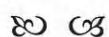


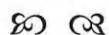
AMERICAN JOURNEYS COLLECTION



History of the First Attempt
of the French (The Huguenots)
to Colonize the Newly Discovered
Country of Florida

by René Goulaine de Laudonnière

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History
OF THE
FIRST ATTEMPT OF THE FRENCH
(*The Huguenots*)
TO
COLONIZE THE NEWLY DISCOVERED COUNTRY OF
FLORIDA.
BY RÉNÉ LAUDONNIÈRE.

INTRODUCTION.



THAT part of the earth which we, at this 1562.
day, call the fourth part of the world, in
America, is rather the West Indies, was
unknown unto our ancestors, by reason
of the great distance thereof. In like
manner, all the Western Islands and Fortunate Isles, were not
discovered but by those of our age. Howbeit, there have been

NOTE.—This “History of the First Attempt of the French (the Huguenots) to
Colonize the Newly Discovered Country of Florida,” was translated by RICHARD
HAKLUYT, in his quaint English, from a work entitled, “*Histoire notable de la Floride
située en Indes occidentales ; contenant les troys voyages faits icelles par certains capitaines*

1562. some which have said that they were discovered in the time of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and that VIRGIL hath made mention, thereof, in the first book of his "Æneid," when he saith, "*there is a land beyond the stars, and the course of the year and of the sun, where Atlas, the porter of heaven, sustaineth the pole upon his shoulders.*" Nevertheless, it is easy to judge that he meaneth not to speak of this land, whereof no man is found to have written before his time, neither yet above a thousand years after. CHRISTOPHER COLON did first light upon this land in the year 1492; and, five years after, AMERICUS went thither, by the command of the King of Castile, and gave unto it his own name, whereupon, afterward, it was called America.* This man was very well seen in the art of navigation and in astronomy, whereby he

et pilotes François décrits par le Capitaine RÉNÉ LAUDONNIÈRE, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an troys meys; à laquelle à esté adjousté un quatrième voyage par le Capitaine GOURGUES. Mise en lumière par MARTINE BASANIER." Paris, 1586. "The translation of this history into English," says the old chronicler and antiquarian, ANTHONY WOOD, author of "*Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*," "is an honor to the realm of England, because, possibly, many ports and islands in America that are bare and barren, and only bear a name for the present, may prove rich places in future time."

If the old antiquarian could now but throw off the cerements of the grave, and behold the forty millions of prosperous and independent people of different races who fill the sea-ports, islands, cities, towns, and country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores of the North American continent, he might, indeed, claim the credit of being a prophet, which no one would dispute.

* The first land discovered by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in 1492, was the Island of San Salvador (*Guanahani*), one of the West India group. It was not until his third voyage, in 1498, that he discovered the main-land of the continent of South America, one year after the CABOTS had coasted the shores of the North American continent, and explored Newfoundland. In 1501, AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS discovered the main-land of the South American continent, and, in 1512, JUAN PONCE DE LEON discovered Florida, which he took possession of in the name of the Castilian sovereigns. See GOMARA's "*Hist. de las Indias Occidentales*," Chap. 45, p. 32.

discovered, in his time, many lands unknown unto the ancient 1562.
geographers. This country is named, by some, the land of
Brazil, and the land of Parots. It stretcheth itself, according
unto POSTELL, from the one pole to the other, saving at the
Straits of Magellan, whereunto it reacheth fifty-three degrees
beyond the Equator.

I will divide it, for the better understanding, into three principal parts; that which is toward the pole, Artic, or the north is called New France, because, that in the year 1524, JOHN VERRAZZANO, a Florentine, was sent, by King FRANCIS I, and by Madam the Regent, his mother, unto these new regions, where he went on land and discovered all the coast which is from the Tropic of Cancer, to wit: from the eight-and-twentieth unto the fiftieth degree, and farther unto the north. He planted, in this country, the ensigns and arms of the King of France; so that the Spaniards themselves, which were there afterward, have named this country Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth itself in latitude from the twenty-fifth degree unto the fifty-fourth, toward the north, and in longitude from 210 unto 330. The eastern part, thereof, is called, by the late writers, "The land of Norumbega," which beginneth at the *Bay of Gama*, which separateth it from the *Isle of Canada*, whither JACQUES CARTIER sailed the year 1535. About the which there are many islands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador, stretching toward Greenland. In the western part, there are many known countries, as the regions of *Quivira*, *Civola*, *Astatlan*, and *Terlichichmici*. The southern part is called Florida, because it was discovered on Palm-Sunday, which the

1562. Spaniards call Pascha Florida. The northern part is altogether unknown.

The second part of all America is called New Spain. It extendeth from the Tropic of Cancer, in twenty-three degrees and a half, unto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the city of *Themistitan*; and it hath many regions, and many islands adjoined unto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renowned are *Hispaniola* and *Isabella*, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the islands aforesaid, have not in longitude past seventy degrees, to wit: from the two hundred and fortieth unto three hundred and ten; it is also long and narrow, as Italy.

The third part of America is called Peru. It is very great, and extendeth itself in latitude from the tenth degree unto the fifty-third, beyond the Equator, to wit, as I have before said, unto the Straits of Magellan. It is made in fashion like an egg, and is very well known upon all sides. The part where it is largest hath three-score degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the ends. In one part of this land, VILLEGAGNON planted right under the Tropic of Capricorn, and he called it France-Antarctic, because it draweth toward the Antarctic, as our France doth to the Arctic.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit, the most known and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen have made divers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that now it is the best known country which is in all this part of New France. The cape, thereof, is, as it were, a long head of land, stretching out into the sea an hundred

leagues, and runneth directly toward the south. It hath, right over against it, five-and-twenty leagues distant, the *Isle of Guba*,^{1562.} otherwise called *Isabella*; toward the east, the *Isles of Bahama* and *Lucaya*, and, toward the west, the Bay of Mexico. The country is flat, and divided with divers rivers, and, therefore, moist, and is sandy toward the sea shore. There groweth, in those parts, great quantity of pine trees, which have no kernels in the apples which they bear. Their woods are full of oak, walnuts, black cherry trees, mulberry trees, lentisks and chestnut trees, which are more wild than those in France. There is great store of ceders, cypresses, bays, palm trees, hollys, and wild vines, which climb up along the trees, and bear good grapes. There is a kind of medlars, the finest whereof is better than that of France, and bigger. There are also plum trees, which bear very fair fruit, but, such as is, not very good. There are *raspasses*, and a little berry, which we call among us, blues, which are very good to eat. There grow, in that country, a kind of root, which they call, in their language, *basez*, whereof, in necessity, they make bread. There is also there the tree called *esqume*, which is very good against the small-pox, and other contagious diseases. The beasts best known in this country are—stags, hinds, goats, deer, leopards, dunces, lucerns, divers sorts of wolves, wild dogs, hares, cunnies, and a certain kind of beast that differeth little from the lion of Africa. The fowls are—turkeycocks, partridges, parrots, pigeons, ringdoves, turtles, blackbirds, crows, tarcels, falcons, layuerds, herons, cranes, storks, wild geese, malards, cormorants, hernshaws—white, red, black, and gray—and an infinite sort of all wild fowl.

1562. There is such abundance of crocodiles, that oftentimes, in swimming, men are assailed by them; of serpents, there are many sorts. There is found, among the savages, good quantity of gold and silver, which is gotten out of the ships that are lost upon the coast, as I have understood by the savages themselves. They use traffic, thereof, one with another. And that which maketh me the rather believe it, is, that on the coast toward the cape, where commonly the ships are cast away, there is more store of silver than towards the north. Nevertheless, they say, that in the mountains of *Appalatcy*, there are mines of copper, which I think to be gold. There is, also, in this country, great store of grains and herbs, whereof might be made excellent good dyes, and paintings of all kind of colors; and, in truth, the Indians, which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to use the same. The men are of an olive color, of great stature, fair, without any deformity, and well-proportioned. They cover their privities with the skin of a stag, well dressed. The most part of them have their bodies, arms, and thighs, painted with very fair devices, the painting whereof can never be taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their hair is very black, and reacheth even down to their hips; howbeit, they truss it up after a fashion that becometh them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitors, valiant of their persons, and fight very well. They have none other weapons but their bows and arrows. They make the string of their bow of the gut of the stag, or of a stag's skin, which they know how to dress as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colors. They head

their arrows with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they work 1562.
very finely and handsomely. They exercise their young men
to run well, and they make a game, among themselves, which
he winneth that hath the longest breath. They also exercise
themselves much in shooting; they play at the ball in this man-
ner: they set up a tree in the midst of a place, which is eight
or nine fathoms high, in the top whereof there is set a square
mat, made of reeds, or bullrushes, which whosoever hitteth in
playing thereat winneth the game. They take great pleasure
in hunting and fishing. The kings of the country make war,
one against another, which is not executed but by surprise, and
they kill all the men they can take; afterwards, they cut off
their heads, to have their hair, which, returning home, they carry
away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their
houses. They save the women and children, and nourish them,
and keep them always with them. Being returned home from
the war, they assemble all their subjects, and, for joy, three
days and three nights, they make good cheer, they dance and
sing; likewise, they make the most ancient women of the coun-
try to dance, holding the hairs of their enemies in their hands,
and, in dancing, they sing praises to the sun, ascribing unto
him the honor of the victory. They have no knowledge of
God, nor of any religion, saving of that which they see, as the
sun and the moon. They have their priests, to whom they give
great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers,
and callers upon devils. These priests serve them instead of
physicians and chirurgians; they carry always about with them
a bag full of herbs and drugs, to cure the sick diseased, which,

1562. for the most part, are sick of the pox, so they love women and maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the *Sun*, and some of them are sodomites. They marry, and every one hath his wife, and it is lawful for the king to have two or three, yet none but the first is honored and acknowledged for queen, and none but the children of the first wife inherit the goods and authority of the father. The women do all the business at home. They keep not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eat not of that which they touch as long as they have their flowers. There are, in all this country, many hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest pain, and bear the victuals when they go to war. They paint their faces much, and stick their hair full of feathers, or down, that they may seem more terrible. The victuals, which they carry with them, are of bread, of honey, and of meal, made of maize, parched in the fire, which they keep without being marred a long while. They carry, also, sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessity, they eat a thousand riffs, even to the swallowing down of coal, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with the meal.

When they go to war, their king marcheth first, with a club in one hand, and his bow in the other, with his quiver full of arrows. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprize in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their council together, and they take very good advisement before they grow to a resolution. They meet together every morning in a great common house, whither their king repaireth, and setteth him down upon a seat, which is

higher than the seats of the others; where all of them, one after another, come and salute him; and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting up both their hands twice as high as their face, saying, "*Ha, he, ha!*" and the rest answer, "*Ab, ab!*" As soon as they have done their salutation, every man sitteth him down upon the seats which are round about in the house. If there be anything to entreat of, the king calleth the *lawas*, that is to say, their priests and the most ancient men, and asketh them their advice. Afterward, he commandeth *cassine* to be brewed, which is a drink made of the leaves of a certain tree. They drink this *cassine* very hot; he drinketh first, then he causeth to be given thereof to all of them, one after another, in the same bowl, which holdeth well a quart-measure of *Paris*. They make so great account of this drink, that no man may taste thereof, in this assembly, unless he hath made proof of his valor in the war. Moreover, this drink hath such a virtue, that, as soon as they have drank it, they become all in a sweat, which sweats being fast, it taketh away hunger and thirst for twenty four-hours after. When a king dieth, they bury him very solemnly, and, upon his grave, they set the cup wherein he was wont to drink; and round about the said grave, they stick many arrows, and weep and fast three days together, without ceasing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning; and, in token of the love which they bare him, they cut off more than the one half of their hair, as well men as women. During the space of six moons (so they reckon their months), there are certain women appointed which bewail the death of this king, crying, with a

1562.

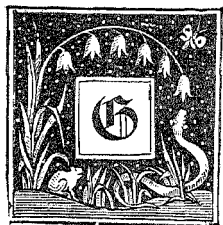
1562. loud voice, thrice a day, to wit: in the morning, at noon, and at evening. All the goods of this king are put into his house, and, afterwards, they set it on fire, so that nothing is ever more after to be seen. The like is done with the goods of the priests; and, besides, they bury the bodies of their priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sow their maize twice a year, to wit: in March and in June, and all in one and the same soil. The said maize, from the time that it is sowed until the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three months on the ground; the other six months, they let the earth rest. They have also fine pumpkins, and very good beans. They never dung their land, only when they would sow; they set the weeds on fire, which grow up the six months, and burn them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood, which is fashioned like a broad mattock, wherewith they dig their vines in France; they put two grains of maize together. When the land is to be sowed, the king commandeth one of his men to assemble his subjects every day to labor, during which labor the king causeth store of that drink to be made for them whereof we have spoken. At the time when the maize is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to every man, according to his quality. They sow no more but that which they think will serve their turn for six months, and that very scarcely. For, during the winter, they retire themselves for three or four months in the year, into the woods, where they make little cottages of palm-boughs for their retreat, and live there of maste, of fish which they take, of disters, of stags, of turkeycocks, and other beasts which they take. They eat

all their meat broiled on the coals, and dressed in the smoke, 1562.
which, in their language, they call *boucanet*. They eat, willingly, the flesh of the crocodile; and, indeed, it is fair and white, and, were it not that it savored too much like musk, we would oftentimes have eaten thereof. They have a custom among them, that when they find themselves sick where they feel the pain, whereas we cause ourselves to be let blood, their physicians suck them until they make the blood follow. The women are, likewise, of good proportion, tall, and of the same color that the men be of, painted as the men be; howbeit, when they are home, they be not so much of an olive color, and are far whiter. For the chief cause that maketh them to be of this color proceeds of annointings of oil which they use among them; and they do it for a certain ceremony which I could not learn, and because of the sun which shineth hot upon their bodies. The agility of the women is so great, that they can swim over the great rivers, bearing their children upon one of their arms. They climb up, also, very nimbly upon the highest trees in the country.

Behold, in brief, the description of the country, with the nature and customs of the inhabitants, which I was very willing to write, before I entered any further into the discourse of my history, to the end, that the readers might be better prepared to understand that which I mean, hereafter, to entreat of.

History
OF
JEAN RIBAUT'S FIRST VOYAGE
TO
FLORIDA.
BY RÉNÉ LAUDONNIÈRE.

CHAPTER I.



Gaspard de Coligny,* My Lord Admiral of *Chastillon*, a nobleman more desirous of the public than of his private benefit, understanding the pleasure of the King, his prince, which was to discover new and strange countries, caused vessels, fit for his purpose, to be made ready, with all diligence, and men to be levied meet for such an enterprize; among

1562.

* GASPARD DE COLIGNY, Admiral of France, and one of the high officers of the Crown, in the reign of CHARLES IX, was born at *Chastillon sur Loing*, on the 16th of February, 1516. At the death of HENRY II, he espoused the cause of the Calvinists against the Guises, who represented the Roman Catholics of France; and, during the

1562. whom he chose Capt. JOHN RIBAUT, a man, in truth, expert in sea causes; which, having received his charge, set himself to sea the year 1562, the 18th of February, accompanied only with two of the King's ships, but so well furnished with gentlemen (of whose number I myself was one), and with old soldiers, that he had means to achieve some notable thing, and worthy of eternal memory. Having, therefore, sailed two months, never holding the usual course of the Spaniards, he arrived in Florida, landing near a cape or promontory, which is no high land, be-

religious civil war that drenched that country in blood, he distinguished himself as an able commander in the battles of *Dreux*, *St. Denis*, *Jarnac*, and *Montcontour*. Peace, at last, having put an end to the war, and anxious to settle the disputes between the Roman Catholics and the Calvinists (Huguenots), he presented a petition to the French monarch in behalf of the oppressed Calvinists, and obtained permission from him to plant a colony of them in Florida. He, accordingly, ordered an expedition of two ships to be fitted out, at the expense of the Crown, and gave the command of it to JOHN RIBAUT, a distinguished officer of the marine.

Accompanied by M. LAUDONNIÈRE—the historian of the expedition—and several of the young nobility of France, he set sail for Florida on the 18th of February, 1562, and arrived there in May. He was hailed with pleasure by the natives, took possession of the country, and planted a colony. COLIGNY now appeared at Court, and was regarded as the great peace-maker between the Catholics and the Protestants (Huguenots). The King, however, under the guise of great friendship, praised and flattered him, but, at the same time, perfidiously planned to have him assassinated, and secretly proposed to the Duke of GUISE to have all the Calvinists in France massacred. COLIGNY was the first who fell on the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, 24th of August, 1572. He was killed by a hired assassin, in his own house, his head cut off, and his body thrown out of the window into the court below, where it was insulted by the populace. His head was sent by CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, the Queen-mother, as a present to the Roman Pontiff, who approved of the massacre of the Protestants, and ordered a painting of it to be executed and hung up in the Vatican, over which the exultation was immense. Medals, representing the massacre, were struck off, and distributed among the populace, and sent to the courts of Europe. One of them represented Religion, placing a crown on the head of the King of France, who leaned upon a rudder-head, trampling heresy under foot, with this legend: "*Ob vicies centena millia Calvinianorum ad ecclesiam revocata MDCLXXXV.*"

cause the coast is all flat, but only rising, by reason of the high 1562.
woods, which, at his arrival, he called *Cape Francis*, in honor of
our France. This cape is distant from the Equator about thirty
degrees. Coasting from this place towards the north, he dis-
covered a very fair and great river, which gave him occasion to
cast anchor, that he might search the same the next day, very
early in the morning; which, being done by the break of day,
accompanied with Capt. FIQUINVILLE, and divers other soldiers
of his ship, he was no sooner arrived on the brink of the shore,
but straight he perceived many Indians, men and women, which
came of purpose to that place, to receive the Frenchmen with
all gentleness and amity, as they well declared by the oration
which their king made, and the presents of chamois-skins
wherewith he honored our captain, who, the day following,
caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the said river,
and not far from the mouth of the same, upon a little sandy
knappe, in which pillar the arms of France were carved and
engraved.* This being done, he embarked himself again, to the
end always to discover the coast toward the north, which was
his chief desire. After he had sailed a certain time, he crossed
once to the other side of the river, and then, in the presence of
certain Indians, which of purpose did attend him, he commanded
his men to make their prayers, to give thanks to God, for that
of his grace he had conducted the French nation unto these
strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being

* After a most diligent search—made by American antiquarians—for this engraved pillar, planted upon a hillock, at the mouth of the river *May*, it has not been found. It is probable that it was removed or destroyed by the Spaniards.

1562. ended, the Indians, which were very attentive to harken unto them, thinking, in my judgment, that we worshipped the sun, because we always had our eyes lifted up toward heaven, rose all up, and came to salute the captain (JOHN RIBAUT), promising to show him their king, which rose not up as they did, but remained still sitting upon green leaves of bay and palm trees, toward whom the captain went and sat down by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because he could not understand his language, and much less his meaning. The king gave our captain, at his departure, a plume, or fan, of hernshaw feathers, dyed red, and a basket made of palm-boughs, after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skin painted and drawn throughout with pictures of divers wild beasts—so lively drawn and portrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The captain, to show himself not unthankful, gave him pretty tin bracelets, a cutting-hook, a looking-glass, and certain knives, whereupon the king showed himself to be very glad, and fully contented.

Having spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the captain embarked himself to pass over to the other side of the river, whereat the king seemed to be very sorry. Nevertheless, not being able to stay us, he commanded that, with all diligence, they should take fish for us, which they did with all speed; for being entered into their *weares*, or inclosures, made of reeds, and framed in the fashion of a labyrinth, or maze, they loaded us with trout, great mullets, plaice, turbot, and marvellous store of other sorts of fishes, altogether different from ours. This done, we entered into our boats, and went toward

the other shore; but, before we came to the shore, we were 1562.
saluted with a number of other Indians, which, entering into the water to their armpits, brought us many little baskets full of maize, and goodly mulberries, both red and white. Others offered themselves to bear us on shore, where, being landed, we perceived their king, sitting upon a place dressed with boughs, and under a little arbor of cedars and bay trees, somewhat distant from the water side. He was accompanied with two of his sons, which were exceeding fair and strong, and with a troop of Indians, who had all their bows and arrows in marvellous good order. His two sons received our captain very graciously; but the king, their father, representing—I wot not what kind of gravity—did nothing but shake his head a little; then the captain went forward to salute him, and, without any other moving of himself, he retained so constant a kind of gravity, that he made it seem unto us that, by good and lawful right, he bare the title of king. Our captain knowing not what to judge of this man's behavior, thought he was jealous because we went first unto the other king, or else, that he was not well pleased with the pillar, or column, which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to think, our captain showed him, by signs, that he was come from a far country to seek him, to let him understand the amity which he was desirous to have with them; for the better confirmation whereof, he drew out of a budget certain trifles, as certain bracelets, covered, as it were, with silver and gold, which he presented him withal, and gave his sons certain other trifles, whereupon the king began, very lovingly, to entreat both our captain and us; and, after these gentle

1562. entertainments, we went ourselves into the woods, hoping there to discover some singularities, where were great store of mulberry trees, white and red, on the tops whereof there was an infinite number of silk-worms. Following our way, we discovered a fair and great meadow, divided, notwithstanding, with divers marshes, which constrained us, by reason of the water which environed it about, to return back again toward the river side. Finding not the king there, which by this time was gone home to his house, we entered into our boats, and sailed toward our ships, where, after we arrived, we called this river the *River of May*, because we discovered it the first day of the said month.

