in *Pinola*) upon five severall feasts of the year (which are most observed by the Church of *Rome*) brought unto me four Crowns, two for the daies Masse, and two for a Masse the day following, which they call the Anniversarie for the dead, who had belonged unto those Sodalities, which besides those daies offerings (which sometimes were more, sometimes lesse) and the *Indians* presents of fowles and Cacao, made up yearly fourscore Crowns more. Besides this, the two Sodalities of the *Vera Cruz* upon two feasts of the Crosse; the one upon the fourteenth of *September*, the other upon the third of *May*, brought four Crowns a peece for the Masse of the day, and the Anniversary Masse following, and upon every Friday in Lent two Crownes, which in the whole year came to four and forty Crownes; all which above reckoned, was as a sure rent in those two Towns. But, should I spend time to reckon up what besides did accidentally fall, would be tedious. The Christmas offerings in both those two Townes, were worth to me when I lived there at least forty Crowns. Thursday and Friday offerings be-

fore Easter day were about a hundred Crowns; all Souls day offerings commonly worth fourscore Crowns; and Candlemas day offerings commonly forty more. Besides what was offered upon the Feast of each Town by all the Countrey which came in, which in *Mixco* one year was worth unto me in Candles and money fourscore Crowns, and in *Pinola* (as I reckoned it) fifty more. The Communicants (every one giving a Riall) might make up in both Towns at least a thousand Rials; and the Confessions in Lent at least a thousand more, besides other offerings of Egges, Hony, Cacao, Fowles, and Fruits. Every Christening brought two Rials, every Marriage two Crowns, every ones dead two Crowns more at least; and some in my time dyed, who would leave ten or twelve Crowns for five or six Masses to be sung for their souls.

Thus are those fools taught that by the Priests singing their souls are delivered from weeping, and from the fire and torments of Purgatory; and thus by singing all the year do those Fryers charme from the poor *Indians* and their Sodalities and Saints an infinite treasure wherewith they enrich themselves and their Cloisters; as may be gathered from what I have noted by my own experience in those two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, (which were far inferiour yet to *Petapa* and *Amatitlan* in the same Valley, and not to be compared in offerings and other Church duties to many other Towns about that Countrey) which yet yeilded unto me with the offerings cast into the Chests which stood in the Churches for the souls of Purgatory, and with what the *Indians* offered when they came to speak unto me (for they never visit the Priest with empty hands) and with what other Masse stipends did casually come in, the summe of at least two thousand Crowns of *Spanish* money, which might yearly mount to five hundred *English* pounds. I thought this Benefice might be a fitter place for me to live in, then in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, wearying out my brains with points of false grounded Divinity for to get only the applause of the Scholars of the University, and now and then some small profit; which I thought I might look after as well as the rest of my profession, nay with more reason, for that I intended to return to *England*, and I knew I should have little help for so long a journey in leaving there my friends, if so be that I made not my mony my best friend to assist me by Sea and Land. My first indeavour was to certifie myself from the Books of Receipts and Accounts in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, what reckonings my Predecessor and others before him had given up to the Cloister yearly from *Mixco* and *Pinola*, that I might regulate my self and my expenses so, as to be able to live with credit, and to get thanks from the Cloister by giving more then any before me had given. I found that four hundred Crowns had been the most that my old Predecessour had given yearly in his Accounts; and that before him little more was usually given from those two Towns; Whereupon I took occasion once in discourse with the Prior of *Guatemala* to aske what he would willingly expect from me yearly whilst I lived in those two Towns; to which he replied that if I upheld for my part the Cloisters usuall and yearly Revenues, giving what my Predecessour had given, he would thank me, and expect no more from me, and that the rest that befell me in those Towns, I might spend it in Books, Pictures, Chocolate, Mules, and Servants; to which I made reply, that I thought I could live in that Benefice creditably enough, and yet give from it more to the Cloister then ever any other before me had given, and that I would forfeit my continuing there if I gave not to the Cloister every year four hundred and fifty Crowns. The Prior thanked me heartily for it, and told me I should not want for wine, (wishing me to send for it every moneth) nor for clothing, which he would every year once bestow upon me. This I thought would save a great part of my charges, and that I was well provided for as long as I lived in the *Indias*. And here I desire that *England* may take notice how a Fryer that hath professed to be a Mendicant, being beneficed in *America*, may live with four hundred pounds a year clear, and some with much more, with most of his cloathing given him besides, and the most charge of his wine supplied, with the abundance of Fowles, which cost him nothing, and with such plenty of Beef, as yeelds him thirteen pound for three pence? Surely well may he game, buy good Mules, furnish his chamber with hangings, and rich pictures, and Cabinets, yea and fill them with *Spanish* Pistols, and peeces of eight, and after all trade in the Court of *Madrid* for a Mitre and fat Bishoprick, which commonly is the end of those proud worldly and lasse Lubbars.

After

After I was once settled in these my two Towns, my first care was to provide my self of a good Mule, which might soon and easily carry me (as often as occasion called) from the one Town to the other. I soon found out one, which cost me fourscore Crowns, which served my turn very well, to ride speedily the nine miles crosse the Valley, which were between the two Towns. Though my chief study here was to perfect my self in the *Indian* tongue, that I might the better preach unto them, and be well understood; yet I omitted not to search out the Scriptures daily, and to addict my self unto the Word of God, which I knew would profit me more then all those riches and pleasures of *Egypt*, which for a while I saw I must enjoy, till my ten years were fully expired, and Licence from *Rome* or *Spain* granted for me to return to *England*, which I began speedily to sollicite by means of one Captain *Isidro de Zepeda*, a *Sevill* Merchant and Master of one of the ships, which came that first year that I was settled in *Mixco* with Merchandize for *Guatemala*; By this Captain (who passed often through the Valley) I writ unto my friends in *Spain* and had answers, though at first to little purpose, which did not a little increase the troubles of my conscience, which were great, and such whereof the wise man said, A wounded Conscience who can bear? My friendship with this Captain *Zepeda* was such, that I broke my mind unto him, desiring him to carry me in his Ship to *Spain*; which he refused to do, telling me the danger he might be in, if complaint should be made to the President of *Guatemala*, and wishing me to continue where I was, and to store my self with money that I might return with Licence and credit. I resolved therefore with *David* in the 16. *Psal.* and the 8. v. to set the Lord alwayes before me, and to choose him for my only comfort; and to relie upon his providence who I knew only could order things for my good, and could from *America* bring me home to the house of Salvation, and to the household of Faith; from which I considered my self an exile, and far banished. In the mean time I lived five full years in the two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*. Where I had more occasion to get wealth and money, then ever any that lived there before me; for the first yeer of my abiding there it pleased God to send one of the plagues of *Egypt* to that Countrey, which was of Locusts, which I had never seen till then. They were after the manner of our *Grahoppers*, but somewhat bigger, which did flie about in number so thick and infinite that they did truly cover the face of the Sun and hinder the shining forth of the beames of that bright planet. Where they lighted either upon trees or standing Corn, there nothing was expected but ruine, destruction and barrenesse; for the corn they devoured, the leaves and fruits of trees they eat and consumed, and hung so thick upon the branches, that with their weight they tore them from the body. The high waies were so covered with them that they startled the travelling Mules with their fluttering about their head and feet; my eyes were often struck with their wings as I rid along, and much ado I had to see my way, what with a *Montero* wherewith I was fain to cover my face, what with the flight of them which were still before my eyes.

The Farmers towards the South Sea Coast, cryed out for that their Indigo which was then in grasse, was like to be eaten up; from the Ingenio's of Sugar, the like moan was made, that the young and tender Sugar Canes would be destroyed; but above all grievous was the cry of the husbandmen of the Valley where I lived, who feared that their Corn would in one night be swallowed up by that devouring Legion. The care of the Magistrate was that the Towns of *Indians* should all go out into the fields with Trumpets, and what other instruments they had to make a noise, and so to affright them from those places which were most considerable and profitable to the Common-wealth; and strange it was to see how the loud noise of the *Indians* and sounding of the Trumpets, defended some fields from the fear and danger of them. Where they lighted in the Mountains and High wayes, there they left behind them their young ones, which were found creeping upon the ground ready to threaten with a second years plagues if not prevented; wherefore all the Towns were called with Spades, Mattocks and Shovels to dig long Trenches and therein to bury all the young ones.

Thus with much trouble to the poor *Indians*, and their great pains (yet after much hurt and losse in many places) was that flying Pestilence chased away out of the Countrey to the South Sea, where it was thought to be consumed by the Ocean, and to have found a grave in the waters, whilst the young ones found it in the Land. Yet they were not all so buried, but that shortly some appeared, which not being so many in number as before were with the former diligence soon overcome.

But

But whilst all this feare was, these outcries were made by the Countrey and this diligence performed by the *Indians*, the Priests got well by it; for every where Processions were made, and Masses sung for the averting of that Plague. In *Mixco* most of the idols were carryed to the field, especially the pictures of our Lady, and that of *St. Nicolas Tolentine*, in whose name the Church of *Reme* doth use to blesse little Breads and Wafers with the Saint stamped upon them; which they think are able to defend them from Agues, Plague, Pestilence, Contagion, or any other great and imminent danger. There was scarce any *Spanish* Husbandman who in this occasion came not from the Valley to the Town of *Mixco* with his offering to this Saint, and who made not a vow to have a Masse sung unto Saint *Nicholas*; they all brought breads to be blessed, and carryed them back to their Farms, some casting them into their Corn, some burying them in their hedges and fences, strongly trusting in Saint *Nicholas*, that his bread would have power to keep the Locust out of their fields; and so at the last those simple, ignorant and blinded soules, when they saw the Locusts departed and their Corn safe, cried out to our Lady some, others to Saint *Nicholas*, *Milagro*, a Miracle, judging the Saint worthy of praise more then God, and performing to him their vows of Masses, which in their fear and trouble they had vowed, by which erroneous and Idolatrous devotion of theirs I got that year many more Crowns then what before I have numbred from the Sodalities. The next year following, all that Countrey was generally infected with a kind of contagious sicknesse, almost as infectious as the Plague; which they call *Tabardillo*, and was a Feaver in the very inward parts and bowels, which scarce continued to the seventh day, but commonly took them away from the world to a grave the third or fifth day. The filthy smell and stench which came from them, which lay sick of this disease, was enough to infect the rest of the house, and all that came to see them; It rotted their very mouths and tongues, and made them as black as a coal before they died. Very few *Spaniards* were infected with this Contagion; but the *Indians* generally were taken with it. It was reported to have begun about *Mexico*, and to have spread from Town to Town, till it came to *Guatemala*, and went on forwards; and so likewise did the Locusts the year before, marching as it were from *Mexico* over all the Countrey. I visited many that died of this infection, using no other Antidote against it, save only a handkercheif dipped in Vineger to smell unto, and I thanke God I escaped where many died. In *Mixco* I buried ninety young and old; and in *Pimla* above an hundred; and for all these that were eight year old, or upwards, I received two Crowns for a Masse for their souls delivery out of Purgatory. See good Reader, whether the conceit of Purgatory have not been a main policy of *Rome* to enrich the Priest and Clergy, with Masse stipends from such as die, making them beleve that nothing else can helpe their souls if once plunged into that conceited fire; Where thou maist see that one contagious sicknesse in two small Towns of *Indians* brought unto me in lesse then half a year near a hundred pounds for Masses, for almost two hundred that died. Nay such is the greedy covetousnesse of those Priests, that they will receive three or four Masse stipends for one day, making the people believe that the same Masse may be offered up for many, and do one soul as much good as another. Thus with the Plague of Locusts, and the contagion of sicknesse, for the first two years together had I an occasion to enrich my self, as did other Priests my neighbours. But think not that because so many died, therefore the Towns growing lesse my offerings for the future were lessened. The *Encomendero's* or Lords of the two Towns took care for that; who, that they might not lose any part of that Tribute which was formerly paid unto them, presently after the sicknesse was ceased, caused them to be numbred; and (as I have in the Chapter before observed) forced to marriage all that were twelve years and upwards of age; which also was a new streame of Crowns flowing into my bags; for from every couple that were married I had also two Crowns besides other offerings, and in both the Towns, I married on that occasion above fourscore Couple. Truly by all this, I thank the Lord, I was more strengthened in my conceit against the Church of *Reme*, and not with that greedinesse of that Lucrentised to continue in it, though I found the preferments there farre greater then any might be in the Church of *England*, where I knew nothing was to be got with singing, or huddling over a Masse; But yet though for the present my profit was great, my eyes were open to see the errors whereby that profit came so plentifully to me; and to all that crew of *Idolatrious*

trous Priests. The judgements ceased not here in that Countrey in my time; but after this contagion there was such an Inundation of rain that the husbandmen feared again the losse of all their Corn. At noon time the darke clouds for a moneth together began to thicken and cover the face of the Heavens, powing down such stormy showres as swept away much Corn, and many poor Cottages of *Indians*; besides the rain, the fiery thunderbolts breaking through the clouds threatned a dolefull judgement to the Countrey. In the valley of *Mixco* two riding together were stricken dead from their Mules, the Chappel of our Lady of *Carmel* in the same valley was burnt to the ground, and likewise two houses at the river of *Vacas*. In *Petapa* another flash of lightning, or thunderbolt fell into the Church upon the high Altar, cracking the wals in many places, running from Altar to Altar, defacing all the gold, and leaving a print and stamp where it had gone without any more hurt. In the Cloister of the Franciscans in *Guatemala*, a Fryer sleeping upon his bed after dinner, was stricken dead, his body being left all black as if it had been burnt with fire, and yet no signe of any wound about him. Many accidents happened that year which was 1632. all about the Countrey. But my self was by the safe protection of the Almighty wonderfully saved; for being on a Saturday at night in *Mixco* trembling and fearing, and yet trusting in my God, and praying unto him in my chamber, one flash of lightning or thunderbolt fell close to the Church wall to which my chamber joyned, and killed two Calves, which were tied to a post in a yard, to be slaughtered the next morning. The lightning was so neer and terrible that it seemed to have fired all my house, and struck me down unto the ground; where I lay as dead for a great while; when I came again to my self, I heard many *Indians* about my house, who were come to see if either it or the Church were set on fire. This stormy season brought me also much profit, for (as formerly) the *Spaniards* of the valley and the *Indians* betook themselves to their Idol Saints carrying them about in procession, which was not done without money, which they call their almes unto their Saints, that they may the better be heard and intreated by them.

The Summer following there was more then the ordinary earthquakes, which were so great that year in the Kingdome of *Pern*, that a whole City called *Truxillo* was swallowed up by the earth which opened it selfe, and almost all the people were lost, whilst they were at Church worshipping and praying unto their Saints. The hurt they did about *Guatemala* was not so much as in other places, only some few mud wals were shaken down, and some Churches cracked; which made the people fear and betake themselves again to their Saints, and empty their purses before them for Masses and processions, lest the danger should prove as great, as was that of the great earthquake which happened before my coming into that Countrey. These earthquakes when they begin are more often then long, for they last but for a while, stirring the earth with three motions, first on the one side, then on the other, and with the third motion they seem to set it right again. If they should continue, they would doubtlesse hurle down to the ground any steeple or building though never so great and strong. Yet at this time in *Mixco* some were so violent, that they made the steeple bend so much that they made the bells sound. I was so used unto them that many times in my bed I would not stir for them. Yet this year they brought me to such a fear, that had not the Lord been a present refuge to me in time of trouble, I had utterly been undone. For being one morning in my chamber studying, so great and suddain was an earthquake, that it made me run from my table to a window, fearing that before I could get down the stairs, the whole house might fall upon my head, the window was in a thick wall vaulted upwards like an arch (which the *Spaniards* hold to be the safest place if a house should fall) where I expected nothing but death; as soon as I got under it, the earthquake ceased, though my heart ceased not to quake with the suddain affrightment. Whilst I was musing and thinking what to do, whether I should run down to the yard, or continue where I was, there came a second shaking worse then the first. I thought with my self if the house should fall, the Arch would not save my life, and that I should either be stifled or thrown out of the window, which was not very low and neer unto the ground, but somewhat high, wide, open, having no glasse casements but wooden shuts, (such as there are used) and if I leaped out of the window, I might chance to break a leg, or a limbe, yet save my life. The suddainesse of the astonishment took from me the best and most mature deliberation

in such a case; and in the midst of these my troubled and perplexed thoughts a third motion came as violent as the former, wherewith I had now set one foot in the window to leap down, had not the same Lord (to whom *David* said in the 46. *Psal.* v. 2. Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be moved) by his wonderfull providence spoken both to me and to the moving earth, saying as in the 10. *vers.* Be still and know that I am God; for certainly had it gone on to a fourth motion, I had by casting down my self broke either my neck, or a legge, or some other joynt. Thus was I twice saved by my good God in *Mixco*, and in *Pinola* I was once no lesse in danger in losing a legge by means of a smaller instrument then is a flea.

This Town of *Pinola* in the *Indian* language is called *Panacac*; *Pan*, signifieth in, or amongst, *Cac*, signifieth three things; for it signifieth the fire, or a fruit otherwise called *guava*; or thirdly, a small vermine, commonly called by the *Spaniards*, *Nigua*; which is common over all the *India's*, but more in some places then in others. Where there are many Hogs, there is usually much of this sort of vermine. The *Spaniards* report that many of the Souldiers of Sir *Francis Drake* died of them, when they landed about *Nombre de Dios*, and marched up the high Mountains of *St. Pablo* towards *Panama*, who feeling their feet to itch, and not knowing the cause thereof, scratched them so much, till they festred, and at last, (if this report be true) cost them their lives. Some say, they breed in all places, high and low, upon Tables, Beds, and upon the ground; but experience sheweth the contrary, that they only breed upon the ground, for where the houses are sluttish, and not often swept, there commonly they are most felt; and in that they usually get into the Feet and Shooes, and seldome into the hands or any other part of the body, argues that they breed upon the ground. They are lesse then the least flea, and can scarce be perceived, and when they enter into the Foot, they make it burn and itch; and if then they be looked to, they appear black, and no bigger then the point of a pin, and with a pin may easily be taken out whole; but if part of them be left, the smallest part will do as much harm as the whole, and will get into the flesh. When once they are got in, they breed a little bagge in the flesh, and in it a great many Nits, which increase bigger and bigger to the bignesse of a great Pea; then they begin again to make the foot itch, which if it be scratched, falleth to festering, and so indangereth the whole foot. Some hold it best to take them out when they cause the first itching and are getting in; but this is hard to do, because they can hardly then be perceived, and they are apt to be broken. Therefore others commonly let them alone, untill they be got into the flesh, and have bred a bag with nits, which like a blister sheweth it self through the skinne, and then with the point of a pin, they dig round about the bag, till they can with the pins point take it out whole, if it be broken, it comes to breed again; if it be taken out whole, then they put in a little Eare wax, or ashes were the bag lay, and with that the hole is healed up again in a day or two. The way to avoid this vermines entering into the foot, is to lay both shooes and stockings, or whatsoever other clothing upon some stool or chair high from the ground, and not to go bare-foot; which yet is wonderfull in the *Indians* themselves, that though they commonly do go bare-foot, yet they are seldome troubled with them, which is attributed to the hardnesse of their skin; for certainly were they as tender footed and skinned as are those that wear both shooes and stockings, they would be as much troubled with them as these are. *Panacac* or *Pinola*, is much subject to this Vermin, or *Nigua*, and I found it by wofull experience, for at my first coming thither not knowing well the quality of it, I let one breed so long in my foot, and continued scratching it, untill my foot came to be so festred, that I was faine to lie two whole months in a Chirurgions hand, and at last through Gods great mercy and goodnesse to me I lost not a Limbe. But that the Providence of God may be known to me the worst of all his Creatures, living in so far a Countrey from all my friends, and from me may be related unto future Generations, before I conclude this Chapter, I shall further shew both my dangers and deliverances. Though true it is, most of the *Indians* are but formally Christians, and only outwardly appear such, but secretly are given to witchcraft and idolatry, yet as they were under my charge, I thought by preaching Christ unto them, and by cherishing them, and defending them from the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, I might better work upon them to bring them to more knowledge of some truths, at least concerning God and Christ. Therefore as I found them truly loving, kind and bountifull unto me, so I indevoured in all occasions to shew them love by commiserating

rating their sufferings, and taking their part against any *Spaniards* that wronged them, and keeping constantly in my Chamber such drugs (as hot Waters, Anniseed and wine and the like) which I knew might most please them, when they came to see me, and most comfort them, when they were sick or grieved. This my love and pity towards them had almost in *Pinola* cost me my life; For an *Indian* of that Town serving a *Spaniard* named *Francisco de Montenegro* (who lived a mile and a half from thence) was once so pitifully beaten and wounded by his Master, for that he told him he would complain to me that he payed him not his wages, that he was brought home to the Town, and had I not out of my charity called for a Chirurgeon from *Perapa* to cure him, he had certainly dyed. I could not but complain for the poor *Indian* unto the President of *Guatemala*, who respecting my complaint, sent for my *Spaniard* to the City, imprisoned him, and kept him close untill the *Indian* was recovered, and so with a Fine sent him back again. In a Sermon further I pressed this home unto the neighboring *Spaniards*, warning them of the wrongs and abuses which they offered unto the poor *Indians*, which I told them I would put up no more then any injury done unto my self, for that I looked upon them as Neophytes and new plants of Christianity, who were not to be discouraged, but by all means of love encouraged to come to Christ; withall I commanded all the *Indians* that had any wrong done unto them, to come unto me, assuring them that I would make such a complaint for them as should be heard, as they might perceive I had lately done to some purpose. This Sermon stuck so in *Montenegro* his stomach, that (as I was informed) he made an Oath, that he would procure my death. Though it was told me; yet I could hardly believe it, judging it to be more a bravery and a vain boasting of a *Spaniard*, then any thing else; Yet by the advice of some friends I was counselled to look to my self, which yet I slighted; untill one day the boyes and *Indians* that served in my house came running to my chamber door, wishing me to look to my selfe, and not to come out; for that *Montenegro* was come into my Yard with a naked sword to kill me. I charged them from within to call the Officers of the Town to aid and assist me; but in the mean while my furious *Spaniard* perceiving himself discovered left the Town. With this I thought of securing my self better, and called for a Blackmore *Miguel Dalva* a very stout and lusty fellow, who lived from me half a mile, to be about me untill I could discover more of *Montenegros* designs and malicious intents. The next Sabbath day in the morning being to ride to the Town of *Mixco*, I carried my Blackmore and half a dozen of *Indians* in my company, and going through a little wood in the midst of the Valley, there I found my enemy waiting for me, who seeing the train I brought, durst do nothing, but gave me spitefull languages, telling me he hoped that he should find me alone some time or other. With this I thought fit to delay no longer my second complaint to the President against him, who as before heard me willingly, and after a months imprisonment banished *Montenegro* thirty leagues from the Valley. And not only from *Spaniards* was I in danger for the *Indians* sake whilst I lived in those Towns; but also from some *Indians* themselves; (who were false in Religion) I did undergoe great perils, and yet was still delivered.

In *Pinola* there were some, who were much given to witchcraft; and by the power of the Devill did act strange things. Amongst the rest there was one old woman named *Martha de Carrillo*, who had been by some of the Town formerly accused for bewitching many; but the *Spanish* Justices quitted her, finding no sure evidence against her; with this she grew worse and worse, and did much harme. When I was there, two or three died, withering away, declaring at their death that this *Carrillo* had killed them, and that they saw her often about their beds, threatening them with a frowning and angry look. The *Indians* for fear of her durst not complain against her, nor meddle with her; whereupon I sent word unto *Don Juan de Guzman* the Lord of that Town, that if he took not order with her, she would destroy his Town. He hearing of it, got for me a Commission from the Bishop and another officer of the Inquisition to make diligent and private inquiry after her life and actions; which I did, and found among the *Indians* many and grievous complaints against her, most of the Town affirming that certainly she was a notorious witch, and that before her former accusation she was wont whithersoever she went about the Town to go with a Duck following her, which when she came to the Church, would stay at the door till she came out again, and then would return home with her, which Duck they imagined was her beloved Devill, and familiar Spirit, for that they

had

had often set dogs at her and they would not meddle with her, but rather run away from her. This Duck never appeared more with her, since she was formerly accused before the Justice, which was thought to be her policy, that she might be no more suspected thereby. This old woman was a widow, and of the poorest of the Town in outward shew, and yet she alwayes haſt ſtore of mony, which none could tell which way ſhe might come by it. Whiſt I was thus taking privy information againſt her (it being the time of Lent, when all the Town came to Confefſion) ſhe among the reſt came to the Church to confeſſe her ſins, and brought me the beſt preſent and offering of all the Town, for whereas a Riall is common ſhe brought me four, and beſides a Turkey, eggs, fiſh, and a little bottle of hony. She thought thereby to get with me a better opinion then I had of her from the whole Town; I accepted of her great offering, and heard her Confefſion, which was of nothing but trifles, which could ſcarce be judged ſinfull actions. I examined her very cloſe of what was the common judgement of all the *Indians*, and eſpecially of thoſe who dying had declared to my ſelf at their death that ſhe had bewitched them, and before their ſickneſſe had threatned them, and in their ſickneſſe appeared threatning them with death about their beds, none but they themſelves ſeing her. To which ſhe replied weeping, that ſhe was wronged. I asked her, how ſhe being a poor widow without any ſons to help her, without any means of livelyhood had ſo much mony, as to give me more then the richeſt of the Town, how ſhe came by that fiſh, Turkey, and hony, having none of this of her own about her houſe? to which ſhe replied, that God loved her and gave her all theſe things, and that with her mony ſhe had bought the reſt. I asked her of whom? ſhe answered that out of the Town ſhe had them. I perſwaded her much to repentance, and to forſake the Devill and all fellowſhip with him; but her words and answers were of a Saintly and holy woman; and ſhe earneſtly deſired me to give her the Communion with the reſt that were to receive the next day. Which I told her I durſt not do, uſing Chriſts words, Give not the childrens bread unto dogs, nor caſt your pearls unto ſwine; and that it would be a great ſcandall to give the Communion unto her, who was ſuſpected generally, and had been accused for a witch. This ſhe took very ill, telling me that ſhe had many years received the Communion, and now in her old age it grieved her to be deprived of it; her tears were many, yet I could not be moved with them, but reſolutely denied her the Communion, and ſo diſmiſſed her. At noon when I had done my work in the Church, I bad my ſervants go to gather up the offerings, and gave order to have the fiſh dreſſed for my dinner which ſhe had brought; but no ſooner was it carried into the Kitchen, when the Cook looking on it found it full of maggots, and ſtinking, ſo that I was forced to hurl it away. With that I began to ſuſpect my old witch, and went to look on her hony, and powring it out into a diſh, I found it full of wormes, her eggs I could not know from others, there being near a hundred offered that day; but after as I uſed them, we found ſome rotten, ſome with dead chickens within; the next morning the Turkey was found dead; as for her four Rials, I could not perceive whether ſhe had bewitched them out of my pocket, for that I had put them with many other, which that day had been given me, yet as far as I could I called to memory who and what had been given me, and in my judgement and reckoning I verily thought that I miſſed four Rials. At night when my ſervants the *Indians* were gone to bed, I ſat up late in my chamber betaking my ſelf to my books and ſtudy, for I was the next morning to make an exhortation to thoſe that received the Communion. After I had ſtudyed a while, it being between ten and eleven of the clock, on a ſuddain the chief door in the hall (where in a lower room was my chamber, and the ſervants, and three other doors) flew open, and I heard one come in; and for a while walke about; then was another door opened which went into a little room, where my ſaddles were laid; with this I thought it might be the Black-more *Miguel Dalva*, who would often come late to my houſe to lodge there, eſpecially ſince my fear of *Montenegro*, and I conjectured that he was laying up his ſaddle, I called unto him by his name two or three times from within my chamber, but no answer was made; but ſuddenly another door that went out to a Garden flew alſo open, wherewith I began within to fear, my joynts trembled, my hair ſtood up, I would have called out to the ſervants, and my voice was as it were ſtopped with the ſudden affrightment, I began to think of the witch, and put my truſt in God againſt her, and encouraged my ſelf and voice, calling out to the ſervants, and knocking with a cane at my

my door within that they might hear me, for I durst not open it and go out. With the noise which I made the servants awaked and came out to my chamber door; then I opened it; and asked them if they had not heard some body in the hall, and all the doores opened. They said they were asleep, and heard nothing, only one boy said he heard all, and related unto me the same that I had heard. I took my candle then in my hand and went out into the hall with them to view the doors, and I found them all shut, as the servants said they had left them. Then I perceived that the Witch would have affrighted me, but had no power to do me any harm; I made two of the servants lie in my chamber; and went to bed. In the morning early I sent for my *Fiscal* the Clerk of the Church; and told him what had happened that night; he smiled upon me, and told me it was the widow *Carillo*, who had often played such tricks in the Town with those that had offended her, and therefore he had the night before come unto me from her desiring me to give her the Communion, lest she should do me some hurt, which I denied unto him, as I had done to her self. The Clerk bad me be of good cheer, for he knew she had no power over me to do me any hurt. After the Communion that day some of the chief *Indians* came unto me, and told me that old *Carillo* had boasted that he would play me some trick or other, because I would not give her the Communion. But I to rid the Town of such a limbe of Satan, sent her to *Guatemala*, with all the evidences and witnesses which I had found against her unto the President and Bishop, who commanded her to be put in prison, where she died within two moneths.

