California Historical Society Quarterly

SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The Pacific Ocean or South Sea, as it was generally known for a long time, was discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1513. In accordance with the custom ruling in his day, he took possession of it for the Crown of Spain. As this sea was the scene of operations of the enterprises to be described in the following pages, a brief survey of the views current in the sixteenth century regarding it and its connections with the Atlantic is necessary.

The famed riches of Cathay and Great India were the prize all were now striving to reach. An active and constant search was kept up for some passage through a land to the west of Ireland which John Cabot had discovered and which barred his way to them. Magellan asserted that he knew another way and made his claim good by discovering the strait which now bears his name. By sailing across the Pacific he demonstrated that an open sea existed between the Moluccas and the New World, at least what was known of it when he left Spain. This was only a little of the west coast near Panama. The Pacific north of this was still to be discovered. How far did America extend to the west? Was it joined to Asia, or did a vast expanse of ocean or a narrow strait separate it from that country? The cosmographers speculated about these matters and recorded their guesses in their maps or in their writings. Those who considered it to be a vast peninsula of Asia based their arguments on Marco Polo's account of China which he described as extending far to the east, while those who thought it to be a true continent arrived at this conclusion by a course of abstract reasoning. The supposed connection with China had great vogue in the first half of the century, but opinion in Spain generally favored the continental theory. Alonso de Santa Cruz, the greatest Spanish cosmographer of the age, clearly held this view. If he did not display it on his maps it must have been because the practice then in force in the Casa de Contratación in Seville, the geographic board of the day, was to put nothing but actual discoveries on the general map.

What was north of America was another matter of dispute. Some thought that around the Pole there was land connected either with Europe or Asia; some, open sea, a part of the Pacific; and others, four vast islands. Certainly a passage existed in the neighborhood of 65° of north latitude which, although blocked by ice, led somewhere or at least seemed to do so. This was commonly known as the Strait of Bacallos or Northwest Passage. Sebastian Münster adopted the island theory and in 1540 laid down on his map a long passage leading to the Pacific between two of these and America on the
south. The notion of a great northern ocean with short passages connecting it with both the Atlantic and Pacific was a somewhat later development. On the earliest maps we see America in the higher latitudes displayed as a narrow continent, but as time went on and the Spaniards pushed their discoveries up the west coast its width was gradually increased until on the maps of Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius we see this grossly exaggerated. Clearly there were secrets to be discovered in the northern part of the South Sea.

When Hernando Cortés and his party of gold seekers landed on the coast of Mexico in March, 1519, he must have suspected that the South Sea was not far distant. The stirring events of the next two years, however, gave him no opportunity to institute a search for it, and it was not until after the conquest of the city in August, 1521, that he felt safe enough to separate his force and send out small bodies of men. Some of these reached the shores of the South Sea at the mouth of the Balsas River and at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec by the spring of the following year. What lay in that ocean was unknown, as we have just seen, and Cortés now set himself to find out. In June, 1522, he sent his secretary, Juan de Rivera, to Spain, and charged him with the duty of negotiating with the Emperor for a contract in his behalf to explore it. In a letter which he sent by Rivera, dated May 15, he referred especially to his discovery of the South Sea, and said that he was already building ships to navigate it.1 Rivera did not reach Spain until November 7, and then found that on October 15 Cortés had been appointed captain-general of the country which he had discovered.2 Just what steps he took to push this special interest of his patron is not apparent, further than that in July, 1523, he filed a petition which had evidently been forwarded to him from Mexico some time about March or April of that year, as it reveals the fact that when Cortés prepared it he knew of the cedula of October 15 of the preceding year.3 He must also therefore have received the news of the arrival in Spain of Magellan's Victoria September 16, 1522. This gives us some clue to the views expressed by him in this petition about the geographical relation of New Spain to the Far East.

He began by stating that when he wrote two and one-half years before he had no information that there was any sea to the west, but had said that he would make every effort to find out if there was one.4 Since that time he had discovered that sea and had found the distance across the country to be about 200 leagues. He had sent men to conquer and settle the provinces bordering on it and to discover its secrets, and was now building some brigantines to run along the coast searching for ports, and some ships to discover islands which would certainly be found in that sea within either a little or a great distance. He knew that the spice country, that is, the Moluccas, was near the Equator, and for that reason thought it would be very easy to reach from New Spain.5 He therefore asked for a contract for six years commencing to run in 1522,6 the year in which he had discovered the South Sea. During these years he would explore the coast of that sea for a distance of 400 leagues, or more if necessary, and would labor to find out what was there, what kind
of people there were on it, what trade they had, and which locality could be most conveniently settled in the shortest time. In return for these services he wished to be made governor for life of what he might discover, and after him his heirs and successors forever.

He asked for the tenth part for himself and his heirs of whatever gold, silver, pearls, or precious stones and other metals or other dutiable objects might be found. If he should discover three islands and settle them at his expense, making them available for Spanish trade, the King should grant one which he might select to him or his heirs, with the lordship and jurisdiction over it, but that if he should discover mainland only, then out of three towns thereon one should be his with the same rights as he would have over the island. He also requested some other privileges, some assistance in the way of arms and ship carpenters, and the right to bring horses and cattle from the West India Islands in His Majesty's ships without paying freight.

Nothing about his cosmographical ideas can be gathered from the document; nothing indicates what he expected to find when he followed the coast to the north for 400 leagues. On the whole, it might be considered that he had no expectation at that time of finding anything in particular. When, however, we come to investigate the contemporary documents which have survived, we shall find that the expeditions of Cortés had the very definite object of searching for gold and silver. The pursuit of the precious metals may be truthfully said to have been about the only business of the adventurers who flocked to the New World. It so happened that one of the first of the discoveries of Columbus, the Island of Hispaniola, had been found to contain gold. The washings were not very rich, to be sure, but rich enough to pay with forced labor at command. As the discovery of the mainland progressed, gold ornaments were found here and there, indicating that gold mines were not far away, and when Cortés embarked on his famous expedition to Mexico, he was accompanied by a band of individuals recruited in the main with no other object in view than gold.

There was gold in Mexico and some little silver, but it did not take long for the conquerors to appropriate the ornaments into which those metals had been made, no very great quantity, after all, although at first to them and their greedy eyes, unaccustomed to the sight of great sums of money, the amount seemed very large. No sooner had the conquest been effected than Cortés sent men out in every direction scouring the country in search of the gold mines from which the natives had obtained their supply. Some few were found, that is, gold washings in rivers and creeks, notably in the Balsas and its tributaries, and in some streams of Oaxaca. It can be no mere coincidence that Cortés' own repartimientos lay in the latter province and along the Balsas River. By forced labor of a large number of Indians some gold was extracted from such streams and other insignificant ones in different parts of the country, but, on the whole, the output was small and disappointing. A few mines of silver were soon discovered, but it was some time before silver mining became an important industry. In the meantime, the Spaniards in Mexico were ready to embark on
any enterprise which promised gold as a reward, and any story which seemed to hold forth the possibility of finding treasure met with ready acceptance.

Before the end of 1523 some of Cortés' captains had advanced along the west coast as far to the north as Colima, and a town bearing that name had been founded. Another, Zacatula, at the mouth of the Balsas River, had also been regularly established. Here Cortés maintained his shipbuilding operations for some time, but the difficulties of this enterprise at that time proved almost insuperable; there was nothing on the spot out of which to build ships except timber; everything else had to be brought from Mexico, and most of that, in turn, from Spain by way of Vera Cruz. June 26, 1523, the Emperor, under the impression that a strait existed somewhere to the north or northwest of Panama, sent an order to Cortés to hunt for it.7

By the time, however, that this reached Mexico, Cortés had doubtless ascertained by the explorations of Alvarado, who was descending the coast from the north, and by the report of Gil González Davila, who had ascended it from the south,8 that no such strait existed in that quarter. He therefore turned his attention for the moment to the possibility of there being one to the north, and announced in his letter of October 15, 1524,9 his determined intention to find it. In order to make certain that it should not be missed, he proposed to send parties up both sides of America. Cortés' remarks about the existence of this strait are ambiguous. He apparently had no great expectation of finding it, although near the end of his remarks on the subject he expressed himself as rather confident that it would be found by his expedition up the east coast. This appears to have succeeded in reaching some point far to the north, but his shipbuilding enterprises on the west coast suffered a serious setback by the burning of the warehouse in which he had accumulated most of the equipment for the vessels. When these were finally ready in the spring of 1527, he was obliged to send them to the Moluccas under the command of Alvaro Saavedra Ceron in compliance with an order of June 20, 1526, from the Emperor.10 On renewing his efforts to explore the coast to the north, nothing more was heard of any strait; he had other and more tangible objects in view much more likely to redound to his own benefit.

In his letter of December 15, 1525, Rodrigo de Albornoz wrote from Mexico that the Indians at Zacatula told a story about people having arrived there in large canoes from some islands. The story is most improbable, as neither the Indians on that coast nor on any islands near it possessed large canoes. Albornoz connected this with another Indian story about pearls. Pearls were found along the coast at a few places, even south of Zacatula, and in 1523 one of Cortés' captains had brought back some from Colima and said that he had heard of the "Island of Women."11 Within a year Cortés sent another party to the north, no doubt to search for this island. From this story it is not unlikely that the Amazon legend, current both in ancient and medieval times, was localized in a place to the north called Ciguatan, or in some island near it. The legend had lately become popularized in Spanish literature through the Sargas de Esplandian, a romance of chivalry generally said to have been first published in Seville in 1510.
According to the story, pearls and precious stones were abundant on an island named "California," where the Amazons lived, and the Amazons themselves had weapons made of gold, no common metal being found.

Rivera's efforts to obtain a contract for his patron were not productive of results, and it was only after Cortés himself had gone to Spain and urged his pretensions in person that he finally succeeded, October 27, 1529, in getting the sanction of the Crown to his undertaking and the grant of certain rights and privileges which he had previously requested. Armed with this and the title of Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, he returned from Spain in 1530 to find that the five ships in Tehuantepec, which he had constructed to send to the Moluccas to the relief of Saavedra, had rotted and the equipment had been stolen or destroyed. He at once began the construction of two in Tehuantepec. He bought two others which were on the stocks near Acapulco from Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte in November, 1531. Villafuerte finished them as provided in the agreement, and in May, 1532, they set sail from Acapulco.

By this time Cortés had a very active competitor in the north, Nuño de Guzman, who was just as energetic a searcher for gold as Cortés. He had already advanced far into what is now known as Sinaloa on his search for the "Province of Women" and had founded a town at or near the site of the present Culiacan. As far as can be ascertained from the contemporary documents, Guzman had no right whatever to enter this country. The southern part of Jalisco near the coast, Colima, and the province of Avalos had all been discovered by captains of Cortés, acting under his orders, and most of it was divided into repartimientos which he had allotted to his followers. Guzman, however, had been president of the Audiencia, a position which he used to further his own designs and to thwart those of Cortés. They were now bitter enemies, and Cortés' first object was to take possession of the country beyond Guzman's discoveries. This is plainly indicated by the instructions which he issued to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who commanded the expedition. Hurtado was ordered to sail along the coast, keeping a lookout for islands, until he reached the limits of Guzman's territory, easily recognizable by the sierra which came down from the interior and ended at the sea. Having passed this, he was to take possession and follow the coast for another 100 or 150 leagues only, and then return. Hurtado, in compliance with these orders, sailed up the gulf, passed Culiacan, and finally reached a river in 27° which is supposed to have been the Fuerte. He went perhaps still farther north, but nothing more is positively known of him beyond the fact that a year later one of Guzman's captains who was on an expedition to the north found some relics of the party and came back with the story that they had all been killed by the Indians.