Soon after we returned to our ships, we weighed anchor, and hoisted our sails, to discover the coast further forward, along the which we discovered another fair river, which the captain himself was minded to search out, and having searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, he named it *Seine*, because it is very like unto the river of *Seine*, in France. From this river, we returned unto our ships, where, being arrived, we trimmed our sails to sail further toward the north, and to descry the singularities of the coast. But we had not sailed any great way before we discovered another very fair river, which caused us to cast anchor over against it, and to trim our two boats to go to search it out. We found there an isle, and a king no less affable than the rest; afterward, we named this river, *Somme*. From thence we sailed about six leagues, after we discovered another river, which, after we had viewed, was named by us by the name of *Loire*; and, consequently, we there discovered five

others, whereof the first was named *Charente*; the second, *Garonne*; the third, *Gironde*; the fourth, *Belle*; the fifth, *Grande**— 1562.

which, being very well discovered, with such things as were in them, by this time in less than the space of three-score leagues, we had found out many singularities along nine rivers. Nevertheless, not fully satisfied, we sailed yet further toward the north, following the course that might bring us to the *River of Jordan*, one of the fairest of the rivers of the north, and, holding our wonted course, great fogs and tempests came upon us, which constrained us to leave the coast, to bear toward the main sea, which was the cause that we lost the sights of our pinnaces a whole day and a night, until the next day, in the morning, which time the weather being fair and the sea calm, we discovered a river, which we called *Bellevoir*. After we had sailed three or four leagues, we began to espy our pinnaces, which came straight toward us, and, at their arrival, they reported to the captain, that, while the foul weather and fogs endured, they harbored themselves in a mighty river, which, in bigness and beauty, exceeded the former; wherewithal the captain was exceeding joyful, for his chief desire was to find out an haven to harbor his ships, and there to refresh ourselves awhile. Thus, making thitherward, we arrived athwart the same river (which, because of the fairness and largeness thereof, we named

* The rivers discovered by RIBAULT, in Florida, and named by him because of their resemblance to the rivers in France, correspond with those known to us at the present day in American geography, viz. :—MAY, to the *St. Johns* (the *St. Matheo* of the Spaniards); LOIRE, to the *Altamaha*; CHARANTE, to the *Newport*; GARONNE, to the *Ogechee*; GIRONDE, to the *Savanna*; BELLEVOIR, to the *May*, in South Carolina; GRANDE, to the *Broad*; JORDAN, to the *Combahee*; PORT ROYAL, to *Port Royal*.

1562. *Port Royal*), struck our sails, and cast anchor at ten fathoms of water; for the depth is such, namely, when the sea beginneth to flow, that the greatest ships of France, yea, the argosses of *Venice*, may enter in there. Having cast anchor, the captain, with his soldiers, went on shore, and he himself went first on land, where we found the place as pleasant as was possible; for it was all covered over with mighty high oaks, and infinite store of cedars, and with lentiskes growing underneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seem exceeding pleasant. As we passed through these woods, we saw nothing but turkeycocks flying in the forests, partridges, gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bigness. We heard, also, within the woods, the voices of stags, of bears, of lucernes, of leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts unknown to us. Being delighted with this place, we set ourselves to fishing with nets, and we caught such a number of fish that it was wonderful; and, amongst others, we took a certain kind of fish, which we call *sallicoques*, which were no less than crevisses, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feed all the company of our two ships for a whole day. The river, at the mouth, thereof, from cape to cape, is no less than three French leagues broad; it is divided into two great arms, whereof the one runneth toward the west, and the other toward the north, and, I believe, in my judgment, that the arm which stretcheth toward the north runneth up into the country as far as the river *Jordan*; the other arm runneth into the sea, as it was known and understood by those of our company which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two arms are

two great leagues broad, and, in the midst of them, there is an 1562.
isle, which is pointed towards the opening of the great river, in
which island there are infinite numbers of all sorts of strange
beasts. There are simples growing there of so rare properties,
and in so great quantity, that it is an excellent thing to behold
them. On every side, there is nothing to be seen but palm
trees, and other sorts of trees, bearing blossoms and fruits of
very rare shape, and very good smell. But, seeing the evening
approach, and that the captain determined to return unto the
ships, we prayed him to suffer us to pass the night in this place.
In our absence, the pilots and these mariners advised the captain
that it was needful to bring the ships further up within the river,
to avoid the dangers of the winds which might annoy us, by
reason of our being so near to the mouth of the river, and, for
this cause, the captain sent for us. Being come to our ships,
we sailed three leagues further up within the river, and there we
cast anchor. A little while after, JOHN RIBAUT, accompanied
with a good number of soldiers, embarked himself, desirous to
sail further up into the arm that runneth toward the west, and
to search the commodities of the place. Having sailed twelve
leagues at the least, we perceived a troop of Indians, which, as
soon as ever they espied the pinnaces, were so afraid that they
fled into the woods, leaving behind them a young lucerne which
they were turning upon a spit, for which cause the place was
called *Cape Lucerne*. Proceeding forth on our way, we found
another arm of the river, which ran towards the east, by which
the captain determined to sail, and to leave the great current.
A little while after, they began to espy divers other Indians,

1562. both men and women, half hidden within the woods, who, knowing not that we were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at first, but, soon after, were emboldened, for the captain caused store of merchandize to be showed them openly, whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well unto them; and then they made a sign that we should come on land, which we would not refuse. At our coming on shore, divers of them came to salute our general, according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gave him skins of chamois; others, little baskets made of palm-leaves; some presented him with pearls, but no great number. Afterwards, they went about to make an arbor, to defend us, in that place, from the parching heat of the sun. But we would not stay as then, wherefore the captain thanked them much for their good will, and gave presents to each of them, wherewith he pleased them so well before he went thence, that his sudden departure was nothing pleasant unto them. For, knowing him to be so liberal, they would have wished him to have stayed a little longer, seeking by all means to give occasion to stay, showing him, by signs, that he should stay but that day only, and that they desired to advise a great Indian lord, which had pearls in great abundance, and silver also, all which things should be given unto him at the king's arrival; saying, further, that, in the meantime, while that this great lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and show him there a thousand pleasures in shooting; and seeing the stag killed, therefore, they prayed him not to deny them their request; notwithstanding, we returned to our ships, where, after we had been but one night. *the captain, in the morn-*

ing, commanded to put into the pinnace a pillar of hard stone, 1562.
fashioned like a column, wherein the arms of the King of France
were graven, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could
find. This done, we embarked ourselves, and sailed three
leagues towards the west, where we discovered a little river, up
which we sailed so long, that, in the end, we found it returned
into the great current, and, in his return, to make a little island,
separated from the firm land, where we went on shore; and, by
commandment of the captain, because it was exceeding fair and
pleasant, there we planted the pillar, upon a hillock, open round about
to the view, and environed with a lake, half a fathom deep, of very
good and sweet water. In which island we saw two stags, of
exceeding bigness, in respect of those which we had seen before,
which we might easily have killed with our harquebuses, if the
captain had not forbidden us, moved with the singular fairness
and bigness of them; but, before our departure, we named the
little river which environed this isle, the *River of Liborne*.
Afterward, we embarked ourselves to search another isle, not
far distant from the former, wherein, after we had gone aland,
we found nothing but tall cedars, the fairest that were seen in
this country. For this cause, we called it the *Isle of Cedars*, so
we returned into our pinnace, to go towards our ships.

CHAPTER II.

1562.



FEW days afterwards, JOHN RIBAUT determined to return once again towards the Indians which inhabited the arm of the river which runneth towards the west, and to bring with him good store

of soldiers ; for his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queen had commanded him. With this deliberation, we again took our former course, so far north, that, at the last we came to the self-same place where at the first we found the Indians ; from thence, we took two Indians, by the permission of the king, who, thinking they were more favored than the rest, thought themselves very happy to stay with us. But, these two Indians seeing we made no show at all that we would go on land, but rather that we followed the midst of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would, by force, have leaped into the water ; for they are so good swimmers, that immediately they would have gotten into the forests. Nevertheless, being acquainted with their humor, we watched them narrowly, and sought, by all means, to appease them, which we could not by any means do for that time,

though we offered them things which they much esteemed, 1562. which things they disdained to take, and gave back again whatsoever was given them, thinking that such gifts should have altogether bound them, and that, in restoring them, they should be restored unto their liberty. In fine, perceiving that all they did availed them nothing, they prayed us to give them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent. Then they approached, one toward the other, and began to sing, agreeing so sweetly together, that, in hearing their song, it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friends. They continued their songs all night, without ceasing; all which time we were constrained to lie at anchor, by reason of the tide that was against us; but we hoisted sail the next day, very early in the morning, and returned to our ships. As soon as we were come to our ships, every one thought to gratify these two Indians, and to show them the best countenance that was possible, to the intent that, by such courtesies, they might perceive the good desire and affection which we had to remain their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meat to eat, but they refused it, and made us understand that they were accustomed to wash their faces, and to stay until the sun were set before they did eat, which is a ceremony common to all the Indians of New France. Nevertheless, in the end, they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselves to our nature, which was somewhat strange unto them at the first. They became, therefore, more jocund—every hour made us a thousand discourses, being marvellous sorry that we could not understand them. A few days after, they began to bear so

1562. good will towards me, that, as I think, they would rather have perished with hunger and thirst than have taken their refection at any man's hand but mine. Seeing this, their good will, I sought to learn some Indian words, and began to ask them questions, showing them the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me; and, knowing the desire that I had to learn their language, they encouraged me, afterward, to ask them anything; so that, putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to understand the greatest part of their discourses. Every day they did nothing but speak unto me of the desire that they had to use me well, if we returned unto their houses, and cause me to receive all the pleasures that they could devise, as well in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certain feast, which they call *Toya*—which feast they observe as strictly as we observe the Sunday. They gave me to understand that they would bring me to see the greatest lord of this country, which they called CHIGOULA, which exceedeth them in height (as they told me) a good foot and a half. They said unto me, that he dwelt within the land, in a very large place, and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learn wherewith. And, as far as I can judge this place whereof they spake unto me, was a very fair city, for they said unto me that, within the inclosure, there was a great store of houses, which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like unto themselves, which made none account of gold, of silver, nor of pearls, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began, then, to show them all the parts of

heaven, to the intent to learn in which quarter they dwelt; and, 1562.
straightway, one of them stretching out his hand, showed me
that they dwelt toward the north, which makes me think that it
was the river *Jordan*. And now, I remember, that, in the reign
of the Emperor CHARLES V, certain Spaniards, inhabitants of *St.*
Domingo, which made a voyage to get certain slaves to work in
their mines, stole away, by subtlety, the inhabitants of this river,
to the number of forty, thinking to carry them into their New
Spain; but they lost their labor, for, in despite, they died all for
hunger, saving one that was brought to the Emperor, which, a
little while after, he caused to be baptized, and gave him his own
name, and called him CHARLES OF CHIGOULA, because he spoke
so much of this Lord of CHIGOULA, whose subject he was; also,
he reported continually, that CHIGOULA made his abode within
a very great inclosed city. Besides this proof, those which were
left in the first voyage, have certified me, that the Indians
showed them, by evident signs, that further within the land
toward the north, there was a great inclosure, or city, where
CHIGOULA dwelt. After they had staid awhile in our ships,
they began to be sorry, and still demanded of me when they
should return. I made them understand that the captain's will
was to send them home again, but that first he would bestow
apparel of them, which, a few days after, was delivered unto
them. But, seeing he would not give them licence to depart,
they resolved, with themselves, to steal away by night, and to
get a little boat which we had, and, by the help of the tide, to
sail home toward their dwellings, and by this means to save
themselves, which thing they failed not to do, and put their

1562. enterprise into execution, yet leaving behind them the apparel which the captain had given them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their own, showing well, hereby, that they were not void of reason. The captain cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not been used otherwise than well, and that, therefore, they would not estrange themselves from the Frenchmen. Captain RIBAULT, therefore, knowing the singular fairness of this river, desired, by all means, to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the King's service, and the relief of the commonwealth of France. Therefore, proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the anchors to be weighed, and to set things in order to return unto the opening of the river, to the end that, if the wind came fair, he might pass out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When, therefore, we were come to the mouth of the river, he made them cast anchor, whereupon we stayed, without discovering anything all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come up on deck, saying, that he had somewhat to say unto them. They all came up, and immediately the captain began to speak unto them, in this manner:—

“I think there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprise is, and, also, how acceptable it is unto our young King; therefore, my friends (as one desiring your honor and benefit), I would not fail to advise you all of the exceeding goodhap which should fall to them, which, as men of valor and worthy courage, would make trial in this, our

first discovery, of the benefits and commodities of this new 1562.
land, which should be, as I assure myself, the greatest occasion
that ever could happen unto them, to arise unto the title and
degree of honor, and, for this cause, I was desirous to propose
unto you, and set down before your eyes, the eternal memory
which of right they deserve; to which, forgetting both their
parents and their country, have had the courage to enterprise a
thing of such importance, to which even kings themselves,
understanding to be men aspiring to so high degree of magnan-
imity and increase of their majesties, do not disdain so well to
regard, that, afterwards employing them in matters of weight
and high enterprise, they make their names immortal forever.
Howbeit, I would not have you persuade yourselves, as many
do, that you shall never have such good fortune, as not being
known neither to the King nor to the princes of the realm;
and, besides, descending of so poor a stock, that few, or none,
of your parents, having ever made profession of arms, have been
known unto the great estates. For, albeit, that, from my tender
years, I, myself, have applied all my industry to follow them,
and have hazarded my life in so many dangers for the service of
my prince, yet could I never attain thereto (not that I did not
deserve this title and degree of government), as I have seen it
happen to many others, only because they descend of a noble
race, since more regard is had of their birth than of their virtue.
For, well I know, that if virtue were regarded, there would
more be found worthy to deserve the title, and, by good right,
to be named noble and valiant. I will, therefore, make suf-
ficient answer to such propositions and such things as you may

1562. object against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we have of the Romans, which, concerning the point of honor, were the first that triumphed over the world. For how many find we among them, which, for their so valiant enterprises, not for the greatness of their parentage, have obtained the honor to triumph. If we have recourse unto their ancestors, we shall find that their parents were of so mean condition, that, by laboring with their hands, they lived very basely. As the father of *ÆLIUS PERTINAX*, which was a poor artisan, his grandfather, likewise, was a bondsman, as the histographers do witness; and, nevertheless, being moved with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire unto high things. He began, with a brave stomach, to learn feats of arms, and profited so well therein, that, from step to step, he became, at length, to be Emperor of the Romans. For all this dignity, he despised not his parents; but contrariwise, and, in remembrance of them, he caused his father's shop to be covered with a fine wrought marble, to serve for an example to men descended of base and poor lineage, to give them occasion to aspire unto high things, notwithstanding the meanness of their ancestors. I will not pass over in silence the prowess of the valiant and renowned *AGATHOCLES*, the son of a simple potter, and, yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himself to virtue in his tender years, that, by the favor of arms, he came to be King of Sicily, and, for all this title, he refused not to be counted the son of a potter.

“But, the more to eternize the memory of his parents, and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be served at

the table in vessels of gold and silver, and others of earth; declaring, 1562. thereby, that the dignity wherein he was placed, came not to him by his parents, but by his own virtue only.

"If I shall speak of our time, I will lay before you only RUSTEN BASSHA, which may be a sufficient example to all men; which, though he were the son of a poor herdsman, did so apply his youth in all virtue, that, being brought up in the service of the great Turk, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort, that, growing in years, he increased also in courage, so far forth, that, in fine, for his excellent virtues, he married the daughter of the great Turk, his prince. How much, then, ought so many worthy examples to move you to plant here? Considering, also, that hereby you shall be registered, forever, as the first that inhabited this strange country. I pray you, therefore, all to advise yourselves thereof, and to declare your minds freely unto me, protesting that I will so well imprint your name in the King's ears, and the other princes, that your renown shall hereafter shine unquenchable through our realm of France."

He had scarcely ended his oration, but the greatest part of our soldiers replied: That a greater pleasure could never betide them, perceiving well the acceptable service, which, by this means, they should do unto their prince, besides, that this thing should be for the increase of their honors; therefore, they besought the captain, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a fort, which they hoped, afterward, to finish, and to leave them munition necessary for their defense, showing, as it seemed, that they were displeased that it was so long in doing. Whereupon, JOHN RIBAUT, being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined, the next

1562. day, to search the most fit and convenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore, he embarked himself, very early in the morning, and commanded them to follow him that were desirous to inhabit there, to the intent that they might like the better of the place.

Having sailed up the great river (Broad River) on the north side, in coasting an isle which endeth with a sharp point toward the mouth of the river, having sailed awhile, he discovered a small river, which entered into the island, which he would not fail to search out. Which done, and finding the same deep enough to harbor therein galleys and galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, joining upon the brink thereof, where he went on land; and, seeing the place fit to build a fortress on, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved, incontinent, to cause the bigness of the fortification to be measured out. And, considering that there stayed but six-and-twenty there, he caused the fort to be made, in length, but sixteen fathoms, and thirteen in breadth, with flanks, according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captain SALLES, we sent unto the ships for men, and to bring shovels, pick-axes, and other instruments necessary to make the fortification. We labored so diligently, that, in a short space, the fort was made, in some sort, defensible. In which, meantime, JOHN RIBAULT caused victuals and warlike munition to be brought for the defense of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had need of, he determined to take his leave of them; but, before his departure, he used this speech unto Captain ALBERT, which he left in this place:—

“ Captain ALBERT, I have to request you, in the presence of 1562.
these men, that you would quit yourself so wisely in your charge, and govern so modestly your small company which I leave you, which with so good cheer remaineth under your obedience, that I never occasion but to command you, and to recount unto the King (as I am desirous) the faithful service which, before us all, you undertake to do him in his New France. And you, companions (quoth he to the soldiers), I beseech you also to esteem of Captain ALBERT, as if he were myself that stayed here with you, yielding him that obedience which a true soldier oweth unto his general and captain, living as brethren, one with another, without all dissension; and, in so doing, GOD will assist you and bless your enterprises.”

Having ended his exhortations, we took our leaves of each of them, and sailed towards our ships, calling the fort by the name of *Charles Fort*,* and the river by the name of *Chenonceau*. The next day, we determined to depart from this place, being as well contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our business, with good hope, if occasion would permit, to discover perfectly the *River of Jordan* (the *Combahee*, of South Carolina). For this cause, we hoisted our sails, about ten of the clock in the morning; after we were ready to depart, Captain RIBAUT commanded to shoot off our ordnance, to give a farewell unto our Frenchmen, which failed not to do the like on their part. This being done, we sailed toward the north, and then we

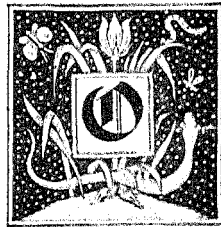
* It was named in compliment to CHARLES IX, king of France, who had given the Huguenots permission to effect a settlement in Florida. All the explorations heretofore made concur in placing this fort between *Broad River* and *North Edisto*, in South Carolina, and on the site of the present town of *Beaufort*. The *Grande Riviere* of the French is no other than the *Broad River* of South Carolina.

1562. named this river *Port Royal*, because of the largeness and excellent fairness of the same. After that we had sailed about fifteen leagues from thence, we espied a river, whereupn we sent our pinnace thither to discover it. At their return, they brought us word that they found not past half a fathom water in the mouth thereof, which, when we understood, without doing anything else, we continued our way, and called it the *Base*, or *Shallow River*. As we still went on sounding, we found not past five or six fathoms water, although we were six good leagues from the shore. At length, we found not past three fathoms, which gave us occasion greatly to muse, and, without making any further way, we struck our sails, partly because we wanted water, and partly because the night approached. During which time, Captain JOHN RIBAUT bethought with himself, whether it were best for him to pass any farther, because of the imminent dangers which, every hour, we saw before our eyes, or whether he should content himself with that which he had certainly discovered, and, also, left men to inhabit the country. Being not able, for that time, to resolve with himself, he referred it until the next day. The morning being come, he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that, with good advisement, every man might deliver his opinion. Some made answer, that, according to their judgment, he had occasion fully to content himself, considering that he could do no more; laying before his eyes, that he had discovered more in six weeks than the Spaniards had done in two years in the conquest of their New Spain, and that he should do the King very great service, if he did bring him news, in so short a time,

of his happy discovery. Others showed unto him the loss and spoil of his victuals, and, on the other side, the inconvenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated, we resolved to leave the coast, forsaking the north, to take our way toward the east, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arrived the 20th day of July, 1562.

