



le ne fay rien
sans

Gayeté

(Montaigne, Des livres)

Ex Libris
José Mindlin

THE
DISCOVERIE
OF THE LARGE,
RICH, AND BEVVTFIVL
EMPYRE OF GVIANA, WITH
a relation of the great and Golden Citie
of Manoa (*which the Spanyards call El
Dorado*) And of the Prouinces of *Emeria,*
Sirromaia. Amapaia, and other Coun-
tries, with their riuers, ad-
ioyning.

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir
W. Raleigh Knight, Captaine of her
Maiesties Guard, Lo. Warden
of the Scanneries, and her High-
nesse Licutenant generall
of the Countie of
Cornewall.



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1596.

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a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me still presume that you will be pleased (knowing what little power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forewarned enemies) to answere that out of knowledge, which others shall but obiect out of malice. In my more happy times as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loues sought me out in the darkest shadow of aduersitie, and that the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sore d not away from me in my manie miseries: all which though I cannot requite, yet I shall euer acknowledge: and the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can doe no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they haue yeelded very grieuous effects, and if ought might haue bene deserued in former times to haue counterpoysed anie part of offences, the fruite thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, vndertake these trauels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with misfortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better encouragement, that thereby if it were possible I might recouer but the moderation of excessse, and the least tast of the
greatest

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greatest plentie formerly possessed. If I had known other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther means I might yet use, but even to appease so powrefull a displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeare more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that little remaine I had, I haue wasted in effect all herein, I haue vndergone many constructions, I haue beene accompanied with many sorrows, with labor, hunger, heat, sicknes, & perill. It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other brauado of going to the sea, then was meant, and that I was neither hidden in Cornewall, or else where, as it was supposed. They haue grossly belied me, that foreiudged that I would rather become a seruant to the Spanish king, then return, & the rest were much mistaken, who would haue perswaded, that I was too easeful and sensuall to vndertake a iorney of so great trauel. But, if what I haue done, receiue the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shal thinke all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest, many miseries: But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in an eternall distast, I doe not then knowe whether I should bewaile my selfe either for my too much trauel

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and expence , or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserue nothing. From my selfe I haue deserued no thanks , for I am returned a begger, and withered , but that I might haue bettred my poore estate , it shall appeare by the following discourse , if I had not onely respected her Maiesties future Honor, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picorie , and it had sorted ill with the offices of Honor, which by her Maiesties grace, I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, & from place to place, for the pillage of ordinarie prizes . Many yeares since, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana, and of that great and Golden City, which the Spanyards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and enlarged by a yonger sonne of Guainacapa Emperor of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pazarro and others conquered the saide Empire, from his two elder brethren Guascar, and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same , the one being fauoured by the Oreiones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caximalca. I sent my seruant Iacob Whiddon the yeare before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captaine Parker some time my seruant, and now attending

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on your Lo. that such a place there was to the southward of the great bay of Charuas, or Guanipa: but I found that it was 600. miles farther off, then they supposed, and manie other impediments to them vnknown and vnheard. After I had displanted Don Anthonio de Berreo, who was vpon the same enterprize, leauing my ships at Trinidad, at the port called Curiapan, I wandred 400. miles, into the said ccuntry by land and riuer: the particulars I will leave to the following discourse. The country hath more quantity of Gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the Indies, or Peru: All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maiesties vassals: & seeme to desire nothing more then her Maiesties protection, and the returne of the English nation. It hath another grounde and assurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the west Indies, & an easier way to inuade the best parts thereof, then by the common course. The king of Spaine is not so impouerished by taking 3 or 4 port townes in America as we suppose, neyther are the riches of Peru, or Nueua Espania so lost by the sea side, as it can be easily washt away, with a great flood, or spring tide, or left drie vpon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The port townes are few and poore in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are onely rich

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when the fleets are to receive the treasure for Spaine: And we might thinke the Spanyards verie simple, hauing so many horses and slaues, that if they could not vpon two daies warning, carrie all the Golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our footmen, especiallie the Indies beeing (as it is for the most part) so mounteynous, so full of woods, riuers, and marishes. In the port townes of the prouince of Vensuello, as Cumana, Coro, and S. Iago (whereof Coro and S. Iago were taken by Captaine Preston and Cumana and S. Iosephus by vs) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of Barquasimeta, Valentia, S. Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Alleguna, Marecabo, and Truxillo, are not so easelie inuaded: neither doth the burning of those on the coast impouerish the king of Spayne anie one Ducket, and if we sacke the riuer of Hache, S. Marta, and Cartagena, which are the portes of Nueuo reyno and Popayan. There are besides within the land which are indeed rich and populous, the townes and Cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophero, the great Cities of Pampelone, S. Fe de Bogota, Tunia and Mozo where the Esmeralds are founde, the townes and Cities of Morequito, velis, la villa de Leua, Palma, vnda, Angustura, the greate Citie
of

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of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Pasto, Iuago, the greate citie of Popaian it selfe, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the ports and villages within the bay of Vraba in the kingdom or riuers of Dariena, and Caribana, the cities and townes of S. Iuan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Antiocha, Caramanta, Cali, and Auferma haue gold enough to pay the King part, and are not easily inuaded by the way of the Ocean, or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken in the prouince of Castillo de oro, and the villages vpon the riuers of Cenu and Chagre. Peru hath besides those and besides the magnificent cities of Quito and Lima so many Ilands, portes, Cities, and mines, as if I should name the with the rest, it would seeme incredible to the reader: of all which because I haue written a particuler treatise of the west Indies, I will omit their repetition at this time, seing that in the saide treatise I haue anat omized the rest of the sea townes as well of Nicaragna, Iucata, Nueua Espanna, and the Ilands, as those of the Inland, and by what meanes they may be beste inuaded, as farre as any meane Iudgement can comprehend. But I hope it shall appeare that there is a way found to answer eeuery mans longing, a better Indies for her maiestie then the King of Spaine hath any, which if it shall please her highnes to vndertake,

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I shall most willingly end the rest of my daies in following the same: If it be left to the Spoyle and sackage of common persons, if the loue and seruice of so many nations be despised, so great riches, and so mightie an Emperie refused, I hope her Maiesty will yet take my humble desire and my labour therein in gracious part, which if it had not beene in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, I could haue laid hands and ransomed many of the kings & Cassiqui of the Country, & haue had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption: But I haue chosen rather to beare the burthen of pouerty, then reproch, & rather to endure a second trauel & the chaunces therof, then to haue defaced an enterprize of so great assurance, vntill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royall heart eyther to follow or foreflow the same: I will therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath onely power in al things, and do humbly pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrunne in euery part, the following discourse, in which I haue neither studied phrase, forme, nor sashion, and that you will be pleasea to esteeme me as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I shall euer remaine ready to doe you all honour and seruice.

W: R.

To the Reader.



Ecause there haue been diuers opinions conceiued of the golde oare brought from *Guiana*, and for that an Alderman of London and an officer of her maiesties minte, hath giuen out that the same is of no price, I haue thought good by the addition of these lines to giue aunswere as well to the said malicious slander, as to other obiections. It is true that while we abode at the lland of *Trinidado*, I was informed by an Indian, that not farre from the Port, where we anchored, there were founde certaine minerall stones which they esteemed to be gold, and were thereunto perswaded the rather for that they had seen both English, and French men gather, and imbarque some quantities thereof: vppon this liklyhoode I sent 40 men and gaue order that each one should bring a stone of that myne, to make triall of the goodnesse, which being performed, I assured them at their returne that the same was *Marcasite*, and of no riches or value: Notwithstanding diuers trusting more to their owne sence, then to my opinion, kept of the saide *Marcasite*, and haue tried thereof, since my returne, in diuers places. In *Guiana* it selfe I neuer sawe *Marcasite*, but all the rocks, mountaines, all stones in the plaines, in woodes, and by the riuers sides are in effect thorow shining, and appeare marueylous rich, which being tried to be no *Marcasite*, are the trew signes of rich mineralles, but are no other then *El madre del oro* (as the Spanyards terme them) which is the mother of golde, or as it is saide by others the scum of gold: of diuers sortes of these manie of my companie brought also into England, euerie one taking the fayrest for the best, which is not generall: For mine owne partte, I did not countermand any mans desire, or opinion, & I could haue a-

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forded them little if I should have desired them the pleasing of their owne fancies therein : But I was resolu'd that golde must be found either in graines separate from the stone (as it is in most of al the riuers in *Guiana*) or else in a kinde of hard stone, which we call the white Sparre, of which I saw diuers hills, and in sundrie places, but had neither tyne, nor men, nor instruments fitte to labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I founde of the saide white Sparre or flint a very great ledge, or banke, which I endeuored to breake by al the meanes I coulde, because there appeared on the out side some small graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the same vppon the vpper part, seeking the sides and circuite of the sayd rock, I founde a clift in the same, from whence with daggers, and with the heade of an ax, we gotte out some small quantitie thereof, of which kinde of white stone (wherein golde is engendred) we sawe diuers hills and rocks in euerie part of *Guiana*, wherein we travelled. Of this there hath bene made manie trialls, and in London, it was first assaide by Master *Westwood* a refiner dwelling in woodstreet, and it helde after the rate of 12000 or 13000 pounds a tunne. Another sort was afterward tried by Master *Bulmar* and Master *Dimoke* assay master, and it held after the rate of 23000 pounds a tunne. There was some of it againe tried by Master *Palmer* comptroller of the minte, and Master *Dimoke* in golde smiths hall, and it helde after 26900 pounds a tunne. There was also at the same time, and by the same persons a triall made of the dust of the said myne which held 8. pound 6. ounces weight of gold, in the hundred : there was likewise at the same time a triall made of an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which helde a third part gold, besides diuers trialls made in the countrey, and by others in London. But because there came of ill with the good, and belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandall all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lyeth. It hath also been concluded by diuers, that if there had been anie such oare in *Guiana*, and the same discovered, that

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I woulde haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bounde to satisfie anie man of the quantitie, but such onely as aduentured, if any store had been returned thereof: but it is verie true that had all their mountaynes beene of massie gold, it was impossible for vs to haue made anie longer staye to haue wrought the same: and whosoeuer hath seene with what strength of stone, the best golde oare is inuironned, hee will not thinke it easie to be had out in heaps, and especiallie by vs who had neither men, instrumentes, nor time (as it is saide before) to performe the same: There were on this discouerie, no lesse then 100 personnes, who can all witnesse, that when we past any braunch of the riuier to vewe the land within, and staid from our boats but six houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if we attempted the same the day following, it was impossible either to forde it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither bote nor man could finde place, either to land, or to imbarque: for in Iune, Iuly, August, and September, it is impossible to nauigate any of those riuers, for such is the furie of the *Current*, and there are so many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if anie boate but touch vppon anie tree or stake, it is impossible to saue any one person therein: and ere we departed the land, it ran with that swiftnesse, as we draue downe most commonly against the winde, little lesse then one hundred miles a day: Besides our vessels were no other then wherries, one little barge, a small cockboate, and a bad Galiota, which wee framed in hast for that purpose. at *Trinidado*, and those little boates had nyne or ten men apeece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our shippes, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakely mande in an open roade, and had promised our return in 15 dayes. Others haue deuised that the same oare was had from *Barbery*, and that we caried it with vs into *Guiana*: surely

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the singularitie of that deuice, I do not well comprehend, for mine owne parte, I am not so much in loue with these long voyages, as to deuise, thereby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subiected to perils, to diseases, to ill fauours, to be parched and withered, and withall to sustaine the care and labour of such an enterprize, excepte the same had more comfort, then the fetching of *Marcasite* in *Guiana*, or bying of gold oare in *Barbery*. But I hope the better sort will iudge me by themselves, & that the way of deceipt, is not the way of honor or good opinion: I haue herein consumed much time, & many crowns, and I had no other respecte or desire then to serue her maiesty and my Country thereby. If the spanishe nation had bene of like beleefe to these detractors, we should litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now consider of the actions both of *Charles* the fift, who had the *Maydenhead* of *Peru*, & the abundant treasures of *Asabalipa*, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the actes of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, garrisons, and nauies, he hath & doth maintaine, the greate losses which he hath repayred, as in 88 aboute 100 sayle of greate shippes with their artillery, and that no yere is lesse vnfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are deuoured, & yet notwithstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwracke to vs all, we shall finde that these abilities rise not from the trades of sables, and Ciuil Orenge, nor from ought else that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other prouinces produce: It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into Councils, and setteth bound loyalty at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keepe vs from forraine enterprizes, and from the impeachment of his trades, eyther by offer of inuasion, or by beleiging vs in Britayne, Ireland, or else where, he hath then brought the worke of our perill in greate forwardnes.

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wardnes. Those princes which abound in treasure haue greate aduantages ouer the rest, if they once constraine them to a defensiu warre, where they are driuen once a yeare or oftner to cast lots for their own garments, & from such shal al trades, & entercourse, be taken away, to the general losse & impouerishment of the kingdom, & comon weale so reduced: besides when men are constrained to fight, it hath not the same hope as when they are prest & encouraged by the desire of spoyle & riches. Farther it is to be doubted how those that in time of victorie seeme to affect thcir neighbour nations, will remaine after the first view of misfortunes, or ill successe; to trust also to the doubtfulness of a battel, is but a fearefull and vncertaine aduenture, seeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile, as vertue. It shall not be necessary to alleage all that might be said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoeuer kingdome shall be inforced to defend it selfe, may be compared to a body dangerouslie diseased, which for a season may be preserued with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground, and be dissolued. I haue therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power, & perswasion, to aduance al those attempts, that might eyther promise return of profit to our selues, or at last be a lett & impeachment to the quiet course, & plentiful trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake iudgement by such a warre were as easily indaungered and brought from his powerfulness, as any prince in Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdomes and nations his reuenues are gathered, and those so weake in their owne beings, and so farre reuered from mutuall succor. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in hast, and that the time which our enemies embrace, can not be had againe to aduantage, I will hope that these prouinces, and that Empyre now by me discovered shall suffice to inable her Maiesty, and the whole kingdome, with no lesse quantities of treasure, then the king of Spayne hath in all the Indies, east and west, which he possesseth, which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spanyards, enforce the same, and

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if her Maiefty will vndertake it, I wilbe contented to lose her highnesfauour and good opinion for euer, and my life withall, if the same be not found rather to exceed, then to equall whatsoever is in this discourse promised or declared. I will nowe referre the reader to the following discourse with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labors and indeuours of such as thereby seeke the profit and honor of her Maiefty, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitic and vertue receiue such construction, and good acceptance, as them selues would looke to be rewarded wichall in the like.

W: R.



THE DISCOVERIE OF GVIANA.



ON Thursday the 6. of February in the year 1595. we departed *England*, and the Sunday following had sight of the North cape of *Spain*, the winde for the most part continuing prosperous: wee passed in sight of the *Burlings*, and the rocke and lo onwarde for the *Canaries*, and fell with *Puerto ventura* the 17. of the same moneth, where we spent two or three daies, and relieued our companies with some fresh meate. From thence wee coasted by the *Gran Canaria*, and so to *Tenerife*, and staid there for the Lyons whelp your Lordships ship, and for captaine *Amis Preston* and the rest: But when after 7. or 8. daies we found them not, wee departed and directed our course for *Trinidad* with mine owne shippe, and a small barke, of Captaine *Crosses* onely (for we had before lost sight of a small Gallego on the coast of *Spain*, which came with vs from *Plymouth*:) wee arriued at *Trinidad* the 22. of March, casting ancour at point *Cariapan*, which the Spanyards call *punto de Gallo*, which is situate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. daies, and in all that time we came not to the

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speech of anie Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the point *Carao* towards *Curriapan*, but for feare of the Spaniards, none durst come to speake with vs. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore and landed in euery Coue, the better to know the Iland, while the ships kept the channell. From *Curriapan* after a fewe daies we turned vp Northeast to recouer that place which the Spaniards call *puerto de los Hispanioles*, and the inhabitants *Conquerabia*, and as before (reuietualing my barge) I left the shippes and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitantes, and also to vnderstand the riuers, warring places and portes of the Iland which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your Lordship after a few daies. From *Curriapan* I came to a port & seat of Indians called *Parico* where we found a fresh-water riuier, but sawe no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals *Piche*, and by the Spaniardes *Tierra de Brea*: In the way betweene both were diuers little brooks of fresh water, & one salt riuier that had store of oysters vpon the branches of the trees, & were very salt & wel tasted. Al their oysters grow vpon those boughs and spraiies, and not on the ground: the like is commonlie scene in the West Indies and else where. This tree is described by *Andrewes Theuet* in his french *Antartique*, and the forme figured in his booke as a plante verie straunge, and by *Plinie* in his *xiii.* booke of his naturall historie. But in this Ilande, as also in *Guiana* there are verie manie of them.

At this point called *Tierra de Brea* or *Piche* there is
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that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and wee made triall of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sunne as the pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for ships trading the south partes very profitable. From thence we went to the mountaine fode called *Annaperima*, and so passing the riuer *Carone* on which the Spanish Citie was seated, we met with our ships at *puerto de los Hispanioles* or *Conquerabia*.

This Iland of *Trinidado* hath the forme of a sheeplehook, and is but narrow, the north part is very mounteynous, the soile is very excellent and wil beare sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yeeld. It hath store of deare, wyld porks, fruits, fish & fowle: It hath also for bread sufficient *Mais*, *Cassans*, and of those roots and fruits which are common euery where in the west *Indies*. It hath diuers beasts, which the *Indies* haue not: the Spaniards cōfessed that they found grains of gold in some of the riuers, but they hauing a purpose to enter *Guiana* (the *Magazin* of all rich mettels) cared not to spend time in the search therof any farther. This Iland is called by the people therof *Cairi*, and in it are diuers nations: those about *Parico* are called *Iaio*, those at *Punto Carao* are of the *Arwacas*, and betweene *Carao* and *Curiapan* they are called *Saluaios*, betweene *Carao* and *punto Galera* are the *Nepoios*, and those about the Spanish Citie tearme themselues *Carinepagotes*: Of the rest of the nations, and of other portes and riuers I leaue to speake heere, being impertinent to my purpose, and meane to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description

of the Iland, three partes whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better discribe it.