Meanwhile, Cortés, who had heard nothing from Hurtado, went in person to Tehuantepec to hasten the work in his shipyard. While there, he must have heard about the vast booty which Francisco Pizarro and his band of adventurers in Peru had obtained from the Incas in November, 1532. The first effect of this on the Spaniards was to start a rush of adventurers to Peru, only to be followed immediately by a renewed rush in all other directions where there
seemed to be any possibility of discovering communities having hoards of gold or silver. What effect the news had upon the plans of Cortés can only be surmised, but the energy he displayed for the next few years in his explorations indicates that if any new stimulus had been needed to urge him on, this had now been supplied. His ships which he had expected in January, 1533,17 to be ready in March did not get away until the end of October, when he dispatched them in person. One, the San Lazaro, commanded by Hernando de Grijalva, became separated from the other and returned to Acapulco after having discovered the Island of Santo Tomás and touched at the Colima coast. The other, the Concepcion, was commanded by Diego Becerra, who had a Basque pilot named Ortuno Ximenez de Bertandoña. During a mutiny headed by the pilot, Becerra was killed and the officials wounded. These and the three Franciscan friars who accompanied the expedition were landed on the Colima coast,18 and Ximenez then sailed away to reach what is supposed to have been the Bay of La Paz in California, where he and most of the crew were killed by the Indians.19 The few survivors navigated the ship back to the mainland, where they were all seized by Guzman, except one who, escaping his vigilance, reached Cortés with the news—“good news” Cortés called it, since it appears from a letter written by Guzman that these men spread reports of having found gold and pearls in some island.

This supposed island was either the Peninsula of California, for some years thought to be an island, due to its location at some distance from the mainland, or some island near it. About the only conclusive evidence that it was California is the fact that when Cortés went to that country in 1535 he evidently knew where he was going, probably having with him some of the men who had been with Ximenez. Pearls were certainly abundant on the east side of the peninsula from Cape Pulmo north, and the mention of them by the survivors of the massacre would indicate that Ximenez actually had reached that part of the coast. The gold part of Guzman’s story can be dismissed as being simply one of those usual additions without foundation made in those days when people could see gold and silver everywhere. Certainly something was found sufficiently enticing to induce Cortés to prepare and lead an expedition fully equipped with materials for making a settlement.

May 1, 1535, he sighted the coast of California, and May 3 landed and took possession, naming the country “Santa Cruz” in commemoration of the discovery of the Holy Cross on that day. He laid out his settlement on what is now known as Pichilingue Harbor, opposite the Island of San Juan Nepucemeno, in La Paz Bay. No detailed or consecutive account of the enterprise exists, but from numerous incidental allusions to it, it seems that some explorations were made inland.20 The party remained at the camp for a long time; a number of the Spaniards died of hunger, not to speak of many friendly Indians and servants. No gold or silver was discovered, although some indications of minerals may have been observed, nor is there anything to show that any substantial quantity of pearls was found. Some men sent back after food in the fall of 1535 under Juan de Jaso and Jorje Ceron were examined by Guzman in Com-
Hernando had perhaps Castaneda, in people had applied filed his about silver.26

It cannot be said that during an expedition from Mexico that a viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, had reached there in October, and anxious about his own status under the new conditions, he himself returned in 1536, leaving Francisco de Ulloa in charge of the camp. He attempted to send some supplies to Ulloa and claimed later that he would have maintained his settlement if Mendoza had not obliged him to send instructions to Ulloa to break it up and bring the party back to Mexico.22

At this juncture, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, the sole survivors of those of Narvaez' expedition to Florida, who had been left in Texas, reached Mexico City July 24, 1536, after a year's travel across northern Mexico. Somewhere during their wandering they had heard of some towns of large, well inhabited houses to the north, from which their Indian friends obtained some stones that Cabeza de Vaca called emeralds. He also talked about pearls and great wealth on the shores of the South Sea. Altogether he conveyed the impression in his printed story that farther north there were people who had reached some rather advanced stage of civilization.23 It is even possible that he told other more definite stories about what they had heard or seen in the north, as the Knight of Elvas in his account of the expedition of Hernando de Soto stated that when Cabeza de Vaca came to Spain in 1537 he had an interview with the Emperor and evidently told him something different from what was contained in his written relation, because some of the leading nobles at court, or who had friends there, immediately turned their property into cash and joined Soto's expedition. There is some evidence that Cortés had heard the same story or a similar one about the same time, perhaps a little earlier. Although his statements made in 1539 and later24 about the source of his knowledge of the "Seven Cities" are extremely ambiguous, yet it seems possible that some of his men who had been on the upper Sinaloa coast in the summer of 1535, and possibly later, had obtained from the Indians some knowledge of these towns in the north. Just how far south this knowledge extended cannot be known, nor is it possible to discover just how far north Cortés' men had been. The name farthest north on this coast shown on the map which he filed with the acta of taking possession of Santa Cruz is San Pablo. This is applied to a river, and just south of it is another, the San Pedro. These are perhaps intended to represent the two mouths of the Sinaloa. North of these the coast is shown for some distance, but without any names.

Just when or how the old medieval legend of the "Seven Cities" came to be applied in Mexico to something in the far north is not known.25 Pedro de Castañeda, in his account of the Coronado expedition, wrote that in 1530 Guzman had an Indian named Tejo who said he had been in the north with his father, a trader, and had seen seven large towns which had streets of workers in silver.26 It is not unlikely that Guzman found this Indian in Panuco and that he first sent out an expedition from there to search for the "Seven Cities," as about 1550 one Juan Pantoja declared that after the pacification of Panuco he
had gone eighty leagues inland in quest of them.\textsuperscript{27} Guzman himself, instead of following the direction the Indian said he had gone, that is, northward across the plateau country, went over to the west coast and started north from there. There is a positive statement in one of the accounts of Guzman's explorations that Diego de Guzman had gone north in 1533 to discover the "Seven Cities," because Guzman already had news of them and of a river four or five leagues wide which flowed into the South Sea.\textsuperscript{28} The evidence is not altogether above suspicion, as the account was written after the "Seven Cities" had been discovered. If true, however, and the author was not referring to Tejo and his story, it would provide some confirmation of the claim of Cortés as indicating that the Indians in northern Sinaloa had some knowledge of the "Seven Cities."

No doubt as soon as Cabeza de Vaca's narrative became known, everyone jumped to the conclusion that these large towns from which the emeralds came must be the "Seven Cities." All the expeditions to the north in the ensuing six years may be justly considered as having been brought about by his story. Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, was perhaps skeptical, as he endeavored to get Andres Dorantes, one of Cabeza de Vaca's companions, to take the back track in search of the people with houses. Failing in this, he selected for the mission Marcos de Niza, a French Franciscan friar, about whose early history nothing is known beyond the fact that he had been in Peru with Alvarado. He had come to Mexico from Guatemala in the early part of 1537 at the request of the bishop, Juan de Zumarraga, who had a high opinion of him, which he no doubt communicated to Mendoza.\textsuperscript{29} Niza set out from Culiacan March 7, 1539, and having traveled a long distance to the north, came back to Compostela about July 1, and to Mexico City some time in August, where he told some marvelous tales about what he had seen.\textsuperscript{30} They made such an impression on Mendoza that he had him write down his account and ratify it in official form September 2, so that he could send it to the Emperor. Niza had not only seen the City of Cibola, but had heard of the six others; he wrote about emeralds and vessels of gold and silver, the only metals the inhabitants knew, much more abundant there than in Peru, and talked about them to his brother friars. According to one of these he said the inhabitants were cultured and wore silk clothing, and the walls of their temples were covered with precious stones.\textsuperscript{31} Beyond, he said, he had heard that there were camels and elephants, thus evincing his belief that he had reached the outskirts of the famous kingdom of the great Khan.

After Niza's return, Mendoza hastened the preparations of an expedition which he placed under the command of a young protegé of his, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. He had no difficulty in securing all the volunteers necessary, as in the excitement produced by the recent reports everyone wished to join and get his share of the gold and silver. It seems possible, however, that Mendoza was still not any too certain about Niza's story, as he immediately sent out another man, Melchor Diaz, from Culiacan with a small force to find out if what he could see would agree with Niza's story. Without waiting for his report, however, Mendoza assembled his force at Compostela in Jalisco, and Coronado set out from that place February 3, 1540. A short time after-
ward Diaz met the army with a very depressing report, which was sent on to the Viceroy, who was in Colima preparing an expedition by sea of two ships which, besides keeping in communication with Coronado, were to carry the heavy baggage the gentlemen of the army had been obliged to leave behind at Culiacan. He appointed to the command, Hernando de Alarcon, who could not leave Acapulco until May 9, and in consequence never caught up with Coronado, although he stopped and took on the baggage at Culiacan and added to his fleet another ship he found there loaded with food for Coronado. He ultimately reached the head of the gulf and ascended the Colorado River in a small boat to a point probably just above the present site of Yuma, returning to Acapulco about the middle of November with a great fund of stories about the Indians on the river, but without having been of any service whatever to Coronado, who, of course, was far distant in the interior.

Coronado himself soon reached Cibola, only to find to his great disgust that most of Niza's stories were untrue. The Indians had no gold, silver or emeralds, but only some cotton clothes and buffalo hides. He continued to the valley of the Rio Grande and ultimately took a journey across the buffalo plains in the summer of 1541 in search of Quivira, a name which he had heard from some Indians on the Rio Grande. This place was reported to be also very rich, but when Coronado finally reached the spot, or near the spot where it was supposed to be—somewhere in south central Kansas—he found no more signs of wealth than he had in Cibola, in fact, the Indians there were even less civilized. After the return, winter quarters were made on the Rio Grande, and in the spring of 1542 the expedition set out on the return to Mexico, reaching Culiacan just before June 24. While in the north, Coronado sent out several parties, one of which discovered what was probably the Colorado River. From the point of view of the adventurers of those days, nothing of any value had been found; the expedition was a total failure and all the money embarked in it by Mendoza and his friends was lost.32

In the meantime, before the Coronado expedition was organized, and even before Niza returned, Cortés sent out his expedition to follow the coast in spite of the obstacles the officials in New Spain placed in his way. The west coast was, however, a long way from Mexico City, and as Cortés had plenty of friends in that part of the country, he managed to dispatch, July 8, a fleet of three vessels under the command of Francisco de Ulloa. A few days before Ulloa departed Niza had made his appearance at Compostela and sent on to the Viceroy some kind of report.33 He himself apparently reached Mexico early in August. On the 25th of that month Mendoza issued a proclamation prohibiting anyone from leaving the country without his license.34 September 4, Cortés appeared before the Audiencia and presented a petition asking for a license to send a ship with supplies and thirty or forty men to the aid of Ulloa.35 The Audiencia refused to grant it and Cortés then removed the proceedings to Spain, instituting a suit before the Council of the Indies, March 1, 1540. June 25 the Council decreed that an order be sent to Mendoza and the Audiencia not to interfere with his operations in the South Sea.36 This is the last we hear of
his enterprises in that quarter; the *Santa Agueda* had returned with a report from Ulloa which could hardly have inspired anyone to further efforts.

Cortés himself went to Spain about the end of December, 1539,37 and spent the remainder of his life there occupied with his many suits before the Council and in fruitless appeals to the Emperor for more favorable consideration of his services. He died in his bed near Seville, December 2, 1547, at the age of sixty-three. With him passed away the mighty race of *conquistadores*; Alvarado, Almagro, Soto and Pizarro had already met untimely ends.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

[The numbers of documents without any designation of place are those of the bundles of papers in the Archivo de Indias in Seville which contain the documents.]

The material for writing a history of New Spain from the fall of Mexico City in August, 1521, to 1550, is awaiting some patient and industrious investigator. It is not to be gleaned from the general histories written by contemporaries, but must be sought in the voluminous records of the lawsuits in which Hernando Cortés was engaged, in those dealing with the *visita* of Francisco Tello de Sandoval, and in the few extant *residencias* and *relaciones de servicios* of some of the leading actors in the events. Some letters of prime importance exist, many written by Cortés, a few by Antonio de Mendoza, Pedro de Alvarado and Nuño de Guzman, and others by individuals connected with the government or members of the monastic orders, but the records of the numerous expeditions which scoured the country in search of gold and reached the State of Kansas on the one side and almost the State of Oregon on the other are nearly all lost. How numerous these were can be seen in the brief summaries of the services of many of the captains engaged in them, as published by Francisco A. de Icaza in his *Diccionario autobiografico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*. Whether fuller accounts will be found buried in more extended *relaciones de servicios* or in some of the many lawsuits regarding *encomiendas* remains to be seen. Notwithstanding this paucity of original documents, it is possible to recognize in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo's account of the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, and in the summary of the expedition of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, extracts from others. As far as they go, these extracts no doubt contain the substance if not the actual words of the original reports.