CHAPTER III.

1562.



OUR men, after our departure, never rested, but, night and day, did fortify themselves, being in good hope that, after *Charles Fort* was finished, they would begin to discover farther up within the river. It happened, one

day, as certain of them were cutting of roots in the groves, that they espied, on the sudden, an Indian that hunted the deer, which, finding himself so near upon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw near unto him, and to use him so courteously, that he became assured, and followed them to *Charles Fort*, where every man sought to do him pleasure. Captain ALBERT was very joyful of his coming, which, after he had given him a shirt, and some other trilles, he asked him of his dwelling; the Indian answered him, that it was farther up within the river, and that he was vassal of King AUDUSTA; he also showed him, with his hand, the limits of his habitation. After much other talk, the Indian desired leave to depart. because it drew toward night, which Captain ALBERT granted him very willingly. Certain days after, the captain determined

to sail towards *Audusta*, where, being arrived, by reason of the 1562.
honest entertainment which he had given to the Indian, he
was so courteously received, that the king talked with him of
nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his
friend, giving him, besides, to understand, that he, being his
friend and ally, he should have the amity of four other kings,
which, in might and authority, were able to do much for his
sake. Besides all this, in his necessity, they might be able
to succor him with victuals. One of these kings was called
WAYON, another, HOYA, the third, TOUPPA, and the fourth,
STALAME. He told them, moreover, that he would be very
glad when they should understand the news of his coming, and,
therefore, he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The
captain willingly consented unto him, for the desire that he had
to purchase friends in that place. Therefore, they departed the
next morning, very early, and first arrived at the house of King
TOUPPA, and, afterwards, went into the other kings' houses,
except the house of King STALAME. He received, of each of
them, all the amiable courtesies that might be; they showed
themselves to be as affectioned friends unto him as was possible,
and offered unto him a thousand small presents. After that he
had remained by the space of certain days with these strange
kings, he determined to take his leave, and, being come back to
the house of AUDUSTA, he commanded all his men to go aboard
their pinnaces, for he was minded to go towards the country of
King STALAME, which dwelt toward the north, the distance of
fifteen great leagues from *Charles Fort*. Therefore, as they sailed
up the river, they entered into a great current, which they fol-

1562. lowed so far, till they came at the last to the house of STALAME, which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheer he could devise. He presented, immediately, unto Captain ALBERT, his bows and arrows, which is a sign and confirmation of alliance between them. He presented him with chamois-skins. The captain, seeing the best part of the day was now past, took his leave of King STALAME to return to *Charles Fort*, where he arrived the day following. By this time, the friendship had grown so great between our men and King AUDUSTA, that, in a manner, all things were common between him and them, in such sort, that this good Indian king did nothing of importance but he called our men thereunto; for, when the time drew near of the celebrating the feasts of *Toya*, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent ambassadors to our men, to request them, on his behalf, to be there present. Whereupon they agreed, most willingly, for the desire that they had to understand what this might be. They embarked themselves, therefore, and sailed towards the king's house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receive them courteously, to bid them welcome, and bring them to his house, where he sought to entreat them the best he might. In the meanwhile, the Indians prepared themselves to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept, where they saw many women round about, which labored, by all means, to make the place clean and neat. This place was a great circuit of ground, with open prospect, and round in figure. On the morrow, therefore, early in the morning, all

they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers, of divers colors, put themselves on the way to go from the king's house toward the place of *Toya*; whereunto, when they were come, they set themselves in order, and followed three Indians, which, in painting and in gesture, were differing from the rest; each of them bear a tabret in their hand, dancing and singing a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the midst of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned three times, they fell on running, like unbridled horses, through the midst of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued, all the rest of the day, in tears as sad and woeful as was possible, and, in such rage, they cut the arms of the young girls, which they lanced so cruelly with sharp shells of mussels, that the blood followed, which they flung into the air, crying out, three times, "*He Toya!*"

The King AUDUSTA had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seen in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding, one of our men made such shift, that, by subtle means, he got out of the house of AUDUSTA, and secretly went and hid himself behind a very thick bush, where, at his pleasure, he might easily descry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began the feast, are named *Iawas*, and they are, as it were, three priests of the Indian law, to whom they give credit and belief, partly because, that, by kindred, they are ordained to be over their sacrifices, and partly, also, because they be so subtle

1562.

1562. magicians, that anything that is lost is straightway recovered by their means. Again, they are not revered for these things, but, also, because they heal diseases by—I wot not what kind of knowledge and skill they have. Those that ran so through the woods, returned two days after; after their return, they began to dance with a cheerful courage, in the midst of the fair place, and to cheer up their good old Indian fathers, which, either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their natural indisposition and feebleness, were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell to eating with such a greediness, that they seemed rather to devour their meat than to eat it, for they had neither eaten nor drank the day of the feast, nor the two days following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheer, for the Indians sent for them all thither, showing themselves very glad of their presence. While they remained a certain time with the Indians, a man of ours got a young boy, for certain trifles, and enquired of him what the Indians did in the woods during their absence, which boy made him understand, by signs, that *Iawas* had made invocations to *Toya*, and that, by magical characters, they had made him come that they might speak with him, and demand divers strange things of him, which, for fear of the *Iawas*, he durst not utter. They have, also, many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse, for fear of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance. When the feast, therefore, was finished, our men returned unto *Charles Fort*, where, having remained but awhile, their victuals began to wax short, which forced them to have recourse unto their neighbors, and to pray them to succor them

in their necessity, which gave them part of all the victuals 1562.
which they had, and kept no more unto themselves than would
serve to sow their fields. They told them, further, that, for
this cause, it was needful for them to retire themselves into the
woods, to live on mash and roots until the time of harvest,
being as sorry as might be that they were not able any further
to aid them. They gave them, also, counsel to go toward the
countries of King COVEXIS, a man of might and renown in this
province, which maketh his abode toward the south, abounding,
at all seasons, and replenished with such quantity of mill, corn
and beans, that, by his only succor, they might be able to
live a very long time. But, before they should come into his
territories, they were to repair unto a king, called OUDE, the
brother of COVEXIS, which, in mill, corn, and beans, was no less
wealthy, and, withal, is very liberal, and which would be very joy-
ful if he might but once see them. Our men, perceiving the
good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings,
resolved to go thither, for they felt already the necessity which
oppressed them. Therefore, they made request unto King
MACCOA, that it would please him to give them one of his
subjects to guide them the right way thither, whereupon he
condescended, very willingly, knowing that, without his favor,
they should have much ado to bring their enterprise to pass.
Wherefore, after they had given orders for all things necessary
for the voyage, they put themselves to sea, and sailed so far,
that, in the end, they came into the country *Ouade*, which they
found to be in the river *Belle*.* Being there arrived, they

The river *Belle*, of the French commander, is now the river *May*, of South Carolina.

1562. perceived a company of Indians, which, as soon as they knew of their being there, came before them. As soon as they were come near them, their guides showed them, by signs, that OUDA was in this company, wherefore, our men set forward to salute him. And then, two of his sons, which were with him, being goodly and strong men, saluted them again in very good sort, and used very friendly entertainment on their part.

The king immediately began to make an oration, in his Indian language, of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyal a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithful defender against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches, he led them towards his house, where he sought to treat them very courteously. His house was hung around with tapestry of feathers, of divers colors, the heighth of a pike. Moreover, the place where the king took his rest was covered with white coverlets, embroidered with devices of very witty and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a fringe, dyed in the color of scarlet. They advertised the king, by one of the guides—which they had brought with them—how that (having heard of this great liberality) they had put to sea to come to beseech him to succor them with victuals in their great want and necessity; and that, in so doing, he should bind them all, hereafter, to remain his faithful friends and loyal defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian, as soon ready to do them pleasure as they were to demand it, commanded his subjects that they should fill our pinnaces with mill and beans.

Afterward, he caused them to bring him six pieces of his 1562.
tapistry, made like little coverlets, and gave them to our men,
with so liberal a mind, as they easily perceived the desire which
he had to become their friend.

CHAPTER IV.

1562.



N recompense of all these gifts, our men gave him two cutting-hooks, and certain other trifles, wherewith he held himself greatly satisfied. This being done, our men took leave of the king, which, for their farewell, said nothing else but that they should return if they wanted victuals, and that they might assure themselves of him, that they should never want anything that was in his power. Wherefore, they embarked themselves, and sailed towards *Charles Fort*, which, from this place, might be some five-and-twenty leagues distant. But, as soon as our men thought themselves at their ease, and free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselves, night and day, in gathering together of victuals here and there; lo! even as they were asleep, the fire caught in their lodgings with such fury—being increased by the wind—that the room that was built for them before our men's departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to save anything, saving a little of their victuals. Whereupon our men, being far from all succors, found themselves in such extremity, that, without the aid of Almighty God, the only

searcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which never forsaketh those that seek him in their affliction, they had been quite and clean out of all hope. For, the next day, betimes in the morning, the King AUDUSTA and King MACCOU came thither, accompanied with a very good company of Indians, which, knowing the misfortune, were very sorry for it; and then they uttered unto their subjects the speedy diligence which they were to use in building another house, showing unto them that the Frenchmen were their loving friends, and that they had made it evident unto them by the gifts and presents which they had received; protesting that whosoever put not his helping hand unto the work with all his might, should be esteemed as unprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the savages fear above all things. This was the occasion that every man began to endeavor himself in such sort, that, in less than twelve hours, they had begun and finished a house, which was very near as great as the former. Which, being ended, they returned home, fully contented with a few cutting-hooks and hatchets, which they received from our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victuals began to wax short, and, after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselves again, they found that there was no better way for them than to return again to the King OUADE, and COUEXIS, his brother. Wherefore, they resolved to send thither some of their company the next day following, which, with an Indian canoe, sailed up into the country about ten leagues; afterward, they found a very fair and great river, of fresh water, which they failed not to search out; they found, therein, a great

1562.

1562. number of crocodiles, which, in greatness, pass those of the river *Nilus* (*Nile*). Moreover, all along the banks thereof, there grow mighty high cypresses. After they had staid a small while in this place, they purposed to follow their journey, helping themselves so well with the tides, that, without putting themselves in danger of the continual perils of the sea, they came unto the country of OUADE, of whom they were most courteously received. They advertised him of the occasion wherefore they came again to visit him, and told him of the mischance which happened unto them since their last voyages; how they had not only lost their household stuff by casualty of fire, but also their victuals which he had given them so bountifully; that, for this cause, they were so bold as to come once again unto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succor them in such need and necessity.

After that the king had understood their cause, he sent messengers unto his brother COUEXIS, to request him, upon his behalf, to send him some of his mill and beans, which thing he did, and, the next morning, they were come again with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their canoe. Our men would have taken their leave of him, finding themselves more than satisfied with their liberality; but, for that day, he would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheer he could devise. The next day, very early in the morning, he took them with him to show them the place where his corn grew, and said unto them, that they should not want as long as all that mill did last. After that, he gave them a certain number of exceeding fair pearls, and two stones of fine

crystal, and certain silver ore. Our men forgot not to give him 1562.
certain trifles in recompense of these presents, and inquired of
him the place whence the silver ore and the crystal came. He
made them answer, that it came ten days' journey from his
habitation, up within the country; and that the inhabitants of
the country did dig the same at the foot of certain high moun-
tains, where they found of it in very good quantity. Being
joyful to understand so good news, and to have come to the
knowledge of that which they most desired, they took their
leave of the king, and returned by the same way by which they
came.

Behold, therefore, how our men behaved themselves very
well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps.
But misfortune, or rather the just judgment of God would have
it, that those which could not be overcome by fire nor water,
should be undone by their own selves. This is the common
fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had
rather to overthrow themselves, than not to attempt some new
thing daily. We have infinite examples in the ancient histories,
especially of the Romans, unto which number this little handful
of men, being far from their country, and absent from their
countrymen, have also added this present example. They
entered, therefore, into partialities and dissensions, which began
about a soldier, named GUERNACHE, which was a drummer of
the French bands, which, as it was told me, was very cruelly
hanged by his own captain, and for a small fault; which captain
also used to threaten the rest of his soldiers which staid behind
under his obedience, and, peradventure (as it is to be presumed),

1562. were not so obedient to him as they should have been, was the cause that they fell into a mutiny, because that, many times, he put his threatenings in execution, whereupon they so chased him, that, at last, they put him to death. And the principal occasion that moved them thereunto was because he degraded another soldier, named LE CHERE (which he had banished), and because he had not performed his promise; for he had promised to send him victuals, from eight days to eight days, which thing he did not, but said, on the contrary, that he would be glad to hear of his death. He said, moreover, that he would chastise others also, and used so evil-sounding speeches, that honesty forbiddeth me to repeat them. The soldiers, seeing his manners to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kill him. Having executed their purpose, they went to seek the soldier that was banished, which was in a small island, distant from *Charles Fort* about three leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home again, they assembled themselves together, to choose one to be governor over them, whose name was NICHOLAS BARRE, a man worthy of commendation, and one who knew so well to quit himself of his charge, that all rancor and dissension ceased among them, and they lived peaceably, one with another. During this time, they began to build a final pinnace, with hope to return into France, if no succors came unto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding, necessity, which is the mistress of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished,

they thought of nothing else saving how to furnish it with all things necessary to undertake the voyage. But they wanted those things, that, of all others, were most needful, as cordage and sails, without which the enterprise could not come to effect. Having no means to recover these things, they were in worse case than at the first, and almost ready to fall into despair; but that good GOD, which never forsaketh the afflicted, did succor them in their necessity. 1562.

As they were in these perplexities, King AUDUSTA, and MACCOU, came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians, at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meet withal, and showed the king in what need of cordage they stood, who promised them to return within two days, and bring as much as should suffice to furnish the pinnace with tacking.

Our men being pleased with these good news and promises, bestowed upon them certain cutting-hooks, and shirts. After their departure, our men sought all means to recover rosin in the woods, wherein they cut the pine trees round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantity to bray the vessel. Also, they gathered a kind of moss, which groweth on the trees of this country, to serve to caulk the same withal. There now wanted nothing but sails, which they made of their own shirts, and of their sheets. Within a few days after, the Indian kings returned to *Charles Fort*, with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small pinnace. One man, as glad as might be, used great liberality towards them, and, at their leaving of the country, left them all the merchandize that remained, leaving them, thereby, so fully

1562. satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the world. They went forward, therefore, to finish the brigantine, and used so speedy diligence, that, within a short time afterward, they made it ready furnished with all things. In the mean season, the wind came so fit for their purpose, that it seemed to invite them to put to the sea, which they did without delay, after they had set all things in order; but, before they departed, they embarked their artillery, their forage, and other munitions of war, which Captain RIBAUT had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But, being drunken with the too excellent joy which they had conceived for their returning into France, or rather, deprived of all foresight and consideration, without regarding the inconstancy of the winds, which changed in a moment, they put themselves to sea, and, with so slender victuals, that the end of their enterprise became unlucky and unfortunate. For, after they had sailed the third part of their way, they were surprised with calms, which did so much hinder them, that, in three weeks, they sailed not above five-and-twenty leagues. During this time, their victuals consumed, and became so short that every man was constrained to eat not past twelve grains of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve *pesos*. Yea, and this felicity lasted not long, for their victuals failed them altogether at once, and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shoes and leather jerkins, which they did eat. Touching their beverage, some of them drank the sea-water, others did drink their own brine, and they remained in such desperate necessity a very long space, during the which part of

them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine which did 1562.
so grievously oppress them, they fell, every minute of an hour,
out of all hope ever to see France again, insomuch that they
were constrained to cast the water continually out, that, on all
sides, entered into their bark. And, every day, they fared
worse and worse; for, after they had eaten up their boots and
their leather jerkins, there arose so boisterous a wind, and so
contrary to their course, that, in the turning of a hand, the
waves filled their vessels half full of water, and bruised it upon
the one side.

Being now more out of hope than ever to escape out of this
extreme peril, they cared not for the casting out of the water,
which now was almost ready to drown them. And, as men
resolved to die, every one fell down backward, and gave them-
selves over altogether unto the will of the waves. Whereas
one of them, a little having taken heart unto him, declared
unto them how little way they had to sail, assuring them that if
the wind held, they should see land within three days. This
man did so encourage them, that, after they had thrown the
water out of the pinnace, they remained three days without eat-
ing or drinking—except it were of the sea-water. When the
time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled than
they were before, seeing they could not descry any land;
wherefore, in this extreme despair, certain among them made
this motion: that it was better that one man should die, than
that so many men should perish. They agreed, therefore, that
one should die, to sustain the others—which thing was executed
in the person of LE CHERE, of whom we have spoken hereto-

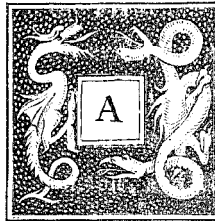
1562. fore, whose flesh was divided equally among his fellows—a thing so pitiful to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

After so long time and tedious travels, GOD, of his goodness, using his accustomed favor, changed their sorrows into joy, and showed unto them the sight of land; whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remain a long time, as men without sense, whereby they let the pinnace float this and that way, without holding any right way or course. But a small English bark boarded the vessel, in the which there was a Frenchman which had been in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew him, and spake unto them, and afterward gave them meat and drink. Incontinently, they recovered their natural courage, and declared unto him, at large, all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done; and, in fine, they resolved to put on land those that were most feeble, and to carry the rest unto the Queen of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus, you see, in brief, that which happened to them which Captain JOHN RIBAULT had left in Florida.

And, now, will I go forward with the discourse of mine own voyage.

CHAPTER V.

SECOND EXPEDITION.



AFTER our arrival at *Dieppe*, at our coming home from our first voyage 1562. (which was the 20th of July, 1562), we found that civil war had begun, which was, in part, the cause why our men were not succored, as Captain JOHN RIBAUT had promised them; whereof, it followed that Captain ALBERT was killed by his soldiers, and the country abandoned, as heretofore we have sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be understood by those men which were there in person. After the peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral DE CHASTILLON showed unto the King, that he heard no news at all of the men which Captain JOHN RIBAUT had left in Florida, and that it were a pity to suffer them to perish. In which respect the King was content he should cause three ships to be furnished—the one of six-score tons, the other of one hundred, and the third of sixty, to seek them out, and to succor them.*

* On the return of M. RIBAUT to France, in 1562, to obtain supplies and reinforcements for the colony he had established in Florida, he found the kingdom in such a distracted condition, that it was impracticable to return. The death of the

1562. My Lord Admiral, therefore, being well informed of the faithful service which I had done as well unto his Majesty as to his predecessors, Kings of France, advised the King how able I was to do him service in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me (RÉNÉ LAUDONNIÈRE)* chief captain over these three ships, and charged me to depart with diligence to perform his commandment, which, for mine own part, I would not gainsay, but rather thinking myself happy to have been chosen out of among such an infinite number of others, which, in my judgment, were very well able to have acquitted themselves in this charge.

1564. I embarked myself at *New Haven*, the 22d of April, 1564, and sailed, so that we fell near upon the coast of *England*; and then I turned towards the south, to sail directly to the *Fortunate Islands*, at this present time called the *Canaries*, one of which, called the *Isle Savage* (because, as I think, it is altogether with-

Duke of Guise, soon after, restored peace to France, and Admiral COLIGNY seized the opportunity to urge upon the King the importance of sending immediate relief to the colony; and, as the civil war had thrown upon the kingdom a great number of idle persons who were anxious to emigrate, the King ordered another expedition to be fitted out, and gave the command of it to M. LAUDONNIÈRE, who had accompanied M. RIBAUT in the first expedition. On the 22d of June, 1564, he arrived on the coast of Florida, and, on the 25th, landed at the mouth of the river *May* (now called *St. Johns*). He afterwards proceeded up the river, to a place now called *St. Johns Bluff*, and built a fort; on the right was the bluff, on the left a marsh, in front of the river, and, in the rear, extensive forests of the indigenous trees of the country. The remains of this fort are still to be traced, and was named *Caroline*. It was the second fort built by the French in Florida, as a sign of the jurisdiction of France in North America, forty-three years before the first settlement of the English at *James Town*, Virginia, and sixty-six years before the English Puritans arrived in the *May Flower*, at *Plymouth*, Massachussets.