Meeting with the ships at *puerto de los Hispanioles*, we found at the landing place a company of Spanyardes who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a signe of peace I sent Captaine *Whiddon* to speake with them, whome afterward to my great grieffe I left buried in the said Iland after my returne from *Guiana*, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spanyards seemed to be desirous to trade with vs, and to enter into rearms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength then for ought else, and in the end vpon pledge, some of them came aboard: the same euening there stale also aboard vs in a small *Canoa* two Indians, the one of them being a *Casique* or Lord of people called *Cantyman*, who had the yeare before beene with Captaine *Whiddon*, and was of his acquaintance. By this *Cantyman* wee vnderstood what strength the Spaniards had, how farre it was to their Citie, and of *Don Anthonio de Berreo* the gouernour, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

While we remained at *puerto de los Hispanioles* some Spaniards came aboard vs to buy lynnens of the company, and such other thinges as they wanted, and also to view our shippes and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our manner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for those poore souldiers hauing beene many yeares without wine, a fewe draughtes made them merry, in which moode they vaunted of *Guiana* and of the riches therof, and all what they knew of the waies and passages, my
selfe

selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the entrance or discoverie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those english, which I had planted in *Virginia*, whereof the brute was come among them, which I had performed in my returne if extremity of weather had not forst me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be reuenged of *Berre*, who the yeare before betraied 8. of Captaine *Whiddons* men, and toke them while he departed from them to seeke the *E. Bonaventure*, which arriued at *Trinidado* the day before from the *East Indies*: in whose absence *Berre* sent a *Canoa* aboard the pinnace onely with *Indians* and dogs inuiting the company to goe with them into the wods to kil a deare, who like wile men in the absence of their Captaine followed the *Indians* but were no sooner one harquebush shot from the shore, but *Berre*s souldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had giuen his worde to Captaine *Whiddon* that they should take water and wood safelie: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the *Spaniards* I daily learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the riuers and passages, and of the enterprize of *Berre*, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the time I was assured by another *Casique* of the north side of the Iland, that *Berre* had sent to *Marguerita* & to *Cumana* for souldiers meaning to haue giuen rise a *Cassado* at parting, if it had bin possible. For although he had giuen order through all the Iland that no *Indian* should come aborde to trade

with me vpon paine of hanging and quartering, (ha-
 uing executed two of them for the same which I after-
 wardes founde) yet euery night there came some with
 most lamentable complaints of his cruelty, how he had
 deuided the Iland & giuen to euery soldier a part, that
 he made the ancient *Casiqui* which were Lordes of the
 country to be their slaues, that he kept them in chains,
 & dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, &
 such other torments, which I found afterwards to be
 true: for in the city after I entred the same, there were 5.
 of the Lords or litle kings (which they cal *Casiqui* in the
 west Indies) in one chaine almost dead of famine, and
 wasted with torments: these are called in their own
 language *Acarewana*, and now of late since English,
 French, & Spanish are come among them, they cal
 themselues *Capitaynes*, because they perceiue that the
 chiefest of euery ship is called by that name. Those five
Capitaynes in the chaine were called *Wannawanare*, *Car-
 roaori*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroopana*, & *Aterima*. So as both
 to be reuenged of the former wrong, as also conside-
 ring that to enter *Guiana* by small boats, to depart 400.
 or 500. miles from my ships, and to leaue a garison in
 my backe interessed in the same enterprize, who also
 daily expected supplies out of Spaine, I should haue
 sauoured very much of the Assè: and therefore taking a
 time of most aduantage, I set vpon the *Corp du guard* in
 the euening, and hauing put them to the sword, sente
 Captaine *Calseild* on wards with 60. soldiers, & my self
 followed with 40. more & so toke their new city which
 they called *S. Ioseph*, by breake of day: they abode not a
 ny fight after a few shot, & al being dismissed but onely
Berreco and his companion, I brought them with me a-
 bord,

bord, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new City of *S. Iosephs* on fire.

The same day arriv'd Captaine *George Gifford* with your Lord ships ship, & Captaine *Keymis* whom I lost on the coast of Spaine, with the *Gallego*, and in them diuers Gent. and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hastened away towards our purposed discovery, and first I called all the Captaines of the Iland together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for there were some which *Berreio* had brought out of other countries, & planted there to eat out & wast those that were natural of the place, & by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderstand that I was the seruant of a Queene, who was the great *Casique* of the north, and a virgin, and had more *Casiqui* vnder her then there were trees in their Iland: that she was an enemy to the *Castellans* in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she deliuered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and hauing freed all the coast of the northren world from their seruitude had sent me to free them also, and with al to defend the countrey of *Gniana* from their inuasion and conquest. I shewed them her maiesties picture which they so admired and honored, as it had beene easie to haue brought them Idolatrous thereof.

The like & a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to *Gniana*, & to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her maistry is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Ezraheta Cassipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as *Elizabeth*, the great princessse or greatest commaunder.

This done weelett *puerto de los Hispanioles* , and returned to *Curiapan* , and hauing *Berreco* my prisoner I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knewe.

This *Berreco* is a gent. well descended , and had long serued the Spanish king in *Millain* , *Naples* , the lowe Countries and else where, very valiant and liberall, and a Gent. of great assurednes , and of a great heart: I vsed him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had.

I sent Captaine *Whiddon* the yeare before to get what knowledge he could of *Guiana* , and the end of my iorney at this time was to discouer and enter the same, but my intelligence was farre from truth, for the country is situate about 600. English miles further from the sea, then I was made belecue it had beene, which afterward vnderstanding to be true by *Berreco* , I kept it from the knowledge of my companie , who else would neuer haue beene brought to attempt the same : of which 600. miles I passed 400. leauing my shippes so farre from me at ancor in the sea , which was more of desire to performe that discouery, then of reason, especially hauing such poore & weake vessels to transport our selues in; for in the bottom of an old *Gallego* which I caused to be fashioned like a Galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship bote of the Lyons whelpe, we caried 100 persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driuen to lie in the raine and wether, in the open aire, in the burning sunne, & vpon the hard bords, and to dresse our meat, and to carry al manner of furniture in them. wherewith they were so pestred and vsauery , that what with victuals being most fish,

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with the weete clothes of so many men thrust together and the heate of the sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any prison in England, that coulede be founde more vnlaury and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeares before beene dieted and cared for in a sort farre differing.

If Captaine *Preston* had not beene perswaded that he should haue come too late to *Trinidado* to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tarry for him there ere he could recouer the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God he might haue ioyned with vs, and that wee had entred the countrey but some ten daies sooner ere the riuers were ouerflowen, we had aduentured either to haue gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at least taken so many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: But it pleased not God so much to fauour me at this time: if it shalbe my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquire the same, I assure him thus much, he shall performe more then euer was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*, or in *Pern* by *Pacaro*, whereof the one conquered the Empire of *Muteczuma*, the other of *Gnascar*, and *Atabalipa*, and whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, that Prince shalbe Lorde of more Gold, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then eyther the king of Spayne, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubtles, and how this Empire of *Gniana* is become so populous, and adorned with so manie greate Cities, Townes, Temples, and threaasures, I thought good to make it

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known,

knowne, that the Emperour now raigning is discended from those magnificent Princes of *Peru* of whose large territories, of whose pollicies, conquests, edifices, and riches *Pedro de Cieza*, *Francisco Lopez*, and others haue written large discourfes: for when *Francisco Pacaro*, *Diego Almagro* and others conquered the said Empire of *Peru*, and had put to death *Atabalipa* sonne to *Guaynacapa*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly caused his eldest brother *Guaſcar* to be flaine, one of the younger ſonnes of *Guaynacapa* fled out of *Peru*, and tooke with him many thousandes of thoſe ſouldiers of the Empyre called *Oreiones*, and with thoſe and many others which followed him, he vanquiſhed al that tract and valley of *America* which is ſituate betweene the great riuers of *Amazones*, and *Baraquan*, otherwiſe called *Orenoke* and *Maranion*.

The Empyre of *Guiana* is directly eaſt from *Peru* towards the ſea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of Golde then any part of *Peru*, and as many or more great Cities then euer *Peru* had when it flouriſhed moſt: it is gouerned by the ſame lawes, and the Emperour and people obſerue the ſame religion, and the ſame forme and pollicies in gouernment as was vſed in *Peru*, not differing in any part: and as I haue beene aſſured by ſuch of the *Spany-ardes* as haue ſeene *Manoa* the cmeriall Citie of *Guiana*, which the *Spany-ardes* cal *el Dorado*, that for the greatnes, for the riches, and for the excellent ſeate, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at leaſt of ſo much of the world as is knowne to the Spaniſh nation: it is founded vpon a lake of ſalt water of 200. leagues long like vnto *mare caſpiū*. And if we compare it to that of *Peru*, & but
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reade the report of *Francisco Lopez* & others, it wil seeme more then credible, and because we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. chapter of *Lopez* in his generall historie of the *Indies*, wherein he discribeth the court and magnificence of *Guaynacapa*, auncestor to the Emperour of *Guiana*, whose very words are these. *Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cocina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mazerzio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas buecas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamano de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciesen lenna raiada para quemar. En su no ania cosa en su tierra, que no la tuuiesse de oro contrabecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se ynan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandexa hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los espanioles se lo tomanan, y embianan a Espania.*

That is, All the vessels of his house, table, and kitchin were of Gold and Siluer, and the meanest of siluer and copper for strength and hardnes of the mettal. He had in his wardroppe hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beastes, birdes, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. Hee had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and siluer, heapes of billets of golde that seemed woode,

marked out to burne. Finally there was nothing in his country, whereof hee had not the counterfeate in gold: Yea and they say, The *Ingas* had a garden of pleasure in an Iland neere *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselves, when they would take the ayre of the sea, which had all kind of garden hearbes, flowers and trees of Gold and Siluer, an inuention, & magnificence til then neuer seene: Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of siluer and gold vnwrought in *Cuzco* which was lost by the death of *Gnascar*, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spayne.

And in the 117. Chapter *Francisco Picarro* caused the Golde and Siluer of *Atabalipa* to bee weyed, after hee had taken it, which *Lopez* setteth downe in these wordes following.

Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buera plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, which is: They founde fiftie and two thousand markes of good siluer, and one million, and three hundred twentie and sixethousand and fiew hundred pefoes of golde.

Nowe although these reportes may seeme straunge, yet if wee consider the many millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into Spaine, wee may easely beleeue the same, for wee finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey, the Spanish King vexeth all the Princes of Europe, and is become in a fewe yeares from a poore king of *Castile* the greatest monarke of this part of the worlde, and likelic euery day to increase, if other Princes forsloe the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this Empire to
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therest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now indaunger vs, hee will then be vnresistable. Such of the Spaniards as afterwarde endeouored the conquest thereof (whereof there haue beene many as shall bee declared heereafter) thought that this *Inga*, (of whome this Emperor now liuing is descended) rooke his way by the riuer of *Amazones*, by that braunch which is called *Papamene*, for by that way followed *Oreliano* (by the commaundement of the Marquis *Pacarro* in the yeare 1542.) whose name the riuer also beareth this day, which is also by others called *Maragnon*, althogh *Andrew Theuet* doth affirm that between *Maragnon* and *Amazones* there are 120. leagues: but sure it is that those riuers haue one head & beginning, and that *Maragnon* which *Theuet* describeth is but a braunch of *Amazones* or *Oreliano*, of which I wil speake more in an other place. It was also attempted by *Diego Ordace*, but whether before *Oreliano* or after I knowe not: but it is now little lesse then 70. yeares since that *Ordace* a knight of the order of *Saint Iago* attempted the same: and it was in the yeare 1542. that *Oreliano* discovered the riuer of *Amazones*; but the first that euer sawe *Manoa* was *Iohannes Martines* master of the munition to *Ordace*. At a porte called *Morquito* in *Gniana* there lyeth at this daie a great ancor of *Ordaces* shippe, and this port is some 300. miles within the lande, vpon the greate riuer of *Orenoque*.

I rested at this port fowre daies: twentie daies after I left the shippes at *Curiafan*. The relation of this *Martynes* (who was the first that discovered *Manoa*) his successe & end is to be seene in the Chauncery of *Saint Iuan de puerto rico*, whereof *Berreco* had a coppie, which

appeared to be the greatest encouragement as well to *Berre* as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. *Oreliano* after he failed of the discovery of *Guiana* by the said riuer of *Amazones*, passed into Spaine, and there obtained a patent of the king for the inuasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Ilands, and his fleet beeing seuered by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. *Diego Ordace* followed the enterprize, and departed Spaine with 600. soldiers and 30. horse, who arriuing on the coast of *Guiana* was slaine in a muteny with the most part of such as faouored him, as also of the rebellious part, in so much as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly knowen what became of the said *Ordace*, vntill *Berre* found the ancor of his ship in the riuer of *Orenoque*; but it was supposed, and so it is written by *Lopez* that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diuersly conceiued & reported. And heereof it came that *Martynes* entred so farre within the lande and arriued at that Citie of *Inga* the Emperor, for it chaunced that while *Ordace* with his armie rested at the port of *Morequito* (who was either the first or second that attempted *Guiana*) by some negligence, the whol store of powder prouided for the seruice, was set on fire, & *Martines* hauing the chief charge was condemned by the generall *Ordace* to be executed forthwith: *Martines* being much faouored by the soldiers had al the meane possible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other sort then this. That he shuld be set into a *Canoa* alone without any viſual, onely with his armes, and so turnd loose into the great riuer: but it pleased God that the *Canoa* was carried
downe

downe the streame, & that certain of the *Guianians* met it the same euening, & hauing not at any time sene any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried *Martynes* into the land to be wondred at, and so from towne to towne, vntill he came to the great Citie of *Manoa*, the seate and residence of *Inga* the Emperor. The Emperor after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren *Guascar* and *Atabalipa* were vanquished by the Spaniards in *Pern*) and caused him to be lodged in his pallace, and well entertained : hee liued 7. moneths in *Manoa*, but not suffered to wander into the countrey any where : hee was also brought thither all the waie blindfold, led by the Indians, vntill he came to the entrance of *Manoa* it selfe, and was 14. or 15. daies in the passage : he auowed at his death that he entred the City at *Noon*, & then they vncouered his face, and that he travelled al that daie til night thorow the Citie, and the next day from sun rising to sun setting, ere he came to the pallace of *Inga*. After that *Martynes* had liued 7. moneths in *Manoa*, and began to vnderstand the language of the country, *Inga* asked him whether he desired to returne into his own countrey, or would willingly abide with him: but *Martynes* not desirous to stay, obtained the fauour of *Inga* to depart, with whom he sent diuers *Guianians* to conduct him to the riuer of *Orenoque* all loden with as much gold as they could carrie, which he gaue to *Martines* at his departure : but when he was arriued neere the riuers side, the borderers which are called *Orenoquepons* robbed him and his *Guianians* of all the treasure (the borderers beeing at that time at warres which *Inga*, and not conquered) saue onely of

two great bottels of gords, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought, which those *Orenoqueponi* thought had ben no other thing then his drink or meate or grain for foode with which *Martynes* had libertie to passe, and so in *Canoas* he fell down by the riuier of *Orenoque* to *Trinidado*, and from thence to *Marguerita*, and so to *Saint Iuan de puertorico*, where remaining a long tyme for passage into *Spayne* he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receauing the *Sacrament* at the handes of his Confessor, he deliuered these thinges, with the relation of his trauels, and also called for his *Calabaza* or gords of the gold beades which he gaue to the Church & friers to be praied for. This *Martynes* was he that christened the citie of *Manoa*, by the name of *El Dorado*, and as *Berreio* informed me vpon this occasion. Those *Guianians* and also the borderers, and all others in that tract which I haue seen are marueylons great drunkardes, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them and at the times of their solemne feasts when the Emperour carowseth with his Captayns, tributories, & gouernours, the manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, & their bodies annoynted al ouer with a kinde of white *Balsamum*: by them called *Curcas* of which there is great plenty and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, wherof we haue had good experience: when they are annoynted all ouer, certaine seruants of the Emperour hauing prepared gold made into fine powder blow it thorow hollow canes vpō their naked bodies, vntill they be al shining from the foote to the head, & in this sort they sit drinking by twentie s and hundreds & continue
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in drunkennes somtimes fixe or seuen daies together: the same is also confirmed by a letter written into *Spain* which was intercepted, which master *Robert Dudley* told me he had seen. Vpon this sight, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the citie, the Images of gold in their Temples, the plates armors, and shields of gold which they vse in the wars, he called it *El Dorado*. After *Oreliano* who was emploied by *Pacaro* afterwards *Marques Pacaro* conqueror and gouernor of *Peru*, and the death of *Ordace* and *Martynes*, one *Pedro de Osua*, a knight of *Nauarre* attempted *Guiana*, taking his way from *Peru*, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer called *Oia*, which riseth to the southward of *Quito*, and is very great: this riuer falleth into *Amazones*, by which *Osua* with his companies descended, and came out of that Prouince which is called *Mutylones*: and it seemeth to me that this Empire is reserued for her Maiestie and the *English* nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these & other *Spaniards* found in attempting the same, whereof I will speake brieflie, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This *Pedro de Osua* had among his troupes a *Biscayn* called *Agiri*, a man meanlie borne, & bare no other office than a Surgeant or *Alferoz*: but after certaine months, when the soldiers were grieved with trauels and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of *Amazones*, this *Agiri* raised a muteny, of which hee made himselfe the head, and so preuailed as he put *Osua* to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement with a purpose not onely to make himselfe Emperor of *Guiana*,

but also of *Peru*, and of al that side of the *West Indies*: he had of his partie seuen hundred soldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captains and companies to deliuer vp towns and forts in *Peru*, but neither finding by the saide riuer any passage into *Guiana*, nor any possibilitie to returne towards *Peru* by the same *Amazones* by reason that the descent of the riuer made so great a currant, he was inforced to desemboque at the mouth of the saide *Amazones*, which cannot be lesse than a thousand leagues frō the place where they imbarqued: from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at *Marguerita* to the North of *Mompatar*, which is at this daie called *Puerto de Tyranno*, for that he there slue *Don Iuan de villa Andreda*, gouernor of *Marguerita*, who was father to *Don Iuan Sermiento* gouernor of *Marguerita* when Sir *Iohn Burgh* landed there, and attempted the *Iland. Agiri* put to the sword all others in the *Iland* that refused to be of his partie, and tooke with him certaine *Cemerones*, and other desperate companions: From thence he went to *Cumana*, and there slew the *Gouernor*, and dealt in all as at *Marguerita*: he spoiled all the coast of *Caracas*, and the prouince of *Vensuello*, and of *Rio de hache*, and as I remember it was the same yeer that Sir *Iohn Hawkins* sailed to *Saint Iuan de Lua* in the *Iesm* of *Lubeck*, for himselfe told me that he met with such a one vpon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed downe all the riuer of *Amazones*. *Agiri* from hence landed about *Santa Marta*, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to inuade *Nuevo reyno de Granada*, & to sack *Pampelone*, *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *Tunia*, & the rest of the cities of *Nuevo reyngo*, and from
thence

thence againe to enter *Peru* : but in a fight in the said *Nuevo reyno* he was ouerthrowne, & finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his own children, foretelling them that they should not liue to be defamed or opbraide by the *Spaniards* after his death, who would haue tearmed them the children of a *Traitor* or *Tyrant*, and that sithence he could not make them Princes, he woulde yet deliuer them from shame and reproch: These were the ends and tragedies of *Oreliano*, *Ordace*, *Osua*, *Martynes*, and *Agiri*.