The period has attracted very little attention from the students of Spanish-American history, and still less from the writers of popular works who have invariably set before us the more dramatic incidents of the conquest, drawing their material from readily accessible published works. Mr. Arthur Scott Aiton alone has dipped into the mass of material existing in the archives in Spain dealing with it. In his *Antonio de Mendoza*, recently issued, he presents a long list of documents, many hitherto known only by their legajo numbers, from which he has made extracts of such matters as are pertinent to his subject. The
only other important work dealing with this period is George Parker Winship's *Coronado Expedition*. Mr. Winship did not have access to the archives in Seville, but obtained his material from previous publications, with the exception of a document in the possession of Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta and the manuscript account of Pedro de Castañeda in the New York Public Library. This had been previously published in French by Ternaux-Comans in Paris in 1838. Mr. Winship did not, however, miss much, if anything, by not having examined the documents in the archives, as since the publication of his book nothing more has been found there of any value dealing with the expedition.

If modern writers have passed lightly over this period, the same may be said of the great Spanish historians of the sixteenth century. The first to publish anything like a connected account of the enterprises of Cortés was Francisco Lopez de Gómara in his *Conquista de Mexico*. His *Historia de las Indias*, published in the same year, although not specifically referring to Mexico, contains some information about events in that country. The leading and, in fact, the only authorities of any value are those included in the list below.

In this Introduction the writer has made little or no use of any of these works, but has taken the facts almost entirely from documents existing in the archives in Seville, very few of which have ever been published. The main source has been the famous *Proceso*, No. 1-1-2/21, of which Part I was published in Volume XV of the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (title in full below). Parts 2a to 9a comprise most of the documents which were filed in the suit by the various participants, although 2a contains some petitions which were presented to the Council. A few documents picked from these parts as being of interest have also been published in the same collection and elsewhere. In addition to this *legajo*, use has been made of the *Cartas de Relacion* of Cortés which were published in his lifetime and other letters of his which have only appeared in print in recent years. It is not impossible that other facts might be obtained from the records of some of the suits which Cortés brought against Guzman and the various members of the Audiencia, but so far as the writer has examined these, he has not yet found anything of interest regarding his expeditions, not set out by him or his representatives in some of the numerous petitions which he presented in Madrid or Mexico.

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NOTES

1. The so-called third Relacion, printed in Seville the following year.
3. 1-1-3/17, printed as No. XXIV in his Cartas by Cuevas, who erroneously attributes it to the year 1533. At the end it bears a notation: En Burgos XIII de Julio, evidently the day it was presented.
4. This is clearly a reference to his lost first letter which must have been written about July 1, 1519.
5. Rodrigo de Albornoz in his letter of December 15, 1525, estimated that the Moluccas were six or seven hundred leagues from Zacatula. Icaz. Docs. I, 496, and P. & C., XIII, 45.
6. In the letter as printed by Cuevas this appears as 1532, an obvious error.
7. Printed in P. & C., XII, 213. This is only an extract containing the order here referred to. The complete cedula, which is a series of instructions to Cortés about the government of the country, is printed in Vol. XXIII of the same series.
8. In reality Andrés Niño, a partner of Davila, conducted the expedition, Niño had a contract with the Crown, dated June 18, 1519, which gave him the right to discover in the South Sea for 1,000 leagues to the west of Panama, but Davila was appointed commander of the expedition. The actual exploration began in the spring of 1522; Davila proceeded by land while Niño prosecuted a voyage by sea and according to Davila reached as far along the coast as the latitude of 17½°. Davila returned to Panama June 5, 1523, and reached Santo Domingo about March 1, 1524. There was therefore time for Cortés to receive the news before he wrote the Emperor October 15, 1524. The account of Davila’s expedition was published in Madrid in 1883 by Manuel M. de Peralta in his Costa-Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el Siglo XVI.
9. Usually called the fourth Relacion, printed in Toledo in 1525.
11. Cortés already in his letter of October 15, 1524, had stated that his soldiers who conquered Colima had brought back some pearls, and an account of the lords of a province named Ciguatan who strongly affirmed that there was an island entirely populated by women ten days’ journey away and that many of them had gone there and seen it. “They tell me also that it is very rich in pearls and gold. I will labor to find out the truth as soon as I have equipment and will send a full account of it to your Majesty.” Gayangos, 288. Writing September 3, 1526, Cortés stated that even before he wrote October 15, 1524, he had sent a captain to Colima to follow the coast to the north for 150 leagues to find out if there were any ports on it. The party went 130 leagues and discovered some ports and many towns, had some fights, and pacified many of the natives. They did not go farther because they were few in number and there was no grass for the horses. They had brought back a story about a large river ten days’ journey beyond the farthest point they reached, and many strange stories about the people near it. A word was said about pearls or women which were certainly the objects sought. Cortés now declared that he was going to send another more powerful party to find out about that river because, according to the story of its width and size, “no tendría en mucho ser estrecho.” 1-1-2/16 R. 4, printed in Gayangos, 491.
12. 1-1-4/16, printed in Gayangos, 375.
13. 1-1-2/16 No. 2 R. 19 or 139-1-1 printed in P. & C., XII, 490. The contract was dated October 27, but the cedula was issued November 5.
14. This contract was dated November 4, and was filed by Cortés before the Audiencia in September, 1539. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a.
15. These instructions were filed by him in his proceedings before the Audiencia in September, 1539. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a, printed in Escritos de Cortés, 196.

16. A mass of documents filed by Cortés exists about this expedition but very little of value can be gathered from them. It is plain that he based his claim to send an expedition to Cibola largely on a discovery of the coast at 27° which he alleged had been made by Hurtado. Unfortunately he was apparently never able to find a survivor of the party which had gone on with Hurtado when he sent back the other ship. There were three survivors of this latter vessel who gave evidence, but all Cortés could find out about Hurtado's party he apparently learned from someone who had accompanied Diego de Guzman. One of the suits Cortés brought against Nuño de Guzman was for the vessel Hurtado sent back and its equipment and arms which had been abandoned by its crew on the coast. Diego de Guzman's account was filed by Nuño de Guzman in the suit in Madrid, 1-1-2/21, Part 1. He left Culiacan August 4, 1533, and in September reached the Yaqui River which he named the San Francisco. November 23, on his return, he discovered some relics of dead Christians and heard from an Indian woman that fifteen of them had been killed while asleep at a place five days' journey distant. He afterwards found farther south the Indian town where they were said to have been killed, or the river on which it was located, probably the Fuerte. This expedition was subsequent to that of Hurtado and it was for this reason that Cortés claimed prior rights.

17. See his letters from Tehuantepec on January 25, and February 10, 1533, 1-1-2/16, No. 1, R. 11-13, Gayangos, 515, 521 and 525.

18. A full account of the events of Becerra's expedition up to this point is contained in an Informacion drawn up in December, 1533, at the request of Juan de Carasa, the purser of this ship; most of the survivors who had been landed testified. 2-2-1/1 R. 52.

19. Gómar, 427, makes a definite statement that Ximenez was killed where Cortés afterwards made his camp. One hesitates to question such an authority as Gómar who should have known what he was talking about, but Cortés' own failure to mention the fact in any of his numerous petitions creates some doubt about it. He in fact insisted that Becerra had discovered some country which could hardly have been any other than this, although Becerra did not discover the peninsula, or any island near it, as we now know positively from the Carasa Informacion. It is just possible that Cortés used Becerra's name inadvisedly for that of Ximenez.

20. According to Navarrete a copy of some declarations made in Mexico before the Audiencia, perhaps in 1537 or 1538, and which contain some details about this expedition, exists in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. See his Introduction to the voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana, Madrid, 1802.

21. 1-1-2/21, Part 4a, presented before the Council by Guzman himself March 6, 1540. The testimony is most interesting. Most of the witnesses were asked the name Cortés bestowed on his camp and they all said they knew of none other than Santa Cruz.


24. First made in his petition to the Audiencia of September 4, 1539.

25. A recent publication by William H. Babcock, Legendary Islands of the Atlantic, New York 1922, gives an interesting account of this legend.


27. Icaza, Diec.


29. All the writer could find out about this interesting character was published in his Spanish Southwest.

30. His story has been frequently translated from the Italian version published in 1556 by Ramusio.

31. Letter of Fr. Jerónimo Ximenes de San Esteban dated October 9, 1539, Nueva coleccion, i, 194.

32. This resumen of the history of the Coronado expedition has been largely taken from Winship's Coronado Expedition.

33. That such is the case can be inferred from two letters Cortés wrote to Mendoza from Tehuantepec, dated July 26 and August 6, 1539. In the first he answers a letter from Mendoza which evidently contained some news from Niza. These letters were filed by Mendoza in the suit which Cortés brought before the Audiencia September 4, with the evident purpose of discrediting statements which Cortés was apparently even then making that he himself had furnished Niza with the information which the latter brought back. This is proved by the fact that Mendoza had Niza appear September 2, and make a declaration that before he had set out on his journey he had not received any information whatever from Cortés about the country which he discovered. He added that if Cortés had really known about it he would never have sent his ships to Peru (as he did in 1536). 1-1-2/21 Part 2a. The document was filed by the Council's legal adviser, Villalobos, in Cortés' suit in Spain, October 14, 1540.
34. 1-1-2/21, 9a.
35. The reason for this was the return of the Santo Tomas, one of Ulloa's vessels which had become separated from the others. Cortés maintained that this left Ulloa short of men and supplies. See also his petition of November 20, in the same legajo.
36. These documents in 1-1-2/21, mostly in Part 2a. The order of June 25, 1540, was in reality issued as three cédulas, two to Mendoza, July 10 and 19, and one to the Audiencia, July 27, but their tenor is the same, not to interfere with Cortés' discoveries in the South Sea. 1-1-2/16 No. 2 R. 49 (all 3). This order must have resulted from a remarkable protest delivered by Cortés to the Council June 25, that is, the same day as the order was made. It is in 1-1-2/21, Part 2a, and is printed in the Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, Vol. IV, 1844.
37. The exact date of his departure does not seem to be known. He was in Vera Cruz December 23, when his representative, Alvaro Ruiz, presented another petition to the Audiencia again asking a license to send one or more ships to Ulloa's aid. He complained that the officials in Guatulco had taken away from the Santo Tomas, the sails, the oars and the rudder. He asserted that Cortés had sent to Guatemala and to other places for some soldiers whose salary he was now paying, and who were then in Tehuantepec. Some ships there were ready to depart with these under the command of Bernardo de la Torre. There were also others of experience and capacity to go with him. He also declared that news had been received that Pedro de Alvarado was preparing a force with which he intended to invade the northern part of Mexico and asked that a stringent order be sent him to keep out of it. This the Audiencia readily agreed to and decreed that an order be sent Alvarado to that effect, but a license to send a ship to Ulloa's assistance was again refused, although the request regarding the vessel in Guatulco was granted. 1-1-2/21, Part 2a (25).

CHAPTER II.

ALVARADO & MENDOZA, Partners.