* CHARLEVOIX describes M. LAUDONNIÈRE as "Un gentleman de merite—bon officier de marine et qui avoit même servi sur terre avec distinction."

out inhabitants), was the first that our ships passed. Sailing, 1564. therefore, on forward, we landed the next day in the *Isle of Teneriffa*, otherwise called the *Pike*, because that, in the midst, thereof, there is an exceeding high mountain, near as high as that of *Etna*, which riseth up like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go up, but from the midst of May until the midst of August, by reason of the over great cold which is there all the year, which is a wonderful strange thing, considering that it is not past twenty-seven and a half degrees distant from the Equator. We saw it all covered over with snow, although it were then but the fifth of May. The inhabitants in this isle, being, heretofore, pursued by the Spaniards, retired themselves into this mountain, where, for a space, they made war with them, and would not submit themselves to their obedience, neither by foul nor fair means; they disdained so much the loss of their island. For those which went thither, on the Spaniard's behalf, left their carcasses there, so that not so much as one of them returned home to bring the news. Notwithstanding, in the end, the inhabitants, not able to live in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commodity of their livelihood, did all die there. After I had furnished myself with some fresh water—very good and excellent, which sprang out of a rock at the foot of this mountain—I continued my course toward the west, wherein the winds favored me so well, that, fifteen days after, our ships arrived safe and sound at the *Antilles*; and, going on land at the *Isle of Martinica*—one of the first of them—the next day we arrived at *Dominica*, twelve leagues distant from the former.

1564. *Dominica* is one of the fairest islands of the west, full of hills, and of very good smell, whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking, also, to refresh ourselves with fresh water, I made the mariners cast anchor; two Indians (inhabitants of that place) sailed toward us, in two canoes, full of fruit of great excellence, which they call *ananas*. As they approached unto our bark, there was one of them, which, being in some misdoubt of us, went back again on land, and fled his way with as much speed as he could possibly, which our men perceived, and entered with diligence into the other canoe, wherein they caught the poor Indian, and brought him unto me. But the poor fellow become so astonished in beholding us, that he knew not which way to behave himself; because that (as afterward I understood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniard's hands, of whom he had been taken once before, and which, as he showed us, had cut off his stones. At length, this poor Indian was secure of us, and discoursed unto us of many things, whereof we received very small pleasure, because we understood not his mind but by his signs. Then he desired me to give him leave to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed, on condition that he would have patience until the next day; when I purposed to go on land, where I suffered him to depart, after I had given him a shirt, and certain small trifles, wherewith he departed, very well contented, from us.

The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high rock, out of which there ran a little river of sweet and excellent good water, by which river we staid certain days, to discover

the things which were worthy to be seen, and trafficked daily 1564. with the Indians, which, above all things, besought us that none of our men should come near their lodgings, nor their gardens, otherwise that we should give them great cause of jealousy, and that, in so doing, we should not want of their fruit, which they call *ananas*, whereof they offered us very liberally, receiving, in recompense, certain things of small value. This, notwithstanding, it happened, that, on a day, certain of our men, desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods, and, following still the little river's side, they spied two serpents, of exceeding bigness, which went side by side athwart the way. My soldiers went before them, thinking to let them from going into the woods; but the serpents, nothing at all astonished at these gestures, glanced into the bushes with fearful hissings; yet, for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them, afterward, nine great feet long, and as big as a man's leg. During this combat, certain others more indiscrete, went and gathered *ananas* in the Indians' gardens, trampling through them without any discretion; and not, therewithal, contented, they went toward their dwellings, whereat the Indians were so much offended, that, without regarding anything, they rushed upon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men, named MARTINE CHAUEAU, which remained behind. We could not know whether he were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner, for those of his company had enough to do to save themselves, without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, my lieutenant, being adver-

1564. tised, sent unto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush for the Indians, which had either taken or killed our man, or whether he should go directly to their dwellings to know the truth. I sent unto him, after good deliberation hereupon, that he should not attempt anything, and that for divers occasions; but, contrariwise, that he should embark himself with all diligence, and consequently all they that were on land, which he did with speed. But, as he sailed toward our ships, he perceived, along the shore, a great number of Indians, which began to charge them with their arrows; he, for his part, discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or, by any means, to surprise them, for which cause he quite forsook them, and came unto our ship. While staying until the next day morning, we set sail, following our wonted course, and, keeping the same, we discovered divers isles, conquered by the Spaniards, as the *Isles of St. Christopher*, and of the *Saints of Montserrate*, and *La Redonda*. Afterward, we passed between *Anguilla* and *Anegarda*, sailing toward New France, where we arrived fifteen days after, to wit: on Thursday, the 22d of June, about three of the clock in the afternoon, and landed at a little river, which is thirty degrees distant from the Equator, and ten leagues above *Cape Francois*, drawing toward the south, and about thirty leagues above the *River of May*.

After we had struck sail and cast anchor athwart the river, I determined to go on shore to discover the same. Therefore, being accompanied with Mons. DE OTTIGNI, with M. ARLAC, mine ensign, and a certain number of gentlemen and soldiers, I

embarked myself about three or four of the clock in the evening. And being arrived at the mouth of the river, I caused the channel to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that, further within the same, the water was there found reasonable deep, which separateth itself into two great arms, whereof one runneth toward the south, and the other toward the north. Having thus searched the river, I went on land to speak with the Indians, which waited for us upon the shore, which, at our coming on land, came before us, crying, with a loud voice, in their Indian language, *Antipola Bonassou!* which is as much as to say, brother, friend, or some such like thing. After they had made very much of us, they showed us their *paracoussy*—that is to say, their king, or governor, to whom I presented certain toys, wherewith he was well pleased. And, for mine own part, I praised God, continually, for the great love which I have found in these savages, which were sorry for nothing, but that the night approached, and made us retire unto our ships. For, though they endeavored, by all means, to make us tarry with them, and showed, by signs, the desire that they had to present us with some rare things, yet, nevertheless, for many just and reasonable occasions, I would not stay on shore all night, but, excusing myself for all their offers, I embarked myself again, and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this river, the *River of Dolphins*, because that, at mine arrival, I saw there a great number of dolphins, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day, the 23d of this month (because that, toward the south, I had not found any commodious place for us to inhabit and to build a

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1564 fort), I gave commandment to weigh anchor, and to hoist our sails to sail toward the *River of May*, where we arrived two days after, and cast anchor. Afterward, going on land with some number of gentlemen and soldiers, to know for a certainty the singularities of this place, we espied the *paracoussy* of the country, which came toward us (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captain JOHN RIBAUT), which, having espied us, cried, very far off, *Antipola! Antipola!* and, being so joyful that he could not contain himself, he came to meet us, accompanied with two of his sons, as fair and mighty persons as might be found in all the world, which had nothing in their mouths but this word—*amy, amy*; that is to say, friend, friend; yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to use this speech unto them. There was in their train a great number of men and women, which still made very much of us, and, by evident signs, made us understand how glad they were of our arrival.

This good entertainment past, the paracoussy prayed me to go see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of JOHN RIBAUT (as we have declared heretofore), as a thing which they made great account of. Having yielded unto him, and being come to the place where it was set up, we found the same crowned with crowns of bay, and, at the foot thereof, many little baskets full of mill, which they call, in their language, tapaga tapola. Then, when they came thither, they kissed the same with great reverence, and besought us to do the like, which we would not deny them, to the end we might draw them to be more in friendship with us. This done, the paracoussy took me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me

understand some great secret, and, by signs, showed me very well up within the river the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called *Paracoussy SATOURIOUA*, which is as much as King SATOURIOUA. His children have the self same title of *paracoussy*; the eldest is named *ATHORE*—a man, I dare say, perfect in beauty, wisdom, and honest sobriety, showing, by his modest gravity, that he deserveth the name which he beareth; besides that, he is gentle and tractable. After we had sojourned a certain space with them, the *paracoussy* prayed one of his sons to present unto me a wedge of silver, which he did, and that with a good will, in recompense, whereof, I gave him a cutting-hook, and some other better present, wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased.

CHAPTER VI.

1564.



FTERWARD, we took our leave of them, because the night approached, and I then returned to lodge in our ships. Being allured with this good entertainment, I failed not, the next day, to embark myself again with my lieutenant, OTTIGNI, and a number of soldiers, to return toward the *paracoussy* of the *River of May*, which, of purpose, waited for us in the same place, where, the day before, we conferred with him. We found him under the shadow of an arbor, accompanied with four-score Indians, at the least, and appareled, at that time, after the Indian fashion, to wit: with a great hart's skin, dressed like chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colors, but of so lively a portraiture, and representing antiquity, with rules so justly compassed, that there is no painter so exquisite that could find fault therewith; the natural disposition of this strange people is so perfect and so well guided, that, without any aid and favor of arts, they are able, by the help of nature only, to content the eye of artisans, yea, even of those which, by their industry, are able to aspire unto things most absolute.

Then I advertised *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA, that my desire was to discover further up into the river, but that this should be with such diligence, that I would come again unto him very speedily; wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was, and, for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skin, which I refused then, and promised to receive it of him at my return. For my part, I gave him certain small trifles, to the intent to retain him in our friendship.

Departing from thence, I had not sailed three leagues up the river, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me along the river, crying, still, *amy! amy!* that is to say, friend, friend; but I discovered an hill of mean height, near which I went on land, hard by the fields that were sowed with mill, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, which keep and guard the mill; for there are such numbers of Cornish *choughes* in this country, which continually devour and spoil the mill, that the Indians are constrained to keep and watch it, otherwise they should be deceived of their harvest. I rested myself in this place for certain hours, and commanded Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, and my serjeant, to enter into the woods to search out the dwellings of the Indians; whereafter they had gone awhile, they came unto a marsh of reeds, where, finding their way to be stopped, they rested under the shadow of a mighty bay tree to refresh themselves a little, and to resolve which way to take. Then they discovered, as it were, on the sudden, five Indians, half hidden in the woods, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, until they said unto them, in the

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1564. Indian language, *Antipola Bonassou*, to the end that, understanding their speech, they might come unto us more boldly, which they did incontinently. But, because they saw that the four that went last bear up the train of the skin wherewith he that went foremost was appareled, our men imagined that the foremost must needs be some man of greater quality than the rest, seeing that, withal, they called, *paracoussy*, *paracoussy*; wherefore some of our company went towards him, and, using him courteously, showed him M. DE OTTIGNI, their lieutenant, for whom they had made an arbor, with bay and palm-boughs, after the Indian fashion, to the end that, by such signs, the savages might think the Frenchmen had companied with such as they at other times.

The Indian *paracoussy* drew near to the French, and began to make him a long oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen, very earnestly, to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight, for pledge of better amity, he gave unto my lieutenant, OTTIGNI, the very skin that he was clad with. Then he took him by the hand, leading him right toward the marshes, over which the *paracoussy*, M. DE OTTIGNI, and certain other of our men, were borne upon the Indians' shoulders; and the rest, which could not pass because of the mire and reeds, went through the woods, and followed a narrow path which led them forth until they came unto the *paracoussy's* dwelling, out of which there came about fifty Indians, to receive our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which, they brought at their entrance a great vessel of earth, made after

a strange fashion, full of fountain water, clear, and very excellent. This vessel was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger, which bear of this water in another little vessel of wood, and presented, thereof, to every one to drink, observing, in doing the same, a certain order and reverence, which he made to each of them to whom he gave drink. Our thirst well quenched by this means, and our men being sufficiently refreshed, the *paracoussy* brought them to his father's lodging, one of the oldest men that lived upon the earth. Our men, regarding his age, began to make much of him, using this speech, *amy, amy*, that is to say, friend, friend; whereat the old sire showed himself very glad. Afterward, they questioned with him concerning the course of his age: whereunto he made answer, showing that he was the first living original, from whence five generations were descended, as he showed unto them by another old man that sat directly over against him, which far exceeded him in age; and this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carcass than a living body; for his sinews, his veins, his arteries, his bones, and other parts, appeared so clearly through his skin, that a man might easily tell them, and discern them, one from another. Also, his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could only speak one word, but with exceeding great pain. M. DE OTTIGNI having seen so strange a thing, turned to the younger of these two old men, praying him to vouchsafe to answer him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the old man called a company of Indians, and, striking twice upon his thigh, and laying his hand upon two of them, he

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1564. showed him, by signs, that these two were his sons; again smiting upon their thighs, he showed him others, not so old, which were the children of the first two; which he continued in the same manner, until the fifth generation. But, though this old man had his father alive, more old than himself, and that both of them did wear their hair very long, and as white as possible, yet it was told them, that they might yet live thirty or forty years more, by the course of nature, although the younger of them both was not less than two hundred and fifty years old!

After he had ended his communication, he commanded two young eagles to be given to our men, which he had bred up for his pleasure in his house. He caused, also, little panniers, made of palm-leaves, full of gourds, red and blue, to be delivered unto them. For recompense of which presents, he was satisfied with French toys. Their two old men caused our men to be guided back again to the place from whence they came, by the young *paracoussy*, which had brought them thither; and, having taken leave of the *paracoussy*, they came and sought me out in the place where I staid, and rehearsed unto me all that they had seen, praying me, also, that I would reward their guide, which so frankly and heartily had received them into his house, which I would not fail to do by any means.

Now was I determined to search out the qualities of the hill, wherefore I went right to the top thereof, where we found nothing else but cedar, palm, and bay trees, of so sovereign odor, that balm smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were environed round about with vines, bearing grapes in such quantity, that the number would suffice to make the place

habitable. Beside this fertility of the soil for vines, a man 1564. may see *esquine* wreathed about the shrubs in great quantity. Touching the pleasure of the place, the sea may be seen plain and open from it; and more than six great leagues off, near the *River Belle*, a man may behold the meadows divided asunder into isles and islets, interlacing one another; briefly, the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholic would be enforced to change their humor.

After I had staid there awhile, I embarked again my people to sail towards the mouth of the river, where we found the *para-coussy*, which, according to his promise, waited for us. Wherefore, to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reverence that on our parting was requisite. Then he gave me the skin so richly painted, and I recompensed him, with somewhat of our merchandise. I forgot not to demand of him the place whence the wedge of silver came, which he had given me before; whereunto he made me a very sudden answer, which, notwithstanding, I understood not, which he well perceived. And then he showed me, by evident signs, that all of it came from a place more within the river by certain day's journey from this place, and declared unto us, that all that which they had thereof, they got it by force of arms, of the inhabitants of this place, named by them *Thimogoa*, their most ancient and natural enemies, as he largely declared. Whereupon, when I saw with what affection he spake, when he pronounced *Thimogoa*, I understood what he would say. And, to bring myself more into his favor, I promised him to accompany him with all my force, if he would fight against them; which

1564. thing pleased him in such sort, that, from thenceforth, he promised himself the victory of them, and assured me that he would make a voyage thither, within a short space, would cause store of mill to be prepared, and would command his men to make ready their bows, and furnish themselves with such store of arrows, that nothing should be wanting to give battle to *Thimogoa*. In fine, he prayed me, very earnestly, not to fail of my purpose; and, in so doing, he hoped to procure me gold and silver in such good quantity, that mine affairs should take effect according to mine own and his desire.

The matter thus fully resolved upon, I took my leave of him to return unto my ships, where, after we had rested ourselves all the night following, we hoisted sail the next day, very early in the morning, and sailed toward the *River of Seine*, distant from the *River of May* about four leagues; and there, continuing our course toward the north, we arrived at the mouth of *Somme*, which is not past six leagues distant from the *River of Seine*, where we cast anchor, and went on shore to discover that place as we had done the rest. There we were graciously and courteously received of the *paracoussy* of the country, which is one of the tallest men, and best proportioned that may be found. His wife sat by him, which, besides her Indian beauty, where-with she was greatly endowed, had so virtuous a countenance and modest gravity, that there was not one amongst us but did greatly commend her; she had in her train five of her daughters, of so good grace and so well brought up, that I easily persuaded myself that their mother was their mistress, and had taught them well and straightly to preserve their honesty. After that

the *paravasy* had received us, as I have said, he commanded his wife to present me with a certain number of bullets of silver ;
for his own part, he presented me with his bow and arrows, as he had done unto Captain JOHN RIBAUT, in our first voyage, which is a sign of perpetual amity and alliance with those which they honor with such a kind of present.

CHAPTER VII.

1564.



IN our discoursing with one another, we entered into speech as touching the exercise of arms. Then the *paracoussy* caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a proof of our harquebuses and their bows; but this proof pleased him very little; so, as soon as he knew that our harquebuses did easily pierce that which all the force of their bows could not hurt, he seemed to be sorry, musing with himself how this thing might be done. Nevertheless, going about to dissemble in his mind that which his countenance could not do by any means, he began to fall into another matter, and prayed us, very earnestly, to stay with him that night in his house, or lodging, affirming that no greater happiness could come unto him than our long abode, which he desired to recompense with a thousand presents.

Nevertheless, we could not grant him this point, but took our leave of him to return to our ships, where, soon after, I caused all my company to be assembled, with the masters and pilots of my ships, to consult together of the place whereof we should

make choice to plant our habitation. First, I let them understand how none of them were ignorant, that the part which was toward the *Cape of Florida*, was altogether a marsh country, and, therefore, unprofitable for our inhabitation: a thing which could neither yield profit to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to us, if, peradventure, we would inhabit there. On the other side, if we passed further toward the north to seek out *Port Royal*, it would neither be very profitable nor convenient; at the least, if we should give credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the haven were one of the fairest of the West Indies; but that, in this case, the question was not so much of the beauty of the place, as of things necessary to sustain life. And that for our inhabiting, it was much more needful for us to plant in places plentiful of victuals, than in goodly havens, fair and deep, and pleasant to the view.

In consideration, whereof, that I was of opinion, if it seemed good unto them, to seat ourselves about the *River of May*, seeing, also, that, in our first voyage, we found the same only among all the rest to abound in maize and corn, besides the gold and silver that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of some happy discovery in time to come. After I had proposed these things, every one gave his opinion thereof; and, in fine, all resolved, namely, those which had been with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seat themselves rather on the *River of May*, than on any other, until they might hear news out of France. This point being thus agreed upon, we sailed toward the river, and used such diligence that, with the

1564. favor of the winds, we arrived there the morrow after, about the break of day, which was on Thursday, 29th of June.

Having cast anchor, I embarked all my stuff, and the soldiers of my company, to sail right toward the opening of this river, wherein we entered a good way up, and found a creek, of a reasonable bigness, which invited us to refresh ourselves a little, while we reposed ourselves there. Afterward, we went on shore, to seek out a place, plain, without trees, which we perceived from the creek. But, because we found it not very commodious for us to inhabit there, we determined to return unto the place which we had discovered before when we had sailed up the river.

This place is joining to a mountain, and it seemed unto us more fit and commodious to build a fortress than that where we were last. Therefore, we took our way towards the forests, being guided therein by the young *paracoussy* which had led us before to his father's lodging. Afterward, we found a large plain, covered with high pine trees, distant a little from the other, under which we perceived an infinite number of stags, which brayed against the plain, athwart the which we passed; then we discovered a little hill adjoining unto a great vale, very green, and, in form, flat; wherein were the fairest meadows of the world, and grass to feed cattle. Moreover, it is environed with a great number of brooks of fresh water, and high woods, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the view, thereof, at mine ease, I named it, at the request of our soldiers, the *Vale of Laudonnière*. Thus, we went forward: anon, having gone a little forward, we met an Indian

woman, of tall stature, which also was an hermaphrodite, who 1564.
came before us with a great vessel, full of clear fountain
water, wherewith she greatly refreshed us: for we were exceed-
ing faint by reason of the ardent heat, which molested us as we
passed through those high woods. And, I believe, that without
the succor of that Indian hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not
been for the great desire which we had to make us resolute of
ourselves, we had taken up our lodging in the woods. Being,
therefore, refreshed by this means, we gathered our spirits
together, and, marching with a cheerful courage, we came to
the place which we had chosen to make our habitation in:
whereupon, at that instant, near the river's brink, we strewed a
number of boughs and leaves, to take our rest on them the night
following, which we found exceeding sweet, because of the pain
which before we had taken in our travel.

On the morrow, about break of day, I commanded a trumpet
to be sounded, that, being assembled, we might give God thanks
for our favorable and happy arrival. Then we sang a psalm of
thanksgiving unto God, beseeching him that it would please him
of his grace to continue his accustomed goodness toward us, his
poor servants, and aid us in all our enterprises, that all might
turn to his glory and the advancement of our King. The prayer
ended, every man began to take courage.

Afterward, having measured out a piece of ground, in the
form of a triangle, we endeavored ourselves of all sides—some
to bring earth, some to cut faggots, and others to raise and make
the rampart; for there was not a man that had not either a
shovel, or cutting-hook, or hatchet, as well to make the ground

1564. plain by cutting down the trees, as for the building of the fort, which we did hasten, in such cheerfulness, that, within a few days, the effect of our diligence was apparent; in which mean space the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA, our nearest neighbor, and on whose ground we built our fort, came, usually accompanied with his two sons, and a great number of Indians, to offer to do us all courtesy. And I, likewise, for my part, bestowed divers of our trifles frankly on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that, as the days increased, so our amity and friendship increased also.

After that our fort was brought into form, I began to build a grange, to retire my munitions and things necessary for the defence of our fort, praying the *paracoussy* to command his subjects to make us a covering of palm-leaves, and this to the end that when that was done, I might unfreight my ships, and put under coverture those things that were in them. Suddenly, the *paracoussy* commanded, in my presence, all the Indians of his company to dress, the next day morning, so good a number of palm-leaves, that the grange was covered in less than two days. So that business was finished; for, in the space of those two days, the Indians never ceased from working—some in fetching palm-leaves, others in interlacing them, in such sort, that their king's commandment was executed as he desired.