After these followed *Ieronimo Ortal de Saragosa* with 130. soldiers, who failing his entrance by sea was cast with the currant on the coast of *Paria*, and peopled about *S. Miguell de Neueri*. It was then attempted by *Don Pedro de Sylua* a *Portugues* of the familie of *Rigomes de Sylua*, and by the fauour which *Rigomes* had with the king, he was set out, but he also shot wide of the mark, for being departed from *Spaine* with his fleete, he entered by *Maragnon* or *Amazones*, where by the nations of the riuier, and by the *Amazones* he was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himselfe and all his armie defeated, onely seuen escaped, and of those but two returned.

After him came *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, and landed at *Cumana* in the *West Indies*, taking his iourney by land towards *Orenoque*, which may bee some 120. leagues, but ere he came to the borders of the said riuier, he was set vpon by a nation of Indians called *Wikiri*, and ouerthrowen in sort, that of 300. soldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and *Negros*, there returned but 18: others affirm that he was defeated in the very entrance of *Guiana*, at the first ciuill towne of the Empire called *Macureguarai*. Captaine *Preston* in taking

S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and far within the land) held a gentleman prisoner who died in his ship, that was one of the companie of *Hernandez de Serpa*, and saued among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the *Spaniards* thereabouts of the great riches of *Gniana*, and *El Dorado* the citie of *Inga*. Another *Spaniard* was brought aboard me by captaine *Preston*, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with *Berreos* Campmaster at *Caracas*, when he came from the borders of *Gujana*, and that he saw with him fortie of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of *Gniana* decked and inlaid with golde, feathers garnished with golde, and diuers rarities which he carried to the *Spanish* king.

After *Hernandez de Serpa* it was vndertaken by the *Adelantado*, *Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada*, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of *Nueno reyno*, whose daughter & heire *Don Anthonio de Berreo* married: *Gonzales* sought the passage also by the riuer called *Papame*, which riseth by *Quito* in *Pern*, & runneth southeast 100 leagues, & then falleth into *Amazones*, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost: I tooke one captaine *George* a *Spaniard* that followed *Gonzales* in this enterprise. *Gonzales* gaue his daughter to *Berreos* taking his oth and honor, to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since as he hath sworne to me hath spent 300000 ducates in the same, and yet neuer could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about

100. gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, bote-keepers, boies, and of all sorts: neither could any of the forepassed vndertakers, nor *Berreco* himselfe discouer the country, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called *Carapana* he got the true light thereof: for *Berreco* came aboute 1500. miles, ere he vnderstood ought, or could finde any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of all these forenamed, and diuers others, and was perswaded of their errors and mistakings. *Berreco* sought it by the riuer *Cassanar*, which falleth into a great riuer called *Pato*, *Pato* falleth into *Meta*, and *Meta* into *Baraquan*, which is also called *Orenoqus*.

He tooke his journey from *Nueno reyngo de granada* where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of *Gonzales Cemenes* in those parts: he was followed with 700. horse, he draue with him 1000. head of cattell, he had also many women, Indians, and flaues. How all these riuers crosse and encounter, how the countrie lieth and is bordred, the passage of *Cemenes*, and of *Berreco*, mine owne discouerie, and the way that I entred, with all the rest of the nations and riuers, your Lordship shall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your Lo. to secret, and not to suffer it to passe your own hands; for by a draught thereof all may bee preuented by other nations. For I know it is this very yeere sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was also told me ere I departed England, that *Villiers* the Admirall was in preparation for the planting of *Amazones*, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voiages, and returned
much

much gold and other rarities. I spake with a captaine of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in *Falmouth*, the same yeere that my ships came first from *Virginia*.

There was another this yeere in *Helford* that also came from thence, and had been 14. moneths at an ancor in *Amazones*, which were both very rich. Although as I am perswaded, *Guiana* cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of riuers into the riuer of *Amazones*, and so it doth on euery hand farre from the countrey it selfe, for those Indians of *Trenedado* haue plates of gold from *Gniana*, and those *Canibals* of *Dominica* which dwell in the Ilands by which our ships passe yeerly to the *West Indies*, also the Indians of *Paria*, those Indians called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*, and all those other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from *Paria* thorow the Prouince of *Vensuello*, and in *Maracapana*, and the *Canibals* of *Guanipa*, the Indians called *Assawai*, *Coacs*, *Aiai*, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) haue plates of gold of *Guiana*. And vpon the riuer of *Amazones* *Theuet* writeth that the people weare *Croissants* of gold, for of that form the *Guianians* most commonly make them: So as from *Dominica* to *Amazones* which is aboue 250. leagues, all the chiefe Indians in al parts weare of those plates of *Guiana*. Vndoubtedly those that trade *Amazones* returne much gold, which (as is aforesaid) commeth by trade from *Guiana*, by some branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into *Amazones*, and either it is by the riuer which passeth by the nations called *Tsfados*, or by *Carepuna*.

repuna. I made inquirie amongst the most ancient and best traueled of the *Orenoqueponi*, & I had knowledge of all the riuers between *Orenoque* and *Amazones*, and was very desirous to vnderstand the truth of those warlike women, bicause of some it is beleeued, of others not: And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe what hath been deliuered me for truth of those women, and I spake with a *Casique* or Lord of people that told me he had been in the riuer, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the south side of the riuer in the Prouinces of *Topago*, and their chiefest strengths and retraits are in the Ilands scituate on the south side of the entrance, some 60. leagues within the mouth of the said riuer. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in *Africa* as in *Asia*: In *Africa* those that had *Medusa* for *Queene*: others in *Scithia* neere the riuers of *Tanais* and *Thermadon*: we find also that *Lampedo* and *Marthesia* were *Queens* of the *Amazones*: in many histories they are verified to haue been, and in diuers ages and Prouinces: But they which are not far from *Guiana* do accompanie with men but once in a yeere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation to be in Aprill. At that time all the Kings of the borders assemble, and the *Queenes* of the *Amazones*, and after the *Queens* haue chosē, the rest cast lots for their *Valentines*. This one moneth, they feast, daunce, & drinke of their wines in abundance, & the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne Prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a sonne, they returne him to the father, if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it, and as many as haue daughters send

vnto the begetters a Present, all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kinde, but that the cut of the right dug of the brest I do not finde to be true. It was farther told me, that if in the wars they tooke any prisoners that they vsed to accompany with those also at what time soeuer, but in the end for certaine they put them to death: for they are said to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to inuade their territories. These *Amazones* haue likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the Spaniards call *Piedras Hijadas*, and we vse for spleene stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them: of these I saw diuers in *Guiana*, and commonly euery king or *Casique* hath one, which their wiues for the most part weare, and they esteeme them as great jewels.

But to returne to the enterprise of *Berreu*, who (as I haue said) departed from *Nuenoreygn* with 700. horse, besides the prouisions aboue rehearsed; he descended by the riuer called *Cassanar*, which riseth in *Nuenoreygn* out of the mountaines by the citie of *Tuuia*, from which mountaine also springeth *Pato*, both which fall into the great riuer of *Meta*, and *Meta* riseth from a mountaine ioining to *Pampelone* in the same *Nuenoreygn de Granada*: these as also *Guaire*, which issueth out of the mountains by *Timana* fall all into *Baraquan*, and are but of his heads, for at their comming together they lose their names, and *Baraquan* farther down is also rebaptized by the name of *Orenoque*. On the other side of the citie and hills of *Timana* riseth *rio grande*, which falleth into the sea by *Santa Marta*. By *Cassanar*

sonar first, and so into *Meta Berreo* passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the countrey served them for to march, and where otherwise he was driven to imbarque them in botes which he builded for the purpose, & so came with the currant down the riuier of *Meta*, and so into *Baraquan*. After he entred that great and mightie riuier, he began dailie to loose of his companies both men and horse, for it is in many places violentlie swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and diuers Ilands sharpe pointed with rocks: But after one whole yeere, iourneying for the most part by riuier, and the rest by land he grew dailie to fewer numbers, for both by sicknes, and by encountering with the people of those regions, through which he trauelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by diuers incounters with the *Amapaiens*: And in all this time he neuer could learne of any passage into *Guiana*, nor any newes or fame thereof, vntill he came to the farther border of the said *Amapaia*, eight daies iourney from the riuier *Caroli*, which was the farthest riuier that we entred. Among those of *Amapaia*, *Guiana* was famous, but few of these people accosted *Berreo*, or woulde trade with him the first three months of the six which he sojourned there. This *Amapaia* is also maruellous rich in gold (as both *Berreo* confessed, and those of *Guiana* with whom I had most conference) and is situate vpon *Orenoke* also. In this countrey *Berreo* lost 60. of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former yeeres trauell: but in the end after diuers encounters with those nations they grew to peace, and they presented *Berreo* with 10. Images of fine gold amōg diuers other plates

and *Croissants*, which as he ſware to me and diuers other gentlemen were ſo curiouſlie wrought, as he had not ſeene the like either in *Italy*, *Spaine*, or the *Low Countries*: and he was reſolued that when they came to the hands of the *Spaniſh* king, to whom he had ſent them by his Campmaſter, they would appeer very admirable, eſpecially being wrought by ſuch a nation as had no Iron instrument at all, nor anie of thoſe helps which our goldſmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in *Amapaia* which gaue him theſe peeces are called *Anebas*, and the riuer of *Orenoque* at that place is aboute 12. *English* miles brode, which may be from his out fall into the ſea 700. or 800. miles.

This Prouince of *Amapaia* is a verie low and a marſh ground neere the riuer, and by reaſon of the red water which iſſueth out in ſmall branches thorow the fenny and boggie ground, there breed diuers poyſonfull wormes and ſerpents, and the Spaniards not ſuſpecting, nor in anie ſort foreknowing the danger were infected with a greeuous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and euen the very horſes poiſoned therewith: In ſo much as at the end of the ſix months that they abode there, of all theſe troups, there were not left aboute 120. ſoldiers, and neither horſe nor cattle. For *Berreco* hoped to haue found *Guiana* by 1000. miles neerer than it fell out to be in the end, by means wherof they ſuſteined much want and much hunger, oppreſſed with greeuous diſeaſes, and all the miſeries that could be imagined. I demanded of thoſe in *Guiana* that had trauelled *Amapaia* how they liued with that tawnic or red water when they trauelled thither, and they told

me that after the *Sun* was neere the middle of the skie, they vsed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the setting of the *Sun* it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of diuers other riuers of that nature among them which were also (while the *Sun* was in the *Meridian*) verie safe to drink, and in the morning, euening, and night, woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this Prouince *Berreco* halted away assoone as the *Spring* and beginning of *Summer* appeered, and sought his entrance on the borders of *Orenoque* on the south side, but there ran a ledge of so high & impassable mountaines as he was not able by any means to march ouer them, cōtinuing from the east sea into which *Orenoque* falleth, euen to *Quito* in *Peru*: neither had he means to carrie victuall or munition ouer those craggie, high, and fast hils, being all wooddy, and those so thicke and spiny, and so full of prickles, thorns, and briers, as it is impossible to creepe thorow them: he had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to perswade or treat with them, and more, to his disaduantage, the *Cásiqui* and kings of *Amapaia* had giuen knowledge of his purpose to the *Guianians*, and that he sought to sacke and conquer the Empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of gold: he passed by the mouths of many great riuers, which fell into *Orenoque* both from the north and south, which I forbear to name for tediousnes, and because they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

Berreco affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into *Orenoque* from the north and south, whereof the

lest was as big as *Rio grande*, that passeth between *Popayan*, and *Nueno reyno de granada* (*Rio grande* being esteemed one of the renowned riuers in al the west Indies, & numbred among the great riuers of the world:) But he knew not the names of any of these, but *Caroli* only, neither from what nations they delcended, neither to what Prouinces they led, for he had no meanes to discourse with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in these things, being vtterlie vnlearned, & not knowing the east frō the west. But of al these I got som knowledge, & of manie more, partly by mine own trauel, & the rest by cōferēce: of som one I lerned one, of others the rest, hauing with me an Indian that spake many languages, & that of *Guiana* naturally. I sought out al the aged men, & such as were greatest trauelers, and by the one & the other I came to vnderstand the situations, the riuers, the kingdoms from the east sea to the borders of *Peru*, & from *Orenoque* southward as far as *Amazones* or *Maragnon*, and the regions of *Maria Tamball*, and of all the kings of Prouinces and captains of townes and villages, how they stood in tearms of peace or war, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor els where: For by the dissention betweene *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa*, *Paſaro* conquered *Peru*, and by the hatred that the *Traxcallians* bare to *Mutezuma*, *Cortez* was victorious ouer *Mexico*, without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprize, and of the great honor and riches, which they attained vnto.

Now *Berreio* began to grow into despaire, and looked for no other successe than his predecessors in this enter-

enterprize, vntill such time as he arriued at the Province of *Emeria* towards the east sea and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauorable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this land is called *Carapana*, a man very wise, subtile, and of great experience, being little lesse than 100. yeeres old: In his youth he was sent by his father into the Iland of *Trinidado*, by reason of ciuill warre among themselues, and was bred at a village, in that Iland, called *Parico*: at that place in his youth he had seene many Christians both French and Spanish, and went diuers times with the Indians of *Trinidado* to *Marguerita* and *Cumana* in the west Indies, (for both those places haue euer been releued with victuall from *Trinidado*) by reason whereof he grew of more vnderstanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his country with those of the Christians, and euer after temporized so, as whosoever els did amisse, or was wasted by contention, *Carapana* kept himselfe and his country in quiet and plentie: he also held peace with *Caribas* or *Canibals* his neighbors, and had free trade with all nations whosoever els had war.

Berreio sojourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of *Carapana* six weeks, and from him learnd the way and passage to *Guiana*, and the riches & magnificence thereof: but being then vtterly disable to proceed, he determined to trie his fortune another yeere, when he had renewed his provisions, and regathered more force, which he hoped for as wel out of Spain, as frō *Nueno reyno*, where he had left his son *Don Anthonio Xemenes* to second him vpon the first notice giuen of his entrance,

entrance, & so for the present embarked himselfe in *Canoas*, & by the branches of *Orenoque* arriued at *Trinidado*, hauing from *Carapana* sufficient Pilots to conduct him. From *Trinidado* he coasted *Paria*, and so recovered *Marguerita*: and hauing made relation to *Don Iuan Sermiento* the gouernour of his proceeding, and perswaded him of the riches of *Guiana*, he obtained from thence 50. soldiers, promising presentlie to returne to *Carapana*, and so into *Guiana*. But *Berreio* meant nothing lesse at that time, for he wanted manie provisions necessarie for such an enterprize, and therefore departing from *Marguerita* seated himselfe in *Trinidado*, and from thence sent his Campmaster, and his Sargeant maior back to the borders to discouer the neere passage, into the Empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to drawe them to his partie and loue, without which, he knew he could neither passe safelie, nor in anie sort be releued with victuall or ought els. *Carapana* directed this companie to a king called *Morequito*, assuring them that no man could deliuer so much of *Guiana* as *Morequito* could, and that his dwelling was but five daies iourney from *Macureguarai*, the first citiill towne of *Guiana*.