Many more *Indians* there were in that Town, who were said in my time to do very strange things. One called *John Gonzalez* was reported to change himself into the shape of a Lyon, and in that shape was one day shot in the nose by a poor harmelesse *Spaniard* who chiefly got his living by going about the woods and Mountains, and shooting at wild Deer and other beasts to make money of them. He espied one day a Lyon, and having no other aime at him but his snout behind a tree, he shot at him; the Lyon run away; the same day this *Gonzalez* was taken sick, I was sent for to hear his Confession, I saw his face and nose all bruised, and asked him how it came, he told me then that he had fallen from a tree and almost killed himself; yet afterwards he accused the poor *Spaniard* for shooting at him; the businesse was examined by a *Spanish* Justice, my evidence was taken for what *Gonzalez* told me of his fall from a tree, the *Spaniard* was put to his oath, who sware that he shot at a Lyon in a thick wood, where an *Indian* could scarce be thought to have any businesse, the tree was found out in the Wood, whereat the shot had been made and was still marked with the shot and bullet; which *Gonzalez* confessed was to be the place; and was examined how he neither fell nor was seen by the *Spaniard*, when he came to seek for the Lyon, thinking he had killed him; to which he answered that he ran away lest the *Spaniard* should kill him indeed. But his answers seeming frivolous, the *Spaniards* integrity being known, and the great suspicion that was in the Town of *Gonzalez* his dealing with the Devill, cleared the *Spaniard* from what was laid against him.

But this was nothing to what after happened to one *John Gomez*, the chiefest *Indian* of that Town of neer fourscore years of age, the Head and Ruler of the principallest Tribe among the *Indians*; whose advise and counsell was taken and preferred before all the rest, who seemed to be a very godly *Indian*, and very seldome missed morning and evening prayers in the Church, and had bestowed great riches there. This *Indian* very suddenly was taken sick (I being then in my other Town of *Mixco*) the *Mayordomos*, or stewards of the Sodality of the Virgin fearing that he might die without Confession and they be chid for their negligence, at midnight called me up at *Mixco*, desiring me to go presently and help *John Gomez* to die, whom also they said desired much to see me and to receive some comfort from me. I judging it a work of charity, although the time of the night were unseasonable, and the great rain at the present might have stopped my charity, yet I would not be hindred by either of them, and so set forth to ride nine miles both in the dark and wet. When I came to *Pinola* being thorow wet to the skin, I went immediately to the house of old sick *Gomez*, who lay with his face all muffled up, thanked me for my pains and care I had for his soul; he desired to confesse, and by his confession and weeping evidenced nothing but a godly life, and a willing desire to die and to be with Christ. I comforted him and prepared him for death, and before I departed, asked him how he felt himself; he answered that his sickness was nothing

nothing but old age, and weaknesse. With this I went to my house, changed my self and lay down a while to rest, when suddenly I was called up again to give *Gomez* the extreme unction, which the *Indians* (as they have been ignorantly taught) will not omit to receive before they die. As I anointed him in his nose, his lips, his eyes, his hands and his feet, I perceived that he was swelled, and black and blew; but made nothing of it, judging it to proceed from the sicknesse of his body; I went again home being now break of the day, when after I had taken a small nap, some *Indians* came to my door for to buy candles to offer up for *John Gomez* his soul, whom they told me was departed, and was that day to be buried very solemnly at Masse. I arose with drouisie eyes after so unquiet a nights rest; and walked to the Church, where I saw the grave was preparing. I met with two or three *Spaniards* who lived near the Town and were come to Masse that morning, who went in with me to my chamber, and with them I fell into discourse about *John Gomez*, telling them what comfort I had received at his death, whom I judged to have lived very holily, and doubted not of his salvation, and that the Town would much want him, for that he was their chief guide, and leader, ruling them with good advise and counsell. At this the *Spaniards* smiled one at another, and told me I was much deceived by all the *Indians*, but especially by the deceased *Gomez*, if I judged him to have been a Saint, and holy man. I told them that they as enemies to the poor *Indians* judged still uncharitably of them; but that I who know very well their consciences, could judge better of them then they. One then replied, that it seemed I little knew the truth of *John Gomez* his death by the Confession which he had made unto me, and that I seemed to be ignorant of the stir which was in the Town concerning his death. This seemed so strange unto me, that I desired them to informe me of the truth. Then they told me that the report went, that *John Gomez* was the chief wizzard of all the wizzards and witches in the Town, and that commonly he was wont to be changed into the shape of a Lyon, and so to walke about the mountains. That he was ever a deadly enemy to one *Sebastian Lopez* an ancient *Indian*, and head of another Tribe; and that both of them two daies before had met in the mountain, *Gomez* in the shape of a Lyon, and *Lopez* in the shape of a Tigre, and that they fought most cruelly, till *Gomez* (who was the older and weaker) was tired, much bit and bruised; and died of it. And further that I might be assured of this truth, they told me that *Lopez* was in prison for it, and the two Tribes striving about it; and that the Tribe and kindred of *Gomez* demanded from *Lopez* and his Tribe and kindred satisfaction, and a great sum of mony, or else did threaten to make the case known unto the *Spanish* power and authority, which yet they were unwilling to do if they could agree and smother it up among themselves, that they might not bring an aspersion upon their whole Town. This seemed very strange unto me, and I could not resolve what to beleve, and thought I would never more beleve an *Indian*, if I found *John Gomez* to have so much dissembled and deceived me. I took my leave of the *Spaniards* and went my self to the prison, where I found *Lopez* with fetters. I called one of the officers of the Town, who was Alguazil Maior, and my great friend, unto my house, and privately examined him why *Lopez* was kept so close prisoner; he was loth to tell me fearing the rest of the *Indians*, and hoping the businesse would be taken up, and agreed by the two Tribes, and not noised about the Countrey, which at that very instant the two Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurates, with the chief of both Tribes were sitting about in the Town-house all that morning. But I seeing the officer so timorous, was more desirous to know something, and pressed more upon him for the truth, giving him an inkling of what I had heard from the *Spaniards* before. To which he answered that if they could agree amongst themselves, they feared no ill report from the *Spaniards* against their Town; I told him I must know what they were agreeing upon amongst themselves so closely in the Town-house. He told me, if I would promise him to say nothing of him (for he feared the whole Town if they should know he had revealed any thing unto me) he would tell me the truth. With this I comforted him, and gave him a cup of Wine, and encouraged him, warranting him that no harm should come unto him for what he told me. Then he related the businesse unto me as the *Spaniards* had done, and told me that he thought the Tribes amongst themselves would not agree, for that some of *Gomez* his friends hated *Lopez* and all such as were so familiar with the Devill, and cared not if *Gomez* his dissembling life were laid open to the world; but others he said, who were

were as bad as *Lopez*, and *Gomez*, would have it kept close lest they and all the Witches and Wizards of the Town should be discovered. This struck me to the very heart; to think that I should live amongst such people; whom I saw were spending all they could get by their work and labour upon the Church, Saints, and in offerings, and yet were so privie to the counsels of Satan; it grieved me that the Word I preached unto them, did no more good, and I resolved from that time forward to spend most of my indeavours against Satans subtility, and to shew them more then I had done; the great danger of their souls who had made any compact with the Devil, that I might make them abandon and abjure his works; and close with Christ by Faith. I dismissed the *Indian*; and went to the Church, to see if the people were come to Masse; I found there no body but only two who were making *Gomez* his Grave. I went back to my Chamber, troubled much within my self, whether I should allow him a Christian Buriall, who had lived and died so wickedly, as I had been informed. Yet I thought I was not bound to believe one *Indian* against him; nor the *Spaniards*, whom I supposed spoke but by hearsay. Whilest I was thus musing, there came unto me at least twenty of the chiefest of the Town with the two Maiors, Jurates, and all the Officers of Justice; who desired me to forbear that day the burying of *John Gomez*; for that they had resolved to call a Crown Officer to view his Corps and examine his death, lest they all should be troubled for him; and be again unburyed. I made as if I knew nothing, but inquired of them the reason; then they related all unto me, and told me how there were witnesses in the Town who saw a Lyon and a Tyger fighting, and presently lost the sight of the beasts, and saw *John Gomez*, and *Sebastian Lopez*, much about the same place parting one from another; and that immediately *John Gomez* came home bruised to his bed, from whence he never rose more; and that he declared upon his death-bed unto some of his friends that *Sebastian Lopez* had killed him; whereupon they had him in safe custody. Further they told me that though they had never known so much wickednesse of these two chief heads of their Town whom they had much respected and followed, yet now upon this occasion, from the one Tribe and the other they were certainly informed that both of them did constantly deal with the Devil, which would be a great aspersion upon their Town, but they for their parts abjured all such wicked wayes, and prayed me not to conceive the worse of all for a few, whom they were resolved to persecute, and suffer not to live amongst them. I told them I much liked their good zeal, and encouraged them as good Christians to indeavour the rooting out of Satan from their Town; and they did very well in giving notice to *Guatemala*, to the *Spanish* power, of this accident, and that if they had concealed it, they might all have been punished as guilty of *Gomez* his death, and Agents with Satan, and his instruments. I assured them I had no ill conceipt of them, but rather judged well of them for what they were agreed to do. The Crown Officer was sent for who came that night and searched *Gomez* his body; I was present with him, and found it all bruised, scratched and in many places bitten and sore wounded. Many evidences and suspicions were brought in against *Lopez* by the *Indians* of the Town, especiall by *Gomez* his friends, whereupon he was carryed away to *Guatemala*, and there again was tryed by the same witnesses; and not much denying the fact himself, was there hanged. And *Gomez*, though his grave was opened in the Church; he was not buried in it, but in another made ready for him in a Ditch.

In *Mixco* I found also some *Indians* no lesse dissemblers then was this *Gomez*, and those of the chiefest and richest of the Town, who were four Brothers called *Fuentes*, and half a score more. These were outwardly very fair tongued, liberall, and free handed to the Church, much devoted to the Saints, great feasters upon their day, and yet in secret great Idolaters. But it pleased God to make me his instrument, to discover and bring to light the secrecy of their hidden works of darknesse, which it seems the privacy of a thick Wood and Mountain had many years hid from the eyes of the World. Some of these being one day in the company of other better Christians drinking hard of their *Chicha*, boasted of their God, saying that he had preached unto them better then I could preach, nay that he had plainly told them that they should not believe any thing that I preached of Christ, but follow the old wayes of their Forefathers, who worshipped their Gods aright, but now by the example of the *Spaniards* they were deluded, and brought to worship a false God. The other Christians hearing of this began to wonder, and to enquire of them where that God was, and with

much ado, promising to follow their ways, and their God, got out of them the place and Mountain where they might find him. Though this in drunkenesse were agreed upon, yet in sobernesse the good Christians thought better of what they had agreed upon, I lighted what before in drinking they heard, and yet it was not kept by them so close, but that it came to the ears of a *Spaniard* in the Valley; who finding himself touched in conscience, came to *Mixco* to me, and told me what he had heard, that some *Indians* of that town followed an Idol, and boasted that he had preached unto them against my Doctrine, and for the wayes of the former Heathens. I thanked God for that he was pleased to undermine the secret works of Satan daily; and desired the *Spaniard* to tell me by whom he came to know of this. He told me the *Indians* name from whom he had it, and that he was afraid to discover the *Indians* and to tell me of it. I sent for the *Indian* before the *Spaniard*, who confessed unto me that he had heard of such a thing; but knew that if he did discover the *Indians*, they with the power of the Devill would do him much harm; I told him, if he were a true Christian, he ought to fight against the Devill; and not to fear him, who could do him no harm if God were with him, and he closed by Faith with Christ, and that the discovery of that Idoll might be a means for the converting of the Idolaters, when they shall see the small power of their false God against the true God of the Christians. Further I told him plainly, that if he did not tell me who the *Indians* were, and where their Idol was, that I would have him to *Guatemala*, and there make him discover what he knew. Here the *Indian* began to tremble, and told me the *Fuentes* had boasted of such an Idol, whom they called their God, and gave some signes of a Fountain and of a Pine Tree at the mouth of a Cave in such a Mountain. I asked him, if he knew the place, or what kind of Idol it was; he told me, that he had often been in that Mountain, where he had seen two or three springs of water, but never was in any Cave. I asked him if he would go with me, and helpe me to find it out, he refused still fearing the Idolaters, and wished me not to go, for fear if they should be there, they might kill me rather then be discovered. I answered him that I would carry with me such a Guard as should be able to defend me against them, and my Faith in the true living God, would secure me against that false God. I resolved therefore with the *Spaniard* to go to search out the cave the next day, and to carry with me three or four *Spaniards* and my Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and that *Indian*. I told him I would not suffer him to go home to his house that day, for fear he should discover in the Town my design and purpose, and so we might be prevented by the Idolaters, who certainly that night would take away their Idol. The *Indian* still refused, till I threatned him to send for the Officers of Justice, and to secure his person; with this he yeilded, and that he might have no discourse with any body in the Town, nor with the Servants of my house, I desired the *Spaniard* to take him home to his house, and to keep him there close that day and night, promising to be with him the next morning. I charged the *Spaniard* also with secrecie, and so dismissed him with the *Indian*. That day I rid to *Pinola* for the Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and brought him to *Mixco* with me, not telling him what my intent was; I went also to four neighbouring *Spaniards*, desiring them to be in a readinesse the next morning to go a little way with me for the service of God, and to meet me at such a neighbours house, and that if they would bring their fowling peeces, we might chance to find some sport where we went, and as for provision of Wine and Meat, I would provide sufficiently. They promised to go with me, thinking that although I told them, it was for the service of God, my purpose only was to hunt after some wild Deer in the Mountains. I was glad they construed my action that way, and so went home, and provided that night a good Gammon of Bacon, and some Fowles roasted, cold, and others boiled, well peppered and salted for the next dayes work. Where I had appointed my *Indian* to be kept, I met with the rest of my company, and from thence we went together to the place of the Idolaters worshipping, which was some six miles from *Mixco* towards the Town of *St. John Sacatepeques*. When we came into the Wood we presently met with a deep Barranca, or bottome, where was a running, which encouraged us to make there diligent search, but nothing could be found; from thence we ascended up out of the Barranca, and found after much time spent a spring of water, and looked carefully about it, but could find no Cave. Thus in vain we searched till the Evening, and fearing lest we might lose our way and our selves, if the night overtook us, my friends began to speak of returning homewards. But I considering

dering that as yet we had not gone over one halfe part of the Wood, and to go home and come again might make us to be noted, and spoken of, we thought it our best way to take up our lodging that night in the Wood, and in that bottome which we first searched, where was good water for to drink Chocolate, and warm lying under the trees, and so in the morning to make our second search. The Company was very willing to yeeld unto it, and the calme night favoured our good intentions. We made a fire for our Chocolate, and supped exceeding well of our cold meate, and spent most part of the night in merry discourse, having a watchfull eye over our *Indian*, lest he should give us the slip, and committing him to the charge of *Miguel Dalva*. In the morning we prayed unto God, beseeching him to guide us that day in the work we went about, and to discover unto us the Cave of darknesse and iniquity; where lay hid that instrument of Satan, that so by his discovery glory might be given unto our true God, and shame and punishment brought upon his enemies. We entred again into the thick Wood up a steepy hill, and having thoroughly searched all the South side of it, we went on to the North side, where we found another deep descent, which we began to walke down looking on every side, and not in vain; for almost half a mile from the top we found some marks of a way that had been used and trodden, which we followed until we came to another Spring of water; we searched narrowly about it, and found some peeces of broken earthen dishes and pots, and one peece of a chafing dish, such as the *Indians* use to burn Frankincense in, in the Churches before their Saints; we verily imagined that these were peeces of some such instruments wherewith the Idolaters performed their duty unto their Idol, and we were the more comforted for that we knew that earthen ware had been made in *Mixco*; the pine Tree which immediately we discovered confirmed our hopes. When we came unto it we made very little more search, for neer at hand was the Cave, which was dark within, but light at the mouth, where we found more earthen ware, with ashes in them, which assured us of some Frankincense that had been burned. We knew not how far the Cave might reach within, nor what might be in it, and therefore with a flint we struck fire and lighted a couple of candles and went in; at the entering it was broad, and went a little forward, but when we were in, we found it turn on the left hand towards the mountain, and not far; for within two rods we found the Idol standing upon a low stool covered with a linnen cloth. The substance of it was wood; black shining like Jet, as if it had been painted or smoaked, the forme was of a mans head unto the shoulders, without either Beard or Mustachoes; his look was grim with a wrinkled forehead, and broad startling eyes. We feared not his frowning look; but presently seized upon him; and as we lifted him up we found under him some single Rials, which his Favorites had offered unto him; which made us search more diligently the Cave; and it was not amisse, for we found upon the ground more single Rials, some plantines and other fruits, wax candles half burned, pots of Maiz, one little one of Hony, little dishes wherein Frankincense had been burned, whereby I perceived the Idolaters and Christians both agreed in their offerings; and had I not been informed that they called this Idol their God, I could have blamed them no more then the rest of the Towns who worship, kneel before and offer such offerings unto their Saints made of Wood, and some no handsomer then was this Idol, which I thought, might have been some beasts shape; but being the shape and form of a man, they might have named him by the name of some Saint, and so some way have excused themselves, which they could not do, nor would they do it, in that they persisted in this error, that he was their God, and had spoken and preached unto them, and being afterwards asked by me, whether it were the picture of any Saint; such as were in *Mixco*; and other Churches, they answered, No; but that he was above all the Saints in the Country.

We were very joyfull to see that we had not spent our time in vain; we cut down boughes of trees, and filled the Cave with them and stopped the mouth of it up, and came away, making the *Indian* that went with us carry the Idol on his back wrapped up in a cloth, that it might not be seen or perceived as we went. I thought it fit to delay the time till night, and then to enter into *Mixco*, that the *Indians* might see nothing. So I stayed at one of the *Spaniards* houses, till it were late, and desired him to warn from me all the *Spaniards* thereabouts to be at *Mixco* Church the next Sabbath, (fearing lest the Idolaters might be many, and rise up against me) that I had

somewhat to say unto them and their Blackmores concerning their Sodalities, for I would not have them know of the Idol, till they heard of it and saw it in the Church, lest it should come to the *Indians*, hearing, and so the Idolaters might absent themselves. At night I took my *Indian*, and *Miguel Dalva* with me, and went home, and shutting up the Idol in a chest till the next Sabbath, I dismissed the *Indian*, charging him to say nothing, for he knew if he did what harme might come unto him from the Idolaters, and I knew few words now would suffice, for that he feared himself if it should be known that he had been with me, I kept *Miguel Dalva* with me, who was desirous to see the end of the businesse, and prepared my self against the next Sabbath to preach upon the 3. v. of the 20. of *Exodus*, *Thou shalt have none other Gods before me*, though it were a Text nothing belonging to the Gospel of the day, from whence commonly in the Church of *Rome* the Texts and subjects of Sermons are deducted; but I judged that Text most feasonable for the present occasion. On the Sabbath day in the morning, when the Pulpit was made ready by him who had care of the Church and Altars, I caused *Miguel Dalva* to carry under his Cloak the Idol, and to leave it in the Pulpit upon the ground that it might not be seen, till such time as I should think fit in my Sermon to produce it, and to watch about the Church till the Congregation came in, that none might see it or take it away. Never was there a greater resort from abroad to that Church then that day of *Spaniards* and Blackmores, who by the warning I sent unto them expected some great matter from me, and of the Town very few were absent, the *Fuentes* and all the rest that were suspected to be that Idols favorites (little thinking that their God was brought from his Cave, and now lay hid in the Pulpit to shame them) came also that day to Church. I commanded *Miguel Dalva* to be himself neer the Pulpit at Sermon time, and to warne those *Spaniards* that knew the businesse, and some more Blackmores his friends to be also neer the Pulpit staires.

Thus Masse being ended, I went up to preach; when I rehearsed the words of my Text, I perceived both *Spaniards* and *Indians* began to look one upon another, as not being used to Sermons out of the Old Testament. I went on laying open this command of God, for having no other Gods before him, so that the Doctrine might seem to convince all that were there present, as well Saint-worshippers, as indeed that Idols worshippers, if the cause of my preaching upon that Subject had not diverted their eyes from themselves to behold their own guiltinesse of Idolatry, and to look only upon those who worshipped a peece of Wood for God, and not, as they did, for a Saint (which yet in my judgement was much alike.) After I had spoken what I thought fit concerning that horrible sin, and shewed that no creature could have the power of God (who was the Creator of all things) neither could do good or harme without the true living Gods Commission, especially inanimate Creatures as stocks, and stones, who by the hands and workmanship of man might have eyes, and yet were dead Idols, and see not, might have ears and not hear, might have mouths, and not speak, might have hands, and not work, nor help or defend with them such as worshipped them, and bowed down unto them.

Thus having half finished my Sermon, I bowed my self down in the Pulpit, and lifted up the black, grim, and staring Devill, and placed that Dagon on one side of the Pulpit, with my eyes fixed upon some of the *Fuentes* and others, who I perceived changed their colour, blushed, and were sore troubled looking, one upon another, I desired the Congregation to behold what a God was worshipped by some of them, and all to take notice of him, if any knew what part of the earth was the Dominion of this God, or from whence he came. I told them that some had boasted that this peece of Wood had spoken, and preached against what I had taught of Christ, and that therefore he was worshipped by them for God, and they had offered mony, hony, and of the fruits of the earth unto him, and burnt Frankincense before him in a secret and hidden Cave under the earth, shewing thereby that they were ashamed to own him publickly, and that he lurking in the darknesse of the earth, shewed certainly that he belonged to the Prince of darknesse. I challenged him there in publick to speak for himself, or else by silence to shame and confound all his worshippers. I shewed them how being but wood, he had been made and fashioned by the hands of man, and therefore was but a dead Idol. I spent a great deal of time arguing with him, and defying Satan who had used him as his instrument, daring the Devill himself to take him from that place which I had confined him to if he could, to shew what little power he

he or Satan had against the power of my faith in Christ. After much arguing and reasoning according to the shallow capacity of the *Indians* present, I told them if that their God had power to deliver him from that execution, which I had intended against him (which was there publickly to have him cut in pieces and burnt) they should not believe the Gospell of Jesus Christ; but if they saw no power at all in him against me the weakest instrument of the true living God, then I beseeched them to be converted unto that true God who created all things, and to embrace salvation by his Son the only Mediatour and Saviour Jesus Christ, and to renounce and abjure from that time all Heathenish Idolatry of their forefathers, assuring them for what was past I would intercede for them, and secure them from what punishment might be inflicted upon them by the President and Bishop, and if they would come to me, I would spend my best indeavours for the helping and furthering of them in the way of Christianity.

And thus concluding without naming any person, I went down out of the Pulpit, and caused the Idol to be brought after me, and sending for an axe, and for two or three great pans of coals, I commanded him to be hewen in very small peeces, and to be cast in the fire and burned before all the people in the midst of the Church. The *Spaniards* cried out joyfully *Victor Victor*, and others repeated, *Gloria à nostro Dios*, Glory to our God: the Idolaters held their peace and spake not then a word. But afterwards they acted most spitefully against me, and conspired day and night to get me at some advantage, and to kill me. I writ to the President of *Guatemala* informing him of what I had done; and to the Bishop (as an Inquisitor to whom such cases of Idolatry did belong) to be informed from him of what course I should take with the *Indians* who were but in part yet discovered unto me, and those only by the relation of one *Indian*. From both I received great thanks for my pains in searching the mountain, and finding out the Idol, and for my zeal in burning of it. And as touching the *Indian* Idolaters their counsell unto me was, that I should further enquire after the rest and discover as many as I could, and indeavour to convert them to the knowledge of the true God by fair and sweet means; shewing pity unto them for their great blindness, and promising them upon their repentance pardon from the Inquisition, which considering them to be but new plants useth not such rigour with them, which it useth with *Spaniards* if they fall into such horrible sins. This advise I followed, and sent privately for the *Fuentes* to my chamber, and told them how mercifull the Inquisition was unto them, expecting their conversion and amendment. They seemed somewhat stubborn and angry for that I had burned that God, whom not only they, but many others in the Town, and also in the Town of Saint *John Sacatepeques* did worship. I used reasons to perswade them no honour was due unto it, as to a God. But one of them boldly replied, that they knew that it was a peece of wood and of it self could not speak, but seeing it had spoken (as they were all witnesses) this was a miracle whereby they ought to be guided, and they did verily beleve that God was in that peece of wood, which since the speech made by it was more then ordinary wood, having God himself in it, and therefore deserved more offerings and adoration then those Saints in the Church, who did never speak unto the people. I told them that the Devill rather had framed that speech (if any they had heard) for to deceive their souls and lead them to hell; which they might easily perceive from the Doctrine which I was informed he had preached against Christ the only begotten son of God, whom the Father loveth and in whom he is well pleased, and against whom he certainly would not speak in that Idol. Another answered boldly, our forefathers never knew what Christ was, untill the *Spaniards* came unto that Countrey, but they knew there were Gods, and did worship them, and did sacrifice unto them; and for ought they knew this God of theirs belonged in old times unto their forefathers. Why then, said I unto them, he was a weak God who by my hands hath been burned? I perceived that at that time there was no reasoning with them; for they were stubborn and captious, and so I dismissed them. Had not God most graciously protected me against these my enemies, I had certainly been murdered by them; for a moneth after the burning of the Idol, when I thought all had been forgotten, and that the Idolaters were quiet, then they began to act their spite and malice, which first I discovered by a noise which once at midnight I heard of people about my house, and at my chamber door; to whom I called out from my bed not daring to open, but could have no

answer

answer from them. I perceived they would have come in by force, for they pushed hard at the door. Whereupon I took suddainly the sheets from off my bed, tying them with a strong knot together, and with another to a bar of the window, making my self ready to fall down by them to the ground, and so to flie in the dark night, if they had used violence to come in. The sheets being thus prepared, and they still at the door thrusting without any word from them, I thought by calling and crying out aloud I might affright them away. Wherefore with a shrill voice I called first to my servants, who were but boyes, and lay at the further end of a long gallery, then I cried out to the neighbouring houses to come and assist me against theeves. The servants had heard the noise and were awake, who presently at my call came out; and with their coming my enemies ran down the staires, and were heard no more that night. But I perceiving which way their spight and malice was bent, thought fit to be no more alone in the night, with boyes only in so great a house as was that of *Mixco*; whereupon the next day I sent for my trusty friend *Miguel Dalva* who was able to fight alone with any half dozen of *Indians*, wishing him to bring with him what weapons he could get for my defence. I kept him with me a fortnight; and the next Sabbath I gave warning in the Church, that whosoever came in the night to my house to affright me, or to do me any other mischief should look to himself, for that I had weapons both offensive and defensive. Though for a while I heard no more of them, yet they desisted not altogether from their evil and malicious intents; for knowing that *Miguel Dalva* did not lie in the chamber with me, a fortnight after (I being till about midnight with my candle studying) they came up the staires so softly that I heard them not; but the *Blackmore* being awake it seemes perceived that they were coming up, and softly arose up from a long table where he lay upon a Mat, and took in his hand a couple of brick-bats of many which lay under the table for a work which I had in hand, and as he opened the door made a little noise, which was to them an item to flie down the staires, and to run (as they thought) for their lives. The *Blackmore* did also run after them, and finding they had got too much advantage of him, and not knowing which way they might take, sent after them with a fury his two brick-bats, wherewith he supposed he did hit one of them, for the next day walking about the Town he met with one of the *Fuentes* having a cap on his head, and he inquired of some *Indians* what he ailed, and he understood by them that his head was broke, but how they knew not. They perceiving that I was thus guarded by *Miguel Dalva*, desisted from that time from coming any more in the night unto my house, but yet desisted not from their spight and malice and from acting mischief against me. For a month after when I thought that all had been forgotten, and they seemed outwardly to be kind and courteous, there came a messenger to me from the oldest of them, named *Pablo de Fuentes*, to tell me that he was very sick, and like to die, and desired me to go to comfort and instruct him in the truth, for that he truly desired to be converted. I conceived very great joy at this newes, and doubted not of the truth and certainty of it, and prayed to God to direct me in the conversion of that soul; and so with haste and good zeal, I went unto his house, where soon my joy and comfort was turned into bitternesse; for when I came to the door of his house, and was with one step entred, I found all the brothers of *Pablo Fuentes*, and some others who were suspected to be Idolaters, sitting round the room; and missing *Pablo*, I withdrew my foot a little, and asked them where he was, mistrusting somewhat to see them there all gathered together; but when I perceived that they stood not up, nor answered me a word, nor so much as took off their hats to me, then I began to fear indeed, and to suspect some treachery; and so I turned back resolving to go home again. But no sooner was I turned, but behold *Pablo Fuentes* (who by his message had feigned both sicknesse and conversion) came from behind his house with a cudgell in his hand, lifting it up to strike at me. Had I not catched hold of his stick with both my hands, and prevented the intended blow, certainly he had struck me down. But whilst he and I were striving for the stick who should be master of it, the rest of the *Indians* who were sitting in the house, came out into the yard (which being a publick place was more comfort to me then if they had compassed me about within the house) and beset me round, some pulling me one way, some another, tearing my clothes in two or three places, another to make me let go my hand from the stick with a knife run me into the hand (which to this day a small scar doth witness) and certainly had we not been in a publick