Our fort was built in the form of a triangle: the side toward the west, which was toward the land, was inclosed with a little trench, and raised with turns made in form of a battlement, of nine feet high; the other side, which was toward the river, was inclosed with

*a palisade of planks of timber, after the manner that gabions are made. On the south side, there was a kind of bastion, within which I caused an house for the munition to be built; it was all builded with faggots and sand, saving about two or three feet high, with turf, whereof the battlements were made. In the midst, I caused a great court to be made, of eighteen paces long and broad, in the midst whereof, on the one side drawing toward the south, I builded a corps de gard, and an house on the other side, toward the north, which I caused to be raised somewhat too high, for, within a short while after, the wind beat it down; and experience taught me that we may not build with high stages in this country, by reason of the winds whereunto it is subject. One of the sides that enclosed my court, which I made very fair and large, reached unto the range of my munitions, and, on the other side, towards the river, was mine own lodging, round about which were galleries, all covered. One principal door of my lodging was in the midst of the great place, and the other was toward the river. A good distance from the fort, I built an oven, to avoid the danger against fire, because the houses are of palm-leaves, which will soon be burnt after the fire catcheth hold of them, so that, with much ado, a man shall have leisure to quench them. Lo, here, in brief, the description of our fortress, which I named *Caroline*, in honor of our prince, King CHARLES.* 1564.

CHAPTER VIII.

1564.



AFTER we were furnished with that which was most necessary, I would not lose a minute of an hour without employing of the same in some virtuous exercise: therefore, I charged Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, my lieutenant, a man in truth, worthy of all honor for his honesty and virtue, to search up within the river, what this *Thimogoa* might be, whereof the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA had spoken to us so often at our coming on shore. For execution hereof, the *paracoussy* gave him two Indians for his guides, which, taking upon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to go unto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

Being embarked, they hoisted sail, and, having sailed about twenty leagues, the Indians, which still looked on this side and that side to espy some of their enemies, discovered three canoes, and immediately they began to cry, *Thimogoa! Thimogoa!* and spake nothing else, but to hasten forward to fight with them, which the captain seemed to be willing to do, to content them. When they came to board them, one of the Indians got hold of

an halbert, another of a cutlass, in such a rage, that he would have leaped into the water to have fought with them alone. 1564
Nevertheless, OTTIGNI would not let them do it; for while he deferred to board them, he gave the others respite to turn the prows of their canoes toward the shore, and so to escape into the woods. Again, the meaning of OTTIGNI was not to make war upon them of *Thimogga*, but rather to make them friends, and to make them, thenceforth, to live in peace, one with another, if it were possible, hoping, by this means, to discover, daily, some new thing, and, especially, the certain course of the river. For this purpose, he caused the bark to retire, wherein were the two Indians (his guides), and went with his men toward the canoes, which were on the river's side. Being come unto them, he put certain trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away, to return to their boats, and to understand, by this sign, that those of our bark were none of their enemies, but rather come only to traffic with them. Wherefore, being thus assured of us, they called to our men to come near unto them; which they did incontinently, and set foot on land, and spake freely unto them, with divers ceremonies over long to recount. In the end, OTTIGNI demanded of them, by signs, if they had any gold or silver among them; but they told him they had none, as then; and that, if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him, without danger, into a place where they might have some. OTTIGNI seeing them so willing, delivered them one of his men, which seemed very resolute, to undertake this voyage: this fellow staid with them until ten of

1564. the clock next morning, so that Captain OTTIGNI, somewhat offended with his long stay, sailed ten great leagues further up the river, although he knew not which way he should go, yet he went so far up, that he espied the boat wherein his soldier was: which reported unto him, that the Indians would have carried him three great days' journey further, and told him that a king, named MAYARA, rich in gold and silver, dwelt in those quarters, and that, for small quantity of merchandise, enough might be had of him, yet that he would not hazard himself without his leave; and that he brought him a very little gold. This being done, our men returned toward our fort (*Fort Caroline*), after they had left the soldier with the Indians, to inform himself more and more of such things as he might discover more at leisure.

Fifteen days after this voyage to *Thimogoa*, I dispatched Captain VASSEUR, and my serjeant also, to return again into this country, and to seek out the soldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being, therefore, embarked, they sailed two whole days, and, before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the river's side, which were expressly sent unto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surprise them, as they did usually. When they perceived Captain VASSEUR, they knew, incontinently, that he was none of their enemies, and, therefore, made no difficulty to come near unto the bark, and showed him, by signs, that the soldier, which they sought, was not in that place, but was at that present time in the house of King MOLLOUA, which was vassal unto another great king,

named by them, OLATA OUAE UTINA, and, if the Captain 1564.
would sail thitherward, he should come thither very quickly,
wherewith he was content, and caused his men to row to that
part which the Indians showed him: whereat they were so glad
that they came quickly before, by land, to declare his arrival,
which was at the lodging of King MOLLOUA, after he had rowed
not past half a league. While King MOLLOUA had ended enter-
taining Captain VASSEUR and his men, the soldier came in with
five or six pounds weight of silver, which he had trucked and
trafficked with the Indians. This king caused bread to be
made, and fish to be dressed, after the Indian fashion, to feast
our men; to whom, while they were at meat, he made a dis-
course of divers other kings, his friends, and allies, reckoning
up to the number of nine of them, by name, to wit: CADECHA,
CHILILI, ECLAUOU, ENACAPPE, CALANY, ANACHARAQUA, OMI-
TIAQUA, ACQUERA, MOQUOSO, all which, with him, to the
number of more than forty, he assured us, to be the vassals
of the most renowned OLATA OUAE UTINA.

This done, we went about, likewise, to discover the enemies
of OLATA OUAE UTINA, in which number he placed, as the
first, the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA, monarch of the confines of
the *River of May*, which hath, under his obeisance, thirty other
paracoussies, whereof there were ten, which were all his breth-
ren, and that, therefore, he was greatly esteemed in those parts;
then he named three others, no less puissant than SATOURIOUA,
whereof the first dwelt two days' journey from his lord, OLATA
OUAE UTINA, and ordinarily made war upon him, whose name
was POTANOU, a man cruel in war, and pitiful in the execution

1564. of his fury. For he took the prisoners to mercy, being content to mark them on the left arm, with a great mark like unto a seal, and so imprinted as it had been touched with an hot iron; then he let them go without any more hurt. The two others were named ONATHEAQUA and HOUSTAQUA, being great lords, and abounding in riches; and principally ONATHEAQUA, which dwelt near unto the high mountains, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, and infinite quantity of a kind of flat stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleave their wood. The occasion which, as he said, moved POTANOU to wage war against OLATA OUAE UTINA, was the fear that he had, least he and his companions should get of that hard stone in his country, wherewith they headed their arrows, and could not get it in any nearer place.

Besides all this, MOLLOUA recited to Captain VASSEUR, that the king's allies, the vassals of the great OLATA, armed their breasts, arms, thighs, legs, and foreheads, with large plates of gold and silver; and that, by this means, the arrows that were discharged upon them could do them no manner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon, Captain VASSEUR inquired whether the kings (ONATHEAQUA and HOUSTAQUA) were like unto us; for, by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or not; but MOLLOUA told him that they were not, but that they were Indians, like the rest, saving that they painted their faces with black, and that the rest, as MOLLOUA, painted them with red. Then my lieutenant (VASSEUR), and my serjeant, promised him that, one day, I should march with my forces

into those countries, and that, joining myself with his lord 1564.
(OLATA), I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountains. He was very glad of this speech, and answered, that the least of these kings which he had named should present unto the general of these the height of two feet of gold and silver, which, by force of arms, they had already gotten of those two kings (ONATHEAQUA and HOUSTAQUA).

The good cheer being done, and the discourses ended, my men embarked themselves again, with intention to bring me those good news unto the *Fort Caroline*; but, after they had sailed a very long while down the river, and were come within three leagues of us, the tide was so strong against them that they were constrained to go on land, and to retire themselves, because of the night, unto the dwelling of a certain *paracoussy*, named MOLONA, which showed himself very glad of their arrival; for he desired to know some news of *Thimogoa*, and thought that the Frenchmen went thither for none other occasion, but for to invade them. Which Captain VASSEUR perceiving, dissembled so well, that he made him believe that he went to *Thimogoa* with none other intention but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sword, without mercy; but that their purpose had not such success as they desired, because that the people of *Thimogoa*, being advertised of this enterprise, retired into the woods, and saved themselves by flight; that, nevertheless, they had taken some as they were fleeing away, which carried no news thereof unto their fellows.

The *paracoussy* was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked VASSEUR of the beginning and manner of his

1564. execution, and prayed him that he would show him, by signs, how all things passed. Immediately, FRANCIS LA CAILLE, the serjeant of my band, took his sword in his hand, saying, that, with the point thereof, he had thrust through two Indians, which ran into the woods; and that his companions had done no less for their parts; and that, if fortune had so favored them that they had not been discovered by the men of *Thimogoa*, they had a victory most glorious and worthy of eternal memory. Hereupon the *paracoussy* showed himself so well satisfied, that he could not devise how to gratify our men, which he caused to come into his house, to feast them more honorably; and, having made Captain VASSEUR to sit next him, and in his own chair (which the Indians esteem for the chiefest honor), and then, underneath him, two of his sons, goodly and mighty fellows, he commanded all the rest to place themselves as they thought good. This done, the Indians came, according to their good custom, to present their drink (*cassine*) to the *paracoussy*, and then to certain of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then, he which brought it, set the cup aside, and drew out a little dagger, stuck up in the roof of the house, and, like a madman, he lifted his head aloft, and came apace, and went and smote an Indian which sat alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying, with a loud voice, *Hyou!* the poor Indian stirring not at all for the blow, which he seemed to endure patiently.

He which held the dagger, went quickly to put the same in its former place, and began again to give his drink as he did before; but he had not long continued, and had scarce given three or four thereof, but he left his bowl again, took the

dagger in his hand, and quickly returned unto him which he had stricken before, to whom he gave a very sore blow on the side, crying, *Hyou!* as he had done before, and then he went to put the dagger in its place, and set himself among the rest. A little while after, he that had been stricken, fell down backwards, stretching out his arms and legs, as if he had been ready to yield up the latter gasp. And then, the younger son of the *paracoussy*, appareled in a long, white skin, fell down at the feet of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly; half a quarter of an hour after, two others of his brethren, clad in like apparel, came about him that was so stricken, and began to sigh pitifully. Their mother, bearing a little infant in her arms, came from another part, and, going to the place where her sons were at the first, she used infinite numbers of outcries, then one, while lifting up her eyes to heaven, another, while falling down unto the ground; she cried so dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would have moved the most hard and stony heart in the world with pity. Yet this sufficed not, for there came in a company of young girls, which did never leave weeping, for a long while, in the place where the Indian was fallen down, whom afterward they took, and, with the saddest gestures they could devise, carried him away into another house, a little way off from the great hall of the *paracoussy*, and continued their weepings and mournings for the space of two long hours, in which, meanwhile, the Indians ceased not to drink *cassine*, but, with such silence, that one word was not heard in the parlor. VASSEUR being grieved that he understood not these ceremonies, demanded of the *paracoussy* what these things meant; which

1564. answered him slowly, *Thimogoa*, *Thimogoa*, without saying any more. Being more displeased than he was before with so slight an answer, he turned unto another Indian, the *paracoussy's* brother, who was a *paracoussy* as well as his brother, called MALICO, which made him a like answer as he did at the first, praying him to ask no more of these matters, and to have patience for that time. The subtle old *paracoussy* prayed him, within awhile after, to show him his sword; which he would not deny him, thinking that he would have beheld the fashion of his weapons; but he soon perceived that it was to another end; for, the old man, holding it in his hand, beheld it a long while on every place, to see if he could find any blood upon it, which might show that any of their enemies had been killed; for the Indians are wont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies have been defeated, with some blood upon them, for a token of their victories. But, seeing no sign thereof, upon it, he was upon the point to say unto him, that he had killed none of the men of *Thimogoa*; whereas VASSEUR, preventing that which he might object, declared and showed unto him, by signs, the manner of his enterprise, adding, that by reason of the two Indians which he had slain, his sword was so bloody, that he was enforced to wash and make it clean a long while in the river; which the old man believed to be like to be true, and made no manner of reply thereto.

VASSEUR, LA CAILLE, and their other compatriots, went out of the hall to go unto the room whither they had carried the Indian. There they found the *paracoussy* sitting upon tapestries made of small reeds, which was at meat, after the Indian

fashion, and the Indian that was smitten, hard by him, lying upon the self-same tapestry; about whom stood the wife of the *paracoussy*, with all the young damsels, which before bewailed him in the hall, which did nothing else but warm a great deal of moss, instead of napkins, to rub the Indian's side. Hereupon, our men asked the *paracoussy*, again, for what occasion the Indian was so persecuted in his presence: he answered, that this was nothing but a kind of ceremony, whereby they would call to mind the death and persecutions of the *paracoussies*, their ancestors, executed by their enemy, *Thimogoa*; alleging, moreover, that as soon as he, himself, or any of his friends and allies returned from the country, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home some prisoner, be used for a perpetual memory of all his predecessors, to beat the best beloved of all his children with the self-same weapons wherewith they had been killed in times past, to the end that, by renewing of the wound, their death should be lamented afresh. Now, when they were thus informed of those ceremonies, they thanked the *paracoussy* for their good entertainment, which they had received; and so, setting sail, they came to me unto the fort, where they declared all unto me, as I have recited it heretofore. On the 28th of July, our ships departed to return into France; and, within awhile, about two months after our arrival in Florida, the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA sent certain Indians unto me to know whether I would stand to my promise, which I had made him at my first arrival in that country: which was, that I would show myself friend to his friends, and enemy unto his enemies; and, also, to

1564.

1564. accompany him with a good number of harquebuses, when he should see it expedient, and should find a fit occasion to go to war. Now, seeing that he rested upon his promise, he prayed me not to defer the same. Seeing, also, that making that account thereof, he had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprise, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage, I made him answer, that, for his amity, I would not purchase the enmity of the other ; and that albeit I would, yet, notwithstanding, I wanted means to do it ; for it behoved me, at that present time, to make provision of victuals and munition for the defense of my fort. On the other side—that my barks were nothing ready, and that this enterprise would require time ; moreover, that the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA might hold himself ready to depart within two months, and that, then, I would think of fulfilling my promise to him.

CHAPTER IX.



THE Indians carried this answer to their *paracoussy*,* which was little pleased with it, because he could not defer his execution or expedition, as well because all his victuals were ready, as also because ten other *paracoussies* were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprise. The ceremony which this savage used, before he embarked his army, deserveth not to be forgotten; for, when he was sitting down by the river's side, being compassed about with ten other *paracoussies*, he commanded water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking up into heaven, he fell to discourse of divers things, with gestures that showed him to be in exceeding great choler, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither; and, by and by, with, I wot not what fury, to turn his face towards the country of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. He oftentimes looked upon the sun, praying him to grant him a glorious victory of his enemies; which, when he had done, by the space of half an hour,

1564.

* A generic appellation of the chiefs from Maryland to Florida.

1564. he sprinkled, with his hand, a little of the water, which he held in a vessel, upon the heads of the *paracoussies*, and cast the rest, as it were, in a rage and despite, into a fire, which was there prepared for the purpose. This done, he cried out, thrice, *He Thimogoa!* and was followed with five hundred Indians, at the least, which were there assembled, which cried, all with one voice, *He Thimogoa!* This ceremony, as a certain Indian told me, familiarly, signified nothing else but that SATOURIOUA besought the *Sun* to grant unto him so happy a victory, that he might shed his enemies' blood, as he had shed the water, at his pleasure. Moreover, that the *paracoussies*, which were sprinkled with a part of that water, might return with the heads of their enemies, which is the only, and chief, triumph of their victories.

The *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA* had no sooner ended his ceremonies, and had taken a view of all his company, but he embarked himself, and used such diligence with his *almadies*, or boats, that, the next day, two hours before the sun set, he arrived on the territories of his enemies, about eight or ten leagues from their villages. Afterward, causing them all to go on land, he assembled his counsel, wherein it was agreed, that five of the *paracoussies* should sail up the river with half of the troops, and, by the break of day, should approach into the

* SATOURIOUA (SATORIVA) was a powerful chief, claiming the territory around the mouth of the *St. Johns*, and northward along the coast nearly as far as the *Savannah*; and his influence extended to a considerable distance inland. "He showed himself an implacable enemy of the Spaniards. In 1567, he assisted DOMINGUE DE GOURGUES to destroy their settlements on the *St. Johns River*, the *St. Matheo* of the Spaniards."—BRINTON's *Notes on Florida*.

dwelling of their enemies. For his own part, that he would 1564.
take his journey through the woods and forests, as secretly as
he could; and that when they were come thither, as well they
that went up by water as he which went by land, should not
fail, by the break of the day, to enter into the village, and cut
them all in pieces, except the women and little children.

These things, which were thus agreed upon, were executed with as great fury as was possible; which, when they had done, they took the heads of their enemies which they had slain, and cut off their hair, round about, with a piece of their skulls; they took also twenty-four prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselves immediately into their boats, which waited for them. Being come thither, they began to sing praises unto the *Sun*, to whom they attributed their victory. And, afterwards, they put the skins of those heads on the end of their javelins, and went, altogether, toward the territories of *Paracoussy* *OMOLOA*, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they divided their prisoners, equally, to each of the *paracoussies*, and left thirteen of them to *SATOURIOUA*, which straightway dispatched an Indian, his subject, to carry news before of the victory, to them which staid at home to guard their houses, which immediately began to weep. But, as soon as night was come, they never left dancing, and playing a thousand gambols, in honor of the feast.

The next day, the *Paracoussy* *SATOURIOUA* came home, who, before he entered into his lodging, caused all the hair-skulls of his enemies to be set up before his door, and crowned them with branches of laurel—showing, by this glorious spectacle, the

1564. triumph of the victory which he had obtained. Straightway began lamentation and mourning, which, as soon as the night began, were turned into pleasures and dances.

After that I was advised of these things, I sent a soldier unto SATOURIOUA, praying him to send me two of his prisoners; which he denied me, saying, that he was nothing beholding unto me, and that I had broken my promise against the oath which I had sworn unto him at my arrival. Which, when I understood by my soldier, which was come back with speed, I devised how I might be revenged of this savage, and to make him know how dearly this bold bravado of his should cost him; therefore, I commanded my serjeant to provide me twenty soldiers, and go with me to the house of SATOURIOUA. Where, after I was come, and entered into the hall without any manner of salutation, I went and sat me down by him, and staid a long while without speaking a word unto him, or showing him any sign of friendship, which thing put him deeply in his dumps; besides, that certain soldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had given express commandment to suffer no Indian to go forth. Having stood still about half an hour, with this countenance, at length I demanded where the prisoners were, which he had taken at *Thimogoa*, and commanded them presently to be brought unto me. Whereupon, the *paracoussy*, angry at the heart, and astonished wonderfully, stood a long while without making any answer; notwithstanding, at last, he answered me very stoutly, that, being afraid to see us coming thither in such warlike manner, they fled into the woods, and that, not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able, by any means, to

bring them again. Then I seemed to make as though I understood not what he had said, and asked for his prisoners again, and for some of his principal allies. Then SATOURIOUA commanded his *athore* to seek out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place; which thing he did, within an hour after. 1564.

After they were come to the lodging of the *paracoussy*, they humbly saluted me, and, lifting up their hands before me, they would have fallen down prostrate, as it were, at my feet; but I would not suffer them, and, soon after, led them away with me unto my own fort. The *paracoussy* being wonderfully offended with this bravado, bethought himself, by all means, how he might be revenged of us. But, to give us no suspicion thereof, and the better to cover his intention, he sent his messengers, oftentimes, unto us, bringing always with them some kind of presents. Among others, one day, he sent three Indians, which brought us two baskets full of great pumpions, much more excellent than those which we have in France, and promised me, in their king's behalf, that, during mine abode in that country, I should never want victuals. I thanked them for their king's good will, and signified unto them the great desire which I had, as well for the benefit of SATOURIOUA as for the quiet of his subjects, to make a peace between him and those of *Thimogoa*; which thing could not choose but turn to their great benefit, seeing that being allied with the kings of those parts, he had an open passage (ONATHEAQUA, his ancient enemy), which, otherwise, he could not set upon.