Now your Lordship shall vnderstand that this *Morequito*, one of the greatest Lords or Kings of the borders of *Guiana*, had two or three yeeres before bene at *Cumana*, and at *Marguerita*, in the west Indies, with great store of plates of gold, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dailie feasted, and presented by the gouernors of those places, and held

held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one *Vides* gouernor of *Cumana* wan him to be his conductor into *Guiana*, being allured by those *Croissants* and Images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of *El Dorado*: whereupon *Vides* sent into Spaine for a Patent to discouer and conquer *Guiana*, not knowing of the precedence of *Berreos* patent, which as *Berreos* affirmeth was signed before that of *Vides*: so as when *Vides* vnderstood of *Berreos*, and that he had made entrance into that territorie, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verilie thought that *Vides* practised with *Morequiso* to hinder and disturbe *Berreos* in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his *Seignary*, nor anie of his companies, neither to victuall, nor guide them in anie sort; for *Vides* gouenor of *Cumana*, and *Berreos* were become mortall enimies, as well for that *Berreos* had gotten *Trinidad* into his Patent with *Guiana*, as also in that he was by *Berreos* preuented in the iourney of *Guiana* it selfe: howsoeuer it was I know not, but *Morequiso* for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spaniards, and a Frier (which *Berreos* had sent to discouer *Manoa*) to trauell through his countrey, gaue them a guide for *Macureguarai* the first towne of ciuill and appalled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to *Manoa* the great citie of *Inga*: and being furnished with those things, which they had learned of *Carapana*, were of most price in *Guiana*, went onward, and in eleuen daies arrived at *Manoa*, as *Berreos* affirmeth for certain: although I could not be assured thereof by the Lord which now gouerneth the Prouince of

Morequiso,

Morequito, for he told me that they got all the gold they had, in other townes on this side *Manoa*, there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and readie to put out of the border of *Arromaia*, the people of *Morequito* set vpon them, & slew them all but one that swam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of 40000. pesoes of golde, and as it is written in the storie of *Iob*, one onelie liued to bring the newes to *Berre*, that both his nine soldiers and holie father were benighted in the saide Prouince. I my selfe spake with the Captaines of *Morequito* that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. *Berre* enraged heerewithall sent all the strength he could make into *Arromaia*, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey: but *Morequito* suspecting the same fled ouer *Orenoque*, and thorow the territories of the *Saima*, and *Wikiri*, recouered *Cumana*, where he thought himselfe very safe with *Vides* the gouernor: But *Berre* sending for him in the kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one *Fashardo* on the sudden ere it was suspected, so as he could not then be conueied away, *Vides* durst not deny him, as well to auoide the suspition of the practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people. *Morequito* offred *Fashardo* the weight of three quintals in gold, to let him escape, but the poore *Guianian* betraid of all sides was deliuered to the Campmaster of *Berre*, and was presently executed.

After the death of this *Morequito*, the soldiers of *Berre* spoiled his territorie, & tooke diuers prisoners, among

among others they tooke the vnckle of *Morequito* called *Topiawari*, who is now king of *Arromaia*, (whose sonne I brought with me into *England*) and is a man of great vnderstanding and pollicie: he is aboute 100. yeeres old, and yet of a very able bodie: the *Spaniards* led him in a chain 17. daies, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey & *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana* aforesaid, and was at last redeemed for 100. plates of gold, and diuers stones called *Piedras Hijadas*, or *Spleen* stones. Now *Berreio* for executing of *Morequito* and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in *Arromaia* hath lost the loue of the *Orenoqueponi*, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any farther into the land than to *Carapana*, which he calleth the port of *Guiana*: but from thence by the helpe of *Carapana* he had trade farther into the countrey, and alwaies appointed 10. *Spaniards* to reside in *Carapanas* towne, by whose fauor and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts as well for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

They haue also gotten a nephew of *Morequito*, whom they haue Christened and named *Don Iuan*, of whom they haue great hope, endeuoring by all means to establish him in the said prouince. Among manie other trades those *Spaniards* vsed in *Canoas* to passe to the riuers of *Barema*, *Pawroma*, and *Dissequebe*, which are on the south side of the mouth of *Orenoque*, and there buie women and children from the *Canibals*, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for 3. or 4. hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more

euē their own daughters: heerof the Spaniards make great profit, for buying a maid of 12. or 13. yeeres for three or fower hatchets, they sell them againe at *Marguerita* in the west Indies for 50. and 100. pefoes, which is so many crownes.

The master of my ship *Io. Douglas* tooke one of the *Canoes* which came loden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those hee brought, there was one as well fauored, and as well shaped as euer I saw anie in England, and afterward I sawe many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may bee compared to anie of *Europe*. They also trade in those riuers for bread of *Cassani*, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at *Marguerita* for ten pefoes. They also recouer great store of cotten, brasill wood, and those beds which they call *Hamacas* or brasill beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards vse to lie commonlie, and in no other, neither did we our selues while we were there: By means of which trades, for ransom of diuers of the *Guianians*, and for exchange of hatchets and kniues, *Berreco* recouered some store of gold plates, eagles of gold, and Images of men and diuers birds, and dispatched his Campmaster for Spaine with all that he had gathered, therewith to leuy soldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the loue of the enterprize: and hauing sent diuers Images as well of men as beasts, birds and fishes so curioullie wrought in gold, doubted not but to perswade the king to yeeld to him some further helpe, especiallie for that this land hath neuer been sacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the
Indies

Indies their works were well spent, and the gold drawn out with great labor and charge: he also dispatched messengers to his son in *Nueno reyno* to leuy all the forces he could, and to come down the riuer of *Orenoque* to *Emeria*, the prouince of *Carapana*, to meet him: he had also sent to *Sant Iago de Leon* on the coast of the *Caracas* to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past & purposed: I told him that I had resolved to see *Guiana*, and that it was the end of my iourney, & the cause of my comming to *Trinidad*, as it was indeed, (& for that purpose I sent *Ia. Whiddon* the yeere before to get intelligence, with whom *Berreco* himselve had speech at that time, and remembered how inquisitiue *Ia. Whiddon* was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of *Guiana*,) *Berreco* was stricken into a great melancholie and sadnes, and vsed all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labor lost: and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded: And first he deliuered that I could not enter anie of the riuers with any barke or pinace, nor hardly with anie ships bote, it was so low, sandie, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their *Canoas* which drew but twelue inches water: he further saide that none of the countrey would come to speake with vs, but would all flie, and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes, and besides that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to swel, it was impossible to stem the currant, and that we could not in those sinall botes by any means carry vic-

ruall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the Kings and Lords of all the borders and of *Gniana* had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossesse them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resoluing to make trial of all whatsoeuer hapned, directed Captaine *George Gifford* my Vice-admirall to take the *Lions whelpe*, and Captaine *Calfield* his barke to turne to the eastward, against the brize what they could possible, to recouer the mouth of a riuer called *Capuri*, whose entrance I had before sent Captaine *Whiddon* and *Io. Douglas* the master, to discover, who founde some nine foote water or better vpon the flood, and siue at lowe water, to whom I had giuen instructions that they shoulde ancor at the edge of the shold, and vpon the best of the flood to thrust ouer, which shold *John Douglas* boyed and bekoned for them before: but they laboured in vain, for neither could they turne it vp altogether so farre to the east, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell ere they coulde haue passed the sands, as we after founde by a second experience: so as now we must either giue ouer our enterprize, or leauing our ships at aduventure 400. mile behind vs, to run vp in our ships botes, one barge, and two wherries, but being doubtfull how to carrie victuals for so long a time in such bables, or anie strength of men, especiallie for that *Berreco* assured vs that his sonne must be by that time come downe with manie soldiers,

diers, I sent away one *King* maister of the *Lions whelp* with his ships bote to trie another branch of a riuier in the bottome of the bay of *Guanipa*, which was called *Amana*, to prooue if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter: But when he came to the mouth of *Amana*, he found it as the rest, but staid not to discouer it throughlie, bicause he was assured by an Indian his guide that the *Canibals* of *Guanipa* would assaile them with many *Canoes*, and that they shot poisonned arrowes, so as if he hasted not backe they should all be lost.

In the mean time fearing the worst I caused all the Carpenters we had to cut down a *Galley* bote, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to drawe but siue foote, for so much we had on the bar of *Capuri* at lowe water: And doubting of *Kings* return I sent *Fo. Douglas* againe in my long barge, as well to releue him as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of that baie: For it hath beene held for infallible that whatsoeuer ship or bote shall fall therein, can neuer dessemboque againe, by reason of the violent currant which setteth into the said bay, as also for that the brize and easterlie wind bloweth directlie into the same, of which opinion I haue heard *John Hampton* of *Plimmonth* one of the greatest experience of *England*, & diuers others besides that haue traded *Trinidado*.

I sent with *Iohn Douglas* an old *Cassique* of *Trinidado* for a Pilot, who tolde vs that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by branch which ran within the land to the Eastward, and that he

he thought by it we might fall into *Capari*, and so returne in fower daies: *Iohn Douglas* searched those riuers, and found fower goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the *Thames* at *Wolwich*, but in the baie thitherward it was shole and but six foote water, so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe ouer, and therefore resolued to go on with the botes, and the bottome of the *Gallego*, in which we thrust 60. men: In the *Lions whelps* bote and wherrie we carried 20. Captaine *Calfeild* in his wherrie carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to carrie victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine *Gifford* had with him Master *Edw. Porter*, captaine *Eynos*, and eight more in his wherrie with all their victuall, weapons, and prouisions: Captaine *Calfeild* had with him my cosen *Butthead Gorges* and eight more. In the galley, of gent. and officers my selfe had captaine *Tbyn*, my cosen *Iohn Greeneuile*, my nephew *Iohn Gilbert*, captaine *Whiddon*, captaine *Keynis*, *Edw. Hancocke*, captaine *Clarke*, lieutenant *Hewes*, *Tho. Vpton*, captaine *Facy*, *Ierome Ferrar*, *Antho. VVells*, *VVill. Connock*, and about 50. more. We could not learne of *Berreo* any other waie to enter but in branches, so farre to the windeward as it was impossible for vs to recoouer: for we had as much sea to crosse ouer in our wherries as betweene *Doner* and *Callys*, and in a great billow, the winde and currant being both very strong, so as we were driuen to go in those small botes directly before the winde into the bottome of the baie of *Guanipa*, and from thence to enter the mouth of some

one of those riuers, which *Jo. Douglas* had last discouered, and had with vs for Pilote an *Indian* of *Barema*, a riuer to the south of *Orenoque*, betweene that and *Amazones*, whose *Canoas* we had formerlie taken as he was going from the said *Barema*, laden with *Cassani* bread to sell at *Marguerita*: this *Arvacan* promised to bring me into the great riuer of *Orenoque*, but indeed of that which we entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelue yeeres before, at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement, and if God had not sent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yeere in that laborinth of riuers, ere we had found any way, either out or in, especiallie after we were past the ebbing and flowing, which was in fower daies: for I know all the earth doth not yeeld the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the Sun or compasse hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that waie we were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Ilands, and euery Iland so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any further than the bredth of the riuer, or length of the breach: But this it chanced that entring into a riuer, (which bicause it had no name we called the riuer of the *Red crosse*, our selues being the first *Christians* that euer came therein:) the 22. of *May* as we were rowing vp the same, we espied a smal *Canoa* with three *Indians*, which (by the swiftnes of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke ere they could crosse the riuer, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed vnder the
 thicke

thicke wood gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall those three which we had taken : But when they perceiued that we offered them no violence, neither entred their *Canoe* with any of ours, nor tooke out of the *Canoe* any of theirs, they then began to shew themselues on the banks side, and offered to traffique with vs for such things as they had, and as we drewe neere they all staide, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

As we abode there a while, our Indian Pilot called *Ferdinando* would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruites, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and also to see the place, and to know the Lord of it against another time, and tooke with him a brother of his which he had with him in the iourney : whē they came to the village of these people, the Lord of the Iland offered to lay hands on them, purposing to haue slaine them both, yeelding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territorie to spoyle and destroy them : But the Pilot being quicke and of a disposed body slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we staid in our barge, crying out that his brother was slaine, with that we set hands on one of them that was next vs, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our Pilot againe, we would presently cut off his head. This old man being resolued that he should paie the losse of the other, cried out to those in the woods to saue *Ferdinando* our Pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding,

standing, and hunted after him vpon the foote with their Deere dogs, and with so maine a crie that all the woods eckoed with the shoute they made, but at last this poore chased Indian recouered the riuer side, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped down and swam to the barge halfe dead with feare; but our good hap was, that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeeme our Pilot withall, for being naturall of those riuers, we assured our selues he knew the way better than any stranger could, and indeed, but for this chance I thinke we had neuer founde the way either to *Guiana*, or backe to our ships: for *Ferdinando* after a few daies knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himselfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Those people which dwell in these broken Ilands & drowned lands are generally called *Tinitinas*, there are of them two sorts, the one called *Ciawani*, and the other *VVa-raweete*.

The great riuer of *Orenoque* or *Baraquan* hath nine branches which fall out on the north side of his owne maine mouth: on the south side it hath seuen other fallings into the sea, so it desemboketh by 16. armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are verie great, manie of them as bigge as the Isle of *VVight* and bigger, and many lesse: from the first branch on the north to the last of the south it is at least 100. leagues, so as the riuers mouth is no lesse than 300. miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be farre bigger than that of *Amazones*: al those that inhabite in the mouth of this riuer vpon the seuerall north branches are these *Tinitinas*, of which there

are two chiefe Lords which haue continuall warres one with the other : the Ilands which lie on the right hand are called *Pallamos*, and the land on the left *Horotomaka*, and the riuer by which *John Douglas* returned within the land from *Amana* to *Capuri*, they call *Macuri*.

These *Tuitinas* are a verie goodlie people and verie valiant, and haue the most manlie speech and most deliberate that euer I heard of what nation soeuer. In the summer they haue houses on the ground as in other places : In the winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spanish storie of the *VWest Indies*, that those people do in the low lands neere the gulfe of *Vraba* : for betweene *May* and *September* the riuer of *Orenoke* riseth thirtie foote vpright, and then are those Ilands ouerflowne twentie foote high aboue the leuell of the ground, sauing some few raised grounds in the middle of them : and for this cause they are enforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eate of anie thing that is set or sowne, and as at home they vse neither planting nor other manurance, so when they com abroad they refuse to feede of ought, but of that which nature without labor bringeth forth. They vse the tops of *Palmis* for bread, and kil Deere, fish and porks for the rest of their sustenance, they haue also manie sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great varietie of birds and foule.

And if to speake of them were not tedious and vlgare, surely we sawe in those passages of very rare colours & forins, not else where to be found, for as much as I haue either seen or read. Of these people those that
dwell

dwell vpon the branches of *Orenoque* called *Capuri* and *Macureo*, are for the most part Carpenters of *Canoas*, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into *Guiana* for gold, and into *Trinidado* for *Tobacco*, in the excessiue taking whereof, they exceede all nations, and notwithstanding the moistnes of the aire in which they liue, the hardnes of their diet, and the great labors they suffer to hunt, fish, and foule for their liuing, in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I neuer behold a more goodlie or better faouered people, or a more manlie. They were wont to makewarre vpon all nations, and especi- allie on the *Canibals*, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those riuers, but of late they are at peace with their neighbors, all holding the *Spaniards* for a common enimie. When their commanders die, they vse great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcase againe, and hang it in the *Casiquies* house that died, and decke his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his armes, thighes, and legges. Those nations which are called *Armacas* which dwell on the south of *Orenoque*, (of which place and nation our Indian Pilot was) are dispersed in manie other places, and do vse to beate the bones of their Lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their seuerall sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these *Ciamani*, we passed vp the riuer with the flood, and anchored the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third daie

that we entred the riuer our *Calley* came on ground and stuck so fast, as we thought that euen there our discouery had ended, and that we must haue left 60. of our men to haue inhabited like rookes vpon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hawling to and fro, we got her afloate, and went on: At fower daies ende wee fell into as goodlie a riuer as euer I beheld, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directlie without windings and turnings than the other. But soone after the flood of the sea left vs, and we enforced either by maine strength to row against a violent currant, or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three daies worke, and therefore desired them to take paines, euery gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the howers end. Euerie daie we passed by goodlie branches of riuers, some falling from the west, others from the east into *Amana*, but those I leaue to the description in the *Chart* of discouerie, where euerie one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three daies more were ouergone, our companies began to despaire, the weather being extreame hot, the riuer bordered with verie high trees that kept away the aire, and the currant against vs euery daie stronger than other: But we euermore commanded our Pilots to promise an end the next daie, and vsed it so long as we were driuen to assure them from fower reaches of the riuer to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach: but so long we laboured as many daies were spent, and so driuen to
draw

draw our selues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the last, and no drinke at all: and our men and our selues so wearied and scorched, and doubtfull withall whether we should euer performe it or no, the heat encreasing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintnes) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and abilitie, for howerlie the riuer ran more violently than other against vs, and the barge, wherries, and ships bote of Captaine *Gifford*, and Captaine *Calfield*, had spent all their prouisions, so as wee were brought into despaire and discomfort, had we not perswaded all the companie that it was but onlie one daies worke more to attaine the lande where we should be releued of all we wanted, and if we returned that we were sure to starue by the way, and that the worlde would also laugh vs to scorne. On the banks of these riuers were diuers sorts of fruits good to eate, flowers and trees of that varietie as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals, we releued our selues manie times with the fruits of the countrey, and sometimes with foule and fish: we sawe birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, greene, watched, and of all other sorts both simple and mixt, as it was vnto vs a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some store of them with our fouling peeces, without which, hauing little or no bread and lesse drink, but onely the thick and troubled water of the riuer, we had been in a very hard case.