like yard, that party would also have run his knife into my sides; another seeing I would not let go the stick, took hold of it with *Pablo* and both together thrust it against my mouth, and with such strength that they broke some of my teeth, and filled my mouth with goar blood, with which blow I fell, but soon recovered my self and arose; they laughing at me, but not daring to do me any more harme for fear they should be seen, as God would have seen what already they had done; for a *Mulatta* slave to a *Spaniard* in the valley; at that very time when I was down and rising passed by, and hearing me cry out for help to the neighbours (who lived somewhat far off that might help and succour me; for all the houses thereabouts were of the brothers the *Fuentes*) came into the yard, and seeing me all in blood thought I had been mortally wounded, and calling them murtherers, ran along the street crying, Murther, murther in *Pablo Fuentes* his yard; till she came to the Market-place and Town-house, where she found the Maiors and Jurates sitting, and a couple of *Spaniards*, who when they heard of my danger, with drawn swords came presently running with all the officers of Justice to the yard of *Pablo Fuentes* to aid and assist me; but in the mean while the Idolaters perceiving the outcry of the *Mulatta*, began to fall away and to hide themselves; *Pablo Fuentes* going to shut up his house also to absent himself, I held him hard to it, striving with him that he might not escape away till some help came unto me. The *Spaniards* when they came and saw me all in blood, made furiously to *Pablo Fuentes* with their naked swords, whom I stopped desiring them not to hurt him, lest what harme they did unto him should be imputed unto me. I wished the Justice not to fear him though he were a rich *Indian*, and as they would answer before the President of *Guatemala* to lay hold of him, and to carry him to prison, which they presently performed. I made the *Spaniards* and the *Mulatta* to witness under writing by way of information what they had seen, what blood about my clothes, what wound in my hand, what blow in my mouth they had found, and sent with speed to the President of *Guatemala* this their information. The businesse was soon noised about the valley, whereupon most of the *Spaniards* came to offer their help and aid unto me; *Miguel Dalva* also chancing to be neer at a *Spaniards* house in the same valley came with the rest, who would have done that night some mischief among the *Indians*: if I had not prevented them. I desired them to depart and go home to their houses, telling them I feared nothing, and that *Miguel Dalva* his company would be guard enough unto me. But they would by no means yeeld unto this, saying that night might prove more dangerous unto me then I imagined, and that I needed a stronger guard then of one man alone; for they conceived that the Idolaters knowing what already they had done, and fearing what grievous punishment might be inflicted upon them from the President of *Guatemala*, seeing themselves lost and undone men, might desperately that night rescue their brother out of prison, and attempt some mischief against me, and so flee away. Which I could not be brought to fear, or to believe any such thing of their cowardly spirits, nor that they would flee away, for that they had houses and land there in and about the Town, yet I was willing for one night to yeeld to have a stronger guard of *Spaniards* then at other times I had had with the Blackmore *Miguel Dalva* alone. After supper they kept watch about my house till such time as they perceived all was still, and the *Indians* a bed, and then they set a watch about the prison that *Pablo Fuentes* might not be taken out; and after this (pretending that they were in danger as well as I being but about a dozen, if the Town should all rise and mutiny by the suggestion of the Idolaters, who most of them were rich and powerfull with the rest, which yet I feared not) they would needs go and raise up the two Alcaldes or Maiors alone, with two more petty Officers to make search about the Town for the rest of the *Fuentes* and other known Idolaters, that being found they might secure them in the prison to appear at *Guatemala*, and prevented from doing any mischief either that night, or at any other time. With this stir which they made, and their care of me, they suffered me not to take any rest that night; but went and called up the Alcaldes and two officers and brought them to my house, desiring me to signifie unto them, how fit and necessary it was to search for the rest of the *Indians*. The poor Alcaldes trembled to see so many *Spaniards* at that time in my house with naked swords, and durst not but do what they thought best to be done, and so from my house about midnight they walked about the Town, searching such houses as they most suspected might conceale any of the *Fuentes*; or of the rest that had been that day in the rebellion and mutiny

mutiny against me. They could find none at home, till at last coming to the house of one *Lorenzo Fuentes*, one of the brothers, they found all that had been in the conspiracy against me, gathered together drinking and quaffing. The house being beset there was no flying nor escaping, and seeing the *Spaniards* naked swords, they durst not rebell, who doubtlesse (as we were afterwards informed) would have made a great stir in the Town that night, and were met together to rescue *Pablo* their brother, and to do me some mischief and flye, not knowing that I was so strongly manned and guarded by the *Spaniards*. There were ten of them, and were presently without any noise in the Town carried to the Prison, and there shut up, and guarded by the *Spaniards*.

In the morning the President of *Guatemala* (who then was *Don Juan de Guzman*, a Religious Governour) taking into his consideration what the day before I had writ unto him, and judging my danger to be great, sent a *Spanish* Alguazile, or Officer of Justice with a very large Commission to bring prisoners to the City all those *Indians* who the day before had been in rebellion against me, and in case they could not be found, then to seize upon what goods soever of theirs could be found in *Mixco*. But with the diligence of the *Spaniards* the night before they were all in a readinesse for him, and paying the Alguazile first his charges (which he demanded as he listed) and bearing the charges of *Miguel Dalva*, and two or three more *Spaniards*, who were commanded in the Kings name to be aiding and assisting the Officer for the safer carrying them to *Guatemala*, they were horsed and had away that day to the President, who committed them close Prisoners, and afterwards commanded them to be whipped about the streets, banished two of them from *Mixco* to the Golf of *St. Thomas de Castilia*, and would have banished them all, had they not humbled themselves, and desired me to intercede for them, promising to amend their lives, and to make me great satisfaction, if they might return again to their Town, and that if ever more they did stir against me, they would yeeld to be hanged and to lose all their goods. With this the President (fining them yet to pay twenty Crowns a peece to the Church to be employed in what I should think fittest) sent them back; who, as they had promised, came unto me, and humbled themselves before me with much weeping, with many expressions, shewing their sorrow from their hearts for what they had done, casting all upon the Devill, whom they confessed had been great with them in tempting them, whom also now they did abjure and renounce, promising to live as good Christians, and never more to worship any God but one. I was very much taken with their deep sorrow expressed with many tears, and indovoured to instruct them in the true knowledge of Christ, whom now I found they were very willing to imbrace. I lived not very long after in that Town; but for the time I did continue in it, I found a great change and alteration in their lives, which truly made me apt to judge that their repentance was unfained. And these former particulars of a few *Indians* of those two Towns, I have not here inserted to bring an asperion upon all that Nation, (which I do very much affect, and would willingly spend the best drops of blood in my veins to do them good, and to save their souls) but to cause rather pity and commiseration towards them, who after so many years preaching have been made as yet but formall and outward Christians, and by the many Saints of wood, which they have been taught to worship by the Priests, have rather been inclined to the superstition and Idolatry of their Forefathers, and to trust to living Creatures, and bow to inanimate stocks and stones, which they daily see performed publicly in their Churches. Certainly they are of a good and flexible nature, and (were those Idols of Saints statues removed from their eyes) might be brought easily to worship one only God; and whereas they so willingly lavish out their small means and what they labour for, in offerings to their Priests and to their Saints, and in maintaining lazy singing Lubbards, they without doubt would be free enough to true Ministers of Gods Word, who should venture their lives to beat down those false Gods, and set up Jesus Christ, and him that sent him into the World to save such as truly believe in him.

The year that this stir happened in *Mixco*, I received from *Rome* from the General of the Dominicans Order, Licence to come home to *England*; at which I rejoiced much, for now I was even weary with living among the *Indians*, and grieved to see the little fruit I reaped amongst them, and that for fear of the Inquisition I durst not preach a new Gospell unto them, which might make them true, reall, and inward Christians;

and

and lastly, for that I perceived that *Antonio Mendez de Satomayor* (who was Lord of the Town of *Mixco*) did itomach me for having caused two of his Town to be banished, and publickly affronted the *Fuentes* for their Idolatry, which he thought was a great aspersion laid upon his *Indians*.

All which well considered I writ unto the Provinciall (who was then in *Chiapa*) of my desire to return home to mine own Country, for the which I had a Licence sent unto me from *Rome*. But he having heard of what good I had done in the Town of *Mixco* in reducing some Idolaters, burning their idol, and venturing my life in so good a cause; and also for the perfect knowledge which now I had of the *Poconchi* tongue, would by no means yeeld that I should go; but with fair and flattering words encouraged me to stay, where he doubted not, but I did, and I might yet do God much more good service; and that he might the better work upon me, he sent me a Patent of Vicar of the Town and Cloister of *Amatitlan*, where at the present there was a new Cloister a building to separate all that valley from the Cloister of *Guatemala*. He desired me to accept of that small preferment, not doubting but that I speaking so well the *Indian* language might prevail much in that place, and better then another, to further the building of that new Cloister; which work would be a good step for him to advance me afterwards to some better preferment. Although I regarded neither that present Superiority, nor any better honour which might afterwards ensue unto me, I thought the time which God had appointed for my returning to *England* was not yet come; for that if the Provinciall, and with him the President of *Guatemala* (for so much I conjectured out of the Provincials letter) should both oppose and hinder my departure from that Country, it would be very hard for me to take my journey any way, and not be discovered and brought back. Whereupon I resolved to stay the Provincials coming to *Guatemala*, and there to confer with him face to face, and to shew him some reasons that moved me to leave that Country, and to seek again mine own wherein I was born. So for the present I accepted of the Town of *Amatitlan*, where I had more occasions of getting mony then in the other two; where I had lived five full years; for albeit that Town alone was bigger then both *Mixco* and *Pinola* together, and the Church fuller of Saints pictures and statues, and very many Confraternities and Sodalities belonged unto it; besides this from without the Town I had great comings in from the Ingenio of Sugar, which I related before stood close unto that Town, from whence I had dayly offerings from the *Black-mores* and *Spaniards* that lived in it; and besides this I had under my charge another lesser Town called *St. Christoval de Amatitlan*, standing two leagues from great *Amatitlan*. This Town of *St. Christoval*, or *St. Christopher*, is called properly in that language, *Palinba, ha*, signifying water, and *Pali*, to stand upright, and is compounded of two words, which expresse water standing upright; for the Town standeth on the backside of the Vulcan of water, which looketh over *Guatemala*, and on this side sendeth forth many fountains, but especially spouteth forth from a high rock a stream of water, which as it falleth from high with a great noise and down-fall, the rock standing upright over the bottome where it falleth, and causeth a most pleasant stream by the Towns side, it hath moved the *Indians* to call their Town, *Palinba*, from the high and upright standing rock, from whence the water falleth. In this Town there are many rich *Indians*, who trade in the coast of the South sea; the Town is an harbour shadowed with many fruitfull trees; but the chief fruit here is the Pinna, which groweth in every *Indians* yard, and with the neerneffe of the Ingenio of Sugar, are by the *Spaniards* thereabouts much made up in Preserves, some whole, some in slices, which is the daintiest and most luscious Preserve that I ever did eat in that Country. The *Indians* of this Town get much by boards of Cedar, which they cut out of many Cedar-trees, which grow on that side of the Vulcan, which they sell to *Guatemala* and all about the Country for new buildings.

Between great *Amatitlan* and this Town the way is plain, and lieth under a Vulcan of fire, which formerly was wont to smok as much as that of *Guatemala*; but having formerly burst out at the top, and there opened a great mouth, and cast down to the bottom mighty stones (which to this day are to be seen) it hath not since been any ways troublesome unto the Country. In this way there was in my time a new Trapiche of Sugar erecting up by one *John Baptista* of *Guatemala*, which was thought would prove very usefull, and profitable unto the foresaid City. I had yet for the time that I lived

in *Amatitlan* another very little village at my charge, called *Pampichi* at the bottome of a high mountain on the other side of the lake over against it; which was but a Chappell of ease unto great *Amatitlan*, unto which I went not above once in a quarter of a year, and that for pastime and recreation; for this village is well in that language a compound also of *Pam*, in, and *Pichi* flowers, for that it standeth compassed about with flowers which make it very pleasant, and the boats or Canoa's which do constantly stand near the doors of the house, invites to much pleasure of fishing and rowing about the lake.

And thus whilst I lived in *Amatitlan* I had the choice of three places wherein to recreate my self, and because the charge of many souls lay in my hands, I had one constantly to help me. The Town of *Amatitlan* was as the Court in respect of the rest, where nothing was wanting that might recreate the mind and satisfie the body with variety and change of sustenance, both for fish and flesh. Yet the great care that did lie upon me in the work and building of the Cloister, made me very soon weary of living in that great and pleasant Town; for sometimes I had thirty, sometimes twenty, sometimes fewer, and sometimes forty work-men to look unto, and to pay wages to on Saturday nights, which I found wearied much my brain, and hindred my studies, and was besides a work which I delighted not in, nor had any hopes ever to enjoy it. And therefore after the first year that I had been there I betook my self unto the *Provincial*, who was in *Guatemala*, and again earnestly besought him to peruse the Licence which I had from *Rome* to go to *England* mine own Countrey for to preach there (for that was the chief ground of letting me goe home, as the *Generall* largely expressed) where I doubted not but I might do God great service, and in Conscience I told him I thought I was bound to employ what parts God had bestowed upon me, rather upon my own Countrymen, then upon *Indians* and strangers. The *Provincial* replied unto me that my Countrymen were Hereticks, and when I came amongst them they would hang me up. I told him, I hoped better things of them, and that I would not behave my self among them so as to deserve hanging: not daring to tell him what was in my heart concerning points of Religion. After a long discourse I found the *Provincial* inexorable, and half angry, telling me that he and that whole Province had cast their eyes upon me, and honoured me, and were ready and willing to promote me further, and that I would shew my self very ungratefull unto them, if I should forsake them for my own nation and people, whom I had not known from my young and tender age. I perceived there was no more to be said, and all would be in vain, and so resolved to take my best opportunity, and with my Licence from *Rome* to come away unknown unto him. But for the present I humbly beseeched him to remove me from *Amatitlan*, for that I found my self unable to undergo that great charge, and too weak for that strong work, that was then building. With much ado he would be brought to this, alleading what an honour it was to be a Founder and builder of a new Cloister, in whose walls my very name would be engraven to posterity; all which I told him I regarded not, but esteemed more of my health and a quiet mind, then of such preferments and vanities. Upon which at last he condescended to my request, and gave me order to go to *Petapa*, and that the *Vicar* of *Petapa* should go to finish the work of *Amatitlan*. In *Petapa* I lived above a twelve moneth, with great ease, pleasure and content for all things worldly and outward; but within I had still a worme of Conscience, gnawing this gourd that shadowed and delighted me with worldly contentment. Here I grew more and more troubled concerning some points of Religion, dayly wishing with *David*, that I had the wings of a Dove, that I might flie from that place of dayly Idolatry into *England*, and be at rest. I resolved therefore to put on a good courage, and relie wholly upon my God, knowing that the journey was hard and dangerous, and might bring shame and trouble unto me, if I should be taken in the way flying and brought back to *Guatemala*; here I weighed the affliction and reproach which might ensue unto me, after so much honour, pleasure, and wealth which I had enjoyed for about twelve years in that Countrey; but in another balance of better consideration, I weighed the trouble of a wounded Conscience, and the spirituall joy and comfort that I might enjoy at home with the people of God, and so resolutely concluded upon that place of *Heb. 11. 25, 26, 27.* with *Moses*, to choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God (who as *Paul* well observeth, *1 Thess. 3. 3.* are appointed thereunto; and again *Phil.*

1. 29. unto whom it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake) then to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches then the treasures in *Egypt*. So for faith and a safe conscience I now purposed likewise with *Moses* to forsake *Egypt*, not fearing the wrath of the President the Kings own Deputy, nor of the Provinciall, and my best friends; but to indure all this (if I should be taken) as seeing him who is invisible. I thought this was a businesse not to be conferred with flesh and blood, lest the best friend knowing of it should betray me; yet on the other side, I thought it hard to flie alone without some friend for the first two or three dayes journey; and besides having many things to sell away to make mony of, I thought I were better to employ some trusty friend, then to do all alone. I thought of none fitter then *Miguel Dalva*, whom by long experience I knew to be true and trusty, and that a small money matter would content him; whom I sent for to *Pimola*, and charging him with secrecy, I told him I had a journey for my conscience sake to make to *Rome* (I would not tell him that I intended *England*, lest the good old *Black-more* should grieve thinking never more to see me, and for the love he bare me, and interest he had many times from me, he should by discovering my intent, seek to stop me) which I would have none to know of but himself, not doubting but to return again, as he knew many had taken the like journey, and returned within two years.

The *Black-more* offered himself to go with me, which I refused, telling him that the seas would be too hard for his old age to endure, and that as a *Black-more* in forain Countries he might be stopped and apprehended for a fugitive; which reason he liked well, and offered himself to go with me as far as the sea side; for which I thanked him and employed to sell me away some Mules, Wheat and Maiz which I had, and what else might passe through his hands. As for many rich pictures which hung in my Chamber, I thought the Town of *Petapa* would buy them for their Church, and propounded it unto the Governour, who willingly accepted of them. Most of my books, chests, cabinets, quilts, and many good peeces of household-stuffe by the pains and industry of *Miguel* (whom I kept with me for the space of two months before I came away) I sold to *Guatemala*, reserving only two *Petaca's* or leathern chests, with some books and a quilt for my journey. When I had sold all that I intended, I found I had in *Spanish* mony neer nine thousand peeces of eight, which I had got in twelve years that I lived in that Countey. So much mony I thought would be too comberfome for a long journey; whereupon I turned above four thousand of them into pearls and some pretious stones, which might make my carriage the lighter; the rest I laid up some in bags, some I sowed into my quilt, intending in the way to turn them into *Spanish* Pistols. Thus the chief provision being made of money, I took care for Chocolate and some Conserves for the way, which were soon provided. Now because I considered that my flight the first week must be with speed, and that my chests could not poss day and night as my self intended to do; I thought of sending my carriage four dayes at least before me; and not daring to trust any *Indian* of *Petapa*, I sent to *Mixco* for one speeciall *Indian* friend whom I had there, who knew the way that I was to travaile very well; to whom I opened my mind, and offered him what money I knew would content him, and at midnight sent him away with two Mules, one for himself, and another for my chests, wishing him to keep on travelling towards *St. Miguel*, or *Nicaragua* till I overtook him. I gave him the advantage of four dayes and nights, and then resolutely with my good *Black-more* in my company leaving the key of my chamber in my door, and nothing but old papers within, when all the *Indians* were fast asleep, I bid adieu unto *Petapa*, and to the whole valley, and to all my friends throughout *America*.

C H A P. XXI.

Shewing my journey from the Town of Petapa, into England; and some chief passages in the way.

THe chief thing which troubled me in my resolved purpose to come home, was the choice of the safest way; which made me utterly forsake the Gulfe (though the easiest way of all, and that sea nearest to the place where I lived) for that I knew I should meet there with many of my acquaintance, and the setting out of the ships was so uncertain, that before they departed, order might come from *Guatemala* to stop me; if I should go by land through *Comayagua* or *Truxillo*, and there wait for the ships, likewise I feared lest the Governour of that place by some item from the President of *Guatemala* might examine me, and send me back, and that the Masters of the ships might have charge given them not to receive me into their ships. If I should go back to *Mexico* and *Vera Cruz*, then I called to mind, how I was troubled in that long journey, when I came first to *Chiapa* in company of friends, and that now alone I should certainly be much put to it, for I would carry *Miguel Dalva* so far by land with me. Wherefore rejecting these three wayes, I chose the fourth, which was by *Nicaragua* and the Lake of *Granada*; and therefore I deferred my journey till the week after *Christmas*, knowing that the time of the frigats setting out from that lake to the *Havana* was commonly after the middle of *January*, or at *Candlemas* at the furthest, whither I hoped to reach in very good time. Now that I might by no means be suspected to have taken this way; before I went I left by the hand of *Miguel Dalva* a letter to a friend of his to be delivered to the Provinciaall in *Guatemala*, four dayes after my departure, wherein I kindly took my leave of him, desiring him not to blame me nor to seek after me; and whereas I had a sufficient Licence from *Rome*, and could not get his, that I thought I might with a safe Conscience go where I was born, leaving Linguits enough to supply my place amongst the *Indians*. And because he should not make enquiry after me by *Nicaragua*, I dated and subscribed my letter to him from the Town of *St. Antonio Suchtucpeques*, which was the way to *Mexico* and quite contrary to *Nicaragua*.

The next day after *Twelfth* day, being the seventh of *January*, 1637. at midnight I set out of *Petapa* upon a lusty Mule (which afterwards in the way I sold for fourscore peeces of eight) with *Miguel Dalva* alone; and the first part of the way being very hilly we could not go so fast as our hearts would have posted; for it was break of day before we could get to the top of the Mountain, which is called *Serro Redondo*, or the round hill; which is much mentioned in that Countrey, for the good pasture there which serveth for the Cattell and Sheep, when the valleys below are burnt and no grasing left for Beasts. This hill is also a great refuge to Travellers, for there they find good entertainment in a *Venta*, where wine and provision is sold, and is a great Lodge, for to lay up dry what carriages they bring; there is besides one of the best *Estancia's* or farms of Cattell in the Countrey, where of Goats and Ewes milke is made the best cheefe thereabouts. This round hill or mountain is five leagues from *Petapa*, where I feared I might meet with some people of *Petapa*, and therefore the day now dawning I made hast by it, leaving in the lodge asleep many *Indians*, who attended on two *Spanish* Requa's of Mules, which that day were to go to *Petapa*; four leagues further from this *Serro Redondo* is a Town of *Indians* called *Los Esclavos*, or the Slaves, not that now they are more slaves then the rest of the *Indians*, but because in the old time of *Montezuma* the Emperour, and the *Indian* Kings that were under him, the people of this Town were more slaves then any other, for from *Amatitlan* (which is so called from *Amat*, which in the *Mexican* tongue signifieth Letter, and *Itlan* which signifieth Town, for that it was the Town of Letters as some say, for a rinde of a tree, whereon they were wont formerly to write and expresse their minds, or because it was the place whither from all parts letters were sent to be carried about the Countrey, and

to Peru) these *Indians* of the Town of *Esclavo's* or slaves, were commanded as slaves to go all about the Country with letters or whatsoever else they should be charged with; and they were bound constantly to send every week so many of their Town (as were appointed) unto *Amatitlan*, there to wait and attend the pleasure of that Town for the conveying of letters, or any carriages to other parts.

This Town of *los Esclavos* standeth in a bottome by a river, over the which the *Spaniards* have built a very strong stone Bridge to go in and out of the Town, for otherwise with mules there is no passing by reason of the violent and rapid stream of the water, and many rocks in the River, from which the water falleth down with great force. From this Town where we only stayed to drink a cup of Chocolate and to bait our Mules) we went on that day to *Aguachapá*, being ten leagues further, and not far from the South Sea, and the port called *De la Trinidad*; whither we came towards evening, having that day and part of the night travelled about threescore *English* miles up hills and upon stony wayes from the *Esclavo's* unto this Town; which is much mentioned in that Country for two things. The one is for the earthen ware which is made there (as some think) exceeding that of *Mexco*. The other is for a place within a mile and a halfe from the Town, which the *Spaniards* do credibly report and believe to be a mouth of hell. For out of it there is constantly ascending a thicke black smoak smelling of Brimstone, with some flashes now and then of fire; the earth from whence this smoak ariseth is not high, but low. None ever durst draw nigh to find out the truth and ground of it; for those that have attempted to do it, have been stricken down to the ground and like to lose their lives. A friend of mine a Fryer (whom I thought verily I might believe) upon his oath affirmed unto me, that travelling that way with a Provinciall he resolved to go unto the place, and satisfie himself of the ground and cause of the strange talke which was every where about the Country concerning that smoak. He went within a quarter of a mile of it, and presently, he said, he heard a hideous noise, which together with the stench of the fiery smoak and brimstone, struck him into such a fear that he was like to fall to the ground, and retiring himself with all speed was taken with a burning fever, which was like to cost him his life. Others report that drawing neer unto it, they have heard great cries as it were of men and women in torment, noise of iron, of chains, and the like, which (how simply I leave it to my Judicious Reader) maketh them believe that it is a mouth of hell. Of my knowledge I will say no more, but that I saw the smoak, and asked the *Indians* what was the cause of it; and if ever they had been neer unto it? And they answered me, that they could not imagine what might be the cause of it, neither durst they draw nigh unto it; and that they had seen Travelers, attempting to go neer it, and that they were all stricken either to the ground, or with some suddain amazement, or fever. I told them that I would walke thither myself, and they desired me that I would not, if I loved my life. It was not yet for all this report the fear of being so neer the *Spaniards* hell (as they call it) that made me haste with speed out of that Town, but fear of some messenger that might come after me to stop my journey. For at midnight I departed from thence, and went to break my fast to a great Town called *Chalcuapan*, where the *Indians* made very much of me, being *Pocomanes*, who spake the *Poconchi* or *Pocoman* tongue which I had learned. They would willidgly have had me to stay with them and preach unto them the next Sabbath, which I would have done, had not a better designe called upon me to make haste.

Here I was troubled, how I should get through *St. Salvador*, which was a City of *Spaniards*, and wherein there was a Cloister of Dominicans, whom I feared most of all, because I was known by some of them. My resolution was therefore when I came neer unto the City, to turn out of my way to a *Spaniards* Farm as if I had lost my way, and there to delay the time till evening in drinking Chocolate, discoursing, and baiting my mules well, that so I might travell all that night, and be out of the reach of that City, and Fryers (who lived in *Indian* Towns about it) the next morning, early. This City of *St. Salvador* is poor, not much bigger then *Chiapa*, and is governed by a *Spanish* Governour. It standeth forty leagues at least from *Guatemala*, and towards the North Sea side; is compassed with very high mountains, which are called *Chuntales*, where the *Indians* are very poor. In the bottome where the City standeth there are some *Trapiches* of Sugar, some Indigo made, but the chief Farms are

Estantia's of Cattell. Towards Evening I departed from that Farm where I had well refreshed my self and my Mule, and about eight of the clock I rid through the City not being known by any body. My purpose was to be the next morning at a great River, called *Rio de Lempa*, some ten leagues from *St. Salvador*, for within two leagues of it there lived in an *Indian* Town a Fryer belonging to the Cloister of *St. Salvador* who knew me very well. But such haste I made that before break of the day I passed through that Town, and before seven of the clock I was at the River, where I found my *Indian* of *Mixco* ready to passe over with my carriage, who that morning by three of the clock had set out of that Town two leagues off. I was not a little glad to have overtaken my Chefts, wherein was most of my treasure. There I sat down a while by the River whilst my mules grazed, and my *Indian* struck fire and made me Chocolate. This River of *Lempa* is held the broadest, and biggest in all the Jurisdiction belonging unto *Guatemala*; there are constantly two ferry Boats to passe over the Travellers, and their Requa's of Mules. This River is priviledged in this manner, that if a man commit any hainous crime or murther on this side of *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, or on the other side of *St. Miguel*, or *Nicaragua*, if he can flie to get over this River, he is free as long as he liveth on the other side, and no Justice on that side whither he is escaped can question or trouble him for the murther committed. So likewise for Debts he cannot be arrested. Though I thanked God I neither fled for the one, or for the other, yet it was my comfort that I was now going over to a priviledged Country, where I hoped I should be free and sure, and that if any one did come after me, he would go no further then to the river of *Lempa*. My Blackmore did much laugh at this my concept, and warranted me that all would do well. We ferried safely over the River; and from thence went in company with my *Indian* to a little small Town of *Indians* two leagues off, where we made the best dinner that we had done from the Town of *Petapa*, and willingly gave rest to all our mules till four of the clock in the afternoon; at which time we set forth to another small Town little above two leagues off, through a plain, sandy and Champaign Country. The next day we had but ten leagues to travell to a Town called *St. Miguel*, which belongeth unto *Spaniards*, and though it be not a City, yet it is as big almost as *San Salvador*, and hath a *Spanish* Governour; in it there is one Cloister of Nuns, and another of Mercenarian Fryers, who welcomed me unto their Cloister; for here I began to shew my face, and to think of selling away the Mule I rid on, being resolved from hence to go by water or an Arme of the Sea, to a Town in *Nicaragua* called *La Vieja*. I would here have dismissed my *Indian*, but he was loth to leave me untill I got to *Granada*, where he desired to see me shipped. I refused not his kind offer, because I knew he was truly and had brought my Chefts well thither, and knew well the way to *Granada*. So I sent him by land to *Realejo*, or to *La Vieja*, which stand very neer together, and thirty leagues by land from *St. Miguel*, and my self stayed that day and till the next day at noon in that Town, where I sold the Mule I rid on, because I knew that from *Realejo* to *Granada* I could have of the *Indians* a Mule for nothing for a dayes journey. My Blackmores Mule I sent also by land with the *Indian*, and the next day went to the Gulfe, being three or four miles from *St. Miguel*, where that afternoon I took Boat with many other passengers, and the next morning by eight in the morning was at *La Vieja*, which journey by land would have taken me up neer three dayes. The next day my *Indian* came at night, and we went to *Realejo*, (as I have observed before) a Haven very weak and unfortified on the South Sea; where if I would have stayed one fortnight I might have taken shipping for *Panama*, to go from thence to *Portabello*, and there stay for the Galeons from *Spain*. But I considered that the Galeons would not be there till *June* or *July*, and that so I should be at great charges in staying so long. But afterwards I wished I had accepted of that occasion, for I was at last forced to go to *Panama*, and *Portobello*. From hence to *Granada* I observed nothing, but the plainnesse and pleasantnesse of the way, which with the fruits and fertility of all things may well make *Nicaragua* the Paradise of *America*. Between *Realejo* and *Granada* standeth the City of *Leon*, neer unto a *Vulcan* of fire, which formerly burst out at the top, and did much hurt unto all the Country about; but since that it hath ceased, and now letteth the Inhabitants live without fear. Sometime it smoaks a little, which sheweth that as yet there is within some sulphurous substance.