Moreover, that OLATA OUAE UTINA was so mighty a *para-*

1564. *coussy*, that SATOURIORA was not able to withstand his forces; but, being agreed together, they might easily overthrow all their enemies, and might pass the confines of the farthest rivers that were towards the south. The messengers prayed me to have patience until the morrow, at what time they would come again unto me, to certify of their lord's inclination, which they failed not to do; advertising me that *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA was the gladdest man in the world to treat of this accord (although, indeed, he was quite contrary), and that he besought me to be diligent therein, promising to observe and perform whatsoever I should agree upon with those of *Thimogoa*; which things the messengers also rehearsed unto the prisoners which I had led away. After they were departed, I resolved, within two days, to send back again the prisoners to OLATA OUAE UTINA, whose subjects they were; but, before I embarked them, I gave them certain small trifles, which were little knives, or tablets of glass, wherein the image of King CHARLES IX was drawn, very lively, for which they gave me very great thanks, as also for the honest entertainment which was given at *Fort Caroline*. After this, they embarked themselves, with Captain VASSEUR, and with M. DE ARLAC,* mine ensign, which I had sent of purpose to remain a certain time with OUAE UTINA, hoping that the favor of this great *paracoussy* would serve my turn greatly, to make any discoveries in time to come. I sent with him, also, one of my serjeants, and six gallant soldiers.

* This name, which often occurs, should be spelt "D'ERLACH." "Ce Gentilhomme," says CHARLEVOIX, "etoit Suisse, et il n'y a point de maison de Suisse plus connue que American Journeys — www.americanjourneys.org

Thus things passed on in this manner, and the hatred of *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA against me did still continue, until that, on the 29th of August, a lightning from heaven fell within half a league from our fort; more worthy, I believe, to be wondered at, and to be put in writing, than all the strange signs which have been seen in times past, and whereof the histories have never been written. For, although the meadows were, at that season, all green, and half covered over with water, nevertheless, the lightning, in one instant, consumed about five hundred acres therewith, and burned, with the ardent heat, thereof, all the fowls which took their pastime in the meadows; which thing continued for three days' space—which caused us not a little to muse, not being able to judge whereof this fire proceeded. For one while, we thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places, for fear of us; another, while we thought that they had discovered some ships on the sea, and that, according to their custom, they had kindled many fires, here and there, to signify that their country was inhabited; nevertheless, being not assured, I determined to send to *Paracoussy* SERRANAY to know the truth thereof. But, even as I was upon the point to send one by boat, to discover the matter, six Indians came unto me from *Paracoussy* ALLIMACANY, which, at their first entry, made unto me a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented me with certain basketsful of maize, of pumpions, and of grapes) of the loving amity which ALLIMACANY desired to continue with me, and that he looked, from day to day, when it would please me to employ him in my service. Therefore, considering the ser-

1564. viceable affection that he bare unto me, he found it very strange that I thus discharged mine ordinance against his dwelling, which had burnt up an infinite sight of green meadows, and consumed even down unto the bottom of the water; and came so near unto his mansion, that he thought he saw the fire in his house; wherefore, he besought me, most humbly, to command my men that they would not shoot any more towards his lodging, otherwise that, hereafter, he should be constrained to abandon his country, and to retire himself into some place further off from us.

Having understood the foolish opinion of this man, which, notwithstanding, could not choose but be very profitable for us, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cheerful countenance, that the relation which they made unto me of the obedience of their *paracoussy* did please me right well, because that, before, he had not behaved himself in such sort towards me, especially when I summoned him to send me the prisoners of great OLATA OUAE UTINA, which he detained; whereof, notwithstanding, he made no great account, which was the principal cause wherefore I had discharged mine ordinance against him; not that I meant to reach unto his house (as I might have done easily, if it had pleased me), but that I was content to shoot the half way, to make him know my force; assuring him, furthermore, that, on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more ordinance should be discharged against him hereafter; and, besides, that I would become his faithful protector against his greatest enemies.

The Indians, contented with mine answer, returned, to assure

their *paracousy*, which, notwithstanding the assurance, withdrew himself from his dwelling twenty or twenty-five leagues off, and that for the space of more than two months. After that three days were expired, the fire was quite extinguished; but, for two days after, there followed such an excessive heat in the air, that the river, near unto which we planted our habitation, became so hot, that I thought it was almost ready to seethe. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many divers sorts, that, in the mouth of the river only, there were found dead enough to have loaded fifty carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the air, which bred many dangerous diseases amongst us, insomuch, that most of my men fell sick, and almost ready to end their days. Yet, notwithstanding, it pleased our merciful GOD so to provide, by his providence, that all our men recovered their health, without the loss of any one of them.

CHAPTER X.

1564.



onsieur de Arlac, Captain VASSEUR, and one of my serjeants, being embarked, with their ten soldiers, about the 10th of September, to carry back the prisoners unto UTINA, sailed so far up the river, that they discovered a place called *Maqarquá*, distant from our fort about four-score leagues, where the Indians gave them good entertainment, and in many other villages which they found. From this place, they rowed to the dwelling of *Paracoussy* UTINA,* which, after he had feasted them, according to his ability and power, prayed M. DE ARLAC, and all his soldiers, to stay awhile with him, to

* Modern antiquarians have located the territory and residence of OLATA OUTINA on the banks of the *River May* (*St. Johns*), near the northern extremity of *Lake George*. Among the tributaries of this great chief (*paracoussy*), were CADECHA, CHILILI, ENCAPPE, CALANY, ANACHARQUA, ACQUERRA, and MOQUOSO. The warriors of OUTINA covered their breasts, arms, thighs, and legs, with plates of gold and silver. He was the rival monarch of SATOURIOUA (SATORIVA), whose territory also extended along the *River May*. Other kings and chiefs lived farther south on that river, whose country abounded in gold and silver, from which M. LAUDONNIÈRE's officers procured large quantities in bars, supposed to have been taken from Spanish galleons, wrecked on the coast of Florida.

aid and assist him in battle against one of his enemies, called POTANOU; whereunto M. DE ARLAC consented willingly. And, 1564.
because he knew not how long he might have occasion to stay in these parts, he sent me (Captain VASSEUR) and the bark back again, which brought home only five soldiers with him.

Now, because the custom of the Indians is always to wage war by surprise, UTINA resolved to take his enemy, POTANOU, in the morning, by the break of day. To bring this to pass, he made his men to travel all the night, which might be in number two hundred persons; so well advised, that they prayed our French shot to be in the fore front, to the end (as they said), that the noise of their pieces might astonish their enemies; notwithstanding, they could not march so secretly but that those of the village of POTANOU, distant from the dwelling of UTINA about twenty-five leagues, were aware of them; which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endeavor to defend their village, inclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies; but, finding themselves charged with shot (a thing wherewith they never had been acquainted), also beholding the captain of the band fall down dead, in the beginning of their skirmish, with a shot of an harquebuse, which struck him in the forehead, discharged by the hand of M. DE ARLAC, they left the place; and the Indians of UTINA got into the village, taking men, women, and children, prisoners.

Thus, *Paracoussy* UTINA obtained the victory by the aid of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost, in this conflict, one of their companions, wherewith UTINA was very much grieved. Eight or ten days after, I sent Captain VASSEUR back

1564. again, with a bark, to fetch home M. DE ARLAC and his soldiers, which, at their return, brought me certain presents from UTINA, as some silver, and a small quantity of gold, painted skins, and other things, with a thousand thanks, which the *paracoussy* gave me, and which promised, that if, in any enterprise of importance, I should have need of his men, he would furnish me with three hundred and above.

While I thus travelled, to purchase friends, and to practice one while with one here, and another while with another there, certain soldiers of my company were suborned, underhand, by one named LA ROQUETTE, of the country of *Perigott*, which put in their heads that he was a great magician, and that, by the secrets of art-magic, he had discovered a mine of gold and silver, far up within the river, whereby (upon the loss of his life) every soldier should receive, in ready bullion, the value of ten thousand crowns, besides and above fifteen hundred thousand, which should be reserved for the King's Majesty; wherefore they allied themselves with LA ROQUETTE and another of his confederates, whose name was LE GEURE, in whom, notwithstanding, I had great affiance. This LE GUERE,* exceeding desirous to enrich himself in those parts, and, seeking to be revenged, because I would not give him the carriage of the packet into France, secretly informed the soldiers that were already suborned by LA ROQUETTE, that I would deprive them of this great gain, in that I did set them daily on work, not sending them on every side to discover the countries; therefore,

* This name is sometimes, written "LE GENRÉ, a lieutenant who was somewhat in the confidence of M. LAUDONNIÈRE.

that it were a good deed, after they had made me understand so much, to seek means to dispatch me out of the way, and to choose another captain in my place, if I would not give them victuals, according to their disordinate appetite. He also brought me word here of himself, making a large discourse unto me of the good affection of the soldiers, which all besought me that I would conduct them to the countries where the mine was. I made him answer, that all could not go thither, and that it was necessary, before their departure, to settle our fortress in such estate, that those which were to stay at home behind should remain in security against the Indians which might surprise them. 1564.

Furthermore, that their manner of proceeding seemed strange unto me; for that they imagined that the King's Majesty was, at the charges of our voyage, for none other end, but only to enrich them at their first arrival, inasmuch as they showed themselves much more given unto covetousness than unto the service of their prince. But, seeing mine answer tended unto none other end but to make our fortress strong and defensible, they determined to travel in the work, and made an ensign of old linen, which, ordinarily, they bore upon the rampart when they went to work, always wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to encourage themselves to work the better. But, as I perceived, afterwards, and that, by the confession of GEURE, sent me in letters which he wrote to me of that matter, these gentle soldiers did the same for none other end but to have killed me, and my lieutenant also, if, by chance, I had given them any hard speeches.

1564. About the 20th of September, as I came home from the woods and coppices, to finish the building of my fort (and that, according to my usual manner, I marched first to give encouragement unto my soldiers), I chafed myself in such sore and grievous sickness, whereof I thought I should have died; during which sickness, I called LE GEURE often unto me, as one that I trusted above all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this, meanwhile, assembling his accomplices, sometimes in his chamber, and sometimes in the woods, to consult with them, he spake unto them to choose another captain, besides me, to the intent to put me to death; but, being not able, by open force, to execute his mischievous intention, he got him unto mine apothecary, praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receive one or two days after, some drug that should make me fritch over the perch, or, at the least, he would give me a little arsenic, or quicksilver, which he himself would put into my drink. But the apothecary denied him, as did, in like manner, Master S., which was master of the fire-works. Thus, wholly disappointed of both his means, he, with certain others, resolved to hide a little barrel of gunpowder underneath my bed, and, by a train, to set it on fire.

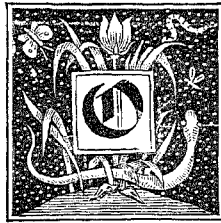
Upon these practices, a gentleman, which I had dispatched to return into France, being about to take his leave of me, advertised me, that LE GEURE had given him a book, full of all kind of lewd invectives and slanders against me, against Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, and against the principal of my company; upon which occasion, I assembled all my soldiers together, and Capt.

BOURDET, with all his; which, on the 4th of September, arrived 1564.

in the road, and were come into our river. In their presence, I caused the contents of the book to be read aloud, that they might bear record of the untruths that were written against M. LE GEURE, which had gotten him into the woods, for fear of being taken (where he lived for awhile after with the savages, by my permission), wrote unto me often, and, in many of his letters, confessed unto me, that he had deserved death, condemning himself so far forth, that he referred all to my mercy and pity.

1564.

CHAPTER XI.



N the 7th or 8th day of November, after I had caused sufficient provision of such victuals as were needful to be made, I sent two of my men, to wit: LA ROCHE FERRIERE, and another, toward King UTINA, to discover, every day, more and more of the country—where he was the space of five or six months, during which he discovered many small villages, and, among others, one named *Hostaque*—the king, whereof, being desirous of my friendship, sent unto me a quiver, made of a lucern's skin, full of arrows, a couple of bows, four or five skins, painted after their manner, and a chain of silver, weighing about a pound weight. In recompense of which presents, I sent him two whole suits of apparel, with certain cutting-hooks, or hatchets.

After these things, therefore, in this sort, passed, about the 10th of this month, Captain BOURDET determined to leave me, and to return into France. Then I requested him—yea, rather was exceeding importunate with him—to carry home with him some six or seven soldiers, whom I could not trust, by any

1564.

means : which he did, for my sake, and would not charge himself with LE GUERE, which offered him a great sum of money, if it would please him to carry him into France : he transported him only to the other side of the river. Three days after his departure, thirteen mariners, which I had brought out of France, suborned by certain other mariners, which Captain BOURDET had left me, stole away my barks, in manner following : These mariners of Captain BOURDET put mine in the head, that if they had such barks as mine were, they might gain very much in the isles of the *Antilles*, and make an exceedingly profitable voyage. Hereupon, they began to devise how they might steal away my barks, and consulted, that when I should command them to go unto the village of *Sarauahi*, distant about a league and a half from our fort, and situated upon an arm of the river (whither, according to my manner, I sent them daily to seek clay, to make brick and mortar for our houses), they would return no more, but would furnish themselves with victuals, as well as they might possibly, and then would embark themselves, all in one vessel, and would go their way—as, indeed, they did. And, that which was worse, two Flemish carpenters, which the said BOURDET had left me, stole away the other bark, and, before their departure, cut the cables of the bark, and of the ship-boat, that it might go away with the tide, that I might not pursue them ; so that I remained without either bark or boat, which fell out as unluckily for me as possible ; for I was ready to embark myself, with all speed, to discover as far up our river as I might, by any means. Now, my mariners (as I understood afterwards) took a bark, that was a passenger of the

1564. Spaniards, near the *Isle of Cuba*, wherein they found a certain quantity of gold and silver, which they seized upon. And, having this booty, they lay awhile at sea, until their victuals began to fail them; which was the cause that, oppressed with famine, they came unto *Havana*, the principal town of the *Isle of Cuba*; whereupon proceeded that mischief, which, hereafter, I will declare more at large. When I saw my barks returned not at their wonted hour, and suspecting that which fell out, indeed, I commanded my carpenters, with all diligence, to make a little boat, with a flat bottom, to search those rivers for some news of these mariners. The boat, dispatched within a day and a night—by reason that my carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as, commonly, I caused my sawyers to provide it—I sent men to seek some news of my thieves; but all was in vain. Therefore, I determined to cause two great barks to be built, each of which might be thirty-five or thirty-six feet long in the keel. And now that the work was very well forward, which I had set my workmen about, when ambition and avarice (the mother of all mischief) took root in the hearts of four or five soldiers, which could not away with the work and pains-taking; and which, from thenceforward (namely, one FOURNEAUX, and one LA CROIX, and another, called STEVEN LE GENEVOIS, the three principal authors of the sedition), began to practice with the best of my troop, showing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to turmoil themselves thus with abject and base work, seeing that they had the best occasion in the world offered them to make themselves all rich; which was to arm the two

barks which were in building, and to furnish them with good men; and thereto sail into Peru, and the other isles of the *Antilles*, where every soldier might easily enrich himself with ten thousand crowns. And, if their enterprise should be disliked, withal, in France, they should be always able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gain, to retire themselves into Italy, until the heat were overpast, and that, in the mean season, some war would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten. 1564.

This word of riches, sounded so well in the ears of my soldiers, that, in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affairs, they grew to the number of three-score and six; which, to color their great desire which they had to go on stealing, they caused a request to be presented unto me, by FRANCIS DE LA CAILLE, serjeant of my company, containing, in sum, a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintain us, until the time that ships might return from France; for remedy, whereof, they thought it necessary to send to New Spain, Peru, and all the isles adjoining, which they besought me to be content to grant. But, I made them answer, that, when the barks were finished, I would take such good order in general, that, by means of the King's merchandise, without sparing mine own apparel, we would get victuals of the inhabitants of the country; seeing, also, that we had enough to serve us for four months to come; for I feared greatly that, under pretense of searching for victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spain's subjects, which, in time to come, might justly be laid to my charge, considering that, at

1564. our departure out of France, the Queen had charged me, very expressly, to do no kind of wrong to the King of Spain's subjects, nor anything whereof he might conceive any jealousy. They made as though they were content with this answer; but, eight days after, as I continued in working upon our fort, and on my barks, I fell sick. Then, my seditious companions, forgetting all honor and duty, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, began to practice, afresh, their former designs, handling their business so well, during my sickness, that they openly vowed that they would seize on the *guard du corps*, and on the fort; yea, and force me, also, if I would not consent unto their wicked desire. My lieutenant being, hereof, advertised, came and told me that he suspected some evil practice; and, the next day, in the morning, I was saluted at my gate, with men in complete harness, what time my soldiers were about to play me a shrewd trick; then I sent to seek a couple of gentlemen, whom I most trusted, which brought me word that the soldiers were determined to come to me, to make a request unto me. But, I told them, this was not the fashion to present a request unto a captain, in this manner; and, therefore, they should send some few unto me, to signify unto me what they would have.

Hereupon, the five chief authors of the sedition, armed with corselets, their pistols in their hands, already bent, pressed into my chamber, saying unto me, that they would go to New Spain, to seek their adventure.

Then I warned them to be well advised what they meant to do; but, they forthwith replied, that they were fully advised

already, and that I must grant them this request. Seeing, then, 1564.
quoth I, that I am enforced to do it, I will send Captain VASSEUR, and my serjeant, which will make answer, and give me an account of everything that shall be done in this voyage; and, to content you, I think it good that you take one man out of every chamber, that they may accompany Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the name of GOD, they answered, that they must go thither; and that there lacked nothing, but that I should deliver them the armor, which I had in my custody; for fear least I might use them to their disadvantage (being so villainously abused by them), wherein, notwithstanding, I would not yield unto them. But they took all by force, and carried it out of my house; yea, and after they had hurt a gentleman in my chamber which spake against their doings, they laid hands on me, and carried me, very sick as I was, prisoner into a ship which rode at anchor in the midst of the river; wherein I was the space of fifteen days, attended upon with one man only, without permission of any of my servants to come to visit me; from every one of whom, as also from the rest that took my part, they took away their armor. And they sent me a passport to sign, telling me, plainly, after I had denied them, that, if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the ship. Thus was I constrained to sign their passport; and, forthwith, to grant them certain mariners, with TRENCHANT, an honest and skillful pilot.

When the barks were finished, they armed them with the King's munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, as much as they needed, and chose one of my serjeants for their

1564. captain, named BERTRAND CONFERRENT; and, for their ensign, one named LA CROIX. They compelled Captain VASSEUR to deliver them the flag of his ship; then, having determined to sail unto a place of the *Antilles*, called *Lauguane*, belonging unto the King of Spain, and there to go on land, on Christmas night, with intention to enter into the church while the mass was said, after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set sail on the 8th of December. But, because the greatest part of them, by this time, repented them of their enterprise, and that they now began to fall into mutinies among themselves when they came forth of the river, the two barks divided themselves—the one kept along the coast unto Cuba, to double the cape more easily, and the other went right forth to pass athwart the *Isles of Lacya*; by reason, whereof, they met not until five weeks after their departure. During which time, the bark that took her way along the coast, wherein one of the chief conspirators, named DE ORANGE, was captain, and TRENCHANT, his pilot, near unto a place, called *Archaba*, took a brigantine, laden with a certain quantity of *cassavi*—which is a kind of bread, made of roots, and yet, nevertheless, is very white, and good to eat—and some little wine, which was not without some loss of their men; for, in one assault that the inhabitants of *Archaba* made upon them, two of their men were taken, to wit: STEPHEN GOUDOU, and one named GRAND PRÈ, besides two more that were slain in the place, namely, NICOLAS MASTER, and DOUBLET; yet, nevertheless, they took the brigantine, wherein they put all their stuff that was in their own bark, because it was of greater burthen, and better

of sail than their own. Afterward, they sailed right unto the 1564.
Cape of Santa Maria, near to *Leauguane*, where they went on
land, to caulk and *braye* their ship, which had a great leak. In
this, meanwhile, they resolved to sail to *Baracou*, which is a
village of the *Isle of Jamaica*, where, at their arrival, they found
a *caravel*, of fifty or three-score tons burthen, which they took,
without anybody in it; and, after they had made good cheer in
the village, the space of five or six days, they embarked them-
selves in it, leaving their second ship; then they returned to the
Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a *patach*, which they took
by force, after a long conflict. In this *patach*, the Governor of
Jamaica was taken, with great store of riches, as well of gold
and silver as of merchandise and wine, and many other things;
wherein our seditious companions, not content, determined to
seek more in their *caravel*, and their Governor of Jamaica, also.
After they were come to Jamaica, they missed of another
caravel, which did save itself in the haven. The governor,
being fine and subtle, seeing himself brought unto the place
which he desired, and where he commanded, obtained so much
by his fair words, that they, which had taken him, let him put
two little boys, which were taken with him, into a little cock-
boat, and sent them to his wife into the village, to advertise
her that she should make provision of victuals to send unto him.
But, instead of writing unto his wife, he spake unto the boys
secretly, that, with all diligence, she should send the vessels
that were in the havens near that place, to succor and rescue
him. Which she did, so cunningly, that, on a morning, about
the break of the day, as our seditious companions were at the