Our

Our old Pilot of the *Ciawans* (whom, as I said before, we tooke to redceme *Ferdinando*,) told vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leaue the *Galley* at ancor the while in the great riuer, he would bring vs to a towne of the *Arwacas* where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the countrey wine, and perswaded vs that departing from the *Galley* at noone, we might returne ere night: I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barge, with eight musketiers, Captain *Giffords* wherrie, with himselfe & foure musketiers, & Captaine *Calfield* which his wherrie and as manie, and so we entred the mouth of this riuer, and bicause we were perswaded that it was so neere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all: when we had rowed three howres, we maruelled we sawe no signe of any dwelling, and asked the Pilot where the town was, he told vs a litle farther: after three howers more the *Sun* being almost set, we began to suspect that he led vs that waie to betraie vs, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from *Trinidado*, and also those that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were ioyned together in some village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towards night, and we demaunding where the place was, he tolde vs but fower reaches more: when we had rowed fower and fower, we saw no signe, and our poore water men euen hart broken, and tired, were ready to giue vp the ghost; for we had now come from the *Galley* neer forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the Pilot, and if we had well knowen the way backe againe by night,
he

he had surely gone, but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safetic: for it was as darke as pitch, and the riuier began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang ouer from side to side, as we were driuen with arming swordes to cut a passage thorow those branches that couered the water. We were very desirous to finde this towne hoping of a feast, bicause we made but a short breakfast aboard the *Galley* in the morning, and it was now eight a clock at night, and our stomacks began to gnaw apace: but whether it was best to returne or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the Pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian euer assured vs that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one a clocke after midnight we saw a light, and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. When wee landed we found few people, for the Lord of that place was gone with diuers *Canoas* about 400. miles of, vpon a iourney towards the head of *Orenoque* to trade for gold, and to buy women of the *Canibals*, who afterward vnfortunatly passed by vs as we rode at an ancor in the port of *Morequito* in the dark of night, and yet came so neer vs, as his *Canoas* grated against our barges: he left one of his companie at the port of *Morequito*, by whom we vnderstood that he had brought thirty yoong woomen, diuers plates of gold, and had great store of fine peeces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we retuned
towards

towards our *Galley*, and brought with vs some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this riuer, we passed the most beautifull cōtrie that euer mine eies beheld: and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, heere we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and stil as we rowed, the Deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had bene vsed to a keepers call. Vpon this riuer there were great store of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it diuers sorts of strange fishes, & of maruellous bignes, but for *Lagartos* it exceeded, for there were thousands of those vglie serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the riuer of *Lagartos*, in their language. I had a *Negro* a very proper yoong fellow, that leaping out of the *Galley* to swim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our sights taken and deuoured with one of those *Lagartos*. In the mean while our cōpanies in the *Galley* thought we had bene all lost, (for we promised to returne before night) & sent the *Lions Whelps* ships bote with Captaine *VWhiddon* to follow vs vp the riuer, but the next day after we had rowed vp and downe some fower score miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer, and when we were euen at the last cast for want of victuals, Captaine *Gifford* being before the *Galley*, and the rest of the botes, seeking out some place to land vpon the banks to make fire, espied fower *Canoas* comming downe the riuer, & with no small ioy caused his men to trie the vttermoſt of their strengths,

strengths, and after a while two of the 4. gaue ouer, and ran themselues ashore, euery man betaking himselfe to the fastnes of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creeke, we knew not whither: those *Canoas* that were taken were loden with bread, & were bound for *Marguerita* in the west Indies, which those Indians (called *Arwacas*) purposed to carrie thither for exchange: But in the lesser, there were three Spaniards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in *Trinidado*, and that we purposed to enter *Guiana*, came away in those *Canoas*: one of them was a *Cauallero*, as the Captaine of the *Arwacas* after told vs, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue been more welcome to vs next vnto gold, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these *Canoas*, for now our men cried, let vs go on, we care not how farre. After that Captaine *Gifford* had brought the two *Canoas* to the *Galley*, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the *Canoas* first ran themselues ashore, and landed there, sending out Captaine *Gifford* and Captaine *Thyn* on one hand, and Captaine *Calfield* on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket, for I found in it, his quicksiluer, saltpeter, and diuers things for the triall of mettals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those *Canoas* which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered 500. pound to what soldier soeuer

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could take one of those 3. Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe, for they put themselues into one of the small *Canoas*: and so while the greater *Canoas* were in taking, they escaped: but seeking after the Spaniards, we found the *Armacas* hidden in the woods which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their *Canoas*: of which I kept the chiefest for a Pilot, and carried him with me to *Guiana*, by whom I vnderstood, where and in what countries the Spaniards had labored for gold, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the riuers to raise themselues so suddenly as by no meanes we could abide the digging of anie mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the *White spar*, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to houer thereabouts, least if the same had been perceiued by the company, there would haue bin by this time many barks & ships set out, & perchance other nations would also haue gotten of ours for Pilots, so as both our selues might haue been preuented, & all our care taken for good vsage of the people been vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their desire of our loue and defence, into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath bin often obiected) whoeuer had seene or prooued the fury of that riuier after it began to arise, and had been a moneth and odd daies as we were frō hearing ought frō our ships, lea-
uing

uing them meanelly mand, about 400. miles off, would perchance haue turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountaines had been gold, or rich stones: And to say the truth all the branches and small riuers which fell into *Orenoque* were raised with such speed, as if wee waded them ouer the shoos in the morning outward, we were couered to the shoulders homewarde the very same daie: and to stay to dig out gold with our nailes, had been *Opus laboris*, but not *Ingenij*: such a quantitie as would haue serued our turnes we could not haue had, but a discouery of the mines to our infinite disaduantage we had made, and that could haue been the best profit of farther search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste, and I could haue returned a good quantity of gold readie cast, if I had not shot at another marke, than present profit.

This *Arwacan* Pilot with the rest, feared that we would haue eaten them, or otherwise haue put them to some cruell death, for the Spaniards to the end that none of the people in the passage towards *Guiana* or in *Guiana* it selfe might come to speech with vs, perswaded all the nations, that we were men eaters, and *Canibals*: but when the poore men & women had seen vs, and that we gaue them meate, and to euerie one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceiue the deceit and purpose of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wiues, and daughters daily, and vsed them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the maiestie of the liuing God, that I

neither know nor belecue, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwise, euer knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, and excellently fauored which came among vs without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got vs more loue among them then this vsage, for I suffred not anie man to take from anie of the nations so much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which course, so contrarie to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drew them to admire hir Maiestie, whose commandement I told them it was, and also woonderfully to honour our nation. But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoile and stealing, when we came to their houses, which bicause in all I could not preuent, I caused my Indian interpreter at euery place whē we departed, to know of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their fight, or els it was paid for to their vttermost demand. They also much woondred at vs, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at *Trinidado*, for they were before resolued, that no nation of *Christians* durst abide their presence, and they woondred more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that hir Maiesties army and flecte had giuen them of late yeers in their owne countries.

After we had taken in this supplie of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I
gaue

gaue one of the *Canoas* to the *Arwacas*, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the *Spaniards* was christened *Martin*) I sent backe in the same *Canoa* the old *Ciawan*, and *Ferdinando* my first Pilot, and gaue them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to carie them back, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on, with my new hired Pilot *Martyn* the *Arwacan*: but the next or second day after, we came aground againe with our galley, and were like to cast hir away, with all our victuall and prouision, and so lay on the sand one whole night, and were farre more in despaire at this time to free hir then before, bicause we had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therfore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps: but we fastened an anker vp on the land, and with maine strength drew hir off: and so the 15. day we discovered a farre off the mountaines of *Guiana* to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a flent of a northerly winde that blew very strong, which brought vs in sight of the great riuier of *Orenoque*, out of which this riuier descended wherein we were: we descried a farre off three other *Canoas* as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entred vp the great riuier, on the right hand to the westward, & there staied out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the prouince of *Carapana*, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to go vpwards to *Guiana*, the people in those parts being all their enemies,

enemies, and those in the *Canoas* thought vs to haue beene those Spaniards that were fled from *Trinidado*, and had escaped killing: and when we came so farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what we were, wherewith they came backe willingly aboard vs: and of such fish and *Tortugas* egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other seruices they could.

That night we came to an ankor at the parting of three goodlie riuers (the one was the riuer of *Amana* by which we came from the north, and ran athwart towards the south, the other two were of *Orenoque* which crossed from the west and ran to the sea towards the east) and landed vpon a faire sand, where we found thousands of *Tortugas* egges, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring, so as our men were now well filled and highlie contented both with the fare, and neerenes of the land of *Guiana* which appeared in sight. In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called *Toparimaca*, with some thirtie or fortie followers, and brought vs diuers sorts of fruits, & of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could, at least he dranke good Spanish wine (whereof we had a small quantitie in bottels) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this *Toparimaca* of the next way to *Guiana*, who conducted our galley and botes to his owne port, and carried vs from thence some
 mile

mile and a halfe to his towne, where some of our captaines garoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, & the iuice of diuers herbs, and fruits digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of ten or twelue gallons very cleane and sweete, and are themselues at their meetings and feasts the greatest garousers and drunkards of the world: when we came to his towne we found two *Cassiques*, whereof one of them was a stranger that had bene vp the riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where we ankored, and the other was of that countrey a follower of *Toparimaca*: they laie each of them in a cotton *Hamaca*, which we call brasill beds, & two women attending them with six cups and a litle ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they dranke ech of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feasts and meetings.

That *Cassique* that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we ankored, and in all my life I haue seldome seene a better fauored woman: She was of good stature, with blacke eies, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, hir haire almost as long as hir selfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it seemed she stood not in that aw of hir husband, as the rest, for she spake and discourst, and dranke among the gentlemen and captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing hir owne comelines, and taking great pride therein. I haue seene a Lady in England so like hir, as but for the difference of colour I would haue sworne might haue bene the same.

The seate of this towne of *Toparimaca* was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round about it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fish adioyning. This towne is called *Aromocai*: the people are of the nation called *Nepois*, and are followers of *Carapana*. In that place I sawe very aged people, that we might perceiue all their sinewes and veines without any flesh, and but euen as a case couered onely with skin. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and trauell, and knew the riuer most perfectly both by day and night, and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to haue such a Pilot, for it is fower, fiue, and six miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with woonderfull eddies, and strong currants, many great Ilands and diuers sholds, and many dangerous rocks, and besides vpon any increase of winde so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small botes durst not come from the shore, but when it was very faire.

The next day we hasted thence, and hauing an easterly wind to helpe vs, we spared our arms from rowing: for after we entred *Orenoque*, the riuer lieth for the most part east and west, euen from the sea vnto *Quito* in *Pernu*. This riuer is nauigable with ships little lesse than 1000. miles, and from the place where we entred it may be sailed vp in small pinaces to many of the best parts of *Nueno reyno de granada*, and of *Popayan*: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and inuaded as from hence.

All

All that day we sailed vp a branch of that riuer, hauing on the left hand a great Iland, which they cal *Assapana*, which may containe some fiue and twentie miles in length, & 6. miles in bredth, the great body of the riuer running on the other side of this Iland: Beyond that middle branch there is also another Iland in the riuer, called *Iwana*, which is twise as big as the Isle of *Wight*, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of *Guiana*, runneth a third branch of *Orenoque* called *Arraroopana*: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ships. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at least thirtie miles brode, reckoning the Ilands which diuide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of this Iland, called *Assapana*, a little to the westward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the north, called *Enropa*, and fell into the great riuer, & beyond it, on the same side, we ankored for that night, by another Iland six miles long, and two miles brode, which they call *Ocaymita*: From hence in the morning we landed two *Guianians*, which we found in the towne of *Toparimaca*, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called *Pusyma*, a follower of *Topiawari*, chiefe Lord of *Arromaisa*, who succeeded *Morequito*, whom (as you haue heard before) *Berreio* put to death, but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, so as we ankored againe that night neere the banks of another Iland, of bignes much like the other, which they call *Putapayma*, on the maine lande, ouer against which Iland was a very high mountaine called *Ocope*:

we coueted to ankor rather by these Ilands in the riuer, than by the maine, because of the *Tortugas* egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, & also because the ground serued better for vs to cast our nets for fish, the maine banks being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like vnto the best Steele ore, which I assuredly take it to be : of the same blew stone are also diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, we weied ankor, & the brize encreasing, we sailed alwaies west vp the riuer, and after a while opening the lande on the right side, the countrey appeered to be champaigne, and the banks shewed very perfect red : I therefore sent two of the little barges with captaine *Gifford*, and with him captaine *Thyn*, captaine *Calfield*, my cosen *Greenuile*, my nephew *Io. Gilbert*, captaine *Eynns*, master *Edw. Porter*, and my cosen *Butthead Gorges*, with some fewe soldiers, to march ouer the banks of that red land, and to discouer what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get vpon : And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell brother to the *Cassique Toparimaca* told me, that those were called the plaines of the *Sayma*, and that the same leuell reached to *Cumana*, and *Carracas* in the west Indies, which are 120. leagues to the north, and that there inhabited fower principall nations. The first were the *Sayma*, the next *Affawai*, the third and greatest the *Wikiri*, by whom *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa* before mentioned was ouer-
thrown

throwen, as he passed with three hundred horse from *Cumana* towards *Orenoque*, in his enterprize of *Guiana*, the fourth are called *Aroras*, and are as blacke as *Negros*, but haue smooth haire, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and haue the most strong poison on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poison I will speake somewhat being a digression not vnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to finde out the true remedies of these poisoned arrowes, for besides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie shot indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most vglie and lamentable death, somtimes dying starke mad, somtimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are presently discolored, as blacke as pitch, and so vnfaery, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them: And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard, either by gift or torment that could attaine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their southsaiers and priests, who do conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serue for the ordinarie poison, are made of the iuice of a roote called *Тирага*: the same also quenchemaruellously the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the *Guianians* than any other,

for *Antonio de Berreo* told me that he could neuer attain to the knowledge therof, & yet they taught me the best way of healing as wel therof, as of al other poisons. Some of the Spaniards haue been cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poisoned arrowes with the iuice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all mē that shall heerafter trauell the Indies where poisoned arrowes are vsed, that they must abstaine from drinke, for if they take any licor into their body, as they shall be maruellously prouoked therunto by drought, I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soone vpon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I wil returne again to our iourney which for this third day we finished, and cast ankor againe neere the continent, on the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called *Aroami*, and the other *Aio*: I made no stay heere but till midnight, for I feared howerly least any raine should fall, and then it had beene impossible to haue gone any further vp, notwithstanding that there is euery day a very strong brize, and easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrie on *Guiana* side, till my returne downe the riuer. The next day we sailed by a great Iland, in the middle of the riuer, called *Manoripano*, and as wee walked a while on the Iland, while the *Galley* got a head of vs, there came after vs from the maine, a small *Canoe* with seuen or eight *Guianians*, to inuite vs to ankor at their port, but I deferred it till my returne; It was that *Cassique* to whom those *Nepoios* went, which came with vs from the towne of *Toparimaca*: and so the fift day we reached as high vp as the Prouince of *Aromasa* the countrey of *Morcquito* whom *Berreo* executed,

executed, and ankored to the west of an Iland called *Murrecotima*, ten miles long and five brode: and that night the *Cassique Aramiari*, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voiage out of the riuer of *Amana*) passed by vs.

The next day we arriued at the port of *Morequito*, and ankored there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of *Aromata*, vnkle to *Morequito*, slaine by *Berreco* as aforesaide. The next day following, before noone he came to vs on foote from his house, which was 14 English miles, (himself being 110. yeers old) & returned on foote the same daie, & with him many of the borderers, with many women & children, that came to woonder at our nation, and to bring vs down victuall, which they did in great plenty, as venison, porke, hens, chickens, foule, fish, with diuers sorts of excellent fruits, and rootes, & great abundance of *Pinas*, the princeesse of fruits, that grow vnder the *Sun*, especially those of *Gwana*. They brought vs also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of *Paraquitos*, no bigger than wrens, and of all other sorts both small and great: one of them gaue me a beast called by the Spaniards *Armadilla*, which they call *Cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred ouer with small plates somewhat like to a *Renocero*, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horne, which they vse to winde in steed of a trumpet. *Mornardus* writeth that a litle of the powder of that horn put into the eare, cureth deafnes.

After this old king had rested a while in a litle tent, that I caused to be set vp, I began by my interpreter to discourte with him of the death of *Morequito*

requito his predeceffor, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went anie farther I made him know the caufe of my comming thither, whose feruant I was, and that the Queenes pleafure was, I fhould vndertake the voiage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to thofe of *Trinidado*) her Maiefties greatnes, her iuftice, her charitie to all oppreffed nations, with as manie of the reft of her beauties and vertues, as either I coulde exprefse, or they conceiue, all which being with great admiration attentiuely heard, and maruelloufly admired, I began to found the olde man as touching *Guiana*, and the ftate thereof, what fort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what ftrength and pollicy, how farre it extended, and what nations were friends or enimies adioining, and finally of the diftance, and way to enter the fame: he told me that himfelfe and his people with all thofe downe the riuier towards the fea, as farre as *Emeria*, the Prouince of *Carapana*, were of *Guiana*, but that they called themfelues *Orenoqueponi*, bicaufe they bordered the great riuier of *Orenoque*, and that all the nations betweene the riuier and thofe mountaines in fight called *Wacarima*, were of the fame caft and appellation: and that on the other fide of thofe mountaines of *Wacarima* there was a large plaine (which after I difcouered in my returne) called the valley of *Amariocapana*, in all that valley the people were alfo of the ancient *Guianians*. I afked what nations thofe were which inhabited on the further fide of thofe mountaines, beyond the valley of

Amariocapana,

Amariocapana, he answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his conntrey and liberty, especially for that his eldest sonne was slain in a battel on that side of the mountaines, whom he most entirely loued,) that he remembred in his fathers life time when he was very old, and himselfe a yoong man that there came down into that large valley of *Guiana*, a nation from so far off as the *Sun* slept, (for such were his own words,) with so great a multitude as they could not be numbred nor resisted, & that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed, by shewing a peece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called *Oreiones*, and *Epuremei*, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had now made themselues Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foote called *Curaa*, sauing onely of two nations, the one called *Iwarawaqueri*, and the other *Cassipagos*, and that in the last battell fought betweene the *Epuremei*, and the *Iwarawaqueri*, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aide of the *Iwarawaqueri*, a great troupe of the *Orewoqueponi*, and was there slaine, with al his people & freinds, and that he had now remaining but one sonne: and farther told me that those *Epuremei* had built a great town called *Macureguarai*, at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of *Guiana*, which haue no end: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great king of the *Oreiones* and *Epuremei* kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withall daily to inuade and slaje them:

them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offered to inuade his territories, and those frontires, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, sauing onely the *Iwarawaqueri*, and those other nations vpon the head of the riuer of *Caroli*, called *Cassipagotos*, which we afterwards discouered, each one holding the *Spaniard* for a common enimie.