Here it was that a Mercenarian Fryer thought to have discovered some great treasure, which

which might enrich himself and all that Countrey, being fully perswaded that the metall that burned within that *Vulcan* was Gold; whereupon he caused a great Kettle to be made, and hung at an iron chain to let it down from the top, thinking therewith to take up gold enough to make him Bishop and to enrich his poor kindred. But such was the power and strength of the fire within, that no sooner had he let down the Kettle, when it fell from the chain and from his hands being melted away.

This City of *Leon* is very curiously built, for the chief delight of the Inhabitants consisteth in their houses, and in the pleasure of the Countrey adjoining, and in the abundance of all things for the life of man, more then in any extraordinary riches, which there are not so much enjoyed, as in other part of *America*. They are contented with fine gardens, with variety of singing birds, and parrets, with plenty of fish and flesh, which is cheap, and with gay houses, and so lead a delicious, lasie and idle life; not aspiring much to trade and traffique, though they have neer unto them the Lake, which commonly every year sendeth forth some Frigats to the *Haviana* by the North Sea, and *Realejo* on the South Sea, which to them might be very commodious for any dealing and rich Trading in *Peru*, or to *Mixco*, if their spirits would carry them so far: The Gentlemen of this City are almost as vain and phantastical as are those of *Cbiapa*. And especially from the pleasure of this City, is all that Province of *Nicaragua*, called by the Spaniards *Mahomet's Paradise*. From hence the way is plain and levell to *Granada*, whither I got safely and joyfully, hoping that now I had no more journey to make by land, till I should land at *Dover* in *England*, and from thence post up to *London*. Two dayes after I had arrived at this place and rested my self, and enjoyed the pleasant prospect of the Lake, I began to think of dismissing my *Indian* and blackmore. But true and faithfull *Miguel Dalva* would by no means leave me, till he saw me shipped; and that I had no more need of him by land; Likewise the *Indian* would willingly have stayed, but by no means I would permit him, for that I considered he had a wife and children to look to at home. He was as willing to return a foot, as to ride, because he would have me sell my Mules, and make what money I could of them; but I seeing the good nature of the *Indian*, would recompense his love with as much money as might be more beneficiall to him, then a tired Mule; which might have dyed in the way under him, and left him on foot; so I gave him money enough to bear his charges home, and to hire Mules at his own pleasure, and some to spare when he came home. The *Indian* with many tears falling from his eyes, saying he feared he should never more see me, took his leave of me the third day after we arrived at *Granada*. My Blackmore and I being left alone, first began to think of selling away the two Mules, which had brought thither the *Indian*, and my Cheils; for which I got fourscore and ten peeces of eight after so long a journey, and thought they were well sold. I would have had *Miguel* have sold away that whereon he rid, (which was his own) and offered to buy him another that might better carry him back, but the loving and carefull Blackmore would not suffer me to be at such charges, considering the long journey which I was to make. After this we hearing that the frigats were not like to depart in a fortnight, thought of viewing well that stately and pleasant Town a day or two, and then to betake our selves to some neer *Indian* Town, where we might be hid, (left by the great resort of Requa's of Mules which at that time brought Indigo and Cochinill from *Guatemala* to the Frigats; we should be discovered) and might now and then come to the Town to treat concerning my passing in one of the Frigats to the *Havana* or *Carthagena*. What in that Town we observed was, two Cloisters of Mercenarian and Franciscan Fryers, and one of Nuns, very rich; and one Parish Church, which was as a Cathedrall, for the Bishop of *Leon* did more constantly reside there then in the City. The houses are fairer then those of *Leon*, and the Town of more inhabitants, among whom there are some few Merchats of very great wealth, and many of inferior degree very well to passe; who trade with *Carthagena*, *Guatemala*, *San Salvador*, and *Comayagua*; and some by the South sea to *Peru* and *Panama*. But at this time of the sending away the Frigats, that Town is one of the wealthiest in all the North Traect of *America*; for the Merchants of *Guatemala* fearing to send all their goods by the Gulfe of *Honduras*, for that they have been often taken by the *Hollanders* between that and *Havana*, think it safer to send them by the Frigats to *Carthagena*, which passage hath not been so much stopped by the *Hollanders* as the other. So likewise many times the Kings treasure, and revenues (when there is

any report of ships at sea, or about the Cape of St. Anthony) are this way by the Lake of *Granada* passed to *Carthagena*. That year that I was there, before I betook my self to an *Indian Town*, in one day there entred six *Requa's* (which were at least three hundred Mules) from *St. Salvador* and *Comayagua* only, laden with nothing else but *Indigo*, *Cochinil* and *Hides*; and two dayes after from *Guatemala* came in three more, the one laden with silver (which was the *Kings* tribute from that Countrey; the other with *Sugar*, and the other with *Indigo*. The former *Requa's* I feared not; but the latter made me keep close within my lodging, lest going abroad, I should be known by some of those that came from *Guatemala*; who after they had delivered what they brought, presently departed, and with their departure set me at liberty, who for their sakes was a voluntary prisoner within mine own lodging. But fearing lest more of these *Requa's* might come and affright me, I went to a *Town* out of the rode, a league from *Granada*, and took my pleasure up and down the Countrey where I was much feasted by the *Mercenarian Fryers*, who enjoy most of those *Towns*. Amongst these I heard much of the passage in the *Frigats* to *Carthagena*, which did not a little dishearten and discourage me. For although, whilest they sail upon the Lake, they go securely and without trouble, yet when they fall from the Lake to the River (which there they call *El Desaguadero*) to go out to the Sea, *hic labor, hoc opus est*, here is nothing but trouble, which sometimes makes that short voyage to last two moneths; for such is the fall of the waters in many places amongst the rocks, that many times they are forced to unlade the *Frigats*, and lade them again with help of Mules which are there kept for that purpose, by a few *Indians* that live about the River, and have care of the Lodges made for to lay in the wares, whilest the *Frigats* passe thorow those dangerous places to another Lodge, whither the wares are brought by Mules, and put again into the *Frigats*. Besides this trouble (which must needs be tedious to a passenger, to be thus stopped, who would willingly come soon to his journeyes end) the abundance of gnats is such, which maketh him to take no joy in his voyage, and the heat in some places so intolerable, that many do die before they get out to the sea. Though all this was terrible to me to hear, yet I comforted my self that my life was in the hands of the Lord, and that the *frigats* did commonly every year passe that way, and seldom any were lost. I went now and then to *Granada* to bargain for my passage, and to know when the *frigats* would for certain set out, and to provide my self of some dainties and *Chocolatte* for my journey, having agreed with a Master of a *frigate* for my diet at his table. The time was appointed within four or five dayes; but suddenly all was crossed with a strict command from *Guatemala*, that the *frigats* should not go out that year, because the President and whole Court was informed for certain that some *English* or *Holland* ships was abroad at sea, and lay about the mouth of the river or *Desaguadero* waiting for the *frigats* of *Granada*, and that the said were sometimes lurking about the Islands of *St. John*, and *St. Catharine* (which then was our *Providence*) which made all the Merchants of the Countrey to fear and sweat with a cold sweat, and the President to be carefull for the *Kings* revenues, lest the losse of them should be imputed to his wilfull negligence, in stopping the *frigats*, whilest he might, and had warning given. This was but sad newes unto me, who knew not for the present, which way to dispose of my self. I began to think of the ship that was at *Realejo* ready to set out to *Panama*, thinking that would now be my best course, but enquiring after it, I was for certain informed by some Merchants that it was newly gone. Then my eyes looked upon *Comayagua* and *Truxillo*, and upon the ships of *Honduras*, but these were but vain and troubled thoughts, arising from a perplexed heart, for the ships were also gone from thence, without some small vessell or *frigate* might be there with newes from *Havana* or *Carthagena* (for those places send often word and notice of what ships are abroad at sea) but this also was a meer chance, and not to be trusted unto, as my friends did advise, and counsell me. Whereupon my perplexity more and more increased; only my comfort was that there were more passengers besides my self, who I knew must take some course, and whom I also resolved to follow by sea, or land. Amongst us all we were once resolved to hire a *frigate* to carry us only to *Carthagena*, but this would not be granted, for no body would hazard his vessell and life for our sakes. Whilest we were thus distressed and perplexed enquiring about *Granada* of the Merchants what course we might take to get to *Spain* that year, or to meet with the *Havana* or *Carthagena*; one that wished us well, counselled

counselled us to go to *Costarica*, where at *Carthago* we should be sure to hear of some vessels bound for *Portobel*; either from the river called *de los Anzuelos*, or from the river called *Suere*, from whence every year went out some small frigats to carry Meal, Bacon, Fowles, and other provision for the Galeons to *Portobel*. This we thought was a hard and difficult journey, and of neer a hundred and fifty leagues, over mountains and through deserts, where we should misse the pleasure, variety, and dainties of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, and after all this peradventure might misse of an opportunity of any frigate bound to *Portobello*. Yet so unwilling were we all to return to *Guatemala* from whence we came, that we would rather go forward, and undergo any difficulties, so that at last we might find any shipping to convey us where we might meet with the Galeons, which we knew were not to come to *Portobel*, till the month of *June* or *July*. We therefore agreed four of us, three *Spaniards* and my self, to go to *Costarica*, and there to try our fortune. They had each of them (as my self had) carriage for one Mule, and none to ride on; but thought it their best way to buy each of them a Mule to carry them, which they hoped after their journey to sell again at *Costarica*, and to get money by them, and for their carriages to hire mules and *Indians* from Town to Town, who also might serve to guide us through many dangerous places and passages, which we understood were in the way. Now I wished I had my Mule which I sold at *San Miguel*, or any one of the two which I sold before in *Granada*. But for my money I doubted not, with the help of my *Black-more*, but I should find one for my purpose. I furnished my self very speedily, for fifty peeces of eight, of one which I feared not would perform my journey. My good and trusty *Black-more* would willingly have gone on with me, and further round the world if I would have permitted him; but I would not; but (thanked him heartily for what he had done, and gave him money enough in his purse, and dismissed him) hoping that the company of the three *Spaniards* would be sufficient comfort unto me.

Thus with one *Indian* to guide us we set four of us out of *Granada*, enjoying for the two first dayes more of the pleasure of that *Mahomet's* paradise *Nicaragua*, finding the way for the most part plain, the Towns pleasant, the Countrey shady, and every where fruits abounding. The second day after we set out, we were much affrighted with a huge and monstrous Caiman or Crocodile, which having come out of the Lake (which we passed by) and lying crosse a puddle of water bathing himself, and waiting for some prey, as we perceived after, whom we not knowing well at the first; but thinking that it had been some tree that was felled or fallen, passed close by it; when on a suddain we knew the scales of the Caiman, and saw the monster stir and move, and set himself against us; wherewith we made hast from him; but he thinking to have made some of us his greedy prey, ran after us, which when we perceived, and that he was like to overtake us, we were much troubled, untill one of the *Spaniards* (who knew better the nature and quality of that beast then the rest) called upon us to turn to one side out of the way, and to ride on strait for a while, and then to turn on another side; and so to circumflex our way, which advice of his without doubt saved mine, or some of the others lives, for thus we wearied that mighty monster and escaped from him, who (had we rid out straightway) had certainly overtaken us, and killed some mule or man, for his straight forward sight was as swift as our Mules could run; but whilst he turned and wheeled about his heavy body, we got ground and advantage till we left him far behind us; and by this experience we came to know the nature and quality of that beast, whose greatnesse of body is no hinderance to run forward as swift as a Mule; but otherwise, as the Elephant once laid down is troubled to get up, so this monster is heavy and stiffe, and therefore much troubled to turn and wind about his body. We praised God who had that day delivered us, and riding for a while by the side of the lake, we were watchfull that we might not fall again into the like danger. But the greatnesse of this lake of *Granada* may from hence be known, in that the second and third day of our journey, being at least threescore miles from whence we set out, we now and then found our way lying by it. After that we had wholly lost the sight of it, we began to enter into rough and craggy wayes; declining more to the South then to the North sea. And in all the rest of our journey to *Carthago*, we observed nothing worth committing to posterity, but only mighty woods and trees on the South sea side, very fit for to make strong ships, and many mountains and desert places, where we lay sometimes two nights together, either in woods or open fields, far

from

from any Town or habitation of *Indians*, yet for our comfort in these so desert places we had still a guide with us, and found lodges, which by the command of the neereit Justices had been let up for such as travelled that way. We came at last through thousand dangers to the City of *Carthago*, which we found not to be so poor, as in richer places, as *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua* it was reported to be. For there we had occasion to inquire after some Merchants for exchange of gold and silver, and we found that some were very rich, who traded by land and sea with *Panama*, and by Sea with *Portobello*, *Carthagena*, and *Havana*, and from thence with *Spain*. This City may consist of four hundred Families, and is governed by a *Spanisb* Governour; It is a Bishops Sea, and hath in it three Cloisters, two of Fryers, and one of Nuns. Here we began to enquire after that which had brought us through so many Mountains, Woods, and delerts, to wit, after some speedy occasion of shipping our selves for *Portobello* or *Carthagena*; and according to our desires we understood of one Frigat almost ready to set out from the River called *De los Anzuelos*, and another from the River *Suere*; and being well informed that *Suere* would be the best place for us to travell unto by reason of more provision in the way, more Towns of *Indians*, and Estancia's of *Spaniards*, we resolved within four dayes after we had rested in *Carthago*, to undertake a new journey towards the North Sea. We found that Countrey mountainous in many places, yet here and there some Vallies where was very good corn, *Spaniards* living in good Farmes, who as well as the *Indians* bred many hogs; but the Towns of *Indians* we found much unlike to those which we had left behind in *Nicaragua* and *Guatemala*; and the people in curtesse and civility much differing from them, and of a rude and bold carriage and behaviour towards us; yet they are kept under by the *Spaniards*, as much as those whom I have formerly spoken of about *Guatemala*. We came in so good a time to the River *Suere*, that we stayed there but three dayes in a *Spanisb* Farm neer unto it, and departed.

The Master of the Frigat was exceeding glad of our company, and offered to carry me for nothing, but for my prayers to God for him, and for a safe passage; which he hoped would not be above three or four dayes sailing. What he carried was nothing but some Hony, Hides, Bacon, Meal and Fowles. The greatest danger he told us of, was the setting out from the River, (which runs in some places with a very strong stream, is shallow and full of rocks in other places) till we come forth to the main Sea. Whither we got out safely and had not failed on above twenty leagues, when we discovered two ships making towards us; our hearts began to quake, and the Master himself of the Frigat we perceived was not without fear, who suspected that they were *English* or *Holland* Ships; we had no guns nor weapons to fight with, save onely four or five Muskets and half a dozen Swords; we thought the wings of our nimble Frigat might be our best comfort, and flying away our chiefest safety. But this comfort soon began to fail us, and our best safety was turned into near approaching danger; for before we could stie one five leagues towards *Portobel*, we could from our Top Mast easily perceive the two Ships to be *Hollanders*, and too nimble for our little Vessell, which presently one of them (which being a Man of Warre, was too much and too strong for our weaknesse) fetcht up, and with a thundring Message made us strike Sail. Without any fighting we durst not but yeeld, hoping for better mercy. But O what sad thoughts did here run to and from my dejected heart, which was struck down lower then our Sail? How did I sometimes look upon Deaths frightening visage? But if again I would comfort and incourage my self against this fear of Death; how then did I begin to see an end of all my hopes of ever more returning to my wished and desired Countrey? How did I see that my treasure of Pearls, pretious Stones, and peeces of Eight, and golden Pistols, which by singing I had got in twelve years space, now within one halfe hour ready to be lost with weeping, and become a sure prey to those who with as much ease as I got them, and with laughing were ready to spoile me of all that with the sound of Flutes, Waits and Organs I had so long been hording up? Now I saw I must forcedly and fainedly offer up to a *Hollander* what superstitious, yea also forced, and fained offerings of *Indians* to their Saints of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Amatitlan* and *Petapa* had for a while enriched me. My further thoughts were soon interrupted by the *Hollanders* who came aboard our Frigat with more speed then we desired. Though their Swords, Muskets and Pistols did not a little terrifie, yet we were somewhat comforted, when we understood who was their chief Captain.

and

and Commander, and hoped for more mercy from him, who had been born and brought up amongst *Spaniards*, then from the *Hollanders*, who as they were little bound unto the *Spanish* Nation for mercy, so did we expect little from them. The Captain of this *Holland* ship which took us was a Mulatto, born and bred in *Havana*, whose Mother I saw and spoke with afterwards that same year, when the *Galeons* struck into that Port to expect there the rest that were to come from *Verá Cruz*. This Mulatto for some wrongs which had been offered unto him from some commanding *Spaniards* in the *Havana*, ventured himself desperately in a boat out to the Sea, where were some *Holland* Ships waiting for a prize, and with Gods help getting unto them, yielded himself to their mercy, which he esteemed far better then that of his own Countrymen, promising to serve them faithfully against his own Nation, which had most injuriously and wrongfully abused, yea and (as I was afterwards informed) whipped him in the *Havana*.

This Mulatto proved so true and faithfull in his good services unto the *Hollanders*, that they esteemed much of him, married him to one of their Nation, and made him Captain of a Ship under that brave and gallant *Hollander* whom the *Spaniards* then so much feared, and named, *Pie de Palo*, or Wooden Leg. This famous Mulatto it was that with his Sea Souldiers boarded our Frigate, in the which he had found little worth his labour, had it not been for the *Indians* offerings which I carried with me, of which I lost that day the worth of four thousand Patacons or peeces of eight in pearls, and pretious stones, and neer three thousand more in mony. The other *Spaniards* lost some hundreds a peece, which was so rich a prize, that it made the *Hollanders* stomach loath the rest of our grosse provision of Bacon, Meal and Fowles, and our mony tasted sweeter unto them, then the Honey which our Frigate also afforded them. Other things I had (as a Quilt to lie on, some Books, and Lamina's, which are pictures in brasse, and clothes) which I begged of that Noble Captain the Mulatto, who considering my Orders and calling, gave me them freely, and wished me to be patient, saying that he could do no otherwise then he did with my money and Pearls, and using that common Proverbe at Sea, *Oy per mi, manana per ti*, to day fortune hath been for me, to morrow it may be for thee: or to day I have got what to morrow I may lose again. Here I made use also of that common saying, that ill gotten goods never thrive, and perceived it was the will of my heavenly Father to take from me what so unlawfully by superstitious and idolatrous Masses, by Offerings unto Idols and Statues of Saints I had got amongst the *Indians*. I offered in lieu of those former offerings my will unto my Lord Gods will, desiring him to grant me patience to bear that great losse. I confesse, though it was very crosse to flesh and blood, yet I found an inward spirituall strengthening from above, and to be very true what *Paul* writes to the *Hebrews* in the 12. Chapter, and Verse 11. saying, *No chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheless afterward it yeeldeth the peaccable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby:* for that very day I found my inward man quiet and peaceable with a full and totall submission unto the holy will of God, which I desired might be done in earth, in the Sea, and performed and obeyed by me at that present, as it is alwayes done in heaven. And although this was my best and chief comfort, yet from the creature by the Creators permission I had also some comfort left in a few pistols, some single, some double, which I had sowed up in my Quilt (which the Captain restored unto me, saying it was the bed I lay in) and in the doublet which I had at that present, which mounted to almost a thousand Crowns, and in their searching was not found out. After the Captain and Souldiers had well viewed their prize, they thought of refreshing their stomachs with some of our provision; the good Captain made a stately dinner in our Frigate, and invited me unto it; and knowing that I was going towards the *Havana*, besides many other brinde's or healths, he drank one unto his mother, desiring me to see her, and to remember him unto her, and how that for her sake he had used me well and courteously in what he could; and further at Table he said that for my sake he would give us our Frigate that we might return again to land; and that I might find out from thence some safer way and means to get to *Portobello*, and to continue on my journey unto *Spain*. After dinner I conferred with the Captain alone, and told him that I was no *Spaniard*, but an *English* man born, shewing him the Licence which I had from *Rome* to

go to *England*, and that therefore I hoped, not being of an enemy nation to the *Hollanders*, he would restore unto me what goods were mine. But all this was of little consequence with him, who had already taken possession of mine and all other goods in the ship: he told me I must suffer with those, amongst whom I was found, and that I might as well claime all the goods in the ship for mine. I desired him then to carry me along with him to *Holland*, that from thence I might get to *England*, which also he refused to do, telling me that he went about from one place to another, and knew not when he should go to *Holland*, and that he was daily ready to fight with any *Spanisb* ship, and if he should fight with the *Spaniards* whilst I was in his ship, his souldiers in their hot bloud might be ready to do me a mischief, thinking I would do them harm, if in fight they should be taken by the *Spaniards*. With these his answers I saw there was no hope of getting again what now was lost, therefore (as before) I commended my self again to Gods providence and protection. The Souldiers and Mariners of the *Holland* ship, made hast that afternoon, to unlode the goods of our Frigat into their Man of war, which took them up that, and part of the next day, whilst we as Prisoners were waisting up and down the Sea with them. And whereas we thought our money had satisfied them enough, and to the full, we found the next day that they had also a stomach to our fowles and Bacon, and wanted our Meal to make them bread, and our hony to sweeten their mouths, and our Hydes for shooes and boots; all which they took away, leaving me my Quilt, Books, and brasse pictures, and to the Master of the frigat some small provision, as much as might carry us to land, which was not far off, and thus they took their leaves of us, thanking us for their good entertainment. And we weary of such guests, some praying to God that they might never entertain the like again, some cursing them all, and especially the Mulatto to hell, calling him Renegado; some thanking God for their lives which were given them for a prey, we all returned again to *Suere* from whence we had set out, and going up the River, were almost like to be cast away, and lose our lives, after we had lost our goods. When we came to land, the *Spaniards* about the Countrey pitied our case, and helped us with almes gathering a Collection for us. The three *Spaniards* of my company lost all their money and most of their best clothes, yet they had reserved some bills of Exchange for mony to be taken up at *Portobello*; which I wished I had also for what I had lost. For the present we knew not what course to take; we thought of going to *Rio de los Anzuels*, but we were informed that certainly the frigats there were either gone, or would be gone before we could get thither; and if they staid not with the newes of the *Hollanders* ships at sea, they either already were or would be their prize, as we had been. We resolved therefore with the charitable assistance of the *Spaniards* about the Countrey to return again to *Carthago*, and from thence to take some better directions. In the way we conferred what we had saved, the *Spaniards* bragged yet of their bills of Exchange, which would yeeld them money at *Carthago*, I would not let them know what I had saved, but somewhat I told them I had kept; and we agreed all the way we went to signifie nothing but poverty and misery, that the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in the way might pity and commiserate us; and our great losses. When we came to *Carthago* we were indeed much pitied, and Collections were made for us; and as it was expected from me, that I should sing again at the Altars (who truly could rather have cried to see and consider my many misfortunes, and dyfasters, which I desired might at last by a safe return to *England*, prove the trials of the faith I intended to search out) and that I should preach wheresoever I came; so by these two wayes, of singing and of hudling over *Dominus vobiscum* and the rest of the Masse, and by accepting of what Sermons were recommended unto me, I began again to store my self with monies. Yet I knew that in such a poor Countrey as that was, where I was little known, I could not possibly get enough to bring me home with credit into *England*; and therefore the cunning enemy finding me to stand upon my credit, began strongly to tempt me to return again to *Guatemala*. (where I doubted not but I should be welcomed and entertained by my friends) and to settle my self there, untill I had again by sacrilegious, base, superstitious, and idolatrous means, and works, made up a new purse to return with credit home.

But I perceiving that God already had shewed himself angry, and justly taken from me, what by unlawfull means I had in twelve years obtained, bad Satan avaunt, purposing

posing never more to return to the flesh pots of *Egypt*, and to go still home-wards, though in the way I did beg my bread. Yet (lest I might be suspected amongst the *Spaniards*, and troubled for not exercising my orders and function) I resolved to take what as to a stranger and traveller for preaching or any other exercise might be offered unto me.

Thus with courage resolving to go on still towards *England*, I enquired at *Carthago* which way I might get to *Portobello*. But this door of hope was fast shut up; though my trust in Gods providence was not weakened. In this season, there came to *Carthago* some two or three hundred Mules, unsaddled or unloaden with some *Spaniards*, *Indians* and *Black-mores*, from the parts of *Camayagua*, and *Guatemala* to convey them to *Panama* by land, over the mountains of *Veragua* there to be sold. This is the yearly and only trading by land, which *Guatemala*, *Camayagua*, and *Nicaragua*, hath with *Panama* over that narrow *Isthmus* lying between the North, and South sea, which is very dangerous by reason of the craggy wayes, rocks, and mountains, but more especially, by reason of many Heathens, Barbarians and savage people, which as yet are not conquered by the *Spaniards*, and sometimes do great hurt and mischief, and kill those that with Mules passe through their Countrey, especially if they misdeemean themselves or please them not well. Yet for all these difficulties, I was entertaining a thought to go along with those Mules and *Spaniards*, which were now on their way by land to *Panama*. The three *Spaniards* were half of the same mind; but the providence of God who better ordereth and disposeth mans affaires then he himself, disappointed these our thoughts for our good and safety, as after we were informed; for we heard for certain at *Nicoya*, that some of those Mules and *Spaniards* were killed by the *Barbarians* and savage *Indians*, amongst whom my life might have been lost, if I had attempted that hard and dangerous journey; from which many well-wishers at *Carthago* did dissuade me, both for the danger of the *Indians*, and for the difficulties of the wayes and mountains, which they told me the weaknesse of my body would never indure. After we had wholly desisted from this land journey, the best counsell, that we had from some Merchants our friends, was to try whether *Mar del Zur*, or the South sea, would favour our designe and journey, better then the *Mar del Norte*, or the North sea had done; who wished us to go to *Nicoya*, and from thence to *Chirra*, and to the *Golfo de Salinas*, where they doubted not but we should find shipping to *Panama*. We were willing to follow any good advise and counsel; yet we knew that this was the last shift which we could make, and the *non plus ultra* of our hopes, and that if here we should be disappointed, we could expect no other way ever to get to *Panama*, except we should venture our lives most desperately over the Mountains of *Veragua*, and by land without any guide or company through the Countrey of the *Barbarians*, (who before had slain some *Spaniards* passing that way) or else should return again, all the way that we had come, to *Realejo*, where our hopes might be frustrated, and peradventure no shipping found for *Panama*, without a years waiting for it.

We resolved therefore to follow this our friends counsell, and to go yet to *Nicoya*, and from thence to *Golfo de Salinas*, where laughing, I told the three *Spaniards* of my company that if we were disappointed, we would like *Hercules* set up a Pillar to eternize our fame, with our names, and this inscription upon it, *Non plus Ultra*; for that beyond it there was no other Port, Haven, or place, to take shipping to *Panama*; neither could any man have done more (nor ever did any *English* man in that Countrey do more then my selfe) then we had done, but especially my selfe, who from *Mexico* had thus travelled by land to *Nicoya* at least six hundred leagues, or eighteen hundred *English* miles straight from North to South, besides what I had travelled from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, and from *Guatemala*, to *Vera Paz*, and to *Puerto de Cavallos*, or *Golfo dulce*, and from thence to *Truxillo*, and from thence back again to *Guatemala*, which was at least thirteen or fourteen hundred *English* miles more, which I thought to eternize upon a pillar at *Nicoya*. But what there was not erected, I hope here shall be eternized, and that this my true and faithfull History shall be a Monument of three thousand, and three hundred miles travelled by an *English* man, within the main land of *America*, besides other sea navigations to *Panama*, from *Portobel* to *Carthagená*, and from thence unto the *Havana*. The way which we travelled from *Carthago* to *Nicoya* was very mountainous, hard, and unpleasant, for we met with few *Estantias* of *Spaniards*, and few *Indian* Towns, and those very poor, small, and all of dejected and wretched people. Yet

Nicoya

Nicoya is a pretty Town, and head of a *Spanish* government, where we found one *Justo de Salazar*, Alcalde Maior, who entertained us very well, and provided lodgings for us for the time that we should abide there, and comforted us with hopefull words, that though for the present there was no ship or frigate in the Golfe of *Salinas*, yet he doubted not, but very shortly one would come from *Panama* thither, for Salt and other commodities, as yearly they were wont. The time of the year when we came thither, was a fit time for me to get again some monies after my great losse; for it was in Lent which is the Fryers chiefest harvest, who (as I have before observed) then by Confessions and by giving the Communion get many mony offerings.