In the Introduction a short sketch has been given of the various land and sea expeditions set on foot by Cortés and Mendoza in the search for gold and treasure in the north. There was another adventurer quite as greedy and active as they were, Pedro de Alvarado.1 He also had his eye on the "Seven Cities," and determined to make a bid for wealth there as he had done in Guatemala and Peru. A grand fighter and one of the most picturesque of all the conquistadores, he had come to Mexico with Cortés who sent him to Guatemala to occupy that country in his behalf, a task which he accomplished to his own satisfaction, if not to that of his chief, for no sooner had he become well settled than he threw off allegiance to Cortés and secured direct from the Crown the appointment as governor of the country. He was an attractive rascal, however, and in spite of his disloyalty Cortés seems to have remained on friendly terms with him, realizing perhaps the impossibility of holding such a man as a permanent vassal in an out-of-the-way place like Guatemala, and complacently accepting the inevitable under the conviction that it would be better to retain Alvarado's friendship than to incur his enmity.2

Guatemala, not being rich in gold and silver, afforded too little scope for Alvarado's ambition and energy, and he looked around for new worlds to conquer. In 1529 Charles V had disposed of his interest in the Moluccas to the King of Portugal, for the time being at least, but his advisers told him that there was a territory just beyond to the west which lay in the territory allotted to him under the agreement made in Tordesillas in 1494 and was not included in that pawn. All the expeditions which had been sent out to the Moluccas had started from Seville, with the exception of that of 1527 under the command of Alvaro
Having men, This Emperor proceed expedition, under strait, a of afford de and contract just large stead of "Islands ships May send the islands west come then 400 brigantine for the Alcazaba and that of Camargo in 1539 had no such objective; their purpose was to take possession of the south end of South America, under the expectation or at least the hope that they would find gold and silver in the possession of the natives there as Pizarro and his band of adventurers had among those in Peru. The patent fact that the "Islands of the West" could be reached in a much shorter time and at much less expense from the Pacific Coast of New Spain than from old Spain, and the rapid colonization of that coast, probably afford the explanation for the shift now made in the base of operations.

August 5, 1532, Charles V made a contract with Alvarado for the discovery of islands in the South Sea in the neighborhood of Guatemala, of all those to the west not already discovered and of the mainland to the west not included in the limits already granted to the government of others. The object contemplated by the Emperor was probably an expedition to the spice islands. This contract was made at the instance of Alvarado, who stated that he was building a fleet to discover the secrets of the South Sea, as he had heard of rich islands and other countries on the coast. He offered to provide twelve ships and employ 400 men in the enterprise, which he said would cost him 40,000 castellanos. Having finished his fleet, he set sail from Guatemala in January, 1534, but instead of attending to his own business went to Peru, where he found himself obliged to come to terms with Pizarro and Almagro and sell them his fleet for 100,000 pesos. He returned to Guatemala about a year afterwards with a few men, having left behind the bulk of his force which entered Pizarro's service. This Peruvian enterprise was entirely illegal, having been prohibited both by the Emperor and the Audiencia in Mexico, who from the start suspected his design.

May 12, 1535, working no doubt under his contract of 1532, he broached another scheme. This was to go to Spain and fit out there a fleet which was to proceed by the Strait of Magellan to the spice country, make a settlement there and then discover what there was in the South Sea. From Guatemala he proposed to send another to support it. He asked a license to go to Spain, but as this did not come and he heard that the Emperor had departed for the Levant with an expedition, thus making it difficult to secure the force he proposed to take by the strait, he abandoned this project, and November 30 wrote that he was going to send out in January two well armed and equipped moderate sized vessels, and a large brigantine which he had already purchased, under Francisco de Castellanos and with Ginés de Mafra as pilot. He wrote that he was also laying down in his shipyard three new galleons of a hundred tons each and a galley, all to be supplied with oars, which he expected would be finished inside the year which he allowed for the return of the other ships. It is not quite clear from his letter just how he proposed to reach the spice country with these last ships, which he
said he would accompany himself, but from his remark about oars it appears that he expected to follow the coast.

There is no record that these ships ever left, and it is not unlikely that before they could sail in January some order came from Spain forbidding him to embark in any more expeditions, and ordering him to come there to justify himself if possible for his excursion to Peru. He certainly did go there in July or the early part of August, 1536, leaving behind instructions to have an Información drawn up to prove that he had been driven to the coast of Peru by contrary winds. He reached there at a time propitious for the furtherance of his design; a new spice excitement was on. In June Andrés de Urdaneta and Macías del Poyo, two of the few survivors of Loaysa's expedition to the Philippines, had returned to Lisbon. In September and October they made various declarations in Valladolid before the Council of the Indies in which they related their adventures in the Moluccas. February 26, 1537, Urdaneta presented a detailed account of his experiences, at the end of which he gave a description of the Moluccas and surrounding islands, so far as known to him, and their productions, estimating that a profit of 600,000 ducats could be obtained every year solely from the trade in cloves, nutmegs and mace, without considering what might be gained from that of the rich islands near by and the great country of China. He said however, that cloves came only from the Moluccas, and that nutmegs and mace were obtained in the Banda Islands. Alvarado's proposal then to conduct a new expedition on a large scale to the spice islands must have been peculiarly timely.

While the negotiations were in progress, a new factor made its appearance. Cabeza de Vaca came to Spain with his story. Cortés claimed prior rights to make discoveries to the north of the territory discovered by Nuño de Guzman, but Alvarado was on the spot and had influential friends at the court. He now offered to send on a discovery to the west, within fifteen months immediately following his arrival in Guatemala, two galleons and a navio sotil supplied with food for two years, and with the necessary men, artillery and equipment. He also offered to send two others along the coast to discover the turning point of the land so as to find out all its secrets. If any lands or islands should be discovered which it would seem advisable to settle, he offered then to send ten other ships with 800 soldiers, of which 300 would be horsemen in case the character of the country to be settled should be such as to make them necessary, and priests and friars to instruct and doctrinate the natives, all at his own expense, without expecting any re-payment thereafter except for such outlays as should be specified in the agreement. He also stated that he had an agreement with the new viceroy in Mexico, Mendoza, that the latter should have a third interest in the enterprise. In return for this service and his previous ones he asked for a long list of grants and privileges which are set down at length in the contract which the Crown executed with him April 16, 1538. In this Alvarado was appointed captain-general of the new territory to be discovered, at the yearly salary of 3,000 ducats, payable out of the revenues thereof, and the Crown agreed that during seven years no contract would be made with others to make discoveries
within the limits assigned to him. He was also to be made governor of Guatemala for seven years, subject to the outcome of his Residencia then being taken. His agreement with Mendoza was confirmed, and a cedula was ordered to be sent to advise him of the fact that Alvarado was obliged to admit him as a partner in the enterprise with a one-third interest.13

Although Mendoza afterwards said that he had no knowledge of this clause in Alvarado's contract at the time it was made and disclaimed having ever asked for any participation in it, it hardly seems possible that Alvarado would have made such a statement without authority from him, as he certainly did not need him in the enterprise. In order to absolve Mendoza from having lied about the transaction, it would be necessary to assume that during the course of Alvarado's negotiations it had been suggested to him that he would have to include Mendoza in order to get his grant. Even in such case, however, it seems to have been hardly necessary to have asserted that he had an agreement with Mendoza. The writer has made a thorough search of the contemporary documents to discover whether Alvarado stopped in Mexico on his way to Spain, without any definite results, but he probably did not as he seems to have gone from Guatemala to Havana. He also evidently had some sort of an understanding with Cortés about his expedition, as the latter afterwards claimed that he had prepared a large quantity of supplies at Guatulco for Alvarado's fleet,14 and this in spite of the fact that at that time he was in Spain combatting Alvarado's right to make an expedition up the coast.15 The whole matter is involved in much obscurity, and seems to show evidence of intrigue carried on by Alvarado with both men.

It has already been seen that Alvarado had in his employ in Guatemala one pilot, Mafra, who had been in the Moluccas with Magellan. He now enlisted in Spain Andrés de Urdaneta, Hernando de la Torre,16 and Martín de Islares, all of whom had been with Loayza, and Alonso Hernandez who had probably accompanied Saavedra. During the rest of the year the officials in Spain were busy appointing officials for the new province and getting out cedulas of one kind or another relating to the contract. Juan de Curio was appointed chief pilot, Diego Lopez de Zuñiga comptroller, Hernando de la Torre treasurer, and others to various other positions. A special clause was put in the contract that under no circumstances should the fleet enter the territory of the King of Portugal, and a special cedula was issued to Alvarado March 21, 1539, reiterating this order. August 9, 1538, he was appointed captain-general of the islands that might be discovered.17 Having collected a force of some 300 soldiers and bought a large quantity of supplies, artillery and other necessities for his enterprise, he left Spain with his party in the early part of 1539, and after stopping at Santo Domingo, landed in Puerto Caballos April 4.18 He at once sent instructions to Guatemala to begin the construction of two ships and then undertook the arduous task of conveying his artillery and supplies across the country. He himself reached Guatemala September 15, and as soon as the festivities following his arrival were over, he began the construction of the rest of the ships with all his accustomed energy. He placed Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in charge of those
which were being constructed at Istapa, a small port at the mouth of a river five
or six miles east of San José in Guatemala. Other vessels were built, perhaps at
Acajutla, where his principal shipyard was located.

November 18, 1539, he wrote the Emperor that he had heard that some one
had gone to ask him for a grant to conquer the coast of New Spain, as there was
news that it was a very rich and fruitful country, and begged him not to make
any, as he said that by the time his letter should reach him he would be there
himself with his fleet, God willing, not only there but at the islands.19 The
news to which he referred was the story brought back by Niza, as Alvarado
himself mentions in this letter. Niza was an old friend or companion of Alva-
rado, having accompanied him on his expedition to Peru, and been present with
him on several important occasions.20 From what little can be gleaned from
the few contemporary accounts of Niza’s arrival in Mexico, the excitement must
have been intense.21 Mendoza himself immediately began preparations for an
expedition on a large scale, and Alvarado now made plans to divert his explora-
tion of the northwest coast to a land adventure in search of the “Seven Cities.”

The building and equipping of the ships was a slow task. One of the early
chroniclers of Guatemala gives us the names of some of them, the Santiago (the
Capitana), the San Francisco, the Anton Hernandez, the Alvar Nuñez, the Figue-
redo,22 and another, the Juan Rodriguez, apparently named in honor of Cabrillo,
who was the second in command of the fleet. Alvarado himself was captain-
general, and altogether he had eleven ships and 850 soldiers, of whom 250 were
cavalry, and a number of Indians for service. At a session of the Ayuntamiento
of Santiago held May 19, 1540,23 Francisco de la Cueva was appointed as his
lieutenant during his absence by Alvarado, who then departed for Acajutla.24
Oviedo tells us that a man named Bernaldo de Molina who was on his way to
Spain with despatches from Alvarado stopped in Santo Domingo and told him
that he had seen the fleet leave in search of the “Seven Cities” in the month of
August. According to Molina it consisted of three galleons of over 200 tons
each, seven ships of 100 tons each, a beautiful galley and two justas, and carried
more than a thousand seamen and soldiers.25 It thus seems likely that for some
reason Alvarado did not get away until August, and that the fleet sailed from
Acajutla.

The cavalry which Alvarado had aboard his ships and which he was not
required by his contract to send on his exploring expedition, on which it would
have been entirely useless, could not have escaped the eagle eye of the Viceroy
even if the knowledge that Alvarado was contemplating some land expedition
had not reached him long before the fleet set sail. His own army, composed
largely of young men and late comers to Mexico, was somewhere in the north;
there was none left with which to organize another except the conquistadores
still living. These were in the prime of life and were capable of putting up a good
fight if necessary, but they could hardly have been considered by the Viceroy as
likely to be of much assistance to him in any struggle he might have with Alva-
rado, who was now looming up on the horizon with what was probably the most
powerful force that had yet been organized in New Spain. It was true that he
had a third interest in it, of which by this time he must have become aware, even if he had not known about it from the start,26 but he had the whole interest in his own expedition, and could easily foresee that in any arrangement he might make with Alvarado, some share in this would have to be given him. It is uncertain whether the steps he took were intended to starve Alvarado into making a new contract more advantageous to himself or to drive him away from the coast. The facts are that when Alvarado reached Guatulco with his fleet, probably about November 1,27 to take on board the supply of food which had been collected there for him by Cortés from his estate in the neighborhood, he was met by Luis de Castilla and Peralmildez Cherino with orders from the Viceroy not to land, and not to take on the supplies.28 With this order Alvarado apparently complied and set sail for Acapulco.29 As there was nothing there he went on to Santiago in Colima where he was again met by Castilla, who had with him on this occasion Agustin Guerrero, the major-domo of the Viceroy. These two men were the closest to Mendoza of any in Mexico. During the course of the visita of Mendoza in 1547, Castilla testified that they had gone to Navidad to make an agreement with Alvarado in behalf of the Viceroy, but that Alvarado refused to do so with them, declaring that he was determined to go to see the Viceroy himself.30 There is evidence that they put the same kind of pressure on him in Santiago as they had in Guatulco by preventing Alvarado from obtaining food.