1564. haven's mouth (which reacheth above two leagues up within the land), there came out of the haven a *malgualire*, which maketh sail both forward and backward, and then two great ships, which might be, each of them, of four-score or an hundred tons apiece, with good store of ordnance, and well furnished with men; at whose coming our mutinous fellows were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, as well because of the darkness of the weather, as, also, by reason of the length of the haven; considering, also, they mistrusted nothing. True it is, that five or six-and-twenty that were in the brigantine discovered these ships when they were near them, which, seeing themselves pressed for want of leisure to weigh their anchor, cut their cable, and the trumpeter, which was in it, advertised the rest; whereupon the Spaniards, seeing themselves descried, discharged a volley of cannon-shot against the Frenchmen, which they followed, by the space of three leagues, and recovered their own ships. The brigantine, which escaped away, passed sight of the *Cape des Aigrettes*, and the *Cape of St. Anthony*, situate in the *Isle of Cuba*, and, from thence, passed within the sight of *Havana*. But, TRENCHANT, their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certain other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elsewhere we have declared), desired nothing more than to return to me; wherefore, these men agreed together (if, peradventure, the wind served them well) to pass the channel of Bahama while their seditious companions were asleep; which they did accomplish with such good success, that, in the morning, toward the break of day, about the 25th of March, they arrived upon the coast of

Florida; where, knowing the fault which they had committed, 1564. in a kind of mockery, they counterfeited the judges; but they played not this prank until they had tippled well of the wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the judge, another personated my person; one other, after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: "Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you; but if, when you come to *Fort Caroline*, the captain cause you not to be hanged, I will never take him for an honest man." Others thought that, my choler being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their sail was no sooner descried upon our coast, but the king of the place, named PATICA, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to advertise me that he had descried a ship upon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon, the brigantine, oppressed with famine, came to an anchor at the mouth of the *River of May*, when, at the first blush, we thought they had been ships come from France, which gave us occasion of great joy. But, after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was advertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore, I sent them word, by Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant, that they should bring up their brigantine before the fortress, which they promised to do. Now, they were not above two leagues distance from the mouth of the river, where they cast anchor, unto the fortress. The next day, I sent the same captain and serjeant, with thirty soldiers, because I saw they much delayed their coming. Then they brought them; and, because certain of them had sworn, at their de-

1564. parture, that they would never come again within the fort, I was well pleased that they should keep their oath. For this purpose, I waited for them at the river's mouth, where I made my barks to be built, and commanded my serjeant to bring the four chief authors of the mutiny on shore, whom I caused, immediately, to be put in fetters; for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my council, expressly assembled for this purpose, had concluded that these four only should die, to serve for an example to the rest. In the same place, I made an oration unto them, in this manner:

“My friends, you know the cause why our King sent us unto this country; you know that he is our natural prince, whom we are bound to obey, according to the commandment of God, in such sort that we ought neither to spare our goods, or livés, to do those things that concern his service; ye know, or, at least, you cannot be ignorant, that, besides this general and natural obligation, you have this also joined thereunto; that, in receiving of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established over you, to be your governors, and to command you, in his name; having, for this purpose, given him an oath of fidelity, which you cannot, by any means, revoke for any fair appearance which you have to do the contrary; for this is reason, that seeing you live upon his charges, upon this condition (this is reason, I say) that you should be faithful unto him. Notwithstanding you have had more regard unto your unbridled affections than unto virtue, which invited you to the observance of your oath, in such sort

that, being become contemners of all honesty, you have passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawful for you. 1564. Whereupon, it is fallen out, that while you thought to escape the justice of men, you could not avoid the judgment of God, which, as a thing by no means to be avoided, hath led you, and, in spite of you, hath made you to arrive in this place, to make you confess how true his judgments are, and that he never suffereth so foul a fault to escape unpunished."

After that I had used unto them these, or the like speeches, following that which we had agreed upon in council in respect of the crimes which they had committed, as well against the King's Majesty as against me, which was their captain, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing, therefore, that there was no starting-hole, nor means at all to save themselves from this arrest, they took themselves unto their prayers; yet, one of the four, thinking to raise a mutiny among my soldiers, said thus unto them: "What, brethren and companions, will you suffer us to die so shamefully?" And, taking the words out of his mouth, I said unto him: "That they were not companions of authors of sedition, and rebels unto the King's service." Hereupon the soldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot through, and then, afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged upon certain gibbets along the haven's mouth, which I caused presently to be put in execution. So, here, what was the end of my mutinous soldiers, without which I had always lived peaceably, and enjoyed the good desire, which I had, to make an happy and quiet voyage? But, because I have spoken of nothing but their

1564. accidents and adventures which happened unto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will return to the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure. First, I began to consider I might confirm and make myself more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition upon want of victuals; for, from the time of our arrival, every soldier, daily, unto this day, and, besides, until the 28th of February, had a loaf of bread, weighing twenty-two ounces. Again, I recounted, with myself, that all new conquests, by sea and by land, are, ordinarily, troubled with rebellions, which are easy to be raised, as well in respect of the distance of place as in respect of the hope that the soldiers have to make their profits, as we may be well informed, both by ancient histories, and also by the troubles which lately happened unto CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS after his first discovery, to FRANCIS PIZARRO, and DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, in Peru, and to FERNANDO CORTEZ. An hundred thousand other things came unto my mind to encourage and confirm me. My lieutenant, OTTIGNI, and the serjeant of my band, came to seek me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and carried me from thence in a bark, as soon as our rebels were departed. After I was come unto the fort, I caused all my company that remained to be assembled in the midst of the place, before the *corps de garde*, and declared unto them the faults which they, that had forsaken us, had committed, praying them to bear them in memory, to bear witness, thereof, when need should require. Forthwith, I ordained new captains to command the troops, and prescribed them an order, according

whereunto they were to govern themselves from henceforth, and 1564.
to enter into their watch; for the greatest part of the soldiers,
of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them.
My declaration ended, they all promised me, with one accord,
to obey me most humbly, and to do whatsoever I should com-
mand them, though it were to die at my feet, for the King's
service; wherein, assuredly, they never after failed, so that, I
dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions, I was
as well obeyed as ever was captain in place where he com-
manded. The next day, after my return unto the fort, I
assembled my men together again, to declare unto them that
our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needful that all of
us should put, thereto, our helping hands, to assure ourselves
against the Indians; wherein, having willingly agreed unto me,
they raised it all with turf from the gate unto the river, which
is on the west side. This done, I set my carpenters on work
to make another bark, of the same bigness that the others were
of; I commanded the sawyers that they should prepare planks,
the smiths to prepare upon nails, and, certain others, to make
coal, so that the bark was finished in eighteen days. After-
wards, I made another, less than the first, the better to discover
up the river. In this mean space, the Indians visited me, and
brought me, daily, certain presents—as fish, deer, turkey-cocks,
leopards, and little bears, and other things, according to the
place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certain
hatchets, knives, beads of glass, combs, and looking-glasses.
Two Indians came unto me one day, to salute me, on behalf of
their king, whose name was MARRACOU, dwelling from the

1564. place of our fort some forty leagues toward the south, and told me that there was one in the house of King ONATHAQUA, which was called BARBU, or the bearded man; and, in the house of King MATHIACA, another man, whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation; whereupon, I conceived that these might be some Christians. Wherefore, I sent to all the kings, my neighbors, to pray them, that, if there were any Christians dwelling in their countries, they would find means that he might be brought unto me; and that I would make them double recompense. They, which love rewards, took so much pains, that the two men whereof we have spoken, were brought unto the fort unto me. They were naked, wearing their hair long unto their hams, as the savages used to do, and were Spaniards born; yet, so well accustomed to the fashion of the country, that, at the first sight, they found our manner of apparel strange. After that I had question of certain matters with them, I caused them to be appareled, and to cut their hair, which they would not loose, but lapped it up in a linen cloth, saying, that they would carry it into their country, to be a testimony of the misery that they had endured in the Indies. In the hair of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of five-and-twenty crowns, which he gave unto me. And, examining them of the places where they had been, and how they came thither, they answered me, that, fifteen years past, three ships, in one of which they were, were cast away over against a place, named *Calos*,* upon the flats, which are

* "This word," says BAINTON, "is still preserved in the *Seminole* appellation of the *Sanybal River* (*Caloosa-Hatchie*), and in that of the *Bay of Carlos*, corrupted by the

called *The Martyrs*, and that the King of *Calos** recovered the 1564.
 greatest part of the riches which were in the said ships; travelling in such sort, that the greatest part of the people were saved, and many women, among which number there were three or four married women, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this King of *Calos*. I desired to learn what this king was; they answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the country, a mighty man, a warrior, and having many subjects under his obedience. They told me, moreover, that he had great store of gold and silver, so far forth; that, in a certain village, he had a pit-full thereof, which was, at the least, as high as a man, and as large as a ton, all which wealth the Spaniards fully persuaded themselves that they could cause me to recover, if I were able to march thither with a hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the country, which had also great store thereof. They further, also, advertised me, that the women, going to dance, did wear, about their girdles, plates of gold as broad as a saucer, and, in such number, that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease, and that the men wear the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they said, out of the Spanish ships, which, commonly, were cast away in this strait; and the rest, by the traffic which this King of *Calos* had with the other kings of the country. Finally, that he was had

English to *Charlotte Harbor*, both on the south-western coast of the *Peninsula*, near north latitude twenty-six degrees forty minutes."

* "Ce *Calos* ou *Callos* sont anthropophages, et fort cruel, ils demeurent dans une baye qu'il porte également leur nom et celui de *Ponce de Leon*."—CHARLEVOIX.

American Journeys — www.americanjourneys.org

1564. in great reverence of his subjects, and that he made them believe that his sorceries and charms were the causes that made the earth bring forth her fruit; and, that he might the easier persuade them that it was so, he retired himself, once or twice a year, to a certain house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where he used certain enchantments; and, if any man intruded himself to go to see what they did in this place, the king, immediately, caused him to be put to death.

Moreover, they told me, that, every year, in the time of harvest, this savage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expressly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spaniards, which, by tempest, were cast alway upon that coast. One of these two declared unto me, that he had served him a long time for a messenger, and that, oftentimes, by his commandment, he had visited a king, named ONATHAQUA, distant from *Calos* four or five days' journey, which always remained his faithful friend; but that, in the midway, there was an island, situate in a great lake of fresh water, named *Sarrope*,* about five leagues in bigness, abounding with many sorts of fruits, especially in dates, which grow on the palm trees, whereof they make a wonderful traffic; yet not so great as of a kind of root whereof they make a kind of meal, so good to make bread of, that it is impossible to eat better; and that, for fifteen leagues about, all the country is fed therewith, which is the cause that the inhabitants gain of their neighbors great wealth and profit, for they will not part with this root without they be well paid

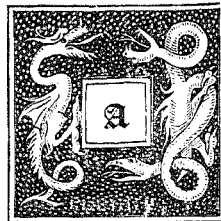
* Supposed to be *Lake Ware*, in *Marion County*.

for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that country, as they made good proof when the King of *Calos*, having made alliance with ONATHAQUA, was deprived of ONATHAQUA's daughter, which he had promised to him in marriage. 1564.

He told me the whole matter, in this sort: As ONATHAQUA, well accompanied with his people, carried one of his daughters, exceeding beautiful, according to the color of the country, unto King CALOS, to give her unto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this isle, advertised of the matter, laid an ambush for him in a place where he should pass, and so behaved themselves, that ONATHAQUA was discomfited, the betrothed young spouse taken, and all the damsels that accompanied her, which they carried within the isle, which thing, in all the Indian's country, they esteem to be the greatest victory; for, afterward, they marry these virgins, and love them above all measure. The Spaniards that made this relation told me, that, after this defeat, he went to dwell with ONATHAQUA, and had been with him full eight years, even until the time that he was sent unto me. The place of *Calos* is situated upon a river, which is beyond the *Cape of Florida*, forty or fifty leagues toward the south-west; and the dwelling of ONATHAQUA is on this side of the cape, toward the north, in a place which we call, in the chart, CANNAVERAL, which is in twenty-eight degrees.

CHAPTER XII.

1564.



BOUT the 25th of January, *Paracoussy** SATOURIOUA, my neighbor, sent me certain presents, by two of his subjects, to persuade me to join with him, and to make war upon OUAË UTINA, which was my friend: and further sought me to retire certain of my men, which were with UTINA—for whom, if it had not been, he had oftentimes set upon him, and defeated him. He besought me, herein, by divers other kings, his allies, which, for three weeks or a month's space, sent messengers unto me, to this end and purpose; but I would not grant unto them that they should make war upon him: yea, rather contrariwise, I endeavored to make them friends; wherein they condescended unto me, so far forth, that they were content to allow of anything that I would set down; whereupon, the two Spaniards—which, of long time, knew well the nature of the Indians—

* "Among the *Caloosas*, the *paracoussy*, or king, was considered of divine nature, and believed to have the power to grant or withhold seasons favorable to the crops, and fortune in the chase. In war, the *paracoussy* led the van—and, in peace, sat in the council house to receive the homage of his inferiors, and advise with his counselors on points of national interest."—BRINTON'S *Notes on Florida*.
American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org

warned me that, in any case, I should not trust unto them; 1564.
because that, when they showed good countenance, and the
best cheer unto men, then was the time that they would
surprise and betray them; and that, of their nature, they were
the greatest traitors, and most deep dissemblers of the world.
Besides, I never trusted them but upon good ground, as one
that had discovered a thousand of their crafts and subtleties, as
well by experience as by reading of the histories of late years.

Our two barks were not so soon finished, but I sent Captain
VASSEUR to discover—along the coast lying toward the north,
and commanded him to sail unto a river, the king whereof was
called AUDUSTA, which was lord of that place—where those of
the year 1562 inhabited. I sent him two suits of apparel, with
certain hatchets, knives, and other small trifles, the better to
insinuate myself into his friendship. And, the better to win
him, I sent in the bark, with Captain VASSEUR, a soldier, called
AIMON, which was one of them which returned home in the
first voyage, hoping that King AUDUSTA might remember
him. But, before they were embarked, I commanded them to
make inquiry what was become of another, called ROUFFI,
which remained alone in those parts, when NICHOLAS MASON,
and those of the first voyage, embarked themselves to return
into France. They understood, at their arrival there, that a
bark, passing that way, had carried away the same soldier; and,
afterward, I knew, for a certainty, that they were Spaniards
which had carried him to *Havana*. The King AUDUSTA sent
me back my bark full of mill, with a certain quantity of beans,
two stags, some skins (painted after their manner), and certain

1564. pearls, of small value, because they were burnt; and sent me word, that, if I would dwell in his quarters, he would give me a great country, and that, after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would have. In the meanwhile, there came unto our fort a flock of stock-doves, in so great number, and that for the space of seven weeks together, that, every day, we killed, with harquebuse-shot, two hundred in the woods about our fort. After that Captain VASSEUR was returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished again with soldiers and mariners, and sent them to carry a present from me unto the widow of HIOCAIA, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelve leagues northward. She courteously received our men, sent me back my barks full of mill and acorns, with certain baskets-full of the leaves of *cassine*, where-with they make their drink. And the place where this widow dwelleth, is the most plentiful of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought that the queen is the most beautiful of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account; yea, and her subjects honor her so much, that always continually they bear her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few days after the return of my barks, she sent to visit me by her *hiatiqui*, which is as much as to say, as her interpreter. Now, while I thought I was furnished with victuals until the time that our ships might come out of France (for fear of keeping my people idle), I sent my two barks to discover, along the river, and up toward the head, thereof, which went so far up that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place, named *Mathiaqua*; and there they discovered

the entrance of a lake, upon the one side, whereof no land 1564.
could be seen, according to the report of the Indians, which
had, oftentimes, climbed on the highest trees in the country to
see land, and, notwithstanding, could not discern any, which
was the cause that my men went no further, but returned back;
and, in coming home, went to see the *Island of Edelano*, situated
in the midst of the river—as fair a place as any that may be
seen through the world; for, in the space of some three leagues
(that it may contain in length and breadth), a man may see an
exceedingly rich country, and marvelously peopled. At the
coming out of the village of *Edelano*, to go unto the river's side,
a man must pass through an alley, about three hundred paces
long and fifty paces broad, on both sides, whereof, great trees
are planted, the boughs, whereof, are tied together like an arch,
and meet together, so artificially, that a man would think it
were an arbor, made of purpose, as fair, I say, as any in all
Christendom, although it be all natural.

Our men, departing from this place, rowed to *Eneguape*, then
to *Chilily*; from thence to *Patika*; and, lastly, they came unto
Coya—where, leaving their barks, in a little creek of the river,
with men to guard them, they went to visit *UTINA*, which
received them very courteously; and, when they departed from
his house, he entreated them so earnestly, that six of my men
remained with him—of which number there was one gentle-
man, named *GROUTALD*, which, after he had abode there about
two months, and taken great pains to discover the country, with
another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came
unto me to the fort, and told me that he never saw a fairer

1564. country. Among other things, he reported unto me, that he had seen a place, named *Hostagua* : and that the king, thereof, was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or four thousand savages to the field ; with whom, if I would join, and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants unto our obedience. Besides, that this king knew the passages unto the mountain of *Apalatci*, which the Frenchmen desired so greatly to attain unto, and where the enemy of *HOSTAGUA* made his abode, which was easy to be subdued, if so be we would enter into league together. The king sent me a plate of a mineral that came out of this mountain—out of the foot, whereof, there runneth a stream of gold or copper (as the savages think), out of which they dig up the sand, with an hollow and dry cane or reed, until the cane be full ; afterward they shake it, and find that there are many small grains of copper and silver among this sand, which giveth them to understand that some rich mine must needs be in the mountain ; and, because the mountain was not past five or six days' journey from our fort, lying toward the north-west, I determined, as soon as our supply should come out of France, to remove our habitation unto some river more toward the north, that I might be nearer thereunto.

One of my soldiers, whose name was *PETER GAMBY*, which had remained a long space before in this country, to learn the language and traffic with the Indians, at the last, came to the village of *Edelano*, where, having gotten together a certain quantity of gold and silver, and purposing to return unto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoe (which

1564.

is a vessel made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians used to fish, withal, and to row upon the rivers), which this lord of *Edelano* granted him. But, being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoe, to murder him, and bring him the merchandise and the gold which he had—which the two traitors villainously executed; for they knocked him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing the fire, in the canoe, to seethe fish.

CHAPTER XIII.

1564.



HE *Paracoussy* UTINA sent, certain days afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteen of my shot to invade his enemy, POTANOU; and sent me word, that, this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage; yea, and would conduct me unto the mountains, in such sort, that no man should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their advice, as I was wont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion that I should do well to send succor unto this *paracoussy*; because it would be hard for me to discover any further up into the country without his help, and that the Spaniards, when they were employed in their conquests, did always enter into alliance with some one king to ruin another. Notwithstanding, because I did always mistrust the Indians, and that the more after the last advertisement that the Spaniards had given me, I doubted lest the small number which UTINA demanded might incur some danger, wherefore I sent him thirty shot, under the charge of Lieutenant OTTIGNI, which staid not above two days with UTINA, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which,

ordinarily, and, according to the custom of the country, are carried by women and young boys, and by hermaphrodites. 1564.
UTINA, setting forward with three hundred of his subjects, having, each of them, their bow and quiver full of arrows, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the forward, and made them march all the day, until that, the night approaching, and having not gone past half the way, they were enforced to lie all night in the woods, near a great lake, and there to encamp themselves. They separated themselves by six and six, making, each of them, a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they opened a certain number of those archers in whom he put most confidence. As soon as day was come, the camp of the Indians marched within three leagues of POTANOU; there, King UTINA requested my lieutenant to grant him four or five of his men to go and discover the country, which departed immediately, and had not gone far but they perceived, upon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of POTANOU, three Indians, which fished in a canoe. Now, the custom is, that, when they fish in this lake, they have always a company of watchmen, armed with bows and arrows, to guard the fishers. Our men being, hereof, advertised by those of the company, durst not pass any further, for fear of falling into some ambush, wherefore, they returned towards UTINA, which suddenly sent them back, with a greater company, to surprise the fishers before they might retire and advertise their king (POTANOU) of the coming of his enemies, which they could not execute so politely, but that two of them escaped; the third, also, did the best he could to save himself by swim-

1564. ming, in which, meanwhile, he was slain with shot of arrows ; and they drew him back, stark dead, unto the bank-side, where our Indians flayed off the skin of his head, and cut off both his arms, in the highway, reserving his hair for the triumph, which their king hoped to make, for the defeat of his enemy. UTINA, fearing lest POTANOU, advertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himself in arms to withstand him valiantly, asked counsel of his *lawwa* (which is as much as to say, in their language, as his magician), whether it were best to go any further ; then this magician made certain signs, hideous and fearful to behold, and used certain words ; which, being ended, he said unto his king, that it was not best to pass any further, and that POTANOU, accompanied with two thousand Indians, at the least, staid in such and such a place for him, to bid him battle ; and, besides this, that all the said Indians were furnished with cords to bind the prisoners, which they made full account to take.