The time, and the Franciscan Fryer who had the Pastorship and charge of that Town, were both very commodious unto me, who could not refuse as long as I stayed there to exercise my function, lest I should bring a just cause of suspicion and aspersion upon my self. The Fryer of the Town was a *Portingal*, who about three weeks before my coming thither had had a very great bickering and strife with *Justo de Salazar* the Alcalde Maior, for defending the *Indians*, whom *Salazar* did grievously oppresse, employing them in his, and his wives service as slaves, and not paying them what for the sweat of their browes was due unto them, and commanding them to be from their home and from their wives, and from their Church upon the Sabbath, working for him as well that day as any other. Which the Fryer not enduring, charged them in the Pulpit, not to obey any such unlawfull commands from their Alcalde Maior. But *Justo de Salazar* (who had been trained up in wars and fighting, and had served formerly in the Castle of *Milan*) thought it a great disparagement unto him, now to be curbed by a Fryer, and by such a one to be interrupted in his government of the *Indians*, and in the wayes of his own lucre and gain. Therefore after many bitter words and defiance, which had passed between him and the Fryer, he came one day resolutely to the Fryers house with his sword drawn, and certainly had not the Fryer been assisted by some of the *Indians*, he had killed him. The Fryer being as hot, as he, and standing upon his calling, Orders and Priesthood, presuming that he durst not touch him violently, lest his priviledge should bring an excommunication upon the striker and offendour, would not flie from him, but dared him boldly; which was a strong provocation to *Salazar*s heat and passion, and caused him to lift up his sword, and aime his blow and stroke at the Fryer, which fell so unhappily that with it he struck off two of the Fryers fingers, and had undoubtedly seconded another blow more hurtfull and dangerous to the Fryer, had not the *Indians* interposed themselves, and shut up their Priest into his chamber. *Justo* was for this action excommunicated, yet for that he was a man of high authority, he soon got off his excommunication from the Bishop of *Costarica*, and sent his complaint to the Chancery of *Guatemala* against the Fryer, where with friends and money he doubted not but to evercome the Mendicant Priest, as it happened after; for (as I was informed) he caused the Fryer to be sent for up to the Court, and there prevailed so much against him, that he got him to be removed from *Nicoya*. In this season the Fryer kept his house and chamber, and would by no means go out to the Church, either to say Masse, or to preach, or hear Confessions, (all which that time of the year did require of him) but had got one to help him; who alone not being able to performe so great a charge of many hundred *Indians*, *Spaniards*, *Black-mores*, and *Mulatto*s, who from the Countrey without, and from the Town within expected to have their Confessions heard, their sins absolved, the word preached, and the Communion to be given them; hearing of my coming desired me to assist and help him, and that for my pains I should have my meat and drink at his table, and a Crown daily for every Masse, and whatsoever else the people should voluntarily offer, besides the Sermons, which should be well rewarded unto me. I staid in this Town from the second week of Lent untill Easter week, where what with three Sermons at ten Crownes a peece, what with my daily stipend and many other offerings, I got about an hundred and fifty Crowns.

The week before Easter newes came of a frigate from *Panama* to *Golfo de Salinas*, which much comforted us, who already began to mistrust the delay. The Master of the frigate came to *Nicoya*, which is a Court thereabout; and with him the three *Spaniards* and my self agreed for our passage to *Panama*. About *Chira*, *Golfo de Salinas*, and *Nicoya*, there are some farmes of *Spaniards*, few and very small *Indian* Towns, who are all like slaves employed by the Alcalde Maior, to make him a kind of thred called

Pita which is a very rich Commodity in *Spain*, especially of that colour wherewith it is dyed in these parts of *Nicoja*, which is a purple colour; for the which the *Indians* are here much charged to work about the Sea shore, and there to find out certain shels, wherewith they make this purple die. *Purpura* is a kind of shell fish; whose usuall length of life is seven years, he hides himselfe about the rising of the Dog-star and so continues for 300 dayes, it is gathered in the Spring time, and by a mutuall rubbing of one or other of them together, they yeeld a kind of thick slime like soft wax; but its famous die for garments is in the mouth of the fish, and the most refined juyce is in a white vein, the rest of his body is void and of no use: Your *Segovia* cloth died therewith for the richnesse of the colour is sold at five or six pound the yard, and used only by the greatest *Dons* of *Spain*, and in ancient time only worn by the Noblest *Romans*, and called by the name of *Tyrian Purple*.

There are also shels for other colours, which are not known to be so plentifully in any other place as here. About *Chira* and *Golfo de Salinas* the chief commodities are Salt, Hony, Maiz, some Wheat and Fowles, which every year they send by some few Frigats to *Panama*, which from thence come on purpose to fetch them with this purple coloured thred, or *Pita*, which I have spoken of. The Frigat which came when I was there, was soon laden with these Commodities, and with it we set out hoping to have been at *Panama* within five or six dayes. But as often before we had been crossed, so likewise in this short passage we were striving with the Wind, Sea, and Corrientes, as they are called (which are swift streams as of a River) four full weeks. After the first day that we set out, we were driven with a wind and storme towards *Peru*, till we came under the very *Æquinoctiall* line, where what with excessive heat, what with mighty stormes, we utterly despaired of life. But after one week that we had thus run towards death, it pleased God in whom and by whom all creatures live, move, and have their being; to comfort us again with hopes of life, sending us a prosperous gale, which drove us out of that *Æquinoctiall* heat, and stormy Sea, towards the Islands of *Perlas*, and *Puerta de Chame*, lying on the South side of the Mountains of *Veragua*, from whence we hoped within two dayes at the most to be at rest and Anchor at *Panama*. But yet these our hopes were frustrated, for there our wind was calmed, and we fell upon those strong Corrientes or streams, which drave us back in the night for the space of almost a fortnight as much as we had sailed in the day. Had not God again been mercifull here unto us, we had certainly perished in this our striving with the stream; for although we wanted not provision of food, yet our drink failed us so, that for four dayes we tasted neither drop of wine or water, or any thing that might quench our thirst, save only a little hony which we found did cause more thirst in us, which made me and some others to drink our own Urine, and to refresh our mouthes with peeces of lead bullets, which did for a while refresh, but would not long have sufficed Nature, had not Gods good Providence sent us such a wind which in the day drave us quite off from those Corrientes. Our first thoughts were then to strike either to the Continent, or some Island of many which were about us to seek for water, finding our bodies weak and languishing; which the Captain of the Ship would by no means yeeld unto, assuring us that that day he would land us at *Panama*; but we not being able to sail on without drink, unlesse we should yeeld to have our dead and not live bodies landed where he promised, thought it no good purchase though we might buy all *Panama* with our lives, which we judged could not hold out another day; and seeing that the wind began to slacken, we all required him to strike into some Island for water; which he stubbornly refused and denied to do; whereupon the three *Spaniards* and some of the Mariners mutined against him with drawn Swords, threatening to kill him if he betook not himself presently to some Island. The good Master thought it bad sport to see Swords at his breast, and so commanded his Ship to be turned to two or three Islands, which were not above two or three houres sail from us. When we drew nigh unto them, we cast our Anchor, and our Cock-boat, and happy was he that could first cast himself into it to be rowed to land to fill his belly with water. The first Island we landed upon, was on that side uninhabitable, where we spent much time running to and fro, over-heating our selves and increasing our thirst; thus whilst one ran one way, and another tried another to find out some fountain, our hopes being frustrated and I lost in the Wood, and my shoes torne from my feet, with stony rocks, and many thornes and bushes in other places; my company betook themselves to the Cock-boat to try another Island, leaving me alone, and lost in the Wood; out of which at last when I came, and found the Cock-boat gone from the shoar, I began to consider my self a dead man, thinking that they had found water

and were gone to Ship, and not finding me would hoise up their sailes for *Panama*. Thus being dejected I cryed out to the Ship, which I perceived could not possibly hear my weak voyce, and running up and down the Rocks to see if I could discover the Cock-boat, I perceived it was not with the Ship, and espied at the next Island. With this I began to hope better things of them, that they would call for me when they had gotten water; so I came down from the Rocks to the plain shore, where I found a shade of trees and amongst them some berries (which might have been poison, for I knew them not) wherewith I refreshed my mouth for a while; but my body so burned that I thought there with heat, weaknesse and faintnesse I should have expired and given up the ghost. I thought by stripping my self naked and going into the Sea unto my neck, I might thus refresh my body, which I did, and coming out again into the shade, I fell into a deep sleep, in so much that the Cock-boat coming for me, and the company hollowing unto me, I awaked not, which made them fear that I was dead or lost; till landing, one searched for me one way, and another another, and so they found me, who might have been a prey to some wild Beast, or slept till the Frigat had gone away, and so have perished in a barren and uninhabitable Island. When they awaked me, I was glad to see my good company, and the first thing I enquired for, was, if they had got any water; they bad me be of good cheer and arise; for they had water enough, and Oranges and Lemmons from another Island, where they met with *Spaniards* that did inhabit it. I made haste with them to the Boar, and no sooner was I entred into it, but they gave me to drink as much as I would. The water was warme and unsetled, for they could not take it up so but that they took of the gravell and bottome of the Fountain, which made it look very muddy; yet for all this (as though my life had depended upon it) I drank up a whole pot of it; which no sooner had I drank, but such was the weaknesse of my stomach that it presently cast it up again not being able to bear it. With this they wished me to eat an Orange or a Lemmon; but them also did my stomach reject; so to our Frigat we went, and in the way I fainted so that the company verily thought I would die, before we got aboard. When we came thither I called again for water, which was no sooner down my stomach, but presently up again; they had me to bed with a burning Feaver upon me; where I lay that night expecting nothing but death, and that the Sea should be my grave.

The Master of the Ship seeing the wind was turned, began to be much troubled, and feared that with that wind he should never get to *Panama*. He resolved to venture upon a way, which never before he had tryed; which was, to get between the two Islands which we had searched for water, knowing that the wind, which on this side was contrary, on the other side of the Islands would be favourable unto him. Thus towards the evening he took up Anchor and hoised up his sailes, and resolved to passe his Frigat between the two Islands; which how dangerous and desperate an attempt it was, the event witnessed. I lay in this season (as I may truly say) upon my death-bed, not regarding which way the Master of the Ship, or fortune carried me, so that the mercy of the Lord carried my soule to heaven. No sooner had the Frigat steered her course between the narrow passage of the two Islands, when being carried with the stream too much to the one side of the land it ran upon a Rock; so that the very stern was lifted up, and almost cast out of the Pilots hands, who cryed out, not to God, but unto the Virgin *Mary*, saying, *Ayudad nos Virgin Santissima, que si no aqui nos perecemos*, help us, O most holy Virgin, for if not, here we perish. This, and the outcry of all that were in the Frigat gave unto me an Alarm of death, from the which yet it pleased God by the means and diligence of the painfull Mariners to deliver me and all the Company, for with much ado most part of that night they haled from the Cock-boat the Frigat off from the Rock, after the stream had made it three severall times to strike upon it. After a very troublesome night in the morning we got our little ship out of all danger and from between the two Islands on the other side of them, where we sailed prosperously towards *Panama*. That morning my stomach recovered some of its lost strength, and I began to eat and to drink, and to walk about, rejoycing much to see those pleasant Islands which we sailed by. In the Evening we got to *Puerto de Perico*; where we cast Anchor, expecting to be searched in the morning; but that night (the Master of our Ship having gone to shoar) the wind turned and blew so strong that we lost our Anchor, and were driven back almost to *La Pacheque* and feared we should be carried out into the Ocean again so far that we should with great difficulty get to *Panama*. But that God whom the Sea and winds do obey, turned again that contrary wind into a prosperous gale, wherewith we came once more unto *Perico*; and being searched

searched we went on with full sail to *Panama*; being near the Port and without an Anchor in our ship the wind once more blew us back, and had not the Ship-master sent us an Anchor, we had gone again to *Pacheco* or further. But with that Anchor we stayed all that night at *Perico*, wondering among our selves that so many crosses should befall us, which made some say that we were bewitched; others, that certainly there was amongst us some excommunicated person, whom they said if they knew of, they would hurl him over board. Whilst they were in this discourse, the wind turned yet again, and we levying our anchor went on to *Panama*, whither it pleased God that time safely to conduct us in. I being now well strengthened made no stay in that frigate, which I thought would have been my last abiding place in this world, but went to land and betook my self to the Cloister of the Dominicans, where I stayed almost fifteen days viewing and reviewing that City; which is governed like *Guatemala* by a President and six Judges, and a Court of Chancery, and is a Bishops sea. It hath more strength towards the South sea, then any other Port which on that side I had seen, and some Ordinances planted for the defence of it; but the houses are of the least strength of any place that I had entred in; for lime and stone is hard to come by, and therefore for that reason, and for the great heat there, most of the houses are built of timber and boards; the Presidents house, nay the best Church walls are but boards, which serve for stone and brick, and for tiles to cover the top. The heat is so extraordinary that a linnen cut doublet, with some slight stufte or taffety breeches is the common cloathing of the inhabitants. Fish, fruits and herbage for sallets is more plentifull there then flesh; the cool water of the *Coco* is the womens best drink, though Chocolate also, and much Wine from *Peru* be very abounding. The *Spaniards* are in this City much given to sin, loosenesse and venery especially, who make the *Black-mores*, (who are many, rich and gallant) the chief objects of their lust. It is held to be one of the richest places in all *America*, having by land and by the river *Chiagre* commerce with the North sea, and by the South, trading with all *Peru*, *East-Indias*, *Mexico* and *Honduras*. Thither is brought the chief treasure of *Peru* in two or three great ships, which lie at anchor at *Puerto de Perico* some three leagues from the City; for the great ebbing of the sea at that place especially, suffereth not any great vessell to come neerer, where dayly the sea ebbs and falls away from the City two or three miles, leaving a mud, which is thought to cause much unhealthinesse in that place, being seconded with many other muddy and moorish places about the Town. It consisteth of some five thousand inhabitants, and maintaineth at least eight Cloisters of Nuns and Fryers. I feared much the heats, and therefore made as much hast out of it as I could. I had my choice of company by land and water to *Portobello*. But considering the hardnesse of the mountains by land, I resolved to go by the river *Chiagre*; and so at midnight I set out from *Panama* to *Venta de Cruzes*, which is ten or twelve leagues from it. The way is thither very plain for the most part, and pleasant in the morning and evening.

Before ten of the clock we got to *Venta de Cruzes*, where live none but *Mulatto's* and *Black-mores*, who belong unto the flat boats that carry the merchandize to *Portobello*. There I had very good entertainment by that people, who desired me to preach unto them the next Sabbath day, and gave me twenty Crowns for a Sermon, and procession. After five dayes of my abode there, the boats set out, which were much stopped in their passage down the River; for in some places we found the water very low, so that the boats ran upon the gravell; from whence with poles and the strength of the *Blackmores* they were to be lifted off again; sometimes again we met with such streams that carried us with the swiftnesse of an arrow down under trees and boughs by the river side, which sometimes also stopped us till we had cut down great branches of trees. Had not it pleased God to send us after the first week plentifull rain, which made the water run down from the mountains and fill the river (which otherwise of it self is very shallow) we might have had a tedious and longer passage; but after twelve dayes we got to the sea, and at the point landed at the Castle to refresh our selves for half a day. Certainly the *Spaniards* trust to the streames and shallownesse of that river, which they think will keep off any forain nation, from attempting to come up to *Venta de Cruzes* and from thence to *Panama*, or else they would strengthen more and fortifie that Castle, which in my time wanted great reparations, and was ready to fall down to the ground. The Governour of the Castle was a notable Wine-bibber, who plyed us with that liquor the time that we stayed there, and wanting a Chaplain for himself, and Souldiers, would fain have had me staid with him; but greater

matters called me further, and so I took my leave of him, who gave us some dainties of fresh meat, fish, and conserves, and so dismissed us. We got out to the open Sea, discovering first the *Escudo de Veragua*, and keeping somewhat close unto the land, we went on rowing towards *Portobel*, till the evening, which was Saturday night; then we cast anchor behind a little Island, resolving in the morning to enter into *Portobel*. The *Blackmores* all that night kept watch for fear of *Hollanders*, whom they said did often lie in wait thereabouts for the boats of *Chiagre*; but we passed the night safely, and next morning got to *Portobello*, whose haven we observed to be very strong, with two Castles at the mouth, and constant watch within them, and another called *Sr. Miguel* further in the Port.

When I came into the Haven, I was sorry to see that as yet the Galeons were not come from *Spain*, knowing that the longer I stayed in that place, greater would be my charges. Yet I comforted my self that the time of the year was come, and that they could not long delay their coming. My first thoughts were of taking up a lodging, which at that time were plentiful and cheap, nay some were offered me for nothing, with this caveat, that when the Galeons did come, I must either leave them, or pay a dear rate for them. A kinde Gentleman, who was the Kings Treasurer, falling in discourse with me, promised to help me, that I might be cheaply lodged even when the ships came, and lodgings were at the highest rate. He, interposing his authority, went with me to seek one, which at the time of the Fleets being there, might continue to be mine. It was no bigger then would contain a Bed, a Table, and a Stool or two, with room enough besides to open and shut the dore, and they demanded of me for it, during the foresaid time of the Fleet, sixscore Crowns, which commonly is a fortnight. For the Town being little, and the Souldiers that come with the Galeons for their defence at least four or five thousand; besides Merchants from *Peru*, from *Spain*, and many other places to buy and sell, is the cause that every room, though never so small, be dear; and sometimes all the lodgings in the Town are few enough for so many people, which at that time do meet at *Portobel*. I knew a Merchant who gave a thousand Crowns for a shop of reasonable bignesse, to sell his wares and commodities that year that I was there, for fifteen dayes only, which the Fleet continued to be in that haven. I thought it much for me to give the sixscore Crowns which were demanded of me for a room, which was but a Mouse-hole, and began to be troubled, and told the Kings Treasurer that I had been lately robbed at Sea, and was not able to give so much, and be besides at charges for my diet, which I feared would prove as much more. But not a farthing would be abated of what was asked; whereupon the good Treasurer pitying me, offered to the man of the house to pay him threecore Crowns of it, if so be that I was able to pay the rest, which I must doe, or else lie without in the street. Yet till the Fleet did come, I would not enter into this dear hole, but accepted of another fair lodging which was offered me for nothing. Whilest I thus expected the Fleets coming, some money and offerings I got for Masses, and for two Sermons which I preached at fifteen Crowns a piece. I visited the Castles, which indeed seemed unto me to be very strong; but what most I wondred at was to see the requas of Mules which came thither from *Panama*, laden with wedges of silver; in one day I told two hundred Mules, laden with nothing else, which were unladen in the publick Market-place, so that there the heaps of silver wedges lay like heaps of stones in the street, without any fear or suspicion of being lost. Within ten dayes the Fleet came, consisting of eight Galeons, and ten Merchants ships, which forced me to run to my hole. It was a wonder then to see the multitude of people in those streets which the week before had been empty.

Then began the price of all things to rise, a fowl to be worth twelve Rials, which in the main land within I had often bought for one; a pound of beef then was worth two Rials, whereas I had had in other places thirteen pound for half a Rial, and so of all other food and provision, which was so excessive dear, that I knew not how to live but by fish and Tortoises, which there are very many, and though somewhat dear, yet were the cheapest meat that I could eat. It was worth seeing how Merchants sold their commodities, not by the Ell or Yard; but by the Piece and Weight, not paying in coyned peeces of money, but in Wedges, which were weighed and taken for commodities. This lasted but fifteen dayes, whilest the Galeons were lading with Wedges of silver, and nothing else; so that for those fifteen dayes, I dare boldly say and avouch,

that

that in the world there is no greater Fair then that of *Portobell*, between the *Spanish* Merchants, and those of *Peru*, *Panama*, and other parts thereof.

Whilest this traffick was, it happened unto me that which I have formerly testified in my Recantation Sermon at *Pauls* Church, which if by that means it have not come unto the knowledge of many, I desire again to record it in this my History, that to all *England* it may be published; which was, that one day saying Masse in the chief Church, after the Consecration of the bread, being with my eyes shut at that mentall prayer, which the Church of *Rome* calleth the *Memento* for their dead, there came from behinde the Altar a Mouse, which running about, came to the very bread or Wafer-god of the Papists, and taking it in his mouth, ran away with it, not being perceived by any of the people who were at Masse, for that the Altar was high, by reason of the steps going up to it, and the people far beneath. But as soon as I opened my eyes to go on with my Masse, and perceived my God stoln away, I looked about the Altar, and saw the Mouse running away with it; which on a sudden did so stupifie me, that I knew not well what to do or say, and calling my wits together, I thought that if I should take no notice of the mischance, and any body else in the Church should, I might justly be questioned by the Inquisition; but if I should call to the people to look for the Sacrament, then I might be but chid and rebuked for my carelesnesse, which of the two I thought would be more easily borne, then the rigor of the Inquisition. Whereupon not knowing what the people had seen, I turned my self unto them, and called them unto the Altar, and told them plainly, that whilest I was in my *Memento* prayers and meditations, a Mouse had carryed away the Sacrament, and that I knew not what to do, unlesse they would help me to finde it out again. The people called a Priest that was at hand, who presently brought in more of his Coat, and as if their god by this had been eaten up, they presently prepared to finde out the thief, as if they would eat up the Mouse that had so assaulted and abused their god; they lighted candles and torches to finde out the Malefactor in his secret and hidden places of the wall; and after much searching and inquiry for the sacrilegious beast, they found at last in a hole of the wall the Sacrament half eaten up, which with great joy they took out, and as if the Ark had been brought again from the *Philistines* to the *Israelites*, so they rejoyced for their new-found god, whom with many people now resorted to the Church, with many lights of Candles and Torches, with joyfull and solemne musick they carried about the Church in procession. My selfe was present upon my knees, shaking and quivering for what might be done unto me, and expecting my doome and judgement; and as the Sacrament passed by me, I observed in it the marks and signes of the teeth of the Mouse, as they are to be seen in a piece of Cheefe gnawne and eaten by it.

This struck me with such horror, that I cared not at that present whether I had been torne in a thousand pieces for denying publickly that Mouse-eaten god, I called to my best memory all Philosophy concerning Substance and Accident, and resolved within my self, that what I saw gnawn, was not an accident, but some reall substance eaten and devoured by that vermin, which certainly was fed and nourished by what it had eaten, and Philosophy well teacheth, *substantia cibi (non accidentia) convertitur in substantiam aliti*, the substance (not the accident of the food or meat) is converted and turned into the substance of the thing fed by it and alimeted: Now here I knew that this Mouse had fed upon some substance, or else how could the marks of the teeth so plainly appear? But no Papist will be willing to answer that it fed upon the substance of Christs body, ergo by good consequence it follows that it fed upon the substance of bread; and so Transubstantiation here in my judgement was confuted by a Mouse; which mean and base creature God chose to convince me of my former errors, and made me now resolve upon what many yeers before I had doubted, that certainly the point of Transubstantiation taught by the Church of *Rome*, is most damnable and erroneous; for besides what before I have observed, it contradicteth that Philosophicall Axiome, teaching that *duo contradictoria non possunt simul & semel de eodem verificari*, two contradictories cannot at once and at the self same time be said and verified of the same thing; but here it was so; for here in *Romes* judgement and opinion Christs body was gnawn and eaten, and at the same time the same body in another place, and upon another Altar in the hands of another Priest was not eaten and gnawn: Therefore here are two contradictories verified of the same body of Christ:

to wit, it was eaten and gnawn, and it was not eaten and gnawn. These impressions at that time were so great in me, that I resolved within my self, that bread really and truly was eaten upon that Altar, and by no means Christs glorious body, which is in Heaven, and cannot be upon earth subject to the hunger or violence of a creature. Here again I desired with godly *David*, that I might have the wings of a Dove to fly into my Countrey of *England*, and there be satisfied upon this point, and be at rest of conscience. Here I resolved that if I had been questioned for my carelesnesse, or for my contempt of that *Romish* Sacrament (which I thought would be the judgement of the *Spaniards*, who knew me to be an *English* man born) that I would sacrifice willingly my life for the Protestant truth, which as yet I had been no otherwise taught, but by that Spirit which (as *Solomon* well observeth) in a man is the candle of the Lord. I conceived here that this was some comfort to my soul, which my good God would afford me in the way of my travelling to *Canaan*, that I might more willingly bear whatsoever crosses yet might befall me in my way and journey to *England*. The event of this accident was not any trouble that fell upon me for it; for indeed the *Spaniards* attributed it unto the carelesnesse of him who had care of the Altars in the Church, and not to any contempt in me to the Sacrament. The part of the wafer that was left after the Mousse had filled her belly, was laid up after the solemne procession about the Church, in a Tabernacle for that purpose, that afterwards it might be eaten up by some hungry Priest. And because such a high contempt had been offered by a contemptible Vermin to their Bread-god, it was commanded through *Porrobet* that day, that all the people should humble themselves and mourne, and fast with Bread and Water onely. Although I saw I was not questioned for the case, yet I feared where there were so many Souldiers and forain people, that by some or other I might be mischieved out of their blinde zeal, wherefore I thought it not amisse for a day or two to keep within my lodging. *Don Carlos de Ybarra*, who was the Admirall of that Fleet made great haste to be gone; which made the Merchants buy and sell apace, and laid the ships with silver wedges; whereof I was glad, for the more they laded, the lesse I unladed my purse with buying dear provision, and sooner I hoped to be out of that unhealthy place, which of it self is very hot, and subject to breed Feavers, nay death, if the feet be not preserved from wetting when it raineth; but especially when the Fleet is there, it is an open grave, ready to swallow in part of that numerous people, which at that time resorted unto it, as was seen the year that I was there, when about five hundred of the Souldiers, Merchants, and Mariners, what with Feavers, what with the Flux caused by too much eating of fruit, and drinking of water, what with other disorders, lost their lives, finding it to be to them not *Porto bello*, but *Porto malo*. And this is usuall every year; and therefore for the relief and comfort of those that come sick from Sea, or sicken there, a great and rich Hospitall is in the Town, with many Fryers, called *De la Capacha*, or by others, *De Juan de Dios*, whose calling and profession is onely to cure and attend upon the sick, and to bear the dead unto their graves. The Admirall fearing the great sicknesse that year, made haste to be gone, not fearing the report that was of some three or foure *Holland* or *English* ships abroad at Sea, waiting (as it was supposed) for some good prize out of that great and rich Fleet. This news made me begin to fear, and to think of securing my self in one of the best and strongest Galeons; but when I came to treat of my passage in one of them, I found that I could not be carried in any under three hundred Crowns, which was more then my purse was able to afford. With this I thought to addressse my self to some Master of a Merchants ship, though I knew I could not be so safe and secure in any of them, as in a Galeon well manned and fortified with Souldiers, and Guns of Brasse; yet I hoped in God, who is a strong refuge to them that fear him, and in this occasion provided for me a cheap and sure passage. For meeting one day with my friend the Treasurer, he again pitying me as a stranger, and lately robbed, commended me to the Master of a Merchant ship, called *St. Sebastian*, whom he knew was desirous to carry a Chaplain with him at his owne Table. I no sooner addressed my self unto him, using the name and favour of his and my friend the Treasurer, but presently I found him willing to accept of my company, promising to carry me for nothing, and to board me at his owne Table, onely for my prayers to God for him and his, offering further to give me some satisfaction for whatsoever Sermons I should preach in his ship. I blessed

blesſed God, acknowledging in this alſo his providence, who in all occaſions furthered my return to *England*. The ſhips being laden we ſet forth towards *Carthagena*, and the ſecond day of our ſailing we diſcovered foure ſhips, which made the Merchant ſhips afraid, and to keep cloſe to the Galeons, truſting to their ſtrength more then their owne. The ſhip I was in, was ſwift and nimble under ſail, and kept ſtill under the wings either of the Admirall or of ſome other of the beſt Galeons; but all the other Merchant ſhips were not ſo, but ſome ſlowly came on behinde, whereof two were carried away by the *Hollanders* in the night, before ever we could get to *Carthagena*.