A meeting was arranged which took place near the end of November at Tiripitio in Michoacan about half way between Mexico and Santiago. Castilla, in his attempt to refute the charge that the Viceroy had compelled Alvarado to give him a half interest in the fleet instead of a third, testified that the conference nearly broke up because the Viceroy said that Alvarado wanted too much, but that the next morning he told Castilla that he was going to come to an arrangement with Alvarado even if he had to agree to his terms, because if Alvarado went on with his expedition it would be to his prejudice and to that of the force which he had sent to Cibola.31 Mendoza’s reasons are succinctly stated in his letter of October 6, 1541: “His Majesty was pleased that I should have a part in this contract which he made with the adelantado, Pedro de Alvarado, for discoveries in the South Sea. There was some discord between us in adjusting the matter, because His Majesty had made me the grant without my having asked for it, or knowing anything about it. In the end, however, having before my eyes what had happened in Peru, I came to an arrangement with him and we agreed to send out two fleets, one to discover the coast of New Spain, and the other to the west in search of the Lequios and Cathay.”32 Alvarado wrote the Emperor from Valladolid giving him an account of this memorable conference, and Mendoza no doubt did the same, but both letters are lost, to the best knowledge of the writer. Some months later however Alvarado, writing from Guadalajara, said that the contract had been made in order to avoid scandal and the rivalry which had arisen between him and Mendoza by reason of the latter having sent Coronado into his territory. He said they had arranged their differences without regard to their own interests, but only to those of the King, and
that joined together they would have such a great array of ships, forces, food, and supplies that everything would be discovered in a very short time.83

The agreement, which was dated November 29, 1540, and signed before the bishop of Guatemala, Francisco de Marroquin; the oydor, Alonso Maldonado; Cherino and others, provided that Mendoza should have a half interest in the enterprise instead of a third, and that from that day on Alvarado should have a half interest in whatever Coronado and Alarcon might discover, but only a quarter interest in anything that might have been discovered by them up to that date. Each party relieved the other from any claim for payment of any part of the expenses that had been incurred in fitting out these expeditions, but from that day all future expenses were to be shared equally. The partnership was to last for twenty years, the rights and obligations of both parties passing to their heirs in case of death. The Port of Acapulco was fixed on as the port for loading and unloading the fleets, and the shipyard for their construction was established at Xirabaltique in Guatemala. Both men swore to keep the agreement on the cross of the Order of Santiago, to which they belonged.84

This business having been concluded the principals went to Santiago where Alvarado’s fleet then was, to make arrangements about its disposition and to give Mendoza an opportunity to look it over and get acquainted with the men. They decided to send out two expeditions: one to the spice country of three ships and a galley and 300 men, under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos,85 and the other up the coast of five ships and a justa with 300 men under Juan de Alvarado.86 The former was to leave inside of three months and the latter in April. From Santiago the two partners now moved the fleet to Navidad, a port some twenty miles to the north which had recently been discovered. They reached there Christmas day, 1540,87 and while they were in Purificacion near by, where the Viceroy was making an official visita, news of the rising of the Indians in Jalisco reached them. At first this revolt was limited to the district around Suchipila, some distance from the coast, but the Viceroy at once went to Guadalajara, no doubt accompanied by Alvarado.88 He sent out Cristobal de Oñate to lay siege to the hill where the Indians were entrenched, and as Oñate reported that he was quite able to punish them, the Viceroy departed for the City of Mexico, probably still accompanied by Alvarado. They must have left Guadalajara about April 1, as Alvarado wrote a letter from that place dated March 28, and at the end of the month they were both in Mexico. Alvarado in this letter stated that two other large ships were being built and more would be in the future. All this he said had been done with such labor and expense that they had not only invested in the enterprise their own property but also a great part of that of their friends, and particularly his own, asserting that he could not sustain himself unless he received some aid from the King. He also referred to his exclusive contract for seven years and complained of the efforts of Cortés to prevent him from carrying it out. At the end he said that he expected to return to Guatemala when the fleets had been despatched.89
April 29, 1541, the partners prepared in Mexico a set of instructions to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga and Gonzalo Dovalle for a voyage up the west coast in the Pacific Ocean. Alvarado must have left Mexico before May 31, as on that day Mendoza, acting alone, issued a set of instructions to Alarcon for another expedition up the Gulf of California. Alvarado returned to the north and the next we hear of him he was in Zapotlan with Castilla. The revolt in New Galicia had now become very serious and the Spaniards in Guadalajara, hard pressed by the Indians who had defeated Oñate, called on him for aid. Mendoza also wrote him asking him to go to their assistance. He immediately responded, and leaving Castilla in command and Cabrillo in charge of the ships and collecting some of his infantry and cavalry who were in garrison in various places, went to Guadalajara, arriving there June 12. Desiring to conclude the affair as soon as possible, he resolved to immediately attack the Indians who were fortified in an almost inaccessible spot in Nochistlan. Oñate attempted to dissuade him, begging him to wait until the aid arrived which had been asked of the Viceroy. In a few days Alvarado, who was impatient and scornful of any danger from the Indians, prepared his force, began his march and reached Nochistlan June 24. The cavalry was entirely useless, and the infantry could effect but little. He was defeated by the Indians the next day in an attempt to scale the rock, and in the disorder of the flight was accidentally wounded by a horse rolling down hill and striking him. It is generally considered that he died on July 4, but there is much doubt about the precise day. His men scattered, some remaining in Mexico and many returning to Guatemala, but the ships were left and according to all accounts Mendoza took possession of them.

As the sole successor to the enterprise, no one appearing to claim Alvarado's interest, probably on account of the huge debts he had left, Mendoza was now called on to carry out his agreement with the Emperor. It may be safely assumed that the principal interest of the Crown in making the contract with Alvarado had been to insure that an expedition be sent to the spice islands, that to the northwest coast being Alvarado’s scheme. Coronado was still somewhere in the wilds of New Mexico and Mendoza was anxious to get in touch with him. Alarcon had returned by the middle of November, 1540, from his journey to the Colorado River without having accomplished this, and instructions had already been issued to him as has been seen, to undertake another voyage up the gulf, which according to a later statement of Mendoza was to make a settlement on the Colorado River. Haste was now made to despatch him again, as well as the other fleet which was to go up the outer coast, also charged with the duty of communicating if possible with Coronado and going on as far as possible. In spite of the fact that Juan de Alvarado had been designated to command this expedition, we have seen that a change for some unknown reason had been made and that Lopez de Zuñiga had been appointed in his place. Whether he ever went or not is not known, but from the fact that the references to the expedition mention it as having been under the command of Francisco de Bolaños, it is probable that another change was made after Alvarado died. Bolaños was one of Alvarado’s men who had come with him from Guatemala.
as chief pilot of the fleet. Lopez de Zuñiga, one of Alvarado’s officers, was a soldier, and at that time the command of expeditions of such magnitude and importance was almost always given to one of that profession. There is evidence, however, that he had been placed in charge of a garrison at Etzatlan, and was still there in September when the expedition left. If correct, this would furnish the explanation of his failure to accompany it.

Just before July 28, 1541, a letter written by Coronado, dated April 20, reached Mendoza. This letter is lost, but in that of October 20 written after his return from his expedition to Quivira, Coronado refers to it, stating that it had contained all the wonderful things he had heard from the Turk. The Turk, so called, was an Indian slave whom Hernando de Alvarado had brought back to the camp from Cicuye on his return about the end of March of that year from his expedition to see the buffalo. The Turk said that he was a native of a country towards Florida where there was a river two leagues wide in which there were fish as large as horses and a large number of canoes with more than twenty rowers on a side. These canoes had at the prow a great golden eagle and carried sails, while their lords sat under awnings on the poop. He may have told some other tales, quite as wonderful, which Coronado passed on in his letter. This story was published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in 1550 in the first volume of his Navigationi, on the authority of a gentleman who said that he had seen at the Emperor’s court in Flanders in 1541 a letter from Mendoza in which he wrote that Coronado had discovered the “Seven Cities” and that beyond toward the northwest after passing a great desert he had come to the sea, where he found some ships loaded with merchandise, whose sailors indicated by signs that they had been thirty days sailing there from their country. At the prows of these ships were some pelicans made of gold and silver. The story was also published in 1552, probably from Ramusio, by Lopez de Gómara, who in describing the Coronado expedition did so in such a way as to leave the impression that the towns visited by him lay in a line to the northwest instead of to the east and northeast. So it came about that the map makers in northern Europe, when they read his account, placed them in this way, the province of Quivira being on the coast near 40°. Later even Tiguex and Cicuic figured on the same coast farther to the south. It seems difficult to believe that after the return of Coronado and the circulation by his numerous followers of the stories about the expedition to Quivira in the northeast anyone in Mexico could have thought that Quivira was on the northwest coast or in that vicinity, but the influence of the map makers was so strong that even as late as 1572 we find Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa calling the northwest coast Cibola and Quivira.

The facts are, of course, that Coronado never went northwest after leaving the “Seven Cities” nor did any of his men ever reach any point within several hundred miles of the coast, nor is it possible to believe that Coronado ever said they did. Mendoza seems to have taken some stock in the tale, however, as it will be seen hereafter that Cabrillo at least must have had orders to look for some river, perhaps the Turk’s river, two leagues wide, thus furnishing some proof that Mendoza thought this emptied into the Pacific Ocean. This river
seems to have become identified as the Rio de Nuestra Señora, a name applied to the Rio Grande by Hernando de Alvarado when he discovered it September 7, 1540, in honor of the Virgin, whose birthday is celebrated the following day. In his report he did not state in which direction it ran, and this uncertainty may have caused the misunderstanding.\textsuperscript{50} If additional fuel had been necessary to fire Mendoza's zeal in his search for treasure, the story of the Turk must have furnished it, and Bolaños was despatched September 8\textsuperscript{51} with at least three ships, a supplementary instruction having been issued to him or to Lopez de Zuñiga August 2. Mendoza explained the delay in sending out the expedition, which was to have left in the spring, by saying that it was due to discord among Alvarado's captains in New Galicia, but the real reason no doubt was the serious Indian situation.\textsuperscript{52}

The instructions issued to Lopez de Zuñiga and Dovalle for this voyage are still extant. The language used in that to the former warrant the belief that his appointment to command the expedition had been made by the Emperor himself, and such may have been the case, although no record of it exists. He had, however, as previously mentioned, received a direct appointment July 20, 1538, as Contador of the "Provinces of the West," and some other favors had also been granted him in subsequent cedulas. Dovalle was doubtless the Gonzalo de Ovalle, a regidor of the Ayuntamiento in Guatemala in 1539 and a man of some note who had come to New Spain with Francisco de Garay in 1523.

It might be assumed from reading this document that the chief object of the expedition was to discover and take possession of as much of the coast as possible for the purpose of bringing the Indians to the Christian faith. We can be certain, however, that this was only a minor one and that the real purpose was to find gold and silver and if possible to get in touch with Coronado who was somewhere in the north; how far from the coast was of course uncertain at the time. Being drawn up at least six weeks before Coronado's letter of April 20 reached Mendoza, it naturally contains no reference to any supposed town or river on the northwest coast in the neighborhood of 40° of latitude. Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero declared afterwards that when Luis de Castilla came to Navidad to deliver the ships to Bolaños, he gave him an extract from a letter to Mendoza from the Emperor in which he stated that a man imprisoned in Portugal had written him that he had discovered a strait somewhere in the north through which he had passed from one sea to the other. The natural inference would be that it was part of the business of Bolaños to look for this strait, and Ladrillero claimed that when the fleet turned back he wanted to go on and if he had been allowed to do so he would have discovered it.\textsuperscript{53} There is nothing in the accounts of the expedition of Cabrillo, which followed immediately, to indicate that he had any instructions to look for any strait, but he evidently did have one to look for the Rio de la Señora. Perhaps Bolaños had similar ones, and Ladrillero, thirty-three years after he saw the letter Castilla delivered to him, confounded this river with the strait in the existence of which he manifested such an unbounded belief.
If we may credit the testimony of a witness in 1560, Alarcon was despatched the same day as Bolaños.54 Of this voyage nothing more seems to be known. Mendoza himself said that his vessels were disarmed, thus implying that he never left, but he may have done so and gone back almost immediately on finding that his other ships did not follow him; that he never reached the Colorado River again seems certain. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the serious situation of affairs in New Galicia than the abandonment of this enterprise. All the soldiers and arms which could be collected were needed there. Mendoza himself was finally forced to take the field in person; his efforts were successful and the revolt was put down in the winter of that year and the spring of 1542.