After he had answered thus far, he desired leaue to depart, saying that he had far to go, that he was old, & weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with vs that night, but I could not intreat him, but he told me that at my returne from the countrie aboue, he would againe come to vs, and in the meane time provide for vs the best he could, of all that his countrie yeilded: the same night hee returned to *Orocotona* his owne towne, so as he went that day 28. miles, the weather being very hot, the countrie being situate betweene 4. and 5. degrees of the *Equinoctiall*. This *Topiamari* is held for the proudest, and wisest of al the *Orenoqueponi*, and so he behaued himselfe towards me in all his answers at my returne, as I maruelled to finde a man of that grauity and iudgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breed.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward vp the riuer, to view the famous riuer called *Caroli*, as well bicause it was maruellous of it selfe, as also for that I vnderstood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontires, that were enimies to the *Epuremei*, which are subiects to *Inga*, Emperour of *Guiana*, and *Manoa*, and that night we ankored at another Iland called *Caiama*, of some fise or sixe miles

in length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of *Caroli*, whē we were short of it as low or further downe as the port of *Morequito* we heard the great rore and fall of the riuer, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries thinking to haue gone vp some fortie miles to the nations of the *Cassipagotos*, we were not able with a barge of eight oares to rowe one stone cast in an hower, and yet the riuer is as broad as the Thames at *Wolwich*, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and euery part of the riuer, so as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and sent off our *Orenoquerone* (which came with vs from *Morequito*) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the riuer of our being there, and that we desired to see the Lords of *Cannuria*, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this riuers side that *Morequito* slew the *Frier*, and those nine Spaniards which came from *Manoa*, the Citie of *Inga*, and tooke from them 40000. pesoes of Golde) so as the next daie there came downe a Lorde or *Cassique* called *Wanuretona* with many people with him, and brought all store of prouissions to entertaine vs, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my comming knowne to *Toptawari*, so did I acquaint this *Cassique* therewith, and howe I was sent by her Maiesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of *Guiana*, and I founde that those also of *Caroli* were not onely enemies to the Spaniardes but most of all to the *Epuremei*, which abounde in Gold, and by this *Wanuretona*, I had knowledge that on the heade of this riuer were three mighty nations,

which were seated on a great lake, from whence this river descended, and were called *Cassipagotos*, *Eparagotos*, and *Arawagotos*, and that all those eyther against the Spaniards, or the *Epuremei* would ioine with vs, and that if wee entred the lande ouer the mountaines of *Curaa*, wee should satisfie our selues with golde and all other good things: hee told vs farther of a nation called *Iwarawaqueti* before spoken off, that held daily warre with the *Epuremei* that inhabited *Macureguarai* the first ciuill towne of *Guiana*, of the subiectes of *Inga* the Emperor.

Vpon this river one Captaine *George*, that I tooke with *Berreco* tolde me there was a greate siluer mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the saide river. But by this time as well *Orenoque*, *Caroli*, as all the rest of the rivers were risen fowre or fise foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boate whatsoeuer to rowe into the river against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine *Tbyn*, Captaine *Greenuile*, my nephew *Iohn Gylbert*, my cosen *Butthead Gorges*, Captaine *Clarke*, and some 30 shot more to coast the river by lande, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles ouer the valley called *Annatapoi*, and if they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another greate towne, called *Capurepana*, belonging to a *Cassique* called *Haharacoa* (that was a nephew to old *Topiwari* king of *Arromaia* our chiefeft friend) because this towne and prouince of *Capurepana* adioyned to *Macureguarai*, which was the frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfield*, *Edm. Hancocke*, & some halfe a dosen shot

marched

marched ouer land to view the strange ouerfalls of the riuer of *Caroli*, which rored so farre of, & also to see the plaines, adioyning and the rest of the prouince of *Cassiri*: I sent also captaine *Whiddon*, *W. Connocke*, and some eight shot with them, to see if they coule finde any minerrall stone amongst the riuers side. When we ronned to the tops of the first hills of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we behelde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne down *Caroli*: and might from that mountaine see the riuer how it ran in three parts, aboue twentie miles of, and there appeared some ten or twelue ouerfalls in sight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of waters made it seeme, as if it had bene all couered ouer with a great shower of rayne: and in some places we tooke it at the first for a smoke that had risen ouer some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the said straunge thunder of waters, as they drew mee on by little and little, till we came in to the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I neuer saw a more beautifull countrey, nor more liuely prospectes, hills so raised heere and there ouer the vallies, the riuer winding into diuers braunches, the plaines adioyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand easy to march on, eyther for horse or foote, the deare crossing in euery path, the birds towards the euening singing on euery tree with a thousand seueral tunes, cranes & herons of white, crimson, and carnation pearching on the riuers side, the ayre fresh with a gentle

easterlie wind, and euery stone that we stooped to take vp, promised eyther golde or siluer by his complexion. Your L. shall see of many sortes, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered vnder the sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out heere and there, the rockes being most hard of that minerall sparre aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veynes lie a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all thinges requisite saue onelie our desires, and good will to haue performed more if it had pleased God. To be short when both our companies returned, each of them brought also seuerall sortes of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but cullored, and had not any gold fixed in them, yet such as had no iudgement or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of *Marquesite* with all, from *Trinidado*, and haue deliuered of those stones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the *Caracas* who told me that it was *El Madre del oro*, and that the mine was farther in the grounde. But it shall bee founde a weake pollicie in mee, eyther to betray my selfe, or my Countrey with imaginations, neyther am I so farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diseases, ill fauoures, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the sunne couereth
not

not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine *Whiddon*, and our Chirurgion *Nich. Millochup* brought me a kinde of stones like *Saphires*, what they may proue I knowe not, I shewed them to some of the *Orenoqueponi*, and they promised to bring me to a mountaine, that had of them verye large peeces growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, *Bristoll Diamond*, or *Saphire* I do not yet knowe, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neare. On the left hand of this riuer *Caroli* are seated those nations which are called *Iwarawakeri* before remembred, which are enemies to the *Epuremei*: and on the heade of it adioyning to the greate lake *Cassipa*, are situate those other nations which also resist *Inga*, and the *Epuremes*, called *Casspagotos*, *Eparegotos*, and *Arrawagotos*. I farther vnderstood that this lake of *Cassipa* is so large, as it is aboute one daies iourney for one of their *Canoas* to crosse, which may be some 40. miles, and that therein fall diuers riuers, and that great store of graines of Golde are found in the summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in those branches. There is also another goodly riuer beyond *Caroli* which is called *Arui*, which also runneth thorow the lake *Cassipa*, and falleth into *Orenoque*, farther west, making all that land betweene *Caroli* and *Arui* an Island, which is likewise a most beawtifull countrey. Next vnto *Arui* there are two riuers *Atoica* and *Caora*, and on that branch which is called *Caora* are a nation of people, vvhose heades appeare not aboute their shoulders, which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine

owne part I am resolued it is true, because euery child in the prouinces of *Arromais* and *Canuri* affirme the same: they are called *Ewaspanoma*: they are reported to haue their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, & that a long train of haire groweth backward betwen their shoulders. The sonne of *Topiawari*, which I brought with mee into England tolde mee that they are the most mightie men of all the lande, and vse bowes, arrowes, and clubs thrice as bigge as any of *Guiana*, or of the *Orenoquepont*, and that one of the *Iwarawakeri* tooke a prisoner of them the yeare before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of *Arromais* his fathers Countrey: And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee tolde me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common, as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeares slaine manie hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbors, but it was not my chance to heare of them til I was come away, and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by *Mannendile*, whose reportes were held for fables many yeares, and yet since the East *Indies* were discouered, wee finde his relations true of such thinges as heeretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination, for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolued that so many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

When I came to *Cumana* in the west *Indies* afterwards,
by

by chance I spake with a Spanyard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after he knew that I had ben in *Guiana*, and so farre directlie west as *Caroli*, the first question he asked me was whether I had seene anie of the *Ewaipanoma*, which are those without heades: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all thinges else, told me that he had seen manie of them: I may not name him because it may be for his disaduantage, but he is well known to *Monsier Mucherons* sonne of London, and to *Peter Mucheron* marchant of the *Flemish* shipp that was there in trade, who also heard what he auowed to be true of those people. The fourth riuer to the west of *Caroli* is *Casnero* which falleth into *Orenoque* on this side of *Amapaia*, and that riuer is greater then *Danubius*, or any of *Europe*: it riseth on the south of *Guiana* from the mountaines which deuide *Guiana* from *Amazones*, and I thinke it to be nauigable many hundred miles: but we had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeare, to search those riuers for the causes aforesaid, the winter being come vppon vs, although the winter & summer as touching cold & heate differ not, neither do the trees euer senceible lose their leaues, but haue alwaies fruite either ripe or green, and most of the both blossomes, leaues, ripe fruite, & green at one time: But their winter onelie consisteth of terrible raynes, and ouerflowings of the riuers, with many great stormes and gusts, thunder, and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned. On the North side, the first riuer that falleth into *Orenoque* is *Cari*, beyond it on the same side is the riuer of *Limo*, betweene these two is a great nation of *Canibals*, and their chiefe

chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer and is called *Acamacari* : at this towne is a continuall markette of women for 3 or 4 hatchets a peece , they are bought by the *Armacas* , and by them solde into the west Indies . To the west of *Limo* is the riuer *Pao* , beyond it *Caturi* , beyond that *Voari* and *Capuri* which falleth out of the great riuer of *Meta* , by which *Berreco* descended From *Nueno reyno de granada* . To the westward of *Capuri* is the prouince of *Amapaia* , where *Berreco* wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the *Anebas* . Aboue *Amapaia* , towarde *Nueno reyno* fall in , *Meta* , *Pato* , and *Cassanar* : to the west of these towades the prouinces of the *Ashaguas & Catetios* are the riuers of *Beta* , *Dawney* , and *Vbarro* , and towades the frontyer of *Peru* are the prouinces of *Tbomebamba* . and *Caximalta* : adioyning to *Quito* in the North of *Peru* are the riuers of *Gniacar* and *Goanar* : and on the other side of the saide mountaines the riuer of *Papamene* which descendeth into *Maragnon* or *Amazones* passing through the prouince of the *Mutylones* where *Don Pedro de Osua* who was slayne by the traytour *Agiri* before rehearsed , built his *Brigandines* , when he sought *Guaina* by the waie of *Amazones* Betwene *Dawney* and *Beta* lieth a famous Iland in *Orenoque* now called *Baraquan* (For aboue *Meta* it is not knowne by the name of *Orenoque*) which is called *Athule* , beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible ouerfall , and Current of waters : but in the eddy all smaller vesselles may be drawen euen to *Peru* it selfe : But to speake of more of these riuers without the description were but tedious , and therefore I will leaue

leauē the rest to the discription. This riuē of *Orenoque* is nauigable for ships little lesse then 1000. miles, & for lesser vessels neere 2000. By it (as aforesaid) *Peru*, *Nuenoreyno*, & *Popayan*, may be inuaded: it also leadeth to that great Empire of *Inga*, and to the prouinces of *Amapaia*, and *Anebas* which abound in gold: his branches of *Cosnero*, *Manna*, *Caora* descend from the middle land and valley, which lyeth betweene the easter prouince of *Peru* and *Guiana*; and it falles into the sea betweene *Maragnon* and *Trinidado* in two degrees and a half, at which your Honors shal better perceiue in the generall description of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nuenoreyno*, the kingdom of *Popayan*, and *Roidas*, with the prouince of *Vansuello*, to the bay of *Vraba* behind *Cartagena*, westward: and to *Amazones* southward. While we lay at ancor on the coast of *Canuri*, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuē, and had founde out so many seuerall people, which were enemies to the *Epuremei*, and the newe Conquerers: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of *Orenoque* beganne dailie to threaten vs with daungers in our returne, for no halfe day passed, but the riuē began to rage and ouerflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gusts in greate abundance: and withall, our men beganne to cry out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparrell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly washt on his body for the most part ten times in one day: and we had nowe beene well neere a moneth, euery day passing to the westwarde, farther & farther from our shippes. Wee

therefore turned towards the east, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the riuer towards the sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was most materiall. The next day following we left the mouth of *Caroli*, and arriued againe at the port of *Morequito* where we were before (for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then 100. miles a day:) As soon as I came to ancor I sent away one for old *Topiawari*, with whō I much desired to haue farther conference, & also to deal with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, (the time being now spent of anie longer stay there) within three howers after my messenger came to him, he arriued also, and with him such a rabble of all sortes of people, and euery one loden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungrie companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the *Epuremes* and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey, and nations: that the one had conquered *Guiana* already, & that the other sought to regaine the same from them both: And therefore I desired him to instruct me what hee coulde, both of the passage into the golden partes of *Guiana*, and to the ciuill townes and apparrelled people of *Inga*. Hee gaue me an aunswere to this effect: first that hee did not perceiue that I meant to goe onwarde towards the Citie of *Manoa*, for neyther the time of the yeare
served

ferued, neyther could he perceiue any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize: and if I did I was sure with all my company to be buried there, for that the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few: besides he gaue me this good counsell and aduised me to hold it in minde (as for himselfe he knewe, he coule not liue til my returne) that I shoulde not offer by any meanes heereafter to inuade the strong partes of *Guiana* without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, eyther to be conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought carried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and trauell, vnlesse the borderers gaue them helpe, to carry with them both their meate and furniture: For he remembered that in the plaines of *Macureguarai* 300. Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes, but meeting their enimies as they passed the frontier, were inuironed of all sides, and the people setting the long dry grasse on fire, smothered them so as they had no breath to fight, nor coule discern their enemies for the great smoke. He told me farther that fower daies iourney from his towne was *Macureguarai*, and that those were the next, and nearest of the subiectes of *Inga*, and of the *Epuremei*, and the first towne of apparrelled and rich people, and that all those plates of Golde which were scattered among the borderers and carried to other nations farre and neare, came from the saide *Macureguarai* and were there made, but that those of the lande within, were farre finer, and were

fashioned after the Image of men, beastes, birdes, and fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no, he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him whether he woulde assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to ioyne with vs, he answered that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the riuers did remaine fordable, vpon this condition that I woulde leaue with him till my returne againe fiftie souldiers, which hee vnderooke to victual: I answerd that I had not aboute fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no prouision to leaue with them of powder, shot, apparell, or ought else, and that without those thinges necessarie for their defence, they shoulde be in daunger of the Spaniardes in my absence, who I knew woulde vse the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at *Trinidado*: And although vpon the motion Captaine *Calfeide*, Captaine *Greenswile*, my nephewe *John Gilbert* and diuers others were desirours to staie, yet I was resolved that they must needs haue perished, for *Berreco* expected daily a supply out of Spayne, and looked also howertly for his sonne to come downe from *Nuenareyno de Granada*, with many horse and foote, and had also in *Valentia* in the *Caracas*, 200. horse readie to march, and I could not haue spared aboute fortie, and had not anie store at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor anie other prouision, eyther spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to haue fortified withall. When I had giuen him reason that I could not at this time leaue him such a cōpany, he

he then desired me to forbear him, and his countrey for that time, for hee assured me that I shoulde bee no sooner three daies from the coast, but those *Eperemei* would inuade him, and destroye all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee shoulde any way eyther guide vs, or assist vs against them. Hee further alleadged that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murdered his Nephew *Mc-requito* Lorde of that prouince, so they had him 17. daies in a chaine before hee was king of the Countrey, and ledde him like a dogge from place to place, vntill hee had paid 100. plates of Golde, and diuers chaines of spleene stones for his raunsome, and nowe since hee became owner of that prouince that they had manie times laide waite to take him, and that they would be nowe more vehement when they shoulde vnderstand of his conference with the English, and because said hee, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called *Eparacano* whome they haue christened *Don Iuan*, and his sonne *Don Pedro*, whome they haue also apparrelled and armed, by whome they seeke to make a partie against mee, in mine owne countrey: hee also hath taken to wife one *Louiana*. of a strong familie, which are my borderers and neighbours: and my selfe beeing nowe olde and in the handes of death, am not able to traueℓ nor to shift, as when I was of younger years: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeare, when hee would vnder-take to drawe in all the borderers to serue vs, and then also it would be more seasonable to traueℓ, for at this time of they care, we should not be able to passe

any river, the waters were and would be so grown ere our returne. Hee farther told me that I could not desire so much to invade *Macureguari*, & the rest of *Guiana* but that the borderers would be more vehemēt then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the wars with the *Epuremei*, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne partes they desired nothing of the gold or treasure, for their labors, but onely to recouer women from the *Epuremei*: for he farther complayned very sadly (as if it had beene a matter of greate consequence) that whereas they were wont to haue ten or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themselues with three or fower, & that the Lords of the *Epuremei* had 50. or 100. And in truth they warre more for women, thē eyther for gold or dominion. For the Lords of countries desire many children of their owne bodies, to encrease their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Diuers of his followers afterwardes desired me to make hast againe, that they might sacke the *Epuremei*, and I asked them of what? they answered, of their women for vs, and their Golde for you: for the hope of many of those women they more desire the warre, then eyther for Golde, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the subiectes of *Inga*, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spanyardes. After I receiued this aunswere of the olde man, wee fell into consideration, vvhether it had beene of better aduice to haue entered *Macureguarai*, and

and to haue begunne a warre vpon *Inga* at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yere, and all thinges else had sorted. For mine own part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarric any longer from our ships) I thought it verie euill counsell to haue attempted it at that time, although the desire of golde will answer many obiections: But it woulde haue been in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrowe to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Maiestie attempted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Maiestie to relieue them) they would as good cheape haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, when they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke and spoyle them, but as yet our desier of gold, or our purpose of inuasiō is not known vnto those of the Empire: & it is likely that if her maiestie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves & the borderers haue already tasted: & therefore til I had known her maiesties pleasure, I woulde rather haue lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might haue been very profitable) then to haue defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good, and rich trade which England maie bee possessed off thereby. I am assured nowe that they will all die euen to the last man against the Spaniardes, in hope of our succoure and returne: whereas otherwise if I had

either laid handes on the borderers, or ransomed the Lordes as *Berreio* did, or inuaded the subiects of *Inga*, I knowe all had been lost for hereafter . After that I had resolued *Topiawari* Lorde of *Aromaia* that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he desired , and that I was contented to forbear the enterprize against the *Epuremesi* till the next yeare , he freely gaue me his onelie sonne to take with me into England, and hoped , that though he himselfe had but a short tyme to liue, yet that by our meanes his sonne should be established after his death : and I left with him one *Franncis Sparrow*, a seruant of captaine *Gifford*, (who was desirous to tarry, and coulde describe a cuntry with his pen) and a boy of mine called *Hugh Goodwin*, to learne the language . I after asked the manner howe the *Epuremesi* wrought those plates of golde, and howe they coulde melt it out of the stone ; he tolde me that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images was not seuered from the stone , but that on the lake of *Manoa*, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfe&t golde and in peeces as bigg as small stones, and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they coulde not worke it, and that they vied a great earthen potte with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastned canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the mettell ran, and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and Images . I haue sent your Honours , of two sorts such as I coulde by chance recouer, more to shew the manner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any sort make my desire of golde known,

known, because I had neyther time, nor power to haue a greater quantitie. I gaue among them manye more peeces of Golde then I receaued of the new money of 20. shillings with her Maiesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her seruants thenceforth.