The greateſt fear that I perceived poſſeſſed the *Spaniards* in this Voyage, was about the Iſland of *Providence*, called by them *Sra Catalina*, or *St. Katharine*, from whence they feared leſt ſome *Engliſh* ſhips ſhould come out againſt them with great ſtrength. They curſed the *Engliſh* in it, and called the Iſland the den of Theeves and Pirates, wiſhing that their King of *Spain* would take ſome courſe with it, or elſe that it would prove very prejudiciall to the *Spaniards*, lying neer the mouth of the *Deſaguadero*, and ſo endangering the Frigats of *Granada*, and ſtanding between *Portobel* and *Carthagena*, and ſo threatning the Galeons, and their Kings yeerly and mighty treaſure.

Thus with bitter invectives againſt the *Engliſh* and the Iſland of *Providence*, we ſailed on to *Carthagena*, where again we met with the foure ſhips which before had followed us, and had taken away two of our ſhips, and now at our entring into that Port, threatned to have carried away more of our company; which they might have done, if they would have ventured to have come upon the ſhip wherein I went, which at the turning about the land point to get into the Haven, ran upon the ſhore, which if it had been rocky, as it was ſandy and gravelly, had certainly there been caſt away, by keeping too neer unto the land; from which danger by the care of the Mariners, and their active pains, we were ſafely delivered, as alſo from the ſhips which followed us as far as they durſt for fear of the Canon ſhot of the Caſtle; and thus we entred into the Haven of *Carthagena*, and ſtayed there for the ſpace of eight or ten dayes, where I met with ſome of my Countrey-men their Priſoners, who had been taken at Sea by the *Spaniards*, and belonged unto the Iſland of *Providence*, among whom was the renowned Captain *Rouſe*, and about a dozen more, with whom I was glad to meet, but durſt not ſhew them too much countenance, for fear of being ſuſpected; yet I ſoon got the good will of ſome of them, who being deſtined to *Spain*, were very deſirous to go in the ſhip wherein I went, which deſire of theirs I furthered, and was ſuiter unto my Captain to carry foure of them in his ſhip, which for my ſake he willingly yeelded unto; amongſt theſe was one *Edward Layfield* (who afterwards ſetting out of *St. Lucar* for *England*, was taken captive by the *Turks*, and ſince from *Turkey* writ into *England* unto me to help to releaſe him) with whom both at *Carthagena*, and in the way in the ſhip I had great diſcourſe concerning points of Religion, and by him came to know ſome things profeſſed in *England*, which my conſcience (whileſt I lived in *America*) much inclined unto. I was much taken with his company, and found him very officious unto me, whoſe kindneſſe I requited by ſpeaking for him in the ſhip to the Maſter and Mariners, who otherwiſe were ready and forward to abuſe him and the reſt of the *Engliſh* company, as priſoners and ſlaves.

At *Carthagena* we heard a report of threeſcore ſail of ſhips of *Hollanders* waiting for the Galeons, which ſtruck no little fear into the *Spaniards*; who called a council whether our Fleet ſhould winter there, or go on to *Spain*. It proved to be but a falſe report of the Inhabitants of *Carthagena*, who for their owne ends and lucre would willingly have had the Ships and Galeons to have ſtayed there; but *Don Carlos de Tbarra* replied, that he feared not a hundred ſail of *Hollanders*, and therefore would go on to *Spain*, hoping to carry thither ſafely the Kings treaſure. Which he performed, and in eight dayes arrived at *Havana*; where we ſtayed eight dayes longer, expecting the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*. In which time I viewed well that ſtrong Caſtle manned with the twelve guns, called the twelve Apoſtles, which would do little hurt to an Army by land, or marching from the River of *Matanfos*. I viſited here the Mother of that Mulatto, who had taken away all my means at Sea, and ſpent much time in comforting my poor Countrey-men the priſoners, but eſpecially that gallant Captain *Rouſe*, who came unto me to complain of ſome affronts which had been offered unto him by the *Spaniards* in the ſhip wherein he came; which he not being able to put up,

thought

though a Prisoner unto them, desired to question in the field, challenging his proud contempters to meet him if they durst in any place of the *Havana*, (a brave courage in a dejected and imprisoned *English* man to challenge a *Spaniard* in his Country, a Cock upon his owne dunghill,) which as soon as I understood by *Edward Layfield*, I desired to take up, fearing that many would fall upon him cowardly and mince him small in pieces. I sent for him to the Cloister where I lay, and there had conference with him, prevailing so far as that I made him desist from his thoughts of going into the field, and shewing his manhood in such a time and place, where his low condition of a Prisoner might well excuse him. The rest of my poor Country men were here much discouraged, and in some want, whom I relieved (especially *Layfield*) and encouraged as much as I was able. I chanced here to have occasion to take a little physick before I went again to Sea, and thereby I learned what before I never knew, to wit, the dyet which on such a day the best Physicians of *Havana* prescribe unto their patients. Whereas after the working of my physick, I expected some piece of Mutton, or a Fowl, or some other nourishing meat, my Physician left order that I should have a piece of roasted Pork, which seeming unto me a dyet contrary to that dayes extremity, I began to refuse it, alledging to my Doctor the contrary course of all Nations, the naturall quality of that meat to open the body. To which he replied, that what Porke might work upon mans body in other Nations, it worked not there, but the contrary; and so he wished me to feed upon what he had prescribed, assuring me that it would do me no hurt. Now as Hogs flesh there is held to be so nourishing, so likewise no other meat is more then it and Tortoises, wherewith all the ships make their provision for *Spain*. The Tortoises they cut out in long thin slices, as I have noted before of the *Tassajos*, and dry it in the wind after they have well salted it, and so it serveth the Mariners, in all their Voyage to *Spain*, which they eat boyled with a little garlick, and I have heard them say, that to them it tasted as well as any Veal. They also take into their Ships some Fowles for the Masters and Captains tables, and live Hogs, which would seem to be enough to breed some infection in the Ship, had they not care to wash often the place where such unclean beasts lie. In the ship where I was passenger, was killed every week one for the Masters, Pilots, and Passengers table. Thus all things being made ready for the ships provision to *Spain*, and the Merchants goods, and the Kings Revenue being shipped in nine dayes that we abode there; we now wanted nothing, but onely the company of the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*, which should have met us there upon the eight day of *September*. But *Don Carlos de Tharra*, seeing it stayed longer then the time appointed, and fearing the weather, and the New Moon of that moneth which commonly proveth dangerous in the Gulf of *Bahama*, resolved to stay no longer, but to set out to *Spain*. On a Sabbath day therefore in the morning, we hoised sails (being in all seven and twenty ships with those which had met with us there from *Honduras* and the Islands) and one by one we sailed out of *Havana* to the main Sea, where we that day waited about for a good wind, and also waiting for our guide, which was not yet come out of the *Havana*, to guide us through the Gulf of *Bahama*. But that night we wished our selves again in the *Havana*, thinking that we were compassed about with a strong Fleet of *Hollanders*, many ships came amongst us, which made us provide for a fight in the morning, A Council of War was called, and all that night watch was kept, the Guns prepared, red Cloths hung round the ships, Orders sent about both to the Galeons and to the Merchant ships what posture and place to be in. That which I was in, was to attend the Admirall, which I hoped would be a strong defence unto us: Our men were couragious and ready to fight, though I liked not such Martiall businesse and discourse; but for me a place was prepared where I might lie hid, and be safe among some barrels of bisket, I had all the night enough to doe, to hear the Confessions of those in the ship, who thought they could not die happily with the shot of a *Holland* Bullet, untill they had confessed all their sins unto me, who towards morning had more need of rest, then of fighting, after the wearying of my ears with hearing so many wicked, grievous, and abominable sins. But the dawning of the day discovered our causelesse fear, which was from friends, and not from any enemies or *Hollanders*; for the ships which were joyned unto us in the night, were as fearfull of us, as we of them, and prepared themselves likewise to fight in the morning, which shewed unto us their Colours, whereby we knew that they were the Fleet which we expected from *Vera Cruz*, to goe along

with

with us to *Spain*. They were two and twenty Sail, which little thought to finde us out of the *Havana*, but within the Haven lying at Anchor, waiting for their coming; and therefore in the night feared us much more then we them. But when the day cleared our doubts, fears and jealousies, then began the Martiall colours to be taken down, the joyfull sound of Trumpets, with the help of *Neptunes* Kingdome echoed from ship to ship, the boats carryed welcoming messages from one to another, the *Spanish* Brindis with *buen Viaje*, *buen Passaje*, was generally cryed out, the whole morning was spent with friendly acclamations and salutations from ship to ship. But in the midt of this our joy and Sea-greetings, we being now in all two and fifty Sail, (yet we not knowing well how many they were from *Vera Cruz*, nor they how many we were from the *Havana*) two ships were found amongst us, (whether *English* or *Hollanders*, we could not well discover, but the *English* prisoners with me told me they thought one was a ship of *England* called the *Neprune*) which having got the wind of us, singled out a ship of ours (which belonged to *Dunkerke*, and from *St. Lucar* or *Cales* had been forced to the Kings service in that voyage to the *India's*, laden with Sugars and other rich commodities, to the worth of at least fourscore thousand Crowns; and suddenly giving her a whole broad side (receiving a reply onely of two Guns) made her yeeld, without any hope of help from so proud and mighty a Fleet, for that she was somewhat far stragled from the rest of the ships. The whole businesse lasted not above half an hour, but presently she was carryed away from under our noses; the *Spaniards* changed their merry tunes into *voto a dios*, and *voto a Christo*, in raging, cursing and swearing, some reviling at the Captain of the ship which was taken, and saying that he was false, and yeelded on purpose without fighting, because he was forced to come that Voyage; others cursing those that took her, and calling them *bijos de puta*, *Borrachos*, *infames Ladrones*, *Bastards*, *Drunkards*, *infamous Theeves*, and *Pirates*; some taking their swords in their hands, as if they would there cut them in pieces, some laying hold of their Muskets, as if they would there shoot at them, others stamping like mad men, and running about the ship, as if they would leap over bord, and make haste after them; others grinning their teeth at the poor *English* prisoners that were in the ship, as if they would stab them for what (they said) their Countrey-men had done. I must needs say, I had enough to do to hold some of those furious and raging brains from doing *Layfield* some mischief, who more then the rest would be smiling, arguing, and answering their outrageous nonsense. Order was presently given to the Vice-Admiral and two more Galeons to follow and pursue them; but all in vain, for the wind was against them, and so the two ships laughing and rejoycing as much as the *Spaniards* cursed and ragged, sailed away *con Viento en Popa*, with full Sail, gallantly boasting with so rich a prize taken away from two and fifty ships, or (as I may say) from the chiefest and greatest strength of *Spain*.

That afternoon the Fleet of *Vera Cruz*, took their leave of us, (not being furnished with Provision to go on to *Spain* with us) and went into the *Havana*; and we set forwards toward *Europe*, fearing nothing for the present but the Gulf of *Bahama*, through which we got safely with the help and guidance of such Pilots, which our Admirall *Don Carlos* had chosen, and hired for that purpose.

I shall not need to tell thee my Reader of the sight which we had of *St. Augustine*, *Florida*, nor of many stormes which we suffered in this Voyage, nor of the many degrees we came under, which made us shake with cold more then the Frost of *England* do in the worst of Winter; onely I say, that the best of our Pilots not knowing where they were, had like to have betrayed us all to the Rocks of *Bermuda*, one night, had not the breaking of the day given us a fair warning that we were running upon them. For which the *Spaniards* in stead of giving God thanks for their delivery out of that danger, began again to curse and rage against the *English*, which inhabited that Island, saying, that they had enchanted that and the rest of those Islands about, and did still with the devill raise stormes in those Seas when the *Spanish* Fleet passed that way. From thence when we had safely escaped, we sailed well to the Islands called *Terceras*, where fain we would have taken in fresh water, (for that which we had taken in at *Havana*, now began to stink, and look yellow, making us stop our noses, whilest we opened our mouths,) but rigid *Don Carlos* would not pity the rest of his Company, who led us by the Islands; and that night following we all wished our selves in some harbour of them; for (though in their conceit

cept those Islands were not enchanted by *English* men, but inhabited by holy and Idolatrous Papists) we were no sooner got from them, when there arose the greatest storme that we had in all our voyage from *Havana* to *Spain*, which lasted full eight dayes, where we lost one ship & indangered two Galeons, which shot off their warning peeces for help, and made us al stay and wait on them, til they had repaired their Tacklings and main Malt. We went on sometimes one way, sometimes another, not well knowing were we were, drinking our stinking water by allowance of pints, till three or foure dayes after the storme was ceased, we discovered land, which made all cry out, *Hispania, Hispania, Spain, Spain*; whilst a Counsell was summoned by the Admirall to know what land that was, some sold away barrels of bisket, others of water, to those that wanted (every one thinking that it was some part of *Spain*) but the result of the wise Counsell was, after they had sailed neerer to the land, and had layed and lost many wagers about it, that it was the Island of *Madera*, which made some curse the ignorance of the Pilots, and made us all prepare our selves with patience for a longer voyage. It pleased God from the discovery of this Island, to grant us a favorable wind to *Spain*, where within twelve dayes we discovered *Cales*; and some of the ships there left us, but most of them went forward to *San Lucar*, as did the ship wherein I went; when we came neer to the dangerous place, which the *Spaniards* call *La Barra*, we durst not venture our ships upon our Pilots own knowledge; but called for Pilots to guide us in, who greedy of their lucre came out in boats almost for every ship one. Upon the eight and twentieth of *November*, 1637. we cast anchor within *St. Lucar de Barameda* about one of the clock in the afternoon, and before evening other passengers and my self went a shoar (having first been searched) and although I might presently have gone to the Cloister of *St. Dominick*, where my old Fryer *Pablo de Londres* was yet living, whom I knew would be glad of my coming from the *India's*, yet I thought fit the first night to enjoy my friends company both *Spaniards* and *English*, (who had come so long a voyage with me) in some Ordinary, and to take my rest better abroad then I should do in a Cloister, where I expected but a poor Fryers supper, a hard and mean lodging, many foolish questions from old Fryer *Pablo de Londres* concerning the *India's*, and my abode there so many years, and finally the noise of Bels and ratlers to rouse up the drowsie Fryers from their sleep to Matines at midnight. That night therefore I betook my self to an *English* Ordinary, where I refreshed my self and my poor prisoners, (who by the Master of the ship were committed to my charge that night and forwards upon my word, so as to be forth coming when they should be called) and the next morning I sent my honest friend *Layfield* with a letter to the Cloister to old *Pablo de Londres*, who upon my summons came joyfully to welcome me from the *India's*, and after very little discourse told me of ships in the Haven ready to set out for *England*. The old Fryer being of a decrepit and dotting age, thought every day a year that I stayed there, and suspended my Voyage for *England*, and (not knowing the secrets of my heart) judged already that the Conversion or turning of many Protestant souls to Popery waited for my coming, which made him hasten me, who was more desirous then he to be gone the next day, if I might have found wind, weather and shipping ready. But God, who had been with me in almost ninety dayes sailing from *Havana* to *San Lucar*, and had delivered me from many a storme, prepared and furthered all things in a very short time for the last accomplishment of my hope and desire, to return to *England* my native soil, from whence I had been absent almost for the space of four and twenty years.

My first thought here in *St. Lucar*, was to cast off now my Fryers weed, that outward sheepskin, which covers many a wolvishe, greedy and covetous heart under it; which doubtlesse is the ground, why in *Germany*, in the Protestant and *Lutheran* Towns, when the boyes and yong men see a Fryer go along their streets, they cry out to the neighbours, saying, a Wolfe, a Wolfe, shut your doors; meaning, that though what they wear seem to be *pellis ovina*, or *Agnina*, a sheep or Lambskin and their condition of mortified, humble and meek men, yet under it lyeth *cor Lupinum*, a Wolves heart, greedy of some prey, either worldly, of wealth and riches, or spirituall, of seducing, deceiving and misleading poor soules. Such was the habit, which now I desired to shake off, which was a white Coat or gown hanging to the ground girded about with a leathern belt, and over it from the shoulders downward a white Scapulary (so called there) hanging shorter then the gown both before and behind, and over that a white hood to cover the head, and lastly, over that a black cloak with another black hood; both which together,

the black and white make the Fryers of that profession look just like Mag-pies, and is acknowledged by the Church of *Rome* it self in a verse which they sain of Mr. *Martin Luther*, (with what just ground I know not) saying of his former life and profession before his Conversion, *Bis Corvus, bis Pica fui, ver sune ligatus*. I was twice a Crow, twice a Magpie, and thrice was bound or tyed with a Cord; by a Crow meaning an Augustine Fryer, who is all in black; by a Magpie, meaning a Dominican; and by bound with a rope or cord, meaning a Franciscan, who indeed is girded about with a cord made of hemp. Though the Dominican Magpie by this his habit make such a glosse and understanding, which is contrary to his life and conversation; for by his outward black habit, he saith, is signified an outward shew of deadnesse and mortification to the world, and by his inward white habit, an inward purity and chastity of heart, thoughts and life; both which truly are little seen in those Fryers especially, who outwardly are worldly, and living to the world, covetous and ambitious of honours, preferments, Bishopricks, and places of publick reading and preaching; and therefore have by favour obtained many places of authority, as by the laws of *Aragon* to be the King of *Spain* his Ghostly father; to be Masters of the Popes Palace, and there to read a lesson of Divinity, to be chief heads of the Inquisition, and from these places to be promoted to sit in the Councell of the State in *Spain*, or to be Cardinals in *Rome*, and so Popes, or to enjoy the richest and fattest Bishopricks and Arch-bishopricks in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *India's*, which sheweth how little they are dead to the world, nay how they are living to the world and its preferments; contrary to the black and dead colour of their habits. So likewise do they not live according to the whitenesse of their inward habits, whose lives are found impure and unchast; as I could exemplifie at large, shewing what base and unclean acts have been committed by some of that profession in the Low Countries, in *Spain*, in the *India's*, in *Italy*, nay here in *England* by one *Dade* the Superior of them, by one *Popham* well known to be a good fellow, and still at this day abiding in the *Spanish* house; by one *Crafts* and others, which would be too too long a digression from the whitenesse of their habit. But I applying the Allegory of this black and white habit otherwise unto my self, and in the outward black part of it seeing the foulnesse and filthinesse of my life and Idolatrous Priesthood in the exercise of that profession, and Orders which from *Rome* I had received; and in the white inward habit considering yet the purity, and integrity of those intentions and thoughts of my inward heart, in pursuance whereof I had left what formerly I have noted, yea all *America*, which, had I continued in it, might have been to me a Mine of wealth, riches and treasure; I resolved here therefore to cast off that hypocriticall cloak and habit, and to put on such Apparell whereby I might no more appear a Wolfe in sheeps skin; but might go boldly to my Countrey of *England*, there to shew and make known the Candor of my heart, the purity and sincerity of my thoughts, which had brought me so far, by a publick profession of the pure truths of the Gospell, without any invention or addition of man unto it. With the smal means therefore which was left me after so long and almost a whole years journey from *Petapa* to *St. Lucar* (having yet about a hundred Crows) I gave order for a sute of Cloathes to be made by an *English* Taylor, which I willingly put on, and so prepared my self for *England*. Three or four ships were in readinesse, who had only waited for the Fleet, to take in some Commodities, especially some wedges of silver, of which I was with old *Pablo de Londres*, in doubt which to choose. The first that went out was thought should have been my lot; in the which my friend *Layfield* embarked himself (for all the *English* prisoners were there freed to go home to their Countrey) and from which the great providence of God diverted me, or else I had been this day with *Layfield* a slave in *Turkey*; for the next day after this ship set out, it was taken by the *Turkes*, and carried away for a rich prize, and all the *English* in it for prisoners to *Argell*. But God (who I hope had reserved me for better things,) appointed for me a safer convoy home in a ship (as I was informed) belonging to Sir *William Curtin*, under the command of an honest *Flemming*, named *Adrian Adrianzen* living at *Dover*, then, with whom I agreed for my passage and dyet at his Table. This ship set out of the Bar of *St. Lucar* the ninth day after my arrivall thither, where it waited for the company of four ships more, but especially for some *Indian* wedges of silver, which upon forfeiture of them it durst not take in within the Bar and Haven.

And thus being now cloathed after a new fashion and ready to lead a new life; being now changed from an *American* into the fashion of an *English* man, the tenth day after my abode in *San Lucar*, I bad adieu to *Spain* and all *Spanish* fashions, factions, and carri-

I bad farewell my old Fryer *Pablo de Londres*, with the rest of my acquaintance, and so in a boat went over the Bar to the ship, which that night in company of four more set forward for *England*. I might observe here many things of the goodnesse of *Adrian Adriaenzen*, and his good carriage towards me in his ship, which I will omit, having much more to observe of the goodnesse of *God*, who favoured this our voyage with such a prosperous wind, and without any storm at all, that in thirteen dayes we came to *Dover*, where I landed, the ship going on to the *Downes*. Others that landed at *Margaret* were brought to *Dover*, and there questioned and searched; but I, not speaking *English*, but *Spanish*, was not at all suspected, neither judged to be an *English* man; and so after two dayes I took post in company of some *Spaniards* and an *Irish* Colonel, for *Canterbury* and so forward to *Gravesend*. When I came to *London*, I was much troubled within my self for want of my Mother tongue, (for I could only speak some broken words) which made me fearfull I should not be acknowledged to be an *English* man born. Yet I thought my kindred (who knew I had been many years lost) would some way or other acknowledge me, and take notice of me, if at the first I addressed my self unto some of them, untill I could better expresse my self in *English*. The first therefore of my name, whom I had notice of, was my Lady *Penelope Gage*, widow of Sir *John Gage*, then living in *St. Jones*; to whom the next morning after my arrivall to *London*, I addressed my self for the better discovery of some of my Kindred; whom though I knew to be *Papists*, and therefore ought not to be acquainted with my inward purpose and resolution; yet for fear of some want in the mean time, and that I might by their means practice my self in the use of my forgotten native tongue, and that I might enquire what childs part had been left me by my father, that I might learne some fashions, and lastly, that in the mean time, I might search into the Religion of *England*, and find how far my conscience could agree with it, and be satisfied in those scruples which had troubled me in *America*, for all these reasons I thought it not amisse to look and enquire after them. When therefore I came unto my Lady *Gage*, she believed me to be her kinsman; but laughed at me, telling me, that I spake like an *Indian* or *Welch* man, and not like an *English* man; yet she welcomed me home, and sent me with a servant to a Brothers lodging in *Long Aker*, who being in the Countrey of *Surry*, and hearing of me sent horse and man for me to come to keep Christmas with an Uncle of mine living at *Gatton*; by whom as a lost and forgotten Nephew, and now after four and twenty years returned home again, I was very kindly entertained, and from thence sent for to *Cheam*, to one Mr. *Fromand* another kinsman, with whom I continued till after twelfth day, and so returned again to *London* to my Brother.

Thus my good Reader, thou seest an *American*, through many dangers by Sea and Land, now safely arrived in *England*; and thou mayest well with me observe the great and infinite goodnesse and mercy of *God* towards me a wicked and wretched sinner. How I have answered to this *Gods* gracious calling me from so far and remote a Countrey, to do him service here, I will shew thee in the Chapter following, and so conclude this my long and tedious History.

CHAP. XXII.

Shewing how, and for what causes, after I had arrived in England, I took yet another journey to Rome, and other parts of Italy, and returned again to settle my self in this my Country.

NOW Reader, as the stone that is falling, the neerer it cometh to its Center, the more haste it maketh: so I, the neerer I am coming to the conclusion of this my History, more haste I desire to make in this last Chapter, for the completing and finishing of it. With brevity therefore I will relate some of my travels in *Europe*, in which I will yeeld to many of my Nation; but for *America*, and my travels and experience there, I dare boldly challenge all travellers of my Country. After my return to *London* from *Surrey*, I began to expostulate with my younger Brother (knowing he had been present at my Fathers death, and had a chief hand in the ordering and executing his last Will and Testament) concerning what childes part was left unto me. To which he made me answer, that my Father had indeed left him, and my Brother the Colonel, and two other Sons by a second Wife, and my own Sister, every one somewhat, but to me nothing, nay that at his death he did not so much as remember me; which I could not but take to heart, and called to minde the angry and threatning Letter which I had received from him in *Spain*, because I would not be a Jesuite. Though for the present I said nothing, yet afterwards in many occasions I told my Brother I would have the Will produced, and would by course of Law demand a childes part; but he put me off, assuring me I should never want amongst other my friends & kindred, with whom he knew I should be wel accommodated as long as I continued in *England*. After few dayes that I had been in *London*, my kinsman at *Cheam* desired me to come to live with him, where I continued not long; formy Uncle at *Gatton* invited me to his house, offering me there meat, drink, lodging, horse and man, with twenty pound a year, which he promised in other wayes to make as good as thirty. Here I continued a twelve moneth, refining my self in my native tongue, and (though altogether unknown to my Uncle and kindred) searching into the Doctrine and truth of the Gospel professed in *England*; for which cause I made many journeys to *London*, and then privately I resorted to some Churches, and especially to *Paul's Church* to see the Service performee, and to hear the Word of God preached; but so, that I might not be seen, known, or discovered by any Papist. When in *Paul's Church* I heard the Organs and the Musick, and the Prayers and Collects; and saw the Ceremonies at the Altar, I remembred *Rome* again, and perceived little difference between the two Churches. I searched farther into the Common-prayer, and carried with me a Bible into the Country on purpose to compare the Prayers, Epistles and Gospels with a Masse Book; which there I had at command, and I found no difference but onely *English* and *Latine*; which made me wonder, and to acknowledge that much remained still of *Rome* in the Church of *England*; and that I feared my calling was not right. In these my scruples coming often to *London*, and conversing with one *Dade*, *Popham*, and *Crafts*, *Connel* and *Brown*; *English* and *Irish* Dominican Fryers, I found their wayes and conversations base, lewd, light and wanton, like the *Spanisb* and *Indian* Fryers, which made me again reflect upon the Popish Church, upheld by such pillars. I came yet to the acquaintance of one *Price*, Superiour to the Benedictine Monks, whom I found to be a meer States-man, and a great Politician, and very familiar, private, and secret with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Laud*; in conversation with my Brother, who belonged then unto one Signior *Con*, the Popes Agent, and was in such favour at the Court, that he was sent over the Queen with a rich present to a Popish Idol, named our Lady of *Sichem*, in the *Low Countreys*. I heard him sometimes say, that he doubted not but to be shortly Curate and Parish Priest of *Coven Garden*, sometimes that he hoped to be made Bishop in *England*, and that that then I should want for nothing, and should live with him till he got me another Bishoprick; by which discourse of his, and by his and other Priests favour at Court and with the Archbishop I perceived things went not well, *Spanisb* Popery was much rooted, Protestant Religion much corrupted, and the time not seasonable for me to dis-

cover my secret intents and purpose of heart. At this time coming once from *Surrey* to *London*, I chanced to be discovered and known to one of the State-Officers, a Pursevant, who had a large Commission for the apprehending of Seminary Priests and Jesuites, named *John Gray*, who meeting me one day in *Long Aker*, followed and dogged me as far as *Lincolns-Inne* wall, where he clapped me on the shoulders, and told me, that he had a Commission against me, to apprehend me, and carry me to the Councel Table, or to one of his Majesties Secretaries. To whom I spoke in *Spanish* (thinking thereby to free my self out of his hands for a *Spaniard*;) but this would not do, for he replied he knew me to be an *English* man born, and by the name of *Gage*, and Brother to Colonel *Gage*, and *Mr. George Gage*, and that before he left me, I must speak in *English* to him; he carried me to a Tavern, and there searched my pockets for Letters and money, which in discourse he told me, was too little for him (not being above twelve shilling) and that I must goe with him to answer before one of his Majesties Secretaries. I told him, I would willingly go before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or before *Sir Francis Windebank*; at which he smiled, saying, I knew well whom to make choyce of to favour and protect me, but he would carry me to none of them, but to Secretary *Cooke*. I fearing the businesse might go hard with me, and knowing him to be greedy of money, told him that I would give him any thing that might content him, and so offered him twelve shillings then about me, and my word to meet him in any place the next day, with a better and fuller purse. He accepted of my money for the present, and further offer for the day following, and appointed the *Angel* Tavern in *Long Aker*, (knowing that I lodged thereabout) to be the place of our meeting, and so dismissed me. I being free from him, went immediately to my Brother, and told him what had happened unto me, what money I had already given to him, and what I had promised the next day following. My Brother hearing me, began to chafe and vex, and to fall into furious words against *John Gray*, calling him Knave and Rogue, and that he could not answer what he had done, and that he would have his Commission taken from him, chiding me for that I had given him any money, and calling me young novice, and unexperienced in the affairs of *England*. This seemed strange to me, that my Brother should not onely not fear a Pursevant, but should threaten to take away the Commission from him, who was appointed to search for and finde out Priests and Jesuites. Yet I told him I would according to my word and promise meet him the next day, and satisfie him for his fair carriage towards me; to which my Brother would by no means yeeld, but said he would meet him; which he accordingly performed, and although for my sake and promise he gave him some money, yet he brought him before Signor *Con*, and there himselfe and the Popes Agent with him, spake most bitter words unto him, and threatned him very much if ever again he durst meddle with me.