While these events were transpiring in New Spain Cortés was in old Spain stirring up all the trouble he could for Alvarado and Mendoza. That he had just cause for his complaints is obvious, and that more attention was paid to them than is usually thought plainly appears from a letter of Mendoza himself. October 20, 1541, Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor’s secretary, wrote him suggesting that he and Alvarado take Cortés into their partnership. May 10, 1542, Mendoza in acknowledging this letter did not embrace the idea with any great eagerness, nevertheless he wrote that he would not “flee from it.” He gave Cobos authority to conclude the matter, but whether or not any further action was taken is unknown.55 Cortés, however, continued his hostility or perhaps renewed it, presenting, July 6, 1543, to the Council a list of charges against Mendoza.56 Cabrillo had returned to Navidad empty handed April 14 of that same year. Is it possible that Cortés had heard the news before taking this action?

In the interference of Cobos in this matter we can perhaps find the key to much that seems obscure in the history of these transactions. His wife was a Mendoza, although apparently not a near relative of the Viceroy; he was certainly a friend of Alvarado’s and Cherino was one of his own followers. What relations if any he had with Cortés are unknown, but as the latter had sufficient influence at court to have his charges against Mendoza investigated it seems probable that Cobos was afraid of him and adopted this method of appeasing him. In the end it will be seen that all Mendoza’s enterprises in search of wealth proved unsuccessful. His losses must have been immense and he soon had to render to the Emperor an account of his actions.

The idea usually held, and indeed one which is apparently confirmed by the opinion Villalobos, the Council’s legal adviser, rendered in the proceeding in Spain initiated by Cortés in March, 1540, that the Coronado expedition was a government enterprise is a mistake.57 Although Mendoza sent Coronado in the name of the King, this really meant no more than that he gave him what amounted to a royal commission; certainly the King bore no part of the expenses. These were provided by Mendoza, his friends and the participants; Cortés even afterwards charged him with having assessed the officials for part of them. All the interest the King had in it was his right to the fifths of any precious metals or other durable booty obtained, the same right he had in the
enterprises of Alvarado, Cortés, Pizarro, or Soto. Mendoza was just as much of an adventurer as they were, to use the word in its old sense as meaning one who adventured his capital in a speculative enterprise, and this no doubt was the cause of the breach between him and Cortés. The latter claimed a preferential right under his contract of 1529 to send an expedition to Cibola against all parties including the King himself. His chief opponents were the representative of Soto, who had a good technical claim, and the firm of Alvarado and Mendoza, who in this matter were represented by Villalobos or the Emperor’s secretary, Cobos. Alvarado’s agent in Madrid began an opposition, but it was purely perfunctory. It appears that the Council delayed action until Mendoza and Alvarado could be heard from, and it was not until May 13, 1541, that a period of thirty days was set in which the various parties had to present all their proofs. Cortés’ representative appealed from this action and asked time to bring witnesses from New Spain. What happened June 13 is not of record, but the suit dragged on until 1544. March 15 of that year the Council issued an order that the order of June 25, 1540, be complied with and that the other matters be referred to the Emperor. Cortés was still seeking action on these October 23. By that time we can readily understand that all parties had lost any interest they might have had in the proceedings, events having demonstrated that the bone over which they were fighting had no meat on it.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The principal sources for writing this chapter are the contracts made by the Emperor with Alvarado of August 5, 1532, and April 16, 1538; Alvarado’s letters of November 30, 1535, November 18, 1539, and March 28, 1541; Mendoza’s letters of November 24, 1540, October 6, 1541, and March 10, 1542, and his instructions to Juan de Aguilar; the contract between Mendoza and Alvarado made at Tiripitio November 29, 1540; the instructions issued by Mendoza and Alvarado to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga and Gonzalo Dovalle April 29, 1541; the declaration of Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero made in Guadalajara, December 13, 1574; and an Informacion made at the request of a grandson of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in Guatemala in 1617-18, embodying a copy of another drawn up in 1560. Most of these documents are to be found in the archives in Seville. In 139-1-3 there is a small book containing Alvarado’s contract of April 16, 1538, and copies of a large number of cedulas making appointments in Alvarado’s “Province of the West” or granting privileges of one kind or another to him and his officials. At the end is the approbation of the Emperor of the agreement made between Mendoza and Alvarado at Tiripitio, dated July 26, 1541, the whole thus comprising what must be practically a complete list of all the cedulas issued regarding this project.

Most of the above documents will be found briefly calendared in Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de
Indias de Sevilla by D. Pedro Torres y Lanzas, the recently retired chief of the archives. Some of the documents have been published in various works and such are specifically cited in the Notes.

The incidental allusions in the documents of the period to these various enterprises described are too numerous to mention. They are, however, important in many respects as furnishing details which have been passed over in the published accounts. The letters and petitions of Cortés and Guzman, the proceedings in the visita of Mendoza are full of these. The various lawsuits of Cortés with Guzman and the oydores of the Audiencia contain numerous documents about some of his expeditions, and the suit in Spain between Cortés, Guzman Soto and Alvarado about the rights of discovery in the north contains others. Many of these documents have been published in the Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas en America y Oceania, but many others of equal or greater importance still remain unedited. Some original documents of the period, notably some accounts of Guzman's progress up the west coast, were published by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta in his Documentos para la historia de Mexico, Mexico, 1858 and 1866.

Many of these documents were exploited in his Conquest of Mexico by William H. Prescott, who had in his possession either many copies of documents in the archives which had been made by Juan Bautista Muñoz, or else copies of his copies which still exist in the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid. Muñoz, however, apparently had not found the numerous files of Cortés' lawsuits, nor the documents of the visita of Francisco Tello de Sandoval. Arthur Scott Aiton in his recently published Antonio de Mendoza has made extensive use of the visita documents, but the proceedings in Cortés' various suits still remain to a large extent unexplored, although Mariano Cuevas has published a few stray documents contained in them in his Cartas y otros documentos de Hernan Cortés, Seville, 1915.

Notes

1. A short biographical sketch of Alvarado will be found in An Account of the Conquest of Guatemala in 1524 by Pedro de Alvarado. Alvarado, like Cortés, was not a don by birth.

2. José Milla in his Historia, Vol. I, 238, asserts that Cortés proposed to Alvarado to form a company to carry on discoveries. No authority is cited for this nor any date given but it appears that Milla intended to convey the impression that it was after Alvarado returned to Guatemala from Mexico in 1530 and therefore after Cortés' own contract of October 27, 1529, and before Alvarado's of 1532 had been made.

3. 139-1-1, printed in P. & C., XXII, 307 — It was signed by the Queen.

4. A copy of this letter made by Buckingham Smith is in the Bancroft Library among the Squier MSS. Alvarado gives a resumé of it in his letter of November 30.

5. 63-6-9; one of the amusing statements in this letter is that while in Peru he had lost 13,000 pesos to Almagro in gambling, which he had paid him, but when he came to be paid for his ships, the 13,000 pesos was deducted from the 100,000 due him, and the balance which was in bars of silver turned out to be half copper when assayed in Guatemala.

6. Made September 26 in Guatemala, 2-2-1/1, R. 66.

7. 1-2-1/4, R. 34, printed in Navarrete's Coleccion, V, Docs. XXII and XXIV. Juan de Mazuecos, another survivor, had previously made a declaration September 17, 1534.

8. 1-2-1/4, R. 36, printed in Navarrete's Coleccion, V, Doc, XXVI.
9. He arrived in Lisbon, August 7, 1537.
10. Both his wives were relatives of the Duke of Albuquerque, his marriage with the first having been arranged by Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor’s influential secretary.
11. Sp. Vuelta que hace la tierra. Presumably Alvarado meant a turn towards the east, as the expression usually did when used in this connection.
12. 139–1–3, printed in P. & C., XXIV, 339, and in part in Col. Docs., Second series, II, Doc. 2. With the original are the cedulas growing out of it.
13. It is to be remarked that this cedula to Mendoza was not issued until October 3, 1539, but it does not seem possible that Mendoza had not heard of Alvarado’s contract and its terms long before.
14. Certainly Cortés had some kind of understanding with Alvarado about his expedition of 1540. In his memorial of 1543 asking residencia against Mendoza, Cortés set out among other charges that Alvarado had come to Guatulco with a fleet of twelve or thirteen ships to take some 1500 quintals of biscuit, 2500 or 3000 hams, and many calves, sheep and pigs, and other supplies which Cortés had ordered to be given to him from his estate. 48-1-1/23, printed in Escritos Sueltos, 334. Mariano Cuevas also printed this as No. XXXIII, apparently from a copy in 1-1-2/16. He attributed it to the year 1542 but the original bears a notation attached to it: “En Valladolid a Seis de Julio de 1543 Años.”
15. Cortés went to Spain either in December 1539 or January 1540 and on arrival at once commenced his proceedings in the Council to establish his rights under his contract of 1529 against those of Alvarado and Mendoza.
16. Hernando de la Torre died before the expedition left, but Bernardo de la Torre, who had also been with Loaysa, presumably also went with him as he accompanied Villalobos as captain of one of the ships. Bernardo was in Tehuantepec in December, 1539, in the pay of Cortés. As Cortés had brought some soldiers from Guatemala, perhaps he also brought him.
17. These cedulas in 139–1–3.
18. Alvarado’s letter from Gracias a Dios, August 4, 1539, P. & C., II, 253, where he says he left Santo Domingo March 20.
20. He was one of the principal witnesses examined in the Información in Guatemala in September, 1536, referred to in Note 6.
22. Quoted in Milla, Historia, 310. Others were the San Jorge, the San Antonio, and the Diosdado. It will be noted that several of the names are those of individuals and not of ships.
24. Recordación Florida, Vol I, 152, states that Alvarado left Guatemala City for Acaxutla May 25, and sailed from there at the beginning of June, but Oviedo’s statement quoted in the next note is more reliable.
25. Oviedo, Historia, IV, 20. He had some first hand information on the subject, and said that the ships were built at Ystapa and from there Alvarado went to Acaxutla, from where he was to commence his voyage. Alvarado in his letter of March 28, 1541, wrote that he had with him nine ships with top masts, a galley and a fusta, 1-2-2/15, R. 59. He did not say how many soldiers he had and the figures given by others are not, probably, any too authentic.
26. The cedula to him informing him of the fact was dated October 3, 1539, and so should have reached him long before August, 1540.
27. As Castilla was in Mexico October 15 according to the records of the Cabildo (Information from A. S. Alton), he could hardly have reached Guatulco much before that date.
29. The only records found of the stop in Acapulco occur in evidence given by Luis Gonzales in the Información by Cabrillo’s son in 1560, and in a later statement that one of Alvarado’s small vessels had gone ashore in that port.
31. 48–1–9/31 The charge that Castilla was refuting was one made by Cortés in the document cited in Note 14 and was as follows: “Constrained by necessity, the Adelantado went with his fleet to the port of Santiago, in the province of Colima, without taking
that food [i. e., in Guatulco] to hunt for a place where he could secure some food, and here also the Viceroy sent the before mentioned [Castilla and Cherino] and Augustin Guerrero his major-domo. They prevented him from taking supplies, to such an extent that those on board the ships left them and went away. Alvarado, seeing himself lost and without any remedy, gave the half of the ships and everything that was in them to the Viceroy, so that he would supply him with food.”