I haue also sent your Honors of the oare, whereof I knowe some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth anie, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarry and search the hils, so we had neither pioners, bars, sledges, nor wedges of Iron, to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mynes: but we sawe all the hils with stones of the cullor of Gold and siluer, and wee tried them to be no *Marquesite*, and therefore such as the Spaniards call *El Madre del oro*, which is an vndoubted assurance of the generall abundance; and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the white sparre, which I know to be the same that all couet in this worlde, and of those, more then I will speake of.

Hauing learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and receiued a faithfull promise of the principallest of those prouinces to become seruantes to her Maiestie, and to resist the Spanyardes, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would drawe in the nations about the lake of *Cassipa*, and those *Iwarawaqueri*, I then parted from olde *Topianari*, and receiued his sonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforesaid: To *Francis Sparrowe* I gaue instructions to trauell to *Macnreguarai*, with such marchaundizes as I left with him,

M

thereby

thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible to go on, to the great City of *Manoa*: which being done, we weyed ancor, and coasted the riuer on *Guiana* side, because we came vp on the north side, by the launes of the *Saima* and *Wikiri*.

There came with vs from *Aromaia*, a *Cassique* called *Putijma*, that commaunded the prouince of *Warapana*, (which *Putijma* slewe the nyne Spaniardes vpon *Caroli* before spoken of,) who desired vs to rest at the porte of his Countrey, promising to bring vs to a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the cullor of Golde, which hee performed: And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my campany, ouer lande towards the saide mountaine, marching by a riuers side called *Mana*, leauing on the right hande a towne called *Tuteritona*, standing in the prouince of *Tarracoa*, of which *Wariaaremagoto* is principall: Beyond it lyeth another towne towards the south, in the valley of *Ama/iocapana*, which beareth the name of the saide valley, whose plaines stretch themselues some 60. miles in length, east and west, as fayre ground, and as beautifull fieldes, as any man hath euer scene, with diuers copses scattered heere and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deare, as any Forrest or parke in England, and in eue-ry lake and riuer the like abundance of fish and fowle, of which *Irraparragota* is Lord.

From the riuer of *Mana*, we crost another riuer in the said beautifull valley called *Oiana*, and rested our selues by a cleare lake, which lay in the middle of the said *Oiana*, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with

two sticke, we staid a while to dry our shirts, which with the heat hong very weete & heavy on our shoulders. Afterwards we sought the ford to passe ouer towards the mountain called *Isonuri*, where *Putijma* foretold vs of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call *Manati*, and is most excellent and holsome meate. But after I perceiued, that to passe the saide riuier would require halfe a daies march more, I was not able my selfe to indure it, and therefore I sent Captaine *Keymis* with six shotte to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of *Putijma*, which is called *Chiparepare*, but to take leasure, and to march downe the said valley, as farre as a riuier called *Cumaca*, where I promised to meete him againe, (*Putijma* himselfe promising also to be his guide,) and as they marched, they left the townes of *Emparepana*, and *Capurepana*, on the right hande, and marched from *Putijmas* house, downe the saide valley of *Amariocapana*, & wee returning the same daie to the riuers side, sawe by the way many rockes, like vnto Golde oare, and on the left hand, a rounde mountaine which consisted of minerall stone.

From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the prouince of *Parino*; As for the braunches of riuers which I ouerpasse in this discourse, those shalbe better expressed in the description, with the mountaines of *Aio*, *Ara*, & the rest, which are situate in the prouinces of *Parino* and *Carricurrina*. When wee were come as farre downe as the lande called *Arriacoa*, (where *Ore-naque* deuideth it selfe into three great braunches, each of them beeing most goodly riuers,) I sent away

Captaine *Henry Thyn*, and Captaine *Greenenile* with the Galley, the neareſt way, and tooke with me Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfeild*, *Edward Porter*, and Captaine *Eynos* with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of *Orenoque*, which is called *Cararoopana*, which leadeth towards *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana*, and towards the eaſt ſea, as well to finde out Captaine *Keymis*, whome I had ſent ouer land, as alſo to acquaint my ſelfe with *Carapana*, who is one of the greateſt of all the Lordes of the *Orenoqueponi*: and when we came to the riuer of *Cumaca* (to which *Putyma* promiſed to conduct Captaine *Keymis*) I left Captaine *Eynos* and Maſter *Porter* in the ſaid riuer to expect his coming, and the reſt of vs rowed downe the ſtreame towards *Emeria*.

In this braunch called *Cararoopana* were alſo many goodly Handes, ſome of ſixe miles long, ſome of tenne, and ſome of Twentie, when it grewe towards ſunne ſett, we entred a braunch of a riuer that fel into *Orenoque* called *Winicapora*, where I was enformed of the mountaine of *Chriſtall*, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill ſeaſon of the yeare, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee ſaw it a farre off and it appeared like a white Church towre of an exceeding height: There falleth ouer it a mightier riuer which toucheth no parte of the ſide of the mountaine, but ruſheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the grounde with a terrible noyſe and clamor, as if 1000. greate belles were knockt one againſt another. I thinke there is not in the worlde ſo ſtraunge an ouerfall, nor ſo wonderful

wonderfull to beholde : *Berreo* tolde mee that it hath Diamondes and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I knowe not, neyther durst he or any of his men ascende to the toppe of the saide mountaine, those people adioyning beeing his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassible.

Vpon this riner of *Winicapora* wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the Countrey to a tovvne called after the name of the riuier, vvhich of the chiefe was one *Timitwara*, who also offered to conduct mee to the toppe of the saide mountaine called *Wacarima*: But vvhhen wee came in first to the house of the saide *Timitwara*, beeing vppon one of their feast daies, wee founde them all as drunke as beggers, and the pottes vvalking from one to another vwithout rest: vvee that were vveary, and hotte vwith marching, vvere glad of the plenty, though a small quantitie fatisfied vs, their drinke beeing very strong and heady, and so rested our selues a vvhile; after vve had fedde, vvee drevve our selues backe to our boats, vppon the riuier, and there came to vs all the Lordes of the Countrey, vwith all such kinde of victuall as the place yeilded, and vwith their delicate vine of *Pinat*, and vwith aboundance of hens, and other prouisions, and of those stones vvhich vvee call Splene-stones. Wee vnderstoode by these chieftaines of *Winicapora*, that their Lorde *Carapana* vvas departed from *Emeria* vvhich vvas nowe in sight, and that hee vvas fledde to *Cairamo*, adioyning to the mountaines of *Gviana*, ouer the valley called *Amariocapana*, beeing persvaded by those tenne Spanyardes vvhich

lay at his house, that we would destroy him, and his country.

But after these *Cassiqui* of *Wimicapora* and *Saporatona* his followers perceiued our purpose, and sawe that we came as enemies to the Spanyardes onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though wee founde them to bee of the Spanyardes owne seruantes, they assured vs that *Carapana* would bee as readie to serue vs, as any of the Lordes of the prouinces, which wee had passed; and that hee durst doe no other till this daie but entertaine the Spanyardes, his country lying so directy in their waie, and next of all other to any enterance that should bee made in *Guiana* on that side.

And they farther assured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that hee was remoued, but to bee acquitted of those Spanyardes or any other that shoulde come heereafter. For the prouince of *Cairoma* is situate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of *Guiana*, from the countries of the *Orenoqueponi*: by meanes whereof if any shoulde come in our absence into his townes, hee would slippe ouer the mountaines into the plaines of *Guiana* amonge the *Epuremei*, where the Spanyardes durste not followe him without greate force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that *Carapana* (beeing a notable wise and subtile fellowe, a man of one hundred yeares of age, and therefore of greate experience) is remoued, to looke on, and if hee finde that wee returne strong,
 hee

hee will bee ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spanyards, and say it was for feare of our coming.

We therefore thought it booteles to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther for this olde fox: and therefore from the riuer of *Waricapana* (which lieth at the entrance of *Emeria*.) we turned again, and left to the Eastward those 4 riuers which fall from out the mountaines of *Emeria* into *Orenoque*, which are *maracapani*, *Coirama*, *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma*: belowe those 4. are also these branches and mouths of *Orenoque*, which fall into the Est sea, whereof the first is *Araturi*, the next *Amacura*, the third *Barima*, the fourth *Wana*, the fift *Morooca*; the sixt *Paroma*, the last *Wymis*: beyond them, there fall out of the land betweene *Orenoque* and *Amazones* 14. riuers which I forbore to name, inhabited by the *Arwacas* and *Canniballs*.

It is nowe time to returne towards the North, and we founde it a wearisome way backe, from the borders of *Emeria*, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer *Carerapana*, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the Porte of *Toparimaca*, by which we entered first,

All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder and great showers, so as we were driuen to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartely afraid both of the billowe, and terrible Current of the riuer. By the next morning wee recovered the mouth of the riuer of *Cumaca*, where wee left Captaine *Lynus* and Edward Porter to attend

the coming of Capatine *keymia* ouer land : but when we entred the same, they had heard no newes of his ariuall, which bredde in vs a great doubt what might be become of him : I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, shooting off peeces all the way, that he might know of our being there : And the next morning we hearde them answere vs also with a peece: we tooke them aboard vs, and tooke our leaue of *Punryma* their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offred to send his sonne with vs into England, if we could haue staide till he had sent backe to his towne : but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of *Orenoque*, and therefore departed, and turned towarde the west, till we had recouered the parting of the 3 braunches aforesaide, that we might put downe the streame after the Galley.

The next day we landed on the Iland of *Assapana*, (which deuideth the riuer from that braunch by which we went down to *Emeria*) and there feasted our selues with that beast which is called *Armadilla* presented vnto vs before at *Winicapora*, and the day following we recouered the galley at ancour at the port of *Toparimaca*, and the same euening departed with verie fowle weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the vvinter vvas come on verie farre : the best vvas, vve went no lesse then 100 miles a day, down the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impossiblie to return, for that the riuer of *Amana*, being in the bottome of the bay of *Guanipa*, cannot be sayled back by any meanes, both the brize and currente of the sea were so forcible, and therefore we followed a braunch of

Oronoque called *Capuri*, which entred into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea, after wee came to the riuers mouth as betweene *Granelyn* & *Doner*, in such boats as your Ho: haue heard.

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, eyther to describe or name any of the riuers, Ilands, or villages of the *Tinusinas* which dwell on trees, we will leaue all those to the generall mappe: And to be short, when we were arriued at the sea side the grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our iourney forepassed, for I protest before God, that wee were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the riuer of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storme, and the riuers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close vnder the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to liue as coulde be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine own part, I confesse, I was very doubtfull which way to take, eyther to goe ouer in the pestred Galley, there being but sixe foote water ouer the sands, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, & she drew five: or to aduenture in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we carried the worse it was, and therefore I took Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfeild*, & my cosen *Greenensle*, into my barge, and after it cleared vppe, about midnight wee put our selues to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at ancor, who

durst not aduenture but by day light: And so beeing all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shew courage, it pleased God that the next day about nyne of the clocke, we descryed the Iland of *Trinidado*, and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore til we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our ships at ancor, then which, there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send vs safe to our ships, it is time to leaue *Gniana* to the Sunne, whom they worship, and steare away towards the north: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discouery thereof. Of the seuerall nations which we found vpon this discouery I will once againe make repetition; and how they are affected. At our first entrance into *Amana*, which is one of the outlets of *Orenoque*, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly against *Trinidado*, a nation of inhumaine *Canibals*, which inhabite the riuers of *Guanipa* and *Berbeese*; in the same bay there is also a third riuier which is called *Arco*, which riseth on *Paria* side towards *Cumana*, and that riuier is inhabited with the *Wikiri*, whose chiefe towne vpon the said riuier is *Sayma*; In this bay there are no more riuers, but these three before rehearsed, and the sower branches of *Amana*, all which in the winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken vp fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towards *Gniana*, (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of *Orenoque* fashione into Ilandes,) there are but one sort of people called *Tinitinas*, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called *Ciawani*, the
the

the other *Warawetti*, and those warre one with the other.

On the hithermost part of *Orenoque*, as at *Teparimaca*, and *Winicapora*, those are of a nation Called *Nepolos*, and are of the followers of *Carapana*, Lorde of *Emeria*. Betweene *Winicapora* and the port of *Morequito* which standeth in *Aromaia*, and all those in the valley of *Amariocapana* are called *Orenoquesoni*, and did obey *Morequito*, and are nowe followers of *Topiawari*. Vpon the riuer of *Caroli*, are the *Cauri*, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that prouince) who came farre off to see our nation, and asked mee diuers questions of her Maiesty, beeing much delighted with the discourse of her Maiesties greatnes, and wondring at such reports as we truely made of her highnes many vertues. And vpon the head of *Caroli*, and on the lake of *Cassipa*, are the three strong nations of the *Cassipagotos*. Right south into the land are the *Capuropani*, and *Emparepani*, and beyond those adioyning to *Macuroguarai*, (the first Citié of *Enga*,) are the *Iwarawakert*: all these are professe d enemies to the Spanyardes; and to the right *Epuremesi* also. To the west of *Caroli* are diuers nations of *Canibals*, and of those *Ewaipanoma* without heades. Directly west are the *Amapalas* and *Ambas*, which are also marueilous rich in gold: The rest towards *Peru* wee will omit. On the north of *Orenoque*, betweene it and the west Indies are the *Wikiri*, *Saymi*, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spanyardes. On the south side of the maine mouth of *Orenoque*, are the *Armacas*: and beyond them the *Canibals*.

and to the south of them the *Amazones*.

To make mention of the severall beasts, birds, fishes, fruites, flowers, gummes, sweete woodes, and of their severall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of *Gesnerus*, and for the rest another bundle of *Decades*. The religion of the *Epurenses* is the same which the *Ingas*, Emperors of *Peru* used, which may be read in *Cicca*, and other Spanish stories, howe they beleue the immortalitie of the Soule, worship the Sunne, and bury with them alieue their best beloued wiues and treasure, as they likewise doe in *Pegu* in the east Indies, and other places. The *Orenoqueponi* bury not their wiues with them, but their Jewels, hoping to inioy them againe. The *Arvacas* dry the bones of their Lordes, and their wiues and friendes drinke them in powder. In the graues of the *Peruvians*, the Spanyards founde their greatest abundance of treasure: The like also is to be found among these people in euery prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lordes siue sold to the common sort: their wiues neuer eate with their husbands, nor among the men, but serue their husbandes at meales, and afterwards feede by themselves. Those that are past their yonger yeares, make all their breade and drinke, and worke their cotten beddes, and doe all else of seruiue and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunte, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the wars.

I wil enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and because I haue not my selfe seene the cities of *Inga*, I can not auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent palla-

ces in *Guiana*, as his aunccestors did in *Peru*, which were for their riches and rarenes most marueilous and exceeding al in *Europe*, and I thinke of the world, *China* excepted, which also the Spanyards (which I had) assured me to be of truth, as also the nations of the borderers, who being but *Saluaios*, to those of the Inland, do cause much treasure to be buried with them, for I was enformed of one of the *Cassiqui* of the valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him a little before our arriuell, a chaire of Golde most curiously wrought, which was made tyther in *Macureguaras* adioyning, or in *Manoa*: But if wee shoulde haue grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had beene raught better, and haue digged vppe their graues, wee had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her maiesty should eyther accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing shoulde be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if *Peru* had so many heapes of Golde, whereof those *Ingas* were Princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which nowe liueth and raigneth in *Manoa*, hath the same humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of Golde, within his territorie, then all *Peru*, and the west Indies.

For the rest, which my selfe haue seene I will promise these things that follow and knowe to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many armes & branches leading to severall countries, & prouinces, about 2000. miles east and west, and 800. miles south and north: and of these, the most eyther rich in Gold, or in other marchandizes.

The common soldier shal here fight for gold, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote brode, wheras he breaketh his bones in otherwarres for prouant and penury. Those commanders and Chieftaines, that shoot for honour, and abundance, shal find there more rich and bewtifull cities, more temples adorned with golden Images, more sepulchers filled with treasure, then either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pazaro* in *Persia*: and the shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the Inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, then *Guiana* doth. It hath so many plaines, cleare riuers, abundance of Phesants, Partridges, Quailes, Rayles, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deare of all sortes, Porkes, Hares, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other sortes of beastes, eyther for chace, or foode. It hath a kinde of beast called *Cana*, or *Anta*, as bigge as an English beefe, and in greate plenty.

To speake of the seuerall sortes of euery kinde, I feare would betroublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omitte them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches, I am resolued it cannot bee equalled by any region eyther in the east or west. Moreouer the countrey is so healthfull, as 100. persons and more, which lay (without shift most sluttishly, and were euery day almost melted with heat in rowing & marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, & made meales of fresh fish without seasoning,

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of *Tortugas*, of *Lagartos*, & of al sorts good ~~at~~ ^{with} ~~bad~~ ^{out} without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open ayre euery night) we lost nor any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found anie *Calentura*, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hote regions, and so nere the Equinoctiall line.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect nedeles to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the south part of the riuer, great quantities of Brasill woode, & of diuers berries, that die a most perfect crimson and Carnation: And for painting, al *France*, *Italy*, or the east Indies yeild none such: For the more the skyn is washed, the sayrer the cullour appeareth, and with which, euen those brown and rawnie womē spot themselues, and cullour their checkes. All places yeilde abundance of Cotten, of sylke, of *Balsammum*, and of those kindes most excellent, and neuer known in Europe: of all sortes of gummies, of *Indian* pepper: and what else the countries may afforde within the land wee knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of riuers, as it will carrie suger, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the west Indies hath.