After this my Brother carryed me to one *Sir William Howard* a Papist Knight, living at *Arundel* gate over *Clements* Church, who was very familiar with *Sir Francis Windebanke*, telling him what had hapned unto me, and desiring him to carry me with him in his Coach to *Sir Francis*, and to get his protection for me. Secretary *Windebanke* understanding who I was, told me, I should fear no Pursevant of them all, and that if I lived quietly in *England*, no body should trouble me, and that *John Gray* was a Knave, and wished me if ever he medled with me again, to come unto him. Though for the present this was good and commodious for me to have such favour and protection, yet I perceived, this my Brothers power, and this conniving of Priests and Jesuites could not be usefull for me, if I should publish my minde and purpose to alter my Religion. I was therefore much troubled in minde, and conscience, which I found was curbed with the great power of the Papists. I resolved therefore to go again out of *England*, and to travell in some other Countreys, amongst both Papists and Protestants, and to try what better satisfaction I could finde for my conscience at *Rome* in that Religion, or in *France* and *Germany* amongst the Protestants. I writ therefore to the Generall of the Dominicans at *Rome*, (without whose License I could not goe thither) that he would be pleased to send me his Letters Patents, to go to conferre some points with him, which he willingly granted unto me. I wanted not money from my Uncle (who commended unto me some businesse to be dispatched for him at *Rome*) for so long a Journey, other friends also helped me; but my chief trust was upon my Brother Colonel *Gage*, then in the *Low* Countreys, whom I knew

no, nor had seen him from a childe. I had no other Passe to take shipping at *Dover*, but onely the Letter of a Papiſt in *London* (by means of one *Popham* a Dominican Fryer) to Sir *John Manwood* his Lady, who was then Governour of *Dover* Castle, and with the aforeſaid Letter ſuffered me not to be troubled, examined or ſearched, but gave order that I ſhould freely and quietly paſſe over in the Packet-boat to *Dunkerke*, wherewith in four hours with a good wind I arrived, and from thence by *Newport* and *Bridges* went to *Gant*; not far from whence my Brother with his Regiment lay in field againſt the *Hollander*. He was glad to ſee me, and knowing what Journey I was minded to take, furniſhed me with more money, and for my Uncles buſineſſe, recommended me to the *Marques de Seralvo* (then at *Brussels*) and to other great men, deſiring them to give me their Letters to their friends at *Rome*; from them I got a Letter to *Don Francisco Barbarini*, the Popes Nephew, and one of the chief Cardinals then in *Rome*; likewiſe to Cardinal *Cyca*, and Cardinal *Albornos*, both *Spaniards*. With theſe Letters I thought I ſhould have occaſion of ſome converſation with theſe pillars of the Church of *Rome*, and in diſcourſe might pry into the hearts and wayes of them, and ſee whether in them were more policy then Religion. By reaſon of the Wars between *France* and the *Low Countries*, I durſt not make my Journey the neereſt and ſhorteſt way through *France*; but though there were Wars alſo in *Germany*, I thought that would be my ſafeſt way, and I deſired much to look into the Proteſtant and *Lutheran* Church in that Countrey. Whereupon I reſolved from *Brussels* to go to *Namurs*, and from thence by water to *Leidge*, and from thence to *Collen* in *Germany*. From *Leidge* to *Collen*, though we were twelve in Company, we were much troubled with Souldiers, yet God ſtill delivered me, and brought me ſafe to *Collen*; from whence by the River *Rhine* I went in boat to *Frankefort* in *September*, at the time of that great Fair, where I knew I ſhould meet company of Merchants any part of *Italy*. In all my Travels I never made a more pleaſant Journey then that which I made by the River *Rhine*, where I had occaſion to ſee many fair and goodly Cities. In *Frankefort* there I began to take notice of the *Lutheran* Church, and for the ſpace of a fortnight that I ſtayed there; had many thoughts of diſcovering my ſelf there, and diſclaiming Poperie, thinking that there I might be ſure and ſafe, and lie hid and unknown to my Brothers and kindred, who in *England* would not ſuffer me to live a Proteſtant. Yet again I conſidered how hard it would be for me a ſtranger to ſubſiſt there, and to get any livelyhood, for the which I muſt firſt get the Native tongue, and though many points that were oppoſite to the Church of *Rome* pleaſed me, yet in ſome points of that Religion my conſcience was not ſatiſfied. At the end of the Fair I ſought out for company, and found neer a dozen Wagons which were upon ſetting out towards *Auſpurg*, with goods of Merchants, who had alſo hired a Convoy of thirty Souldiers to go along with them; which I thought would be ſafe company for me, with them, and many other paſſengers and travellers that went in the Wagons, and on foot, by them, I went as far as the famous and gallant City of *Auſpurg*; from whence forward there was no great danger, neither in what part belonged to the Duke of *Bavaria*, nor in the County of *Tirol*: from whence we paſſed ſome four together to *Trent*; where I was taken with the firſt Ague that ever in my life I remembered I had, which continued 7 moneths upon me. I thought from thence to have continued my journey by land to *Venice*, but my Ague ſuffered me to go but to *Verona*; from whence I turned to *Millan*, and ſo to *Genova*, leaving my good company; that from *Genova* I might go by Sea to *Ligorne*, and ſo likewiſe to *Rome*. After a fortnights ſtay in *Genova*, I went with the Gallies of the great Duke of *Florence* to *Ligorne*, where I found no Boats ready to *Rome*, and ſo in the mean time, whileſt they were preparing, I went to *Piſa* and *Florence* to ſee thoſe brave Cities, and returned again to *Ligorne*; where I found many boats ready to ſet out to *Rome*.

The firſt night and day we had a fair wind to *Piombino*; but there it turned, and continued contrary for almoſt three weeks. At laſt it pleaſed God to ſend us a fair wind, wherewith we went out many Boats and Falluco's in company together, thinking all had been friends; but when we came neer to the Caſtle of *Montalto*, moſt of the Boats having got before us, two that went in company with the Boat wherein I was, ſuddenly ſet upon us, and ſhewed themſelves to be *French* Pirates, who robbed us all, and took from me all the money I had, which was not then above five pound, leaving me ſome Bills of Exchange which I had to take up money at *Rome*: after we

were robbed we called in at *Civita Veccha*, for relief, where I met with a good *English* Merchant, who freely bestowed upon me provision both of wine and meat, as much as would well suffice me and a friend to *Rome*, whither we got in a day and night. When I came to *Rome*, I delivered my Letters to the Cardinals; of whom the two *Spaniards* I found proud and stately; but *Don Francisco Barbarini*, (who was intituled the Protector of *England*) I found more tractable, kind, and loving. I perceived by his discourse that he knew much of *England*, and desired to know more; and propounded unto me many questions concerning the state of this Kingdome, and especially concerning the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he seemed to affect, and yet sometime again would say, he feared he would cause some great disturbance in our Kingdome, and that certainly for his sake and by his means the King had dissolved lately the Parliament (which was that which before this now sitting was so suddenly dissolved by his Majesty) which he feared *Scotland* and most of the people of *England*, would take very ill. He asked me further what conceit the people had of the said Archbishop, and whether they did not mistrust that he complied with the Court of *Rome*. And lastly, he told me that he thought the creating of an *English* Cardinall at *Rome*, might be of great consequence for the conversion of the whole Kingdome. I laid up in my heart all this discourse, and well perceived some great matters were in agitation at *Rome*, and some secret compliance from *England* with that Court, which I purposed to discover more at large among some friends there.

After this discourse with the Cardinall, I was invited to the *English* Colledge to dinner, by one Father *Fitzherbert*, who was then Rector, a great States-man and Politician, with whom I had also great discourse concerning my Brother Colonel *Gage*, concerning my travels in *America*, and lastly concerning *England*, whereof I perceived little discourse could be had in *Rome*, except the Archbishop *William Laud* had his part and share in it. The Jesuite began highly to praise the Arch-prelate for his moderate carriage towards Papists and Priests, boasting of the free access which one *Simons*, alias *Flood* a Jesuite, had unto him at all hours, and in all occasions; and to extoll him the more, he brought in the Archbishop *Abbot*, whom he cryed down as much for a cruell enemy and persecutor of the Church of *Rome*, and of all Papists and Priests. But the now Archbishop, said he, is not onely favourable unto us there, but here desireth to make daily demonstrations of his great affection to this our Court and Church; which he shewed not long since in sending a Common-prayer Book, (which he had composed for the Church of *Scotland*) to be first viewed and approved of by our Pope and Cardinals. Who perusing it, liked it very well, for Protestants to be trained in a form of Prayer and Service; yet considering the State of *Scotland*, and the temper and tenents of that people, the Cardinals (first giving him thanks for his respect and dutiful compliance with them) sent him word that they thought that form of Prayer was not fitting for *Scotland*, but would breed some stir and inquietnesse there, for that they understood the *Scots* were averse from all forms, and would not be tyed and limited to the invention of mans spirit, having (as they thought) the true and unerring Spirit of God in them, which could better teach and direct them to pray. All this (said Father *Fitzherbert*) I was witness of, who was then sent for by the Cardinals (as in all like occasions and affairs concerning *England*, to give them my opinion concerning the said Common-prayer Book, and the temper of the *Scots*. But the good Archbishop (quoth he) hearing the censure of the Cardinals concerning his intention and Form of Prayer, to ingratiate himself the more into their favour, corrected some things in it, and made it more harsh and unreasonable for that Nation, which we already hear they have stomached at, and will not suffer it in many parts to be read; and we justly fear, that this his Common-prayer Book, and his great compliance with this Court, will at last bring strife and division between the two Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *England*.

And this most true Relation of *William Laud* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (though I have often spoken of it in private discourse, and publickly preached it at the Lecture of *Wingham* in *Kent*) I could not in my conscience omit it here; both to vindicate the just censure of death, which the now sitting Parliament have formerly given against him, for such like practises and compliance with *Rome*; and secondly, to reprove the ungrounded opinion and error of some ignorant and malignant spirits, who to my knowledge have since his death highly exalted him, and cryed him up for a Martyr. At the same

time whilst I was at *Rome*, I understood of another great business concerning *England*, then in agitation amongst the Cardinals, and much prosecuted by this *Fitzherbert*, and one Father *Courtney* a Jesuite, Son to one Sir *Thomas Leeds*, which was, to create one of the *English* Nation Cardinal, that so the conversion of *England*, what by the assistance of *William Laud*, what by the power of a higher person, and what by the authority of the said Cardinal, might be more fully and earnestly plotted and endeavoured. This business was much agitated in *England* by Signior *Con*, at whose house in *Long Aker* were many meetings of the chief Gentry of the Papists. In *Rome* Sir *William Hamilton* then Agent for the Queen, vied much for the said Cardinals Cap, and got a great number of friends to further this his ambitious designe. But he was too young, and some scandal of a Gentlewoman, who stuck too close to him, made the red Cap unfit for his head; and secondly, because a greater then he, to wit, Sir *Kenelham Digby* was appointed by the Qu. to be her Agent there; who sent before him his Chaplain, a great Politician and active Priest, named *Fitton*, to take up his lodging and make way, and friends for his ambitious preferment; who in his daily discourse cryed up his Master *Digby* for Cardinal, and told me absolutely that he doubted not but he would carry it. But though he had great favour from the Queen, and was her Agent, yet he had strong Antagonists in *Fitzherbert*, *Courtney*, and the rest of the crue of the Jesuites, who looked upon that honor and red Cap as better becoming one of their profession, and fitter for a head which had formerly worne a four cornered black Cap, to wit, Sir *Toby Matby*. But in case the said Cap should fall from Sir *Toby* his head, then they would help and further a third, whose birth and Nobility should advance him before Sir *Kenelham Digby*, to wit, *Walter Mountague*, the old Earl of *Manchester* his Son at that time.

And thus it was a general and credible report in *Rome*, that either a *Digby*, a *Matby*, or a *Mountague* should that yeer be made Cardinal. Whereby I perceived that *England* was coming neer to *Rome*, and that my designe of professing and following the truth in *England*, was blasted, and that in vain I had come from *America* for satisfaction of my conscience in *England*. I was more troubled now then ever, and desired to try all wayes, if I could be better satisfied concerning the Popish Religion in *Rome*, *Naples*, or *Venice*, (whither I went) then I had been in *America*, and among the *Spaniards*. But I found such exorbitances and scandals in the lives of some Cardinals of *Rome*, whilst I was there especially in *Don Antonio Barbarini*, and Cardinal *Burgesi*, who at midnight was taken by the *Corchetes* or Officers of Justice in uncivil wayes, and came off from them with money, that I perceived their Religion was but as I had found it in *America*, a wide and open dore to loosenesse and policy, and the like in *Naples* and *Venice*, which made me even hate what before I had professed for Religion, and resolve, if I could not live in *England*, and there enjoy my conscience, that I would live in *France* for a while, until I had well learned that tongue, and then associate my self unto the best reformed Protestant Church: Whereupon I obtained from the Generall of the Dominicans this ensuing Order to live in the Cloyster of *Orleans*, intending from thence at my best opportunity to go to *Paris*, *Lyon*, or some other place, and shake off my Magpie habit, and to live and die in *France* in the true Protestant and reformed Religion as professed there.

In Dei filio sibi Dilecto Reverendo Patri Fratri Thomæ Gageo Provincia Anglicana Ordinis Prædicatorum Frater Nicolaus Rodulphus totius ejusdem Ordinis Magister Generalis ac servus in Domino salutem.

Conventui nostro Aurelianensi Provincia nostra Francia de probo & optimo Patre Sacerdote providere cupientes, Tenore presentium, & nostri auctoritate officii supra nominatum Reverendum Patrem Fratrem Thomam Gageum revocamus te a quovis alio Conventu, & Assignamus in dicto Conventu nostro Aurelianensi Assignatimque declaramus, in Nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Mandantes Rdo. admodum Patri Magistro Priori illius, ut te benigne recipiat, & cum omni charitate tractet. In quorum fidem his officii nostri sigillo munitis propria manu subscripsimus. Datum Suriani die nono Aprilis, 1640.

Frater Nicolaus Magister
Ordinis.

Frater Ignatius Ciantes Magister;
Provincialis Angliæ, & Socius.

The Form whereof (as also the manner of sending Fryers from one Cloister to live in another, commonly called by them an Assignment) is in *English* as followeth.

To our Beloved in the Son of God, the Reverend Father Fryer Thomas Gage, of the English Province, of the Order of Preachers, Fryer Nicholas Rodulfus of the same whole Order Master Generall, and Servant in the Lord, health and greeting.

WE being willing and desirous to provide for our Convent of *Orleans*, of our Province of *France*, of an honest and very good Father and Priest; by Tenour of these present, and by the authority of our Office do recall you the above named Reverend Fryer *Thomas Gage*, from any other Convent, and do Assigne you in our said Convent of *Orleans*, and declare you to be assigned, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, *Amen*. Commanding the very Reverend Father Master Prior thereof, that he receive you courteously, and entertain you with all love and charity. In witnesse whereof with our owne hand we have subscribed these, being sealed with the seal of our Office. Dated at *Soriano* the ninth day of *Aprill*, 1640.

*Fryer Nicholas Master
of the Order.*

*Fryer Ignatius Ciantes Master
Provinciall of England and
Companion.*

Yet after I had got this Order, I bethought my self further that I would try one way, which was to see if I could finde out a Miracle, which might give me better satisfaction of the *Romish* Religion then had the former experience of my life, and the lives of the Priests, Cardinals, and all such with whom I had lived in *Spain* and *America*. I had heard much of a Picture of our Lady of *Loretto*, and read in a Book of Miracles or Lies concerning the same, that whosoever prayed before that picture in the state of mortall sin, the picture would discover the sin in the soul by blushing, and by sweating. Now I framed this Argument to my self, that it was a great sin, the sin of unbelief, or to waver and stagger in points of Faith; but in me (according to the Tenents of *Rome*) was this sin, for I could not believe the point of Transubstantiation, and many other; therefore (if the Miracles which were printed of the foresaid Lady of *Loretto* were true, and not lies, certainly she would blush and sweat, when such an unbeliever as I prayed before her. To make this tryall, I went purposely to *Loretto*, and kneeling down before God, not with any faith I had in the picture; I prayed earnestly to the true Searcher of all hearts, that in his Son Jesus Christ he would mercifully look upon me a wretched sinner, and inspire and enlighten me with his Spirit of truth, for the good and salvation of my soul. In my prayer I had a fixed and setled eye upon the Ladies picture, but could not perceive that she did either sweat or blush, wherewith I arose up from my knees much comforted and encouraged in my resolution to renounce and abandon Popery, and saying within my selfe as I went out of the Church, Surely if my Lady neither sweat nor blush, all is well with me, and I am in a good way for salvation, and the miracles written of her are but lies. With this I resolved to follow the truth in some Protestant Church in *France*, and to reliquish error and superstition. Upon which good purpose of mine, I presently perceived the God of truth did smile, with what I heard he was ordering in *England* by an Army of *Scotland*, raised for Reformation, and by a new Parliament called to *Westminster*, at which I saw the Papists and Jesuites there began to tremble, and to say, that it would blast all their designes, and all their hopes of setting Popery; *William Laud* his policy was now condemned and cursed, *Con* was dead at *Rome*, the Cardinals Cap for one of the three forenamed was no more spoken of, *Fitton* was daunted, *Fitzherbert* and *Courtney* quite disheartened,

heartened, Sir *Kenelham Digby* his Agency and coming to *Rome* put off and suspended, and with all this good news I was much heartned and encouraged to leave off my journey to *France*, and to return into *England*, where I feared not my Brother, nor any kindred, nor the power of the *Papists*, but began to trust in the protection of the Parliament, which I was informed would reform Religion, and make such Laws as should tend to the undermining all the *Jesuites* plots, and to the confusion and subversion of the *Romish* errors and Religion. I was too weak of body to make my journey by Land (by reason of my long *Ague* which had but newly left me) and so resolved to go to *Ligorne* to find out shipping there; where I found four or five ships of *English* and *Hollanders* ready to set out, but were bound to touch at *Lisboe* in their way. I bargained with one Captain *Scot* for my passage, first to *Lisboe*, intending there to make a second bargain. We had no sooner sailed on as far as to the Coast of *France*, joyning to the *Dutchy of Savoy*, but presently from *Canes* came out part of a Fleet lying there, under the command of the Bishop of *Burdeaux* to discover us, and take us for a lawfull prize. might say much here of the valour of the good old Captain *Scot*, who seeing all the other ships had yeilded to the *French* men of War, would upon no tearms yeeld to be their prize, (which they challenged because we were bound for *Lisboe*, then their enemies Countrey) but would fight with them all, & at last rather blow up his ship, then to deliver the goods which had been intrusted to him by the Merchants of *Ligorne*. We were in a posture to fight, our guns ready, and Mariners willing to die that day, which was heavy news to me. After much treaty between the *French* and our valorous Captain, who still held out, and would not yeeld, there came up to us two ships to give us the last warning, that if we yeilded not, they would immediately set our ship on fire. With this all the passengers and many more in the ship desired the Captain to yeeld upon some fair Articles for the securing of what goods he had for *England*, and should appear were not any way for the strengthening of any enemies to the State and Kingdome of *France*. With much adoe our Captain was perswaded, and we were carryed with the rest into *Canes* for a lawfull prize. I seeing that the ships were like to be stayed there long, obtained the Bishop of *Burdeaux* his Passe to go to *Marfills*, and from thence by land through *France*. Which being granted, I went by water to *Tolou*, and from thence to *Marfills*, and so in company of Carriers to *Lions*, and from thence to *Paris*, *Roan*, and *Deep*, where in the first Packet-boat to *Rye* I passed over to *England*, where I landed upon *Michaelmas* day the same yeer that this present Parliament began to sit the *November* following. My Brothers Spirit I found was not much daunted with the new Parliament, nor some of the proudest *Papists* who hoped for a sudden dissolving of it. But when I saw their hopes frustrated by his Majesties consent to the continuing of it, I thought the acceptable time was come for me, wherein I ought not to dissemble any further with God, the world, and my friends, and so resolved to bid adieu to flesh and blood; and to prize Christ above all my kindred, to own and professe him publicly, maugre all opposition of hell and kindred to the contrary. I made my self first known to Dr. *Brunrick*, Bishop of *Exeter*, and to Mr. *Shute* of *Lunbard-street*, from whom I had very comfortable and strong encouragements. The Bishop of *Exeter* carryed me to the Bishop of *London* then at *Fullom*, from whom I received order to preach my Recantation Sermon at *Pauls*: which done, I thought I must yet do more to satisfie the world of my sincerity, knowing that Converts are hardly believed by the common sort of people, unlesse they see in them such actions which may further disclaim *Rome* for ever for the future. Whereupon I resolved to enter into the state of Marriage (to which God hath already given his blessing) which the Church of *Rome* disavows to all her Priests. What I have been able to discover for the good of this State I have done, and not spared (when called upon) to give in true evidence upon my Oath against *Jesuites*, Priests and Fryers; for the which (after a fair invitation from my Brother Colonel *Gage*, to come over again to *Flanders*, offering me a thousand pound ready money) I have been once assaulted in *Aldersgate-street*; and another time like to be killed in *Shooe-lane* by a Captain of my Brothers Regiment, named *Vincent Burton*, who (as I was after informed) came from *Flanders* on purpose to make me away, or convey me over; and with such a malicious designe followed me to my lodging, lifting up the latch and opening the dore, (as he had seen me done) and attempting to go up the stairs to my chamber, without any inquiry for me, or knocking at the dore; from whom God graciously delivered me by the weak means of a woman

woman my Land-lady, who stopped him from going any further; and being demanded his name, and answering by the name of *Steward*, and my Land-lady telling him from me that I knew him not, he went away chafing and saying, that I should know him, before he had doine with me. But he that knoweth God well, shall know no enemy to his hurt; neither have I ever since seen or known this man. I might here also write downe the contents of a threatenng Letter from my own Brother, when he was Colonel for the King of *England*, and Governor of *Oxford*, which I forbear with some tender consideration of flesh and blood. At the beginning of the Wars, I confesse I was at a stand as Neophyte and new plant of the Church of *England*, concerning the lawfulnessse of the War; and so continued above a yeer in *London*, spending my own means, till at last I was fully satisfied, and much troubled to see that the Papists and most of my kindred were entertained at *Oxford*, and in other place, of the Kings Dominions; whereupon I resolved upon a choice for the Parliament cause, which now in their lowest estate & condition, I am not ashamed to acknowledge. From their hands and by their order I received a Benefice, in the which I have continued almost four yeers, preaching constantly for a through and godly Reformation intended by them, which I am ready to witnesse with the best drops of blood in my veins, though true it is, I have been envyed, jealousied, and suspected by many, to whom I desire this my History may be a better witnesse of my sincerity, and that by it I may perform what our Saviour Christ spake to *Peter*, saying, *And thou being converted, strengthen thy Brethren.* I shall thinke my time and pen happily employed, if by what here I have written, I may strengthen the perusers of this small Volume against Popish superstition, whether in *England*, other parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, or *America*, for the which I shall offer up my daily prayers unto him who (as I may wel say) miraculously brought me from *America* to *England*, and hath made use of me as a *Joseph* to discover the treasures of *Egypt*, or as the Spies to search into the Land of *Canaan*, even the God of all Nations, to whom be ascribed by me and all true and faithfull Believers, *Glory, Power, Majesty and Mercy for ever more. Amen.*

THE END.

Some brief and short Rules for the better learning of
the *Indian* tongue, called *Poconchi* or *Pocoman*, commonly
used about *Guatemala*, and some other parts of *Honduras*.

Although it be true that by the daily conversation which in most places the *Indians* have with the *Spaniards*, they for the most part understand the *Spanish* tongue in common and ordinary words, so that a *Spaniard* may travel amongst them, and be understood in what he calleth for by some or other of the Officers, who are appointed to attend upon all such as travel and passe through their Towns: Yet because the perfect knowledge of the *Spanish* tongue is not so common to all *Indians*, both men and women, nor so generally spoken by them as their own, therefore the Priests and Fryers have taken pains to learn the Native tongues of several places and Countreys, and have studied to bring them to a form and method of Rules, that so the use of them may be continued to such as shall succeed after them. Neither is there any one language generall to all places, but so many several and different one from another, that from *Chiapa* and *Zaques*, to *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, and all about *Honduras*, there are at least eighteen several Languages; and in this district some Fryers who have perfectly learned six or seven of them. Neither in any place are the *Indians* taught or preached unto but in their Native and Mother-tongue, which because the Priest onely can speak, therefore are they so much loved and respected by the Natives. And although for the time I lived there, I learned and could speak in two several tongues, the one called *Chacchiuel*, the other *Poconchi* or *Pocoman*, which have some connexion one with another, yet the *Poconchi* being the easiest, and most elegant, and that wherein I did constantly preach and teach, I thought fit to set down some Rules of it, (with the Lords Prayer, and brief declaration of every word in it) to witnesse and testifie to posterity the truth of my being in those parts, and the manner how those barbarous tongues have, are, and may be learned.

There is not in the *Poconchi* tongue, nor in any other the diversity of declensions, which is in the *Latine* tongue; yet there is a double way of declining all Nouns, and conjugating all Verbs, and that is with divers particles, according to the words beginning with a vowel or a consonant; neither is there any difference of cases, but onely such as the said Particles or some Prepositions may distinguish.

The Particles for the words or Nouns beginning with a Consonant, are as followeth:

Sing. *Nu, A, Ru*. Plural. *Ca, Ata, Qui tacque*. As for example, *Pat* signifieth a House, and *Tat* signifieth Father, which are thus declined:

Sing. *Nupat* my house, *Apat* thy house, *Rupat* his house. Plural: *Capat* our house, *Apata* your house, *Quipat tacque* their house.

Sing.

Sing. *Nutat* my Father, *Atat* thy Father, *Rutat* his Father. Plural. *Catat* our Father, *Atatta* your Father, *Quitattacque* their Father. Thus are declined Nownes beginning with a Consonant. As, *Queh*, a horse, *Nuqueh*, *Aqueh*, *Ruqueh*, &c. *Huh*, book or paper, *Nuhuh*, *Ahuh*, *Ruhuh*. *Moloh*, Egge, *Namoloh*, *Amoloh*, *Rumoloh*. *Holom*, Head, *Nuholom*, *Aholom*, *Ruholom*. *Chi*, Mouth, *Nuchi*, *Achi*, *Ruchi*. *Cam*, Hand, *Nucam*, *Acam*, *Rucham*. *Chac*, Flesh, *Nuchac*, *Achac*, *Ruchac*. *Car*, Fish, *Nucar*, *Acar*, *Rucar*. *Cacar*, *Acarta*, *Qui cartacque*. *Chacquil*, body or flesh of man, *Nuchacquil*, *Achacquil*, *Ruchacquil*, *Cachacquil*, *Achacquila*, *Quichacquiltacque*.

Some words there are which are pronounced like *ts*, which are written not with *ts*, but with this letter *tz*, peculiar in that tongue; as *tsi* dog, *tsiquin* bird; *Nutsi* my Dog, *Atsi* thy Dog, *Rutsi* his Dog; *Catsi* our Dog, *Atsita* your Dog, *Quitsi tacque* their Dog. *Nutsiquin*, my Bird, *Atsiquin* thy Bird, *Rutsiquin* his Bird; *Catsiquin* our Bird, *Atsiquinta* your Bird, *Quitsi quintacque* their Bird.

There are no severall terminations for cases, as in Latine; but the cases are distinguished with some particles or prepositions, as for example. The house of *Peter*, *Rupat Pedro*, putting the possessors name, and the particle *Ru*, which is a possessive. So for the dative, and the particle *Re*; as for example, give to *Peter* his Dog, *Chaye re Pedro Rutsi*. For the accusative, when it is motion to a place, or else not, adde *Chi*; as for example, I go to the house of *Peter*, *Quino chi rupat Pedro*. The Vocative admitteth of this particle, *ah*, or *ha*, of wishing, or calling, as, O my Son, or ho my Son, *Ah vacun*, or *ha vacun*. The Ablative keeping still the same termination with the Nominative, is expressed with some preposition or other, as in my mouth, *pan nuchi*; with my hand, *chi nucam*. In signifying I, is undeclinable, as also *At*, signifying you, or thou. The possessive Mine is also undeclinable, as *vichin*, mine, or for me; so thine, or for thee, *ave*. Where note that in this Tongue there is no *w*, but *v*, or *u*, are pronounced as *w*, as though we pronounce *wacun* my Son, *wichin* mine or for me, *awe* thine or for thee; we write *vacun*, *vichin*, *ave*.

The particles or letters which serve for Nownes beginning with a Vowel, are as followeth. Singul. *V. Av. R.* Plural. *C. or Qu. Av. ta. C. or qu. tacque*, as for example, *Acun* signifieth Son, *Ixim* Corn, *Ochoch* likewise house, which are thus declined.