32. Quoted by Oviedo, Historia, III, 540.


34. 1-1-2/1, No. 3, R. 2, printed in P. & C., XVI, 3-42. Approved by the Crown, July 26, 1541, 139-1-3, printed at the end of No. 2, of Col. Docs., Second series, II.

35. Villalobos was a son-in-law of Pedro Diricio, the brother of Martin Diricio who had married Mendoza’s sister and was believed to have had a very rich mine.

36. Recordación Florida states explicitly that this man was a nephew of Alvarado and went with him from Guatemala, I, 153.

37. A rather clear indication that the port was named at that time. In the first item of the instructions to Lopez de Zuñiga Navidad is called a “new port.” It was undoubtedly on what is now known as Navidad Bay in lat. 19° 13′, about on the boundary line between the provinces of Colima and Jalisco. It was usually said to be in Jalisco, and this probably accounts for its selection by Mendoza, as Cortés always had a kind of claim to Colima, in which Santiago was located. Juan Fernandez de Hijar, the founder of Purificación, not far from there, claimed about 1548 to have discovered it. There is no likelihood that it had been used before Alvarado arrived on the coast, in spite of the fact that Pedro de Castañeda in his account of the Coronado expedition said that Alarcon set sail from there in 1540. He probably mixed that expedition up with the following one of Alarcon which did leave there in 1541.

38. The above information is from Mendoza’s answer to charge No. 36 against him, 48-1-2/24.


40. This document is in the library of the Escorial and is translated in the Appendix.

41. Smith’s Varios Documentos, No. I.

42. Milla, Historia, 318, discusses the date of his death, and concludes that it must have taken place about June 20, and says Mendoza wrote July 5 to the Cabildo in Guatemala about his death. Herrera also gives the same date. Milla was mistaken about the date of the letter, which was July 15. Tello in his Crónica, 371, asserts that Alvarado’s will was dated July 4, but it is not possible to place much reliance on his statements. Mendoza in his letter to Oviedo, Peralildez Cherino in his to the Emperor of July 28, 1541, (58-6-9), and Santa Cruz in his Crónica, state that Alvarado died three days after the accident, while Oviedo, Historia IV, 26, himself said that he died eight days after being carried to Jalisco. In his answer cited in Note 38 Mendoza states that he died six days after the accident.

43. According to Question No. 261 of the fragment of the Visita published by Icazbalceta in his Documentos, some of the creditors began suit before the Audiencia and received justice.

44. Mendoza’s letter of November 24, 1540, printed in P. & C., XVI, 342.

45. Mendoza in his answer cited in Note 38. He said: “As Juan Fernandez de Ijar wrote from Purificación to the Port of Navidad that all the Indians were coming on that town, they disarmed three ships which were under sail to go with Captain Hernando de Alarcon to make a settlement on the Rio de Buena Guia, and to assist Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, because I had ordered Luis de Castilla in case of necessity to put aside everything even though the equipment and supplies which he had ready for those discoveries should be lost, and with the men to go to the relief of that province. He took the men out of the ships, and sent them to the relief of Purificación, with the arms and munitions of those ships. As the men did not wish to go, he made them a new advance at my expense.”

46. Tello, Crónica, 353 and 471. Mendoza in his answer; he added that Hernando de Alarcon was stationed in Atlan with thirty soldiers.

47. Translation in Winship’s Coronado Expedition, Washington, 1896. Mendoza in his letter to Oviedo of October 6, 1541, in speaking about the progress of Coronado states that he had already reached 900 leagues from Mexico and “had heard that farther on there were many gold receptacles, pearls and great cities and houses and a country with very abundant food, especially cattle (of which they say there are more than in Spain).” He admitted that Coronado had not found any gold or silver but only some white and beautiful women and abundance of food.
48. A full account of this fable and its origin was published by the writer in the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1926, under the title Some Imaginary California Geography.

49. His letter from Cuzco, March 4, 1572, 1-1-2/33.

50. Winship, Coronado Expedition, 595. The original text first published in Smith's Docs., and then in P. & C., III, 511.


52. It is strange that Mendoza nowhere mentions the Bolaños expedition except in the most indirect manner.

53. See his evidence published by the writer in California Voyages.

54. Evidence of Francisco de Vargas in the Cabrillo Informacion.

55. Cartas de Indias, Madrid, 1877, No. XLV.

56. 48-1-1/23. It afterwards transpired that when Francisco Tello de Sandoval went out to New Spain with orders to investigate Mendoza's administration, these, with a few exceptions, were precisely the charges about which the witnesses were questioned, and were the ones which Mendoza labored to refute.

57. 1-1-2/21. The first part of this legajo was printed in P. and C., XV, 300 et seq. Inigo Lopez de Mondragon the representative of Cortés filed a petition before the Council of the Indies March 1, 1540, asking that a royal order be despatched that no-one without the express license of the King or that of Cortés should go to the new countries which he had discovered (i.e. Cibola). Guzman himself and Alvarado's representative each filed similar petitions the same day and Soto's representative March 3. Luis Salido in the name of Compostela and the town of San Miguel filed another March 6. The petitions and letters presented by Mendoza's representative do not appear in the record. A large number of documents were now filed by various parties. April 21 the Council referred all the documents to the fiscal Villalobos for his opinion and this he presented May 25. His contention was that none of the parties had any rights, their claims being mutually destructive. It is in the course of this that he made the statement that "in effect each one asked for himself the new conquest of the cities which lately had been discovered by the hand of D. Antonio de Mendoza your Viceroy in New Spain who sent to discover them in your name." He seemed to think that this was sufficient to withdraw the territory from the field open to the various contestants, that is, merely because, as he alleged, Mendoza had sent Marcos de Niza, who was said to have discovered them, at the expense of the King. The point looks like a pure legal quibble, even supposing the fact had been true, which the writer very much doubts. Soto appears to have had the best right; the contract was made with him April 20, 1537, and even supposing that Cabeza de Vaca's story had not reached the court at that time, it certainly had before the Queen issued a cedula December 30 to Mendoza and all the authorities and individuals in New Spain to keep out of the territory allotted to him. This cedula was notified to Mendoza August 9, 1538, long before Niza set out. Possibly it was because of this order that Mendoza organized the Coronado expedition in the name of the King. That he did so appears from his own statement in one of his answers to a charge in the visita (48-1-2/24, fol. 58 verso). He did not say that the necessary funds came from the royal treasury, nor is there the least likelihood that they did, as the royal officials would have permitted such use to be made of the King's property. The Emperor soon ordered him to take over the enterprise for his own account.
APPENDIX A

Instructions to Lopez de Zuñiga

What you, Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, lieutenant-governor and captain-general, have to do during the journey on which we, Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, and the adelantado, Don Pedro de Alvarado, governor of the Province of Guatemala, send you in our place, and in compliance with the contract and agreement which His Majesty ordered us to make with you for the discovery and conquest of the coast of the South Sea and the islands of the west is as follows:1

1. First, you will go to the new port of Navidad, on the coast of the South Sea of this New Spain, where are the ships named2.................................................................
   [blank].............................................the ones you are to take, and receive them.
   Having received them you will take on board the supplies which we, the said viceroy and adelantado, have ordered to be prepared and assigned for that purpose. These you will divide among the ships in conformity with the number of people in each one, and deliver them before the notary of the fleet to those persons who in your opinion will give a good account of them, and then send us a certificate signed by yourself and by the said notary. [In the margin, "It should be before the purser of the fleet."]

2. You will make a list of the seamen going in the ships, and of the artillery, arms and ammunition which go in them, and deliver the said artillery and ammunition by inventory to the artillermen, distributed among them as seems best to you so that they will take care of them and have them ready whenever it may be necessary.

3. You will also make a list of the rest of the people3 who go in the fleet, distributing them among the ships as seems best to you, and you will inspect the arms which each one carries and have it all put down before the notary of the fleet.

4. You will deliver before the notary to the person whom we have assigned and named for that purpose all the trading articles carried in the fleet and order him not to dispose of any of them nor trade them with the natives of the countries you may discover, nor in those already discovered, except in your presence.

5. Take especial care that the name of Our Lord be not allowed to be blasphemed and that this be punished, as well as any public sins4 if such be committed.

6. You will also take especial care that in the matter of our faith and

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1 The general articles in the document are almost the same word for word as the general ones in the instruction issued by Cortés to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in 1532, and several are even like those he gave Saavedra in 1527.
2 Five, including the justa, were intended by the instructions to be delivered to Lopez de Zuñiga. Ladrillero does not say how many actually engaged in the expedition, but there were at least three according to his account, one named the San Gabriel.
3 Sp., sobresalientes. Plainly here these were all who were not sailors. The term was usually applied on board ship to servants and artisans and sometimes, if not always, included soldiers.
4 Sp., pecados públicos. Blasphemy, living with a woman without being married, etc.
Christian religion there be no negligence nor laxity, as you see this is our principal purpose in the journey, and that you honor and reverence the friars you have with you and take their opinion in such matters as may be to the purpose, in conformity with what His Majesty orders in his instructions.

7. Having received the fleet in this manner and having made sail from Navidad, you will follow the coast of New Spain to Chiametla, and proceed from there to look for the outside point of the Isla del Marques, thence following the coast in quest of the Isla de Cedros where you will provide yourself with wood and water. Then, with the aid of Our Lord, following the coast closely as it opens up, you will from there onward all along make stops and take possession according to the minute which for that purpose you carry with you, so that all the coast you leave behind may be inspected and known and notice be had of what there is, so that it may be ascertained which is the best. Before you make a settlement anywhere, endeavor to inspect the country to find out thoroughly what there is in it, so as not to be deceived, and pass on if the aspect of it be not satisfactory. The method which you shall follow in going ashore in the country you may discover, will be as follows:

8. When you discover land, if you reach it at an hour when you can inspect it, do so, taking much care that you be not attacked by the natives, and in an open place so as not to be ambushed. In this manner you or those persons whom you shall select shall go ashore.

9. If you reach land or near it at night or so late that you cannot see well by daylight what there is, remain at sea, taking all the care which seems necessary to the chief pilot and the other pilots whom you have with you, and do not go to land except in full day, in order that your ships may not suffer shipwreck and you may not be tricked by the natives.

10. If, having arrived at such a land, you see that it is inhabited, and observe anyone on the beach or in the fields or any settlements, you will be very careful to see whether they have any ships or boats or other things with which to navigate, and until you find this out and are thoroughly informed about it, you will not go ashore for any reason whatsoever. If possible, make some signs with flags to those on shore, or in some other manner you think advisable, indicating that you desire them to come to you and that you cannot go ashore, so that they should thus make it manifest whether they have ships or anything with which to navigate.

5 These friars were no doubt Franciscans.
6 Cape San Lucas, not yet named. Note the evident distinction between an outside and an inside point, and that the name "California" is not used. The Isla del Marques appears here to be the Peninsula of California as a whole, certainly the lower part of it, then thought to be an island.
7 There was a regular established form to be used in taking possession. See an acta attached to the Ullan document. The order to begin taking possession after leaving Cedros is good proof that none had been taken by Ullan beyond that island. Cabrillo in the following voyage must have had a similar instruction, as his first possession was taken north of that island.
8 Sp., calar. This expression was in very common use among the early explorers, and its exact meaning is not always clear. To calar a mine was to sink a prospect hole in it. To calar a port probably meant to go inside to get a prospect of it, but sometimes the word seems to have been used in the sense of making a chart or sketch of it.
11. If it should turn out that they have any ships and should come out to you, you will observe what manner of people they are, and if you can risk coming together with them to talk in such a way that you will run no danger or risk, you will do so, having your artillery ready and your people in a position to attack or to defend themselves, always making every sign of peace.

12. If you see that their ships are larger than yours, and they seem to you to display the art of a people civilized and warlike, you will keep away from them as far as you can, moving in the direction of this country, to prevent being captured by them, as such would be a great loss because, if taken, besides losing you, the information already obtained about the country would be lost.