The nauigation is short, for it may bee sayled with an ordinarie wind in six weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, Enimies coast, rocks, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West indies, and all other places, wee are subiect vnto, as the channell of *Babama*, comming from the West Indies, can not be passed in the Winter, and when it is at the best, it is a

perillous and a fearefull place : The rest of the Indies for calmes , and diseases very troublesome , and the *Bermudas* a hellish sea for thunder, lightning , and stormes .

This verie yeare there were seuenteen sayle of Spanish shippes lost in the channell of *Babama* , and the great *Phillip* like to haue sunke at the *Bermudas* was put back to Saint *Iuan de pueriorico*. And so it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yere for the most parte , which in this voyage are not to be feared : for the time of the yere to leaue *England* , is best in July , and the Summer in *Guiana* is in October , Nouember, December, Ianuarie, February, and March, and then the shippes may depart thence in Aprill , and so returne againe into *England* in Iune , so as they shall neuer be subiect to Winter weather , eyther comming, going, or staying there, which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on , hauing (as I haue done) tasted in this voyage by the west Indies so many Calmes, so much heate , such outragious gustes , fowle weather , and contrarie windes .

To conclude, *Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead , neuer sackt , turned, nor wrought , the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance , the graues haue not beene opened for gold , the mines not broken with sledges , nor their Images puld down out of their temples . It hath neuer been entred by any armie of strength , and neuer conquered or possessed by any Christian Prince . It is besides so defensibile, that if two fortes be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue

haue seen, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no shippe can passe vp, but within a Pikes length of the Artillerie, first of the one, and afterwarde of the other: Which two Fortes wilbe a sufficient Guard both to the *Empire of Inga*, and to an hundred other seuerall kingdomes, lying within the said Riuer, euen to the citie of *Quito in Peru*.

There is therefore great difference betwene the easines of the conquest of *Guiana*, & the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: *Guiana* hath but one entraunce by the sea (if it haue that) for any vessels of burden, so as whosoeuer shall first possesse it, it shall bee founde vnaccessable for anie Eninie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or *Canoas*, or els in flatte bottomed boats, and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke 200 miles together vppon the riuers of such entraunce, as a mouse cannot sitte in a boate vnhit from the banke. By land it is more impossible to approach, for it hath the strongest situation of anie region vnder the Sunne, and is so enuironed with impassable mountaynes on euerie side, as it is impossible to victuall anye companie in the passage, which hath bene well proued by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of *Peru* haue neuer left siue yeres free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some way into it, and yet of 23 seuerall gentlemen, knights, and noble men, there was neuer anie that knewe which way to leade an armie by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, any thing neere the said countrie. *Oreliano*, of which the riuer

of *Amazones* taketh name was the first, and *Don Anthonio de Berreo* (whome we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether hee himselfe or any of his, yet knowe the best waie into the saide Empyre. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength bee formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or galleys buylt, and furnished vpon the riuer within: The west Indies hath many portes, wating places, and landings, and nearer then 300. miles to *GUIANA*, no mā can harbor a ship, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in hast, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoeuer hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empyre is guarded, and whatsoeuer companies shalbe afterwarde planted within the land, although in twenty severall prouinces, those shall bee able all to reunite themselues vpon any occasion eyther by the way of one riuer, or bee able to march by land without eyther wood, bog, or mountaine: whereas in the west Indies there are fewe townes, or prouinces that can succour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or sea: By lande the countries are eyther desart, mounteynous, or strong Enemies: By sea, if any man inuade to the Eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turne against the brize and easterwind, besides the Spanyardes are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in *Nueva Hispania* onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, & poisoned prickels, the sandy & deepe waies in the vallies, the smothering heate and ayre, and want
of

of water in other places, are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that inuade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neyther haue any place to friende adioyning) doe serue them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

The west Indies were first offered her Maiesties Grandfather by *Columbus* a straunger, in whome there might be doubt of deceipt, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands & regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Maiesty by her own vassal, & by him that oweth to her more duty then an ordinary subiect, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I haue receaued to abuse her highnes, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is alreadie discouered, many nations won to her Maiesties loue & obedience, & those Spanyards which haue latest and longest labored about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which amonge these nations were thought inuincible. Her maiestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are yonger brethren, and all captaines and Cheiftaines that want employment, and the charge wilbe onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yere I doubt not but to see in London a Contratation house of more receipt for *Guiana*, then there is nowe in ciuil for the West indies.

And I am resolued that if there were but a smal army a foote in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa* the chiefe Citie of *Inga*, he would yeeld her Maiesty by composition

sition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly, as should both defende all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of 3000. or 4000. soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: For he cannot but know, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great vncles *Gnascar* and *Atibalspa* sonnes to *Guanacapa* Emperour of *Peru*, were (while they contended for the Empyre) beaten out by the Spanyardes, and that both of late yeares, and euer since the said conquest, the Spanyardes haue sought the passages and entry of his countrey: and of their cruelties vsed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he wil be brought to tribute with great gladnes, if not, hee hath neyther shotte nor Iron weapon in all his Empyre, and therefore may easely be conquered.

And I farther remember that *Berreco* confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Maiesty of God to be true) that there was found among prophecies in *Peru* (at such time as the Empyre was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefeft temples, amongst diuers others which fore shewed the losse of the said Empyre, that from *Inglatierra* those *Ingas* shoulde be againe in time to come restored, and deliuered from the seruitude of the said Conquerors. And I hope, as wee with these fewe handes haue displanted the first garrison, and driuen them out of the said countrey, so her Maiesty will giue order for the rest, and eyther defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Emprasse of the same. For whatsoeuer Prince shall possesse it, shall bee greatest, and if the king of Spayne

Spayne enjoy it , he will become vnresistable . Her Maiesty heereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of al nations, as touching her great and princely actions . And where the south border of *Guiana* reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the *Amazones*, those women shall heereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbors, but also to inuade and conquere so great Empyres and so farre remoued.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome : I trust in God, this being true , will suffice, and that he which is king of al kings and Lorde of Lords , will put it into her hart which is Lady of Ladies to possesse it , if not , I wil iudge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themselves.



An Abstract taken

out of certaine Spanyardes Letters concerning Guiana and the Countries lying vpon the great riuer of Orenoque: with certaine reportes also touching the same.

An Aduertisement to the Reader.



These letters out of which the abstractes following are taken, were surpris'd at sea as they were passing for Spayne in the yeare 1594. by Captaine *George Popham*: who the next yeare, and the same that *Sir Walter Ralegh* discovered *Guiana*, as he was in a voyage for the west Indies, learned also the reportes annexed. All which, at his returne, beeing two monthes after *Sir Walter*, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discoverie: hee made knowne and deliuered to some of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Councell and others;

others . The which seeing they confirme in some parte the substance , I meane , the riches of that Countrey : it hath beene thought fitte that they shoulde be thereunto adioyned . Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised , that although the Spanyards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before *Morequito* then Lord of *Aromaya*, and others there aboutes, which thoroughly vnderstoode them not at that time , whatsoeuer the Spanyardes otherwise pretende : Yet , according to the former discourte, and as also it is related by *Cayworaco*, the sonne of *Topiawary* nowe chiefe Lorde of the saide *Aromaya* , who was brought into England by Sir *Walter Raleighs*, and was present at the same possession and discouerie of the Spanyardes mentioned in these letters ; it appeareth that alter they were gone out of their Countrey , the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter , and more then coniecture of their intent , hauing knowne and hearde of their former cruelties vppon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere : At their next comming , there beeing tenne of them sent and imployed for a farther discouerie , they were prouided to receiue and intertayne them in an other manner of sorte then they had done before ; that is to say , they slewe them and buried them in the Countrey, they so much sought . They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession the which before they had but begunne . And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spanyardes as come after . Other possession they haue had none since . Neyther doe the Indians meane as

they protest, to giue them any other . One of her thing to bee remembred is that in these letters the Spanyardes seeme to call *Guiana* and other Countries neere it, bordering vppon the riuer of *Orenoque*, by the name of *Nueno Dorado*, because of the great plenty of Golde there, in most places to be founde. Alluding also to the name of *El Dorado* which was giuen by *Martines* to the great Citie of *Manoa*, as is in the former treatise specified . This is all I thought good to aduertise . As for some other matters, I leaue them to the consideration and iudgement of the indifferent reader.

W: R.

*Letters taken at Sea by Captaine
George Popham. 1594.*

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Allonso his Letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother being commannder of S. Lucas, concerning El Dorado.

THere haue beene certaine letters receiued heere of late, of a land newly discouered called *Nueno Dorado*, from the sonnes of certaine Inhabitants of this Citie, who were in the discouerie: they write of wonderful riches to be founde in the said *Dorado*, and that golde there is in great abundance, the course to fall with it is 50. leagues to the windward to the *Margarita*.

Allonfos letter from thence to certaine Marchants of S. Lucas concerning the Dorado

Sirs, we haue no newes worth the writing, sauing of a discouery lately made by the Spanyards in a newe land called *Nueno Dorado*, and is two daies sailing to the windward of the *Margarita*, there is golde in that abundance, as the like hath not beene heard of. We haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discouery, vnto their parents heere in this City: I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelue daies in search of the said *Dorado*, as I passe in voyage towards *Carthagena*, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I haue sent you therewith part of the information of the said discouery, that was sent to his Maiesty.

Part of the Cappy that was sent to his Maiesty of the discouery of Nucuo Dorado.

IN the riuer of *Paso* otherwise called *Orenoque*, in the principall port thereof called *Warismero*, the 23. of April 1593. *Domingo de vera* Master of the Canipe and Generall for *Amb.*

de Berreo Governour and Captaine generall for our Lord the King, betwixt the riuers of *Pato* and *Papamene* alias *Orenoque*, and *Marannon*, and of the Iland of *Trinidado*, in presence of me *Rodrigo de Cavanca* register for the sea, commaunded all the soldiers to be drawne together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and soldiers, and Master of the Campe standing in the middest of them, saide vnto them: Sirs, Soldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our Generall *Anth. de Berreo*, with the traueil of 11 yeares, and expence of more then 100000. pesoes of Gold, discovered the royall prouinces of *Guiana* and *Dorado*: Of the which he tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessary munition, he issued out at the Iland *Maguarita*, and from thence peopled the *Trinidado*. But now they haue sent me to learne out and discouer the waies most easy to enter, and to people the said prouinces, and where the Campes and Armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to doe in the name of his Maiesty, and the said gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*, and in token thereof I require you *Fran. Carillo*, that you aide me to aduance this crosse that lieth heere on the ground, which they set on end towards the east, and the said Master of the Campe, the Captains and soldiers kneeled down, and did due reuerence vnto the said crosse, and thereupon the Master of the Campe tooke a bole of water and dranke it of, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword and cut the grasse of the ground, and the boughs of the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king *Don Philip* our master, and of his Governour *Antho: de Berreo*: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere that in these our actions was present the *Casique* or principall *Don Antho*: otherwise called *Morequito*, whose land this was, who yeilded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our Lord the King, & in his name to the said gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*. And the said Master of the Campe kneeled downe being in his liberty, and all the
Captaines

Captaines and soldiers said that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said Master of the Campe hauing his sword drawne in his hand, said vnto me, register that art heere present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I haue taken of this land for the gouernor *Antho: de Berreo*, and if it be needfull I will take it anewe. And I require you all that are present to witness the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all theie landes wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de vera and vnderneath, Before me Rodrigo de Caranca, Register of the Army.

AND in prosecution of the said possession, and discouerie of the way and prouinces, the 27. of April of the said yeare, the Master of the Campe entred by little and little with all the Campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the Inland, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of *Antho: Bisante* the Interpreter that his Maiesty & *Antho: de Berreo* had sent him to take the said possession. And the said fryer *Francis Carillo* by the Interpreter, deliuered him certaine thinges of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Gouernor *Antho: de Berreo*, who was his Master. Thereupon the said Master of the Campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on ende toward the east, and requested the whole Campe to witness it and *Domingo de vera* firmied it thus.

It is well and firmly done, and vnderneath, before me Rodrigo Caranca, Register of the Army.

THE first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discouery to the towne of *Carapana*. From thence the said Master of the Campe passed to the towne of *Toroco*, whose principall is called *Topianary* beeing five leagues farther within the land then the first nation, & wel inhabited. And to this principal by meane of the interpreter they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiesty and the said *Corrigidor* commaunded them to take the possession of that land, and that they should yeeld their obedience to his Maiesty, and to his *Corrigidor*, and to the Master of the Campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Wherunto the said *Cassique* answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained, in the obedience of our Lorde the King, and of the said Gouvernour *Antho: de Berreo* whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a prouince aboute five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and mette vs in peaceable manner: and hee is called *Renato*, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs wel, & gaue vs much Gold, and the interpreter asking him from whence that Gold was, he answered from a prouince not passing a daies iourney of, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sunne, and so much Gold as all yonder plaine will not containe it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the *Borachera*) they take of the said Gold in dust, and annoynt themselues all ouer therewith to make the brauer shewe, and to the end the Gold may couer them, they annoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewenous substance: and they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them they would ayde vs, but they were such infinite number as no doubt they would kill vs. And being asked how they gat the same Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine downe or playne and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote, which done, they tooke of the earth,

earth, putting it in great buckets which they caried to wash at the riuer, & that which came in powder they kept for their *Borrachera* & that which was in pecces, they wrought it into Eagles.

The eight of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues: at the foote of a hill we founde a principall called *Arataco*, with 3000 Indians, men & women, all in peace and with much victual, as hens and venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his house and to rest that night in his towne being of 500. houses. The interpreter asked whence he had those hens, he said they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heades, and had so many hens as was wonderfull, and if we would haue any we should send them Jewes harpes, for they woulde giue for euery one two hens, we tooke an Indian and gaue him 500. harpes, the hens were so many that he brought vs, as were not to be numbred: Wee said we would goe thither, they told vs they were now in their *Borrachera* and would kill vs, we asked the Indian, that brought the hens if it were true, he said it was most true: We asked him how they made their *Borrachera*, he saide they had many Eagles of Gold hanging on their breasts, & pearls in their eares, and that they daunced being all covered with Gold. The Indian said vnto vs, if we would see the, we should giue him some hatchets, and he would bring vs of those Eagles. The Master of the Campe gaue him one hatchet (he would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke Gold) he brought vs an Eagle which wayed 27 pounds of good Gold. The Master of the Campe tooke it, and shewed it to the soldiers, and then threwe it from him, making shew not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and said vnto him, giue me a pickeaxe and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe, the Interpreter told the Master of the Campe who commaunded one to be giuen him, he

then tolde vs those Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Heereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to be set in order, and beganne to march. The 11. day of May, we went about 7 leagues from thence to a prouince, where we found a great company of Indians apparelled, they told vs that if we came to fight, they woulde fill vp those plaines with Indians to fight with vs, but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians, and there they told vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it. but it shall appeare by the information that goes to his Maiesty, for if it should heere be set downe, fower leaues of paper would not containe it.

The letter of George Butien Britton, from the saide Canaries vnto his cosen a french man, dwelling in S. Lucas, concerning the Dorado.

SIR, and my very good cosen, there came of late certaine letters from a new discovered countrey, not farre from *Trinidado*, which they write, hath Gold in great abundance, the newes seemeth to be very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this City. Part of the information of the discouery that went to his Maiesty, goeth inclosed in *Alonsoes* letters, it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martines of Iamica, concerning the Dorado.

HE saith that in 93 being at *Carthagen*a there was a general reporte of a late discouery called *Nueno Dorado*. and that a little before his comming thither, there came a *Frigot* from the said *Dorado*, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Golde, of weight 47 kintals, which the Indians there helde for their Idoll. But nowe admitting of Christia-
nitie

nitie and obedience to the King of Spayne, sent their said I
doll vnto him in token they were become Christians, and
helde him for their King. The company comming in the said
Frigott reported Golde to be there in most abundance,
Diamondes of inestimable value, with greate store of
pearle.

*The report of a frensh man called Boutillier of Shetbrouke,
concerning the Trinidado and the Dorado.*

HE saith that being at *Trinidado* in 91. he had of an Indian
there a pcece of Golde of a quarter of a pounce in ex-
change of a knife, the said Indian tolde him he had it at the
head of that riuer which commeth to *Paracoa* in the *Trenidado*,
but said within the riuer of *Orenoque*, it was in great abundance.
Also in 93 being taken by the Spanyards, and brought priso-
ner into the Iland of *Madera* (the place for his prison) there
came in this meane time a barke of 40 tunnes from a newe
discouery, with two millions of Gold, the company whereof
reported Gold in that place to be in great abundance, and cal-
led it the *Nueno Dorado*. This french man passed from Spayne
in the barke, and hauing a cabben neere a gentleman, one
of the discouerers that came from that place in the said barke,
had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other
thinges of the great abundance of Golde in the said *Dorado*
being as they said within the riuer of *Orenoque*.

*Reportes of Certaine Marchantes of Rio de
Hacha, concerning the Nueno
Dorado.*

They said (aduancing the kings great treasure in the *Indies*)
that *Nueno Reyno* yeelded vey many Gold mines, & won-
derful rich, but lately was discouered a certain prouince so rich in

Gold as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called the *Nuevo Dorado*: *Antonio de Berreo* made the said discovery.

*The Report of a Spaniard, Captaine with Berreo in the
discouerie of Nuevo Dorado.*

THat the information sent to the K. was in euery point truly said, that the riuer *Orenoque* hath seauen mouths, or outlets into the sea, called *Las Siets bocas de drago*, that the said riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that *Anto: de Berreo* lay at *Trinidado* making head to goe to conquire and people the said *Dorado*.