Sing. *Vacun* my son, *Avacun* thy son, *Racun* his son; Plural. *Cacun* our son, *Avacunta* your son, *Cacuntaque* their son.

Sing. *Vixim* my corn, *Avixim* thy corn, *Rixim* his corn; Plural. *Quixim* our corn, *Avixinta* your corn, *Quixim tacque* their corn.

Sing. *Vochoch* my house, *Avochoch* thy house, *Rochoch* his house; Plural. *Cochoch* our house, *Avochochta* your house, *Cochochtaque* their house.

So likewise are varied or declined *Abix*, signifying a plantation, or peece of ground sown. *Acal* earth or ground. *Vleu*, also, earth or ground. *Acach* hen. Save onely that the words beginning with *I*, admit *qu*, in the first and third person plurall; the rest admit for the same persons plurall, *C* onely.

And as thus I have observed for the varying or declining of Nownes, so also do all the Verbs admit of several particles for their conjugating, according as they begin either with a vowel or a consonant.

Those that begin with a consonant have somewhat like the Nownes these articles following.

Sing. *Nu, Na, Inru.* Plural. *Inca, Nata, Inquitacque.* As for example, *locob* to love.

Sing.

Sing. *Nulocob* I love, *Nalocob* thou lovest, *Inrulocob* he loveth; Plural. *Incalocob* we love, *Nalocobta* ye love, *inquilocohtacque* they love.

Naroca or *Nurapa*, I whip or beat; *Naroca* or *Narapa*, thou whippest or beatest; *Inyroca* or *Inyurapa*, he whippeth or beateth. Plural. *Incaroca* or *Incarapa*, we whip or beat; *Narocata* or *Narapata*, ye whip or beat; *Inquirocatacque* or *Inquirapatacque*, they whip or beat.

Nutsiba I write, *Natsiba* thou writest, *Inrutsiba* he writeth. Plural. *Incatsiba*, we write, *Natsibata* ye write, *Inquitsibatacque*, they write.

There is no preterimperfect tense, nor preterpluperfect tense; but the preterperfect tense standeth for them; neither is there any future, but the present tense expresseth it, and is understood for it, according to the sense of the discourse, as *Nulecho Pedro*, I love or will love *Peter*. *Tinulocob*, I love thee, or I will love thee. Yet sometimes for fuller expression of the future tense, is added this Verb, *inwa* I wil, *Nawa* thou wilt, *Inra* he wil; as *Inwa nulocob Pedro*, I wil love *Peter*.

The particles for the Preterperfect tense are as follow:

Sing. *Ixnu*, *xa*, *ixru*; Plural. *Ixca*, *xa*, *ta*, *ixqui tacque*. Where note that in all these particles, and in all this language, the letter *x* is pronounced like *sh*, as *ixnu* like *ishnu*, *xa* like *sha*, *ixru* like *ishru*, *ixca* like *ishca*, and so forth.

Preterperf. Sing. *Ixnulocob* I have loved, *xalocob* thou hast loved, *ixrulocob* he hath loved; Plural. *Ixcallocob* we have loved, *xalocobta* ye have loved, *ixquilocohtacque* they have loved. And so of all the Verbs above.

The particles for the Imperative mood are these following:

For the singular number, and second person *Cha*, for the third person singular *Chiru*; for the first person plural *Chica*, for the second *Chara*; for the third *Chiqui tacque*; as for example: *Chalocob* love thou, *Chirulocob* let him love; Plural. *Chicalocob* let us love, *Chalucobta* love ye, *Chiquilocohtacque*, let them love. And so of the rest of the Verbs above.

The Optative Mood is the same with the Indicative, adding to it this particle *Ta*, which signifieth as much as *Vtinam*, or *Would to God*, as *Nalocob ta Dios*, would God thou love God; *Ixnalocob ta Dios*, would God I had loved God.

The Conjunctive Mood also is the same with the Indicative, adding to it this particle and preposition *vei* and *ta*, *If*. As for example, *vei nalocob ta Dios*, if thou love God, *vei ixnulocob ta Dios*, if I had loved God.

There is no Infinitive Mood, but the Indicative serveth for it. As *Quinchol nutsiba* I can write. *Quinquimi* signifieth to die, *Nuraeh* I desire, *Nuraeh quinquimi*, I desire to die.

Note further, that in all Verbs Actives, when *Mee* and *Thee* are expressed as the Accusative case following the Verb, they are coupled to the person that doth or goeth before the verb, by these two particles for the present tense, *Quin mee*, *Ti thee*. And for the preterperfect tense, *xin mee*, *ixti thee*; as for example.

Quinalocob thou lovest me, *xinalocob* thou hast loved me, *quinraalocob* thou wilt love me, *quinalocobta* love me, or I pray God thou love me, *vei quinalocob*, if thou love me, *vei xinalocob* if thou hast or hadst loved me, *quinaraeh nalocob*, thou desirest to love me. So for the second person being the Accusative, *Tinulocob* I love thee, *ixtinulocob* I have loved thee, *iranulocob* I will love thee, *tinulocobta* pray God I love thee, *vei tinulocob* if I love thee, *vei ixtinulocob*, if I have or had loved thee, *tinuraeh nulocob* I desire to love thee.

Note further, that these two Verbs, *Quinchol*, which signifieth, I can, or am able, and *Inwa* which signifieth, I will, when they are put with other Verbs of

what

whatsoever person, they are elegantly but impersonally in the third person Singular. As for example:

Inchol nulocoh I can love, *inra nulocoh* I will love, *ixra ixnulocoh* I have been willing to love, *ixchol ixnulocoh* I have been able to love, *tichol nulocoh* I can love thee, *tira nulocoh* I will love thee.

The Letters or Particles for Verbs beginning with a Vowel, are these that follow:

Sing. *Inu. Nav. Inr.* Plural. *Inqu.* or *Inc. Nau ta. Inqu tacque,* or *Inc tacque.* As for example, *Eça* signifieth to deliver, which is thus formed:

Sing. *Inveça* I deliver, *Naveça* thou deliverest, *Inreça* he delivereth. Plural. *Inqueça* we deliver, *Naveçata* ye deliver, *Inqueça tacque* they deliver.

A is a simple, signifying to wish or desire, or will a thing, which is never found without these particles.

Sing. *Inva* I will, *Nava* thou wilt, *Inra* he will. Plural. *Inca* we will, *Navata* ye will, *Inca tacque* they will. *Ivereh* to hear. *Invivireh* I hear, *navivireh* thou hearest, *inrivireh* he heareth. Plural. *Inquivireh* we hear, *navivirehta* ye hear, *inquivireh tacque* they hear.

Thus have I briefly set down the way of declining all sorts of Nouns, and conjugating all sorts of Verbs of this tongue. It remaineth now that I speak of Verbs Passives, their forming and their conjugating with like particles. The Verbs Passives being of divers terminations, are diversly formed. Commonly those that end with an *A*, cut off the *A* in the Passive, and to the last consonant add *hi*. As for example: *Nuroca* I whip or beat, the passive is *Quinrochi*. So *Nurapa* I whip or beat, in the passive is *Quinraphi*. Except *Nursiba* I write, which changeth *b* into *m*. *Quintsimhi* I am written. Those that end in *oh*, change *oh* into *ohi*; as *Nulocoh* I love, *Quinloconhi* I am loved. So those that end in *ch*, do change *ch* into *hi*, as *Invivireh* I hear, *Quinivirhi* I am heard; *Nucata* I teach, *Quincutbi* I am taught; by the first rule. But those that end in *ça* (where note this letter *ç* or *c*, with a tittle under it, is pronounced like *s*;) change the *a* into *hi*. As for example, *Inveça* I deliver, *Quinoçhi* I am delivered. *Nucança* I kill, *Quicamçhi* I am killed: Those that end in *ach*, add *hi* in the Passive, as *Nuçach* I forgive, in the passive maketh *Quinçacchi* I am forgiven. The particles that vary or conjugate the Verbs Passives, are these following:

Sing. *Quin, ti, in.* Plural. *Coh,* or *Co, tita, quitacque.* As for example:

Quiloconchi I am loved, *tiloconhi* thou art loved, *inloconhi* he is loved. Plural. *Coloconhi* we are loved, *tiloconhita* ye are loved, *quiloconhi tacque* they are loved.

Quinrochi I am beaten or whipped, *tirochi* thou art beaten or whipped, *inrochi* he is beaten or whipped. Plural. *Corochi* we are beaten or whipped, *tirochita* ye are beaten or whipped, *quirochi tacque* they are beaten or whipped.

The particles for the preterperfect tense are these following:

Sing. *Xin, xiti, ix.* Plural. *Xoh* or *xo, xiti ta, xitacque.* As for example:

Sing. *Xinloconhi* I have been loved, *ixtiloconhi* thou hast been loved, *ixloconhi* he hath been loved. Plural. *Xoloconhi* we have been loved, *ixtiloconhita* ye have been loved, *xiloconhi tacque* they have been loved. *Xinrochi* I have been whipped or beaten, *ixtirachi* thou hast been whipped or beaten, *ixrochi* he hath been whipped or beaten. Plural. *Xorochi* or *xobrochi* we have been whipped or beaten, *ixtirochita* ye have been whipped or beaten, *xirochi tacque* they have been whipped or beaten.

The Imperative Mood is thus:

Tilocoñhi, Be thou loved, *Chilocoñho*, let him be loved. Plural. *Chicalocoñho*, let us be loved, *Tilocoñhota*, be ye loved, *Chiquilocoñho tacque*, let them be loved. Where you see the particie *hi* is changed into *ho*.

The Optative Mood, and the Conjunctive are after the manner of the Verbs Actives, by putting to *ta* in the Optative, and *vei* in the Conjunctive. As for example.

Quinlocoñhi ta, I pray God I be loved. *Tilocoñhi ta*, I pray God thou be loved; *Inlocoñhita*, I pray God he be loved; *Coblocoñhita*, I pray God we be loved; *Tilocoñhitata*, I pray God ye be loved; *Quilocoñhitatacque*, I pray God they be loved.

So in the Preterperfect tense *ta* only is added: as for example.

Xinlocoñhi ta, would to God I have or had been loved, *Ixtilocoñhita*, pray God thou hast or hadst been loved, *Ixlocoñhita*, Pray God he have or had been loved. Plur. *Xolocoñhita*, pray God we have or had been loved, *Ixtilocoñhi ta ta*, I pray God ye have or had been loved, *Xilocoñhi ta tacque*, I pray God they have or had been loved. Where note that the particie *ta*, if any other word or sentence be put with the Verb, may be put before the Verb, as *Nim ta Quinlocoñhi*, I pray God I be greatly loved. Otherwise if the Verb be alone, *ta* is placed after it.

The Conjunctive Mood is thus, *Vei Quinlocoñhi*, if I be loved, *Vei tilocoñhi*, if thou be loved, and so forth.

This is all, which commonly is taught concerning this tongue. In which grounds he that is perfect in, and hath a Dictionary of the severall words of it, may soon learn to speak it. As I shall understand by my best friends, that there is a desire of further printing a Dictionary, I shall satisfie their desires, and apply my self unto it. These few rules for the present I have thought fit to print, for curiosity sake, and that it may appear, how easie the Indian tongues are to be learned: I shall conclude this unparalleld work, with the Lords Prayer in that tongue, and with a brief explication of it.

Catat taxah vilcat; *Nimta incabarçhi avi*; *Inchalita Avihauripan Cana*. *Invanivita Nava jahvir vacacal*, he invantaxah. *Chaye runa cahuhunta quib viic*; *Naçachtamac*, he inaçachue quimac ximacquiwi obiqñh; *Maçocana ehipam caracbyhi*; *Coavecata çhina unche stiri*, mani quiro, he inqui, Amen.

Note, *Catat*, according to the rule of declining Nouns, is the first person plural, which is known by the particie *Ca*; added to *Tat*, which signifieth father; and *Catat* is our father.

Taxah signifieth heaven; it is put before the word or verb *vilcat*, for more elegancy sake, and for better placing of it, contrary to the Latin and English, where *es*, or *art*, is put before *in cælis*, or in heaven. Likewise it is put without a preposition, contrary to the Greek, Latin and English: for in this tongue many times the prepositions are omitted and understood.

Vilcat signifieth *es* or *art*: it is the second person of the Verb, *Sum*, *es*, *fui*, which is a Verb Anomal, and not conjugated after the rule of Verbs above. As for example, *Vilquin*, I am, *Vilcat*, thou art, *Villi*, he is. Plural. *Vilcob*, we are, *Viloatta*, ye are, *Vilque tacque*, they are. The Preterperfect tense, *Xinvi*, I have been, *Ixtivi*, thou hast been, *Ixvi*, he hath been. Plural. *Xohvi*, we have been, *Ixtivita*, ye have been, *Xivi tacque*, they have been. Imperative, *Tivi* or *Tivo*, be thou; *Chivi* or *Chivo*, let him be. Plural. *Cohvi ta* or *Cohvo ta*, let us be; *Tivita* or *Tivota*, be ye; *Quivi ta* or *Quivo ta tacque*, let them be. The Optative and Conjunctive are according to the Rule above, by adding *ta* or *vei*, to the present tense, and preterperfect tense of the Indicative Mood.

Nim ta Incabarcibi, which signifieth, I pray God may be greatly magnified. *Nim* signifieth great or greatly. *Ta* is *optantis*, or of wishing. *Incabarcibi*, is the third person of the Verb *Quincabarcibi*, which signifieth to be magnified or extolled; and is formed according to the rule above, from the active verb, *Nucaharça*, to magnifie or extoll, by changing the last *a* into *ibi*, and adding *quin* the particule of the passive.

Avi thy name. *Vi*, signifyeth name, and according to the rule above for Nounes beginning with a Consonant *a* is the particule of the second person.

Inchalita avihauri, let come thy Kingdome, is the proper expression of this in English. *Inchali*, is the third person of the Verb *Quinchali*, which signifieth to come. *Ta* is as before *optantis*, or of wishing. *Ihauri* or *Ihauric*, signifieth kingdome. *Av*, added, sheweth the second person.

Pancana, upon our heads. This is a peculiar expression in that tongue; which (as all other tongues) hath many phrases, strange expressions, proper elegancies and circumlocutions. Whereof this one, to say, Let thy Kingdome come upon our heads. *Pan* or *Pan*, is a preposition, signifying in, or within, or upon. *Na* signifieth head; *Nuna*, my head, *Cana* our head, according to the rule above: from whence they call a hat, *Pan Nuna*, as being upon the head.

Invaniva ta Nava, let be done what thou wilt. They have no proper Noun to expresse a mans will, but expresse it by a Verb: *Invanivi*, is the third person of the Verbe; *Quinvanivi*, which signifieth to be made or done. The Active is *Nuvan*, I do or make: from whence are formed many passives, as *Quinvan*, or *Quinvanhi*, or *Quinvani*, or *Quinvanivi*, or *Quinbanari*, or *Quinvanibi*, whereof this last signifieth to be done speedily. And so to all Verbs Actives and Passives, this particule *tibi*, is added at the end, to signifie hast or speed in doing any thing. *Nava*, is the second person of the Verb, *Inva*, I wil, according to the rule for verbs beginning with a Vowell, *Nava*, thou wilt, *Inra*, he will.

Tahvir vach a cal, here upon the face of the earth; *Tahvir*, is an Adverbe signifying here, *Vach*, signifieth face, *Nuvach*, my face, *Avach*, thy face, *Ruvach*, his face. *Acul*, signifyeth the earth or ground.

Heinvan taxan; as it is done in heaven. *He* is an Adverb, signifying even as, *Invan*, is the third person of the passive Verb, *Quinvan*, to be done. *Taxan*, as before, signifieth in heaven without any preposition to it.

Chaye runa, give to day. *Nuye* is the first person of the present tense, signifying, I give, *Cha*, is the particule (according to the rule above) of the second person of the Imperative Mood. *Chaye* give thou; *Chyrue*, let him give. *Runa*, to day.

Cabuhun ta quih viic, our every day bread: where note that *ca*, put before *hubun* is very elegantly placed, though it do belong to the word *viic*, which signifieth bread. *Nuviic*, my bread, *Caviic*, our bread. *Hubun* is an undeclined word, signifying every one, or every thing. *Quih* signifieth the sun or the day.

Naçach ta camac, I pray God thou forgive our sins. They use not here the Imperative Mood, as in Latin *dimitte*, and in English forgive, but with the particule *ta*, of wishing, they use the Optative Mood. *Naçach* is the second person of the Verb, *Nuçach*, I forgive. *Mac*, signifieth sin. *Numac*, my sin or sins, *camac*, our sins. *Laval* is another word in that tongue also to signifie sin.

He incaçachve quimac, Even as we forgive their sins. *Incaçach* is the first person plural, according to the rule above, for verbes beginning with a consonant; *ve*

is put at the end for elegancy sake. *Quimac* is the third person plural. Where note that in a whole speech or sentence, sometimes the particle *tacque*, observed above in the rule for declining is left out; and sometimes it is added. As here, *quimac* their sins; or else it might have been *quimac tacque*.

Xim acquivi chi quib, that have sinned against our backs, of *Mac*, signifying sin, is this Verbe formed, *quinmacquivi*, to sin. So likewise of *laval*, sin, is formed another Verbe, *quinlavini*, to sin. This Verb *quinmacquivi* is a Deponent; of which sort there are many in that tongue, as *quincutani*, to preach, which have the same Particles as the Verbs Passives. *Chiquib* is a word compounded of the Preposition *chi* and *ib*, which signifieth back, and is varied like the Nounes beginning with a Vowell, and joyned with *chi*, signifieth against, as *Chivih*, against me, *chavih*, against thee, *chirih*, against him. Plural. *Chiquib*, against us, *chavih*, against ye, *chiquib tacque*, against them. And if another third person be named, *chirih*, standeth for against, as *chirih Pedro*, against *Peter*, that is against the back. If any be named in the third person Plural, then *chiqui* is used, as *chiquib unche*, or *chiquib cunch elal*, against all.

Mecoacana, leave us not. This Verb is here compounded of three: first, *Ma*, is abbreviated from the word *mani*, which signifieth no or not, as likewise *manchucu*. *Co* or *cob*, signifieth we or us, and as in the rules before I have observed, is put here before the Verb; which causeth the *n* to be cut off from the Verb, which otherwise should have been *nacana*, of *nucana*, I leave, *nacana*, thou leavest; *inrucana*, he leaveth, and so forth.

Chipam catacchibi, in our being tempted. This is another great elegancy in that tongue to use a Verb Passive for a Noun, and to add to it a Preposition; as here, *chipam*, which signifieth in; and putting to the Verb the Particles where-with the Nounes are varied and declined. *Nutacchib*, signifieth I tempt. The Passive is *quintacchibi*, I am tempted; from whence *nutacchibi*, signifieth my being tempted, or my temptation; *attacchibi*, thy temptation, *rutacchibi*, his temptation, *catacchibi*, our temptation.

Coaveçaca china unche tsiri. Deliver us from all evill things. *Inveça*, as I have noted before, signifieth to deliver. *Co* is the first person Plural put before the Verb, as I observed in the rule above, and in that Conjunction or compound *macoacana*. *China* is a Preposition, signifying above or from. *Unche*, signifieth all, which is undeclinable. *tsiri*, is an Adjective properly undeclinable also or unvariable, in Gender, Case, and Number; as are all Adjectives in that tongue. It signifieth evill or bad; as *tsiri vinac*, an evill man, *tsiri ixoc*, a bad woman, *tsiri chicop*, a bad or evill beast; so likewise in the Plural number it is the same. Without a Substantive it is as the Newter Gender, as *malum* for *mala res*, signifying an evill thing, or evill things. The Substantive that is formed from it, is *tsiri quil*, which signifieth evill or wickedness. *Voronquil*, signifieth the same.

Mani quiro, not good: this is put for a further expression of evils to be delivered from whatsoever is not good. *Mani*, as I noted before, signifieth not. *Quiro*, is as *tsiri*, an Adjective, signifying good or a good thing, and is undeclinable, unvariable in both numbers. *Quiro vinac*, a good man, *quiro ixoc*, a good woman, *quiro chicop*, a good beast; so likewise in the plural number, *quiro vinac*, good men. The Substantive that is derived from this Adjective, is, *quirohal*, goodnesse. *Chiohal*, signifieth the same. *Quirolah*, is very good, *tsirilah* very bad; where *lah* is added at the end of an Adjective, it puts the same aggravation as *valde* in *Latin*.

He inqui, even as he saith. The meaning is, even as he saith that taught this prayer.


prayer. *Quinqui*, signifieth I say, *tiqui*, thou sayest, *inqui*, he saith, *Cohqui*, we say, *tiquita*, ye say, *quiquitacque*, they say.

Amen. All words which have no true expression in the *Indians* tongues, are continued in the *Spanish*, or in the proper tongue, as here *Amen*. So wine which formerly they had not, they call *vino*; though by an improper word some call it *Castilana ha*, that is, the water of Castile. So God, they call *Dios* commonly; though some call him *Nim Abval*, that is the great Lord.

And thus for curiosities sake, and by the intreaty of some speciall friends, I have furnished the Presse with a language which never yet was printed, or known in *England*. A Merchant, Mariner, or Captain at Sea may chance by fortune to be driven upon some Coast, where he may meet with some *Pocouchi Indian*; and it may be of great use to him, to have some light of this *Pocouchi* tongue. Whereunto I shall be willing hereafter to add something more for the good of my Countrey; and for the present I leave thee Reader to study what hitherto hath briefly been delivered by me.

FINIS.

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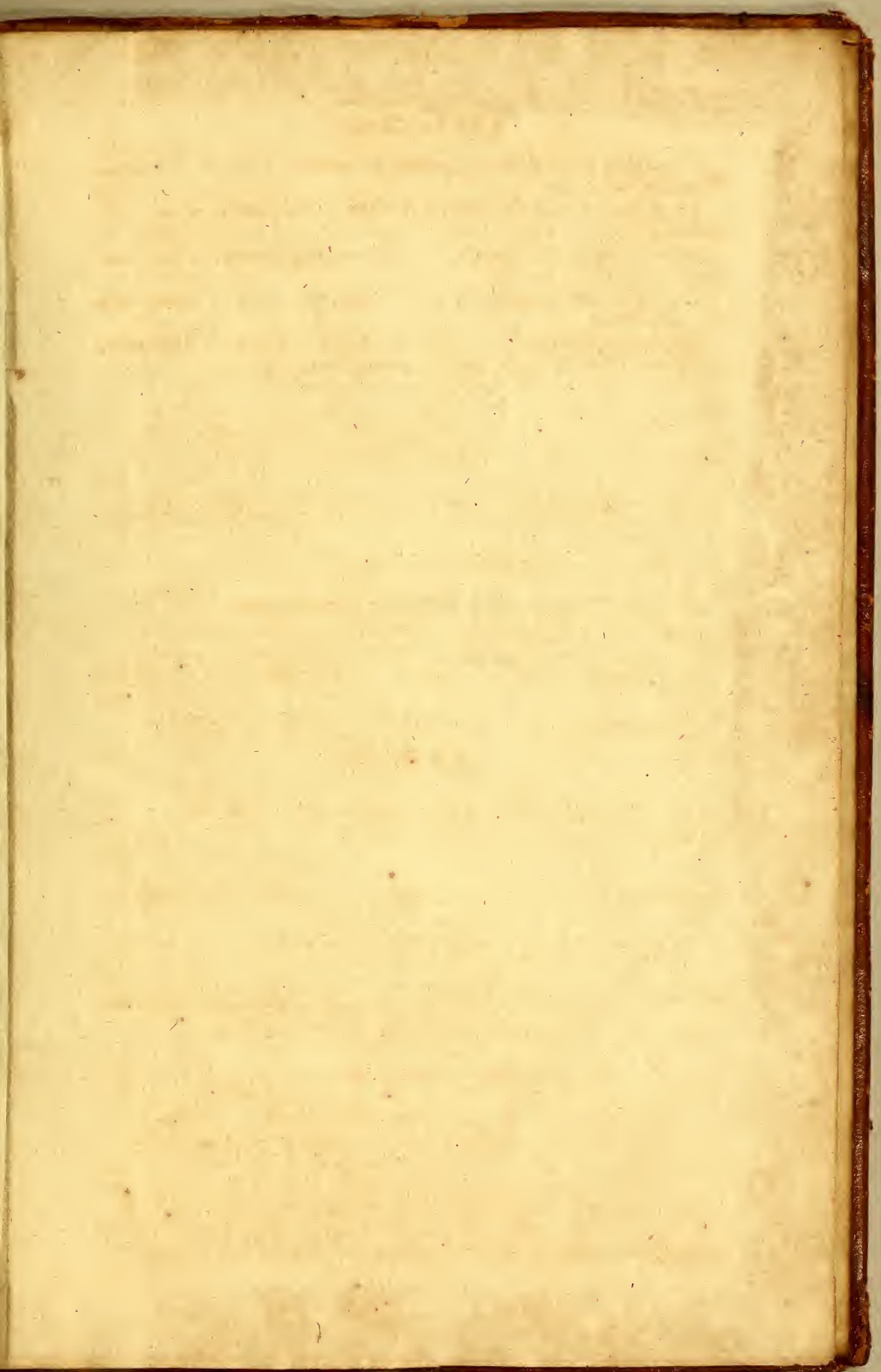
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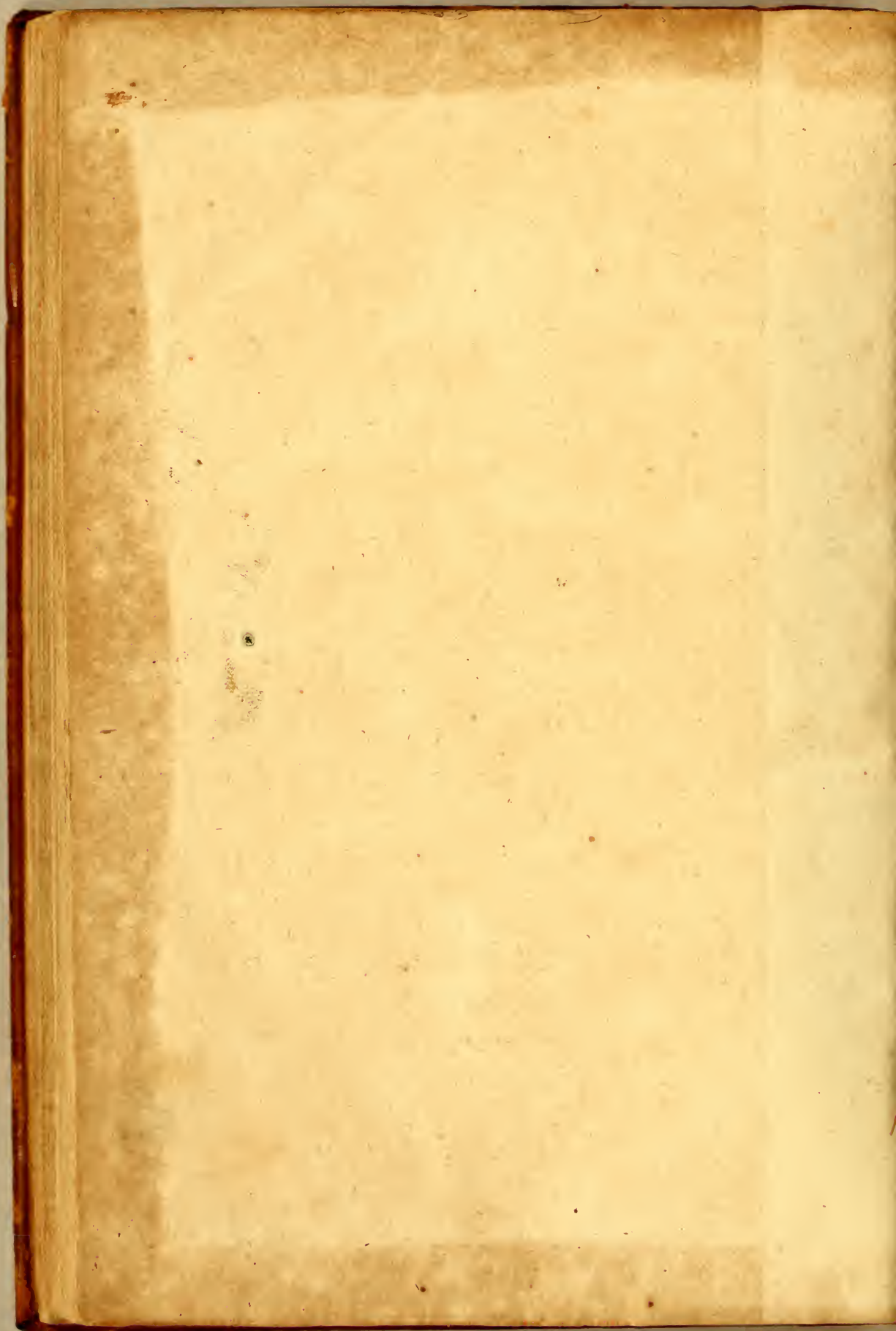
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