13. If, however, you see that the ships of such people are like those used in these parts and in the islands, you will draw near them, making every sign of peace as ordered, and having come to talk, if their language should be one which you can understand and one in which they can understand you, you will tell them that you belong to a country very near them, whose lord is the greatest in the universe, the greater part of which obeys him, and that by order of two of his captains, who reside in these parts and had news of their country, you are going to see and find out what kind of people they are who live there and of what rule and rite and in whom they believe or worship, if they know of God, the Creator and Maker of all things, and whom they have for a temporal lord, and that when you have found this out you have to return to tell about it to him who sent you. Make plain to them in every possible way that if they desire the friendship and alliance of the captain9 who sends you in the name of such a great prince as you have previously described to them, you can assure them that he will be their friend and keep with them a full alliance and confederation, and if they wish to come to trade with this country, bringing their products and taking away those which are here, they may very safely do so, and also that, having this indication from them, people will go from here to their country to trade, something which will prove very advantageous to them. Of the trading articles you carry, you will give them what seems best to you, showing them all the different kinds of your goods and taking great note of what they like the best, so that, Our Lord willing, on the return which you make yourself or send with more force, you can carry a greater quantity of such things.

14. You will also observe whether those persons who come to talk with you wear any ornaments, and see which are those they value the most, in order to take note of this as well. See if in any part of their dress they wear gold, pearls or precious stones,10 and of what quality, but do not ask them for anything nor show yourself more given to one thing than to another of what you see on them, so that they may not cunningly take note of it, but, on the contrary, you will with much dissimulation take cognizance of the things which they hold in the greatest estimation.

9 Note here the singular, thus indicating that this paragraph had been rather carelessly copied from another signed by a single individual, no doubt that of Cortés.
10 Sp., piedras. A word in general use at that time for precious stones.
15. If you find that they have no ships with which they can attack you at sea, go to land in a port or place where your ships can be safe and stay there some days until you can find out about the land, its customs, quality, people and all other particulars which may be possible, informing yourself if the country is an island or mainland, how large it is, if it has one lord or many, if there are wars between them, what kind of houses they have and everything else which in the circumstances you can find out, taking much care to keep your ships and people safe.

16. If you find a good country where you can make a settlement as ordered, you should remain settled there and send to discover farther on Gonzalo Dovalle, whom we have chosen for that purpose, having the necessary confidence in his character. Give him the ship of Juan Rodriguez,11 the galleon prieto and the justa,12 part of those you are taking with you, and provide him with all the supplies possible and the artillery, seamen, soldiers and whatever else you think he will need for his voyage, so that as the person who has the business in hand he may not fail to secure the results which we desire in the service of God, Our Lord, and His Majesty, in conformity with our instruction, which Gonzalo Dovalle carries for that purpose.

17. If after Gonzalo Dovalle has gone on in this manner and you have news from him that he has found better country than the one where you may be, and it seems advisable to you to go there in person, you can go, leaving the settlement in as good order and security as you may be, sending us advice of everything with full particulars, so that you may be aided with men and whatever else may be necessary, according to your needs. In order that this may be better done, you will send us your ships, but if it seems advisable to you that any of them remain there, let this be done. In the ships which come you will send us eight or ten Indians, natives of the countries you have discovered, to learn our language and see what is here, and you will also send the specimens and those things of interest native to the country that you have obtained.

18. You will labor by every means possible to leave contented and in peace the people by whom you pass, and in those places where they receive you and treat you the best you will endeavor to remain a shorter time, so that they may not be molested with your large party. In case, however, it may be necessary to stay there, take very especial care that no one go astray to injure them in any way.

19. Always lodge at some little distance from the towns and do not permit any soldier to go to them nor enter the houses of the Indians, inflicting grave penalties on whomsoever breaks this rule, which you will execute with all rigor, because for not having done so the Portuguese have suffered much harm

11 That is, Cabrillo, who commanded the subsequent expedition. According to the witnesses in the Informacion of 1560, Cabrillo had built a ship with his own money, evidently the one here referred to.
12 Whether prieto was the name of the ship or referred to its black color is uncertain. A justa was a small vessel with lateen sails.
in India, and have lost many towns and many nations. For this reason, even although your people get sick, they must suffer, for the advantage to be gained, and to avoid the inconveniences which usually occur when they do the contrary.

20. You will not permit the men to travel unarmed or in disorder. In your choice of places to make your camp look about well and keep a good guard night and day. As His Majesty is not well served nor wishes that anything should be taken from any Indians against their wish, and this is just, you carry a certain quantity of goods for barter with which to provide your people with necessities, and with which you will order necessary food to be bought when out of their good will the Indians do not wish to give it.

21. His Majesty gives the rule to be observed in dividing the Indians in an item of the instruction which he orders given to persons who are going to conquer and pacify new countries. It seems that it would be inconvenient to do this before the country is pacified, since if so done, it would not be possible to have a good idea of the country and its qualities so as to reward each one according to his person and services. As has been experienced in New Spain and other parts, the people would occupy themselves in their private affairs and neglect the public ones, concealing the good and bad qualities of the Indians whom they have in encomienda, and paying more attention to what is convenient to themselves. Mindful of this and other moving reasons, it seems to us that the said division should not be made until the land is pacified. This, then, you will see is done and complied with until you give us your report, when, after having seen it, we will inform you what is advisable.

22. The punishments you have to inflict on the people you take with you, be advised, should not be ignominious, because such break the spirits of men and from valiant they become cowardly, but they should be such as are corrective and not degrading.

23. You will be forbearing and affable to all and speak to them kindly so that they do not hold you in little esteem.

24. In affairs of war you will ask many about what is best to be done and hear from all what they have to say, but what you have to do you will communicate to few, and those only such as are the best disposed to you and have the most experience in the matters under discussion.

25. You will always try, in every place you reach, to find out about Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and if you obtain any news of his force, you will use every diligence in advising him of your whereabouts, and if he should have any need of men or of anything else you have with you, you will aid him, as it is proper you should do, because it is all one enterprise. The same is being written to Francisco Vasquez to do for you if you should have need of him.

13 In 1526 Charles V issued a set of ordinances covering new discoveries, no doubt those here referred to. To grant the Indians in encomienda was usually the first thing a conqueror of new lands did, this in most cases being about the only reward the participants in the enterprise obtained.

14 The meaning of this sentence is obscure.

15 In the agreement between Mendoza and Alvarado, the latter had received the same interest in the expedition of Coronado from that time on as Mendoza had in his contemplated expedition. In a way both were directed to the same end — the search for accumulated treasure somewhere in the north.
26. As it may happen that the ships we are sending to the islands\textsuperscript{16} might come to reconnoiter the coast where you are, be advised that wherever possible you should leave buried in the watering-places, ports, and points, some letters in a pot or jar underneath some tree on which you will mark a cross, and therein you will inform them and leave a record of the journey you have made and of the coast seen, so that the ship may have knowledge of it. If by chance the ship should come to where you are in person, or any of your force, you will supply them with what is necessary. You will not allow anyone on board to leave the ship or remain on land, or take anything out of her, but despatch her immediately to come to us to render an account of what they bring and of their voyage. Done in the City of Mexico, April 29, 1541.

\textbf{Don Antonio de Mendoza}

\textbf{El Adelantado Alvarado}

Countersigned by Almaguer.\textsuperscript{17}

On the second of August, the Viceroy, my master, added to this instruction the following: Look at your instruction and always keep in full what touches the service of the Lord our Master, but in the rest, as the person who has the matter in hand, you, the Señor,\textsuperscript{18} may act in everything as seems best, without respect to the instructions, in such cases as it seems to you that there is some inconvenience in carrying out what is said in them.

[An inserted page]

[At the top is a line, evidently the last part of a sentence, "fuere plaziendo a nro. S\textsuperscript{or}. descubrieren" then begins:]

His Majesty in the contract which he ordered made with you for the discovery of the islands and provinces of the country and coast of the South Sea, ordered the following chapters inserted. As it is not our wish to exceed in any way what is contained in them, we order you to guard and comply with them as he ordered and as they are set forth in the said chapters.

[Three lines crossed out.]

Inasmuch as Gonzalo de Valle and the force which goes beyond with him on discovery and that which remains with you are all one, and it is just that those who are with him and those who remain with you, should have equal shares in any advantages there may be in the country when settled, you will see that this is done, because the same will be done with the force which remains with you in respect to the land which Gonzalo de Valle and his people may discover.\textsuperscript{19}

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\textsuperscript{16}This refers to the expedition to the spice islands contemplated at that time and afterward taken out by Villalobos.

\textsuperscript{17}Antonio de Almaguer, one of Mendoza’s secretaries. He received a direct appointment from the Emperor November 29, 1541, as treasurer of the “Islands of the West,” 139-1-3.

\textsuperscript{18}Sp., vos Señor. Perhaps “you as commander.”

\textsuperscript{19}This page is only a little over half the length of the other pages and is in a different handwriting. It was evidently addressed to Lopez de Zúñiga. The document is not the original but a copy to which additions were made by someone at the time they were received.
APPENDIX B

INSTRUCTIONS TO GONZALO DOVALLE

What you, Gonzalo Dovalle, have to do, in the name of us, Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, and the adelantado, Don Pedro de Alvarado, governor of the Province of Guatemala, after Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, our lieutenant-governor and captain-general, has made a settlement in the discovery which he goes to make, is as follows:

1. In an item of the instruction which we are giving to the said Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, our lieutenant-governor and captain-general, we order him, when he has decided to make a settlement, finding the country adapted for such, to give you the ships and the justa as set out in the instruction, namely, that of Juan Rodríguez, the galleon prieto and the justa, with the supplies and force which seem best to him in accordance with the possibilities of the case. These having been delivered to you, you will keep the following order:

2. Having received the said ships in the manner above set forth, you will divide among them the supplies which Diego Lopez gives you in accordance with the force which each one carries, and make delivery of them before a notary to such persons as seem to you will give a good account of them, and of this you will send us a certificate.

3-7. The same as Nos. 2-6 of the preceding instructions except for verbal changes of no importance in Nos. 4-5.

8. Having received the ships and divided the force and the supplies in the manner above stated, make sail and with the aid of Our Lord continue the voyage along near the coast as it opens out, and in all parts make stops and take possession according to the minute you carry for that purpose, so that everything you leave behind you is inspected and known, and we may have advice of what there is in order to see which is best.

9. If, in following the coast and continuing the discovery, you should happen on a better land than the one where Diego Lopez de Zuñiga made a settlement, you will give him news of it with the justa which you take with you, so that he can send the news to us and can go there himself, as we so order, in case it seems best to him, while you will continue your discovery as far as possible, taking possession in all those parts you may discover in the manner above stated. Do not content yourself with any place with which you fall in, even although it may seem a better one in which to stop, but go on, continuing your discovery as far as possible, as the advantage to be gained by your voyage and journey consists in discovering, inspecting and taking possession of all that you can. You will send or bring us all the samples you can find of the country you discover, no matter of what quality, so that we may know more particularly what there is in them. The order you will use in going ashore in the country you may discover is as follows:

10. The same as No. 8.

11. The same as the first half of No. 10, the next two pages, which contained the remainder and Nos. 12-17, evidently being lost.
12. The same as No. 18.
13. The same as the second part of No. 20.
14. The same as No. 22.
15. The same as No. 23.
16. The same as No. 24.
17. The same as No. 26, except that the phrase "to come to us to give us" is crossed out and "to come to me to give me" is written over it.\(^{20}\)

Done in the City of Mexico, April 29, 1541.

DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA
EL ADELANTADO ALVARADO
Countersigned, Almaguer.

[Added in another handwriting:] If it seems to you best to stop in some one of the lands you discover, do so and send us advice of it so that provision can be made according to the account you send and what you write from there, and in addition, if it seems best to come here yourself and leave behind some persons, do so, if it seems proper to you and you see besides that it is advisable.\(^{21}\)

\(^{20}\) This change to the singular number indicates that the correction had been made after Alvarado died.

\(^{21}\) This addition is in the same handwriting as that of the inserted page.