This relation caused UTINA to be unwilling to pass any further ; whereupon my lieutenant, being as angry as ever he might be, because he had taken so great pains, without doing anything of account, said unto him, that he would never think well of him, nor of his people, if he would not hazard himself ; and that, if he would not do it, at the least, that he would give him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Hereupon UTINA was ashamed, and, seeing the good affection of M. DE OTTIGNI, determined to go forward, and he failed not to find his enemies in the very place which the magician had named, where the

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skirmish began, which lasted three long hours; wherein, without doubt, UTINA had been defeated, unless our harquebuses had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battle, and slain a great number of the soldiers of POTANOU, upon which occasion they were put to flight. Wherewithal, UTINA, being content, for the present, caused his people to retire, and return homeward, to the great discontentment of M. DE OTTIGNI, which desired nothing more than to pursue his victory. After he was come home to his house, he sent messengers to eighteen or twenty villages of other kings (his vassals), and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances, which he purposed to celebrate, because of his victory. In the meanwhile, M. DE OTTIGNI refreshed himself for two days, and then, taking his leave of the *paracoussy*, and leaving twelve of his men to see that POTANOU, bethinking himself of his late loss, should come to burn the houses of UTINA, he set forward on his way to come unto me, unto our fort, where he up and told me how everything had passed; and, withal, that he had promised the twelve soldiers that he would come back again to fetch them. Then the kings, my neighbors, all enemies to UTINA, being advertised of the return of my lieutenant, came to visit me, with presents, and to inquire how things had passed, praying me, all, to receive them into my favor, and to become enemy to UTINA; which, notwithstanding, I would not grant them, for many reasons that moved me.

The Indians are wont to leave their houses, and to retire themselves into the woods, the space of three months, to wit: January, February, and March, during which time, by no

1564. means, a man can see one Indian; for, when they go on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselves, living upon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that, during this time, we could get no victuals by their means; and, had it not been that I had made good provision, thereof, while my men had store, until the end of April (which was the time when, at the uttermost, we hoped to have had succor out of France), I should have been greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the soldiers took no great care to look well unto their victuals, although I divided, equally among them, that which I could get abroad in the country, without reserving unto myself any more than the least soldier of all the company. The month of May approaching, and no manner of succor come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals—constrained to eat the roots of the earth, and certain sorrel, which we found in the fields; for, although the savages were returned by this time into their villages, yet they succored us with nothing but certain fish, without which, assuredly, we had perished with famine. Besides, they had given us, before, the greatest part of their maize, and of their beans, for our merchandise. This famine held us from the beginning of May until the midst of June, during which time the poor soldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and, being not able to work, did nothing but go, one after another, in sentinel, unto the cliff of an hill, situate very near unto the fort, to see if they might discover any French ship. In fine, being frustrated of their hope, they assembled, all together, and came to beseech me to

take some order that they might return unto France, considering that, if we let pass the season to embark ourselves, we were never like to see our country; where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made unto us, and that no succor was come from thence. Thereupon, it was consulted and resolved, by all the company, that the bark *Breton* should be trimmed up, whereof Captain VASSEUR had charge. But, because the ship was not big enough to receive us all, some thought good to build the brigantine two decks higher, which our mutinous soldiers had brought back, and that twenty-five men should hazard themselves, to pass therein, into France; the rest, being better advised, said, that it should be far better to build a fair ship, upon the keel of the galiot which I had caused to be made, promising to labor courageously thereupon. Then I inquired of my shipwrights to know in what space they could make this ship ready. They assured the whole company, that, being furnished with all things necessary, they would make it ready by the 8th of August. Immediately, I disposed of the time to work upon it. I gave charge to M. DE OTTIGNI, my lieutenant, to cause timber, necessary for the finishing of both the vessels, to be brought; and, to M. DE ARLAC, my standard-bearer, to go with a bark, a league off from the fort, to cut down trees, fit to make planks, and to cause the sawyers, which he carried with him, to saw them; and, to my serjeant of the company, to cause fifteen or sixteen men to labor, in making coal; and, to Master HANCE, keeper of the artillery, and, to the gunner, to gather store of rosin to bray the ves-

1564.

1564. sels; wherein he used such diligence, that, in less than three weeks, he gathered two hogsheads of the same together. There remained, now, but the principal, which was to recover victuals to sustain us while our work endured, which I undertook to do, with the rest of my company, and the mariners of the ship. To this end, I embarked myself, making up the thirtieth, in my great bark, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, having with us no provision at all of victuals, whereby, it may easily be gathered, how simply those of our fort were provided. True it is, that certain soldiers, being better husbands than the rest, and having made some provision of mast, sold a little measure, thereof, for fifteen or twenty *sous*, unto their companions. During our voyage, we lived on nothing else but *raspices*, of a certain round grain, little and black, and of the roots of palmettos, which we got by the river sides; wherein, after we had sailed a long time, in vain, I was constrained to return unto the fort, where the soldiers, beginning to be weary of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselves, and declared unto me that, seeing they could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient, for the saving of their lives, to seize upon the person of one of the kings of the country, assuring themselves that, one being taken, the subjects would not suffer our men to want victuals.

I made them answer, that this enterprise was not rashly to be attempted; but that we ought to have good regard unto the consequence that might issue thereof. Hereupon, they replied unto me, that, seeing the time was past of our succor from France, and that we were resolved to abandon the country, and

that there was no danger to constrain the savages to furnish us 1564.
with victuals; which, for the present, I would not grant unto
them, but promised them, assuredly, that I would send to
advertise the Indians that they should bring me victuals for
exchange of merchandise and apparel; which they also did,
for the space of certain days, during which they brought of their
mast, and of their fish; which, these Indians being traitorous,
and mischievous of nature, and, knowing our exceeding strange
famine, sold us at so dear a price, that, for less than nothing,
they had gotten from us all the rest of our merchandise which
remained. And, which was worse, fearing to be forced by
us, and, seeing that they had gotten away all from us, they
came no nearer to our fort than the shot of an harquebuse.
Thither they brought their fish, in their little boats; to which
our poor soldiers were constrained to go; and, oftentimes, as I
have seen, to give away the very shirts from their backs to get
one fish. If, at any time, they showed unto the savages the
excessive price which they took, these villians would answer
them roughly and churlishly; “if thou make so great account
of thy merchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish.” Then
fell they out a-laughing, and mocked us with open throat.
Whereupon our soldiers, becoming utterly impatient, were often-
times ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the
price of their foolish arrogance. Notwithstanding, considering
the importance, hereof, I took pains to appease the impatient
soldiers; for I would not, by any means, enter into question
with the savages, and it sufficed me to delay the time. Where-
fore, I devised to send unto UTINA, to pray him to deal, so far

1564. forth, with his subjects, as to succor me with mast and maize; which he did, very sparingly, sending me twelve or fifteen baskets of mast, and two of *pinocks*, which are a kind of little green fruit, which grow among the weeds, in the river, and are as big as cherries. Yea, and this was not but by giving in exchange twice as much merchandise and apparel as they were worth; for the subjects of UTINA perceived, evidently, the necessity wherein we were, and began to use the like speech unto us, as the others did, as it is commonly seen that need altereth men's affections.

While these things were in doing, a certain breathing-space presented itself; for UTINA gave me to understand that there was a king, his subject, whose name was ASTINA, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience; that, for this cause, if I would give him aid, with a certain number of my soldiers, he would bring them to the village of ASTINA, where there was means to recover mast and maize. In the mean season, he excused himself unto me, because he had sent me no more maize, and sent me word that the little store that he had left was scarcely sufficient for his seed-corn. Now, being somewhat relieved, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not fail to send him the men which he desired of me, which, nevertheless, were very evil entreated; for he deceived them, and, instead of leading them against ASTINA, he caused them to march against his other enemies. My lieutenant, which had charge of this enterprise, with Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant, was determined to be revenged of UTINA, and to cut him in pieces, and

his people; and, had it not been that they feared to do any-
thing against my will, without all doubt they would have put 1564.
their enterprise into execution. Therefore, they would not
pass any further without advertising me thereof. Wherefore,
being come back again into the fort, angry, and pricked deeply
to the quick for being so mocked, they made their complaints
unto me, declaring unto me that they were almost dead for
hunger. While they told the whole matter to the rest of the
soldiers, which were very glad that they had not entered into
that action, and resolved, assembling themselves again together,
to let me understand that they did persist in their first delibera-
tion, which was, to punish the boldness and maliciousness of
the savages, which they could no longer endure, and were
determined to take one of their kings prisoner; which thing I
was enforced to grant unto them, to the end—to avoid a greater
mischief, and the sedition which, I foresaw, would ensue, if I
had made refusal thereof; for, said they, what occasion have
you to deny us, considering the necessity wherein we are, and
the small account that they make of us? Shall it not be law-
ful for us to punish them for the wrongs which they have done
unto us? Besides, that we know, apparently, how little they
respect us, is not this sufficient, although there were no neces-
sity at all, since they thus delude us, and have broken promise
with us? After, therefore, I had resolved with them, to seize
on the person of *UTINA*, which, besides that he had given us
occasion hereof, was also most able to help us to recover
victuals, I departed, with fifty of my best soldiers, all embarked
in two barks, and arrived in the dominions of *UTINA*, distant

1564. from our fort about forty or fifty leagues; then, going on shore, we drew towards his village, situated six great leagues from the river, where we took him prisoner—howbeit, not without great cries and alarms—and led him away in our barks, having first signified unto his father-in-law, and his chief subjects, that, in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to do him any harm, but only to relieve my necessities and want of victuals, which oppressed me, and that, in case they would help me to some, I would find means to set him again at liberty; that, in the mean space, I would retire myself into my barks (for I feared lest they would there assemble themselves together, and that some mischief might thereof ensue), where I would stay for him two days to receive his answer, notwithstanding that, my meaning was, not to have anything without exchange of merchandise. This they promised they would do; and, in very deed, the very same evening, his wife, accompanied with all the women of the village, came unto the river's brink, and cried unto me to enter into the bark, to see her husband and her son, which I held both prisoners. I discovered, the next day, five or six hundred Indian archers, which drew near unto the river side, and came to me, to signify unto me how that, during the absence of their king, their enemy, POTANOU, being thereof advertised, was entered into their village, and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succor them; nevertheless, in the meanwhile, they had one part of their troop in ambush, with intent to set upon me if I had come on land—which was easy for me to discern; for, seeing that I refused to do so, they greatly doubted that they

were discovered, and sought, by all means, to remove out of 1564.
my mind that evil opinion which I had conceived of them.
They brought me, therefore, fish, in their little boats, and of
their meal of mast; they made, also, of their drink, which they
called *casine*, which they sent to UTINA and me.

CHAPTER XIV.

1564.



O W, albeit that I had gotten this point of them, that I held their king prisoner, yet, nevertheless, I could not get any great quantity of victuals, for the present. The reason was—because they thought that, after I had drawn victuals from them, I would put their king to death; for they measured my will according to their custom, whereby they put to death all the men-prisoners that they take in war. And thus, being out of all hope of his liberty, they assembled themselves in the great house, and, having called all the people together, they proposed the election of a new king, at which time the father-in-law of UTINA set one of the king's young sons upon the royal throne, and took such pains, that every man did him homage by the major part of the voices. This election had like to have been the cause of great troubles among them; for there was a kinsman of the king, near adjoining, which pretended a title to the kingdom—and, indeed, he had gotten one part of the subjects. Notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect—forasmuch, as by a common consent of the chiefs, it was con-

sulted (and concluded) that the son was more meet to succeed 1564.
the father than any other. Now, all this while, I kept UTINA
with me, to whom I had given some of mine apparel to
clothe him, as I had likewise done unto his son. But his sub-
jects, which, before, had an opinion that I would have killed
him, being advertised of the good entertainment which I used
toward him, sent two men, which walked along the river,
and came to visit him, and brought us some victuals. These
two men, at their coming, were received by me with all
courtesy, and entertained according to the victuals which I had.
While these things passed, there arrived, from all quarters, many
savages of the country adjoining, which came to see UTINA, and
sought, by all means, to persuade me to put him to death—
offering, that if I would do so, they would take order that I
should want no victuals. There was, also, a king, my neigh-
bor, whose name was SATOURIOUA—a subtle and crafty man,
and one that showed, by proof, that he was greatly practised in
affairs. This king sent, ordinarily, messengers unto me, to
pray me to deliver UTINA unto him; and, to win me the more
easily, he sent, twice, seven or eight baskets of maize or of
mast, thinking, by this way, to allure me, and to make me
come to composition with him. In the end, notwithstanding,
when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visit me with
embassies and victuals. In the meanwhile, I was not able,
with the same store of victuals which I had, so well to pro-
portion out the travel upon the ships which we built to return
into France; but that, in the end, we were constrained to
endure extreme famine, which continued among us all the

1564. month of May; for, in this latter season, neither maize, nor beans, nor mast, was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sow their fields, insomuch that we were constrained to eat roots, which the most part of our men pounded in the mortars (which I had brought with me to beat gunpowder in), and the grain which came to us from other places. Some took the wood of *esquine*, beat it, and made meal thereof, which they boiled with water, and eat it; others went, with their harquebuses, to seek to kill some fowl. Yea, this misery was so great, that one was found that gathered up, among the filth of my house, all the fish-bones that he could find, which he dried, and beat into powder, to make bread thereof.

The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among us, for our bones soon began to cleave so near unto the skin, that the most part of the soldiers had their skins pierced through with them, in many parts of their bodies, in such sort, that, my greatest fear was, lest the Indians would rise up against us, considering that it would have been very hard for us to have defended ourselves in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarcity of all victuals, which failed us all at once; for the very river had not such plenty of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against us. Now, as we were thus upon terms of despair, about the end of the month of May and the beginning of June, I was advertised, by certain Indians, that were my neighbors, that, in the high country above the river, there was new maize, and that that country was most forward of all. This caused

me to take upon me to go thither with a certain number of 1564.
my men; and I went up the river, to a place called *Enecaque*,
where I met the sister of UTINA, in a village, where she made
us very good cheer, and sent us fish. We found that which was
told us to be true, for the maize was now ripe; but, by this
good luck, one shrewd turn happened unto me. For the most
part of my soldiers fell sick with eating more of it than their
weakened stomachs could digest. We had, also, been the space
of four days, since we departed from our fort, without eating
anything, saving little *pinocks*, and a little fish, which we got
of the fishers, which we met sometimes along the river; and
yet, this was so little, that, certain soldiers, eat privily, little
whelps, which were newly whelped. The next day, I pur-
posed to go into the *Isle of Edelano*, to take the king, which had
caused one of my men to be slain, as I have mentioned before;
but, being advertised of my departing out of my fort, and of
the way which I took up the river, he feared that I went forth
with a purpose to be revenged of the evil turn which he played;
so that, when I came thither, I found the houses empty; for he
was retired a little before, with all his people, and I could not,
by any means, keep my soldiers being angry, because they had
lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire.
At my departure from thence, I passed back again by *Enecaque*,
where I gathered as much maize as I could possibly; which,
with great diligence, I conveyed to our fort, to succor my poor
men, which I had left in great necessity. They, therefore,
seeing me afar off coming, ran to that side of the river where
they thought I would come on land; for hunger so pinched

1564. them to the heart, that they could not stay until the victuals were brought them to the fort. And that, they well showed, as soon as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maize among them, which I had given to each man before I came out of the bark, for they eat it before they had taken it out of the husk. But, seeing myself in this extreme need, I took pains, day by day, to seek some villages where there was some food; and, as I travelled, this way and that way, it happened that two of my carpenters were killed by the two sons of King EMOLA, and by one, whose name was CASTI, as they went on walking to the village called *Athore*. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refrain themselves, as they walked through the fields, from gathering a little maize, which, as they were doing, they were taken in the manner, whereof I was presently advertised by an Indian, which, a little before, had brought me a present from NIA CUBACANI, queen of a village, and neighbor to our fort. Upon receipt of this advertisement, I sent my serjeant, with a number of soldiers, which found nothing else but the two dead corpses, which they buried, and returned, without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foul act. As these things thus passed, and that, by this time, we had almost driven out the month of May, two subjects of King UTINA came unto me, with an hermaphrodite, which showed me that, by this time, the maize was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon UTINA signified unto me, that, in case I would carry him home to his house, he would take such good order that I should have plenty of

maize and beans; and, withal, that the field which he had caused to be sown for me, should be reserved to my use. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found, by the advice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying, that he had means to succor us, with food sufficient to serve our turns for our embarkment, and that, therefore, I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I caused the two barks to be forthwith made ready, wherein I sailed to *Patia*, a place distant from his village eight or nine leagues, where I found nobody, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not show themselves; albeit, *UTINA* showed himself unto them, forasmuch as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But, seeing nobody to show themselves, I was constrained to hazard one of my men, which had been acquainted with the state of the country, to whom I delivered the young son of *UTINA*, and commanded him to go, with diligence, to the village of *UTINA*, unto his father-in-law, and his wife, to advertise them, that, if they would have their king again, they should bring me victuals unto the side of the little river, whither I was gone. At my man's coming, every one made much of the little child, neither was there a man that thought not himself well afraid to touch him.

His father-in-law and his wife, hearing of these news, came presently towards our barks, and brought bread, which they gave unto my soldiers. They held me there three days, and, in the meanwhile, did all that they could to take me, which, presently, I discovered, and, therefore, stood diligently upon my guard. Wherefore, perceiving they could not have their pur-

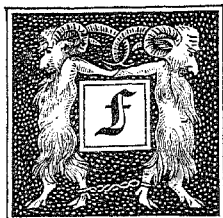
1564.

1564. pose, and that they were already discovered, they sent to advertise me that, as yet, they could not help me to victuals, and that the corn was not yet ripe. Thus, I was constrained to return, and to carry back UTINA home, where I had much ado to save him from the rage of my soldiers, which, perceiving the maliciousness of the Indians, went about to have murdered him. Moreover, it seemed they were content that they had gotten the son, and that they cared not greatly for the father. Now, my hope failing me on this side, I devised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maize was, by this time, ripe. I went to divers places, and continued so doing fifteen days, when, as UTINA besought me, again, to send him unto his village, assuring himself that his subjects would not stick to give me victuals; and that, in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I undertook this voyage the second time, with the two barks, furnished as before. At my coming unto the little river, we found his subjects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantity of bread, beans, and fish, to give my soldiers. Nevertheless, returning again to their former practice, they sought all means to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king if they might have gotten the victory of me. But, after that they saw the small means which they had to annoy me, they returned to entreaties, and offered that, if I would give them their king, with certain of my soldiers, they would conduct them unto the village, and that, the subjects seeing him, would be more willing to give us victuals. Which thing, notwithstanding, I would not grant

unto them (mistrusting their subtlety, which was not so covert 1564.
but that one might espy day at a little hole), until they had first
given me two men in pledge, with charge, that, by the next
day, they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted,
and gave me two men, which I put in chains, for fear they
*should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to do.

CHAPTER XV.

1564.



OUR days were spent in these conferences, at the end, whereof, they declared unto me, that they could not fully and wholly perform their promise; and that the uttermost that they could do, for the present, was to cause each subject to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to do so, on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten days. As my lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him, above all things, to take heed he fall not into the Indians' hands, because I knew them to be very subtle and crafty to enterprise and execute anything to our disadvantage. He departed, therefore, with his troop, and came to the small river whereunto we were accustomed to enter, to approach as near as we could unto the village of UTINA, being six French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew straight towards the great house that was the king's, where the chief men of the country were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought—now one, and then another; in doing, whereof, they spent, notwithstanding, three

or four days, in which, meanwhile, they gathered men together to set upon us in our retreat. They used many means, therefore, to hold us still in breath. For one, while they demanded their pledges—another, while (seeing my lieutenant would not yield unto them until such time as they had brought the victuals unto the boats, according to the agreement passed between us) they signified unto him that the women and young children were afraid, out of all measure, to see fire in their matches so near their harquebuses; and that, therefore, they most earnestly besought them to put them out; that they might more easily get people enough to carry the victuals; and that they, for their parts, would leave their bows and arrows, and would be contented that their servants should carry them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former; for it was an easy matter to smell out their intention. But, while these things were thus in handling, *UTINA*, by no means to be seen, had hid and kept himself secret in a little house apart, where certain chosen men of mine went to see him—showing themselves agrieved with him for the long delays of his subjects. Whereunto he answered, that his subjects were so much incensed against us, that, by no means possible was he able to keep them in such obedience as he willingly would have done, and that he could not hold them from waging of war against *M. DE OTTIGNI*. That he, also, called to mind, that even while he was prisoner, at what time our men led him into his country to obtain some victuals, he saw, all along the highways, arrows stuck up, at the ends, whereof, long hairs were fastened, which was a certain sign of open war proclaimed, which arrows

1564.

1564. the captain, also, carried with him to the fort. He said, further, that, in respect of the good will he bare to the captain, he forewarned his lieutenant that his subjects were determined to cut down the trees, and cause them to fall athwart the little river, where the boats were, to keep them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease; and that, if it thus fell out, he assured him, for his part, he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspicion of war was, that, as my messengers departed from UTINA, they heard the voice of one of my men, which, during the voyage, had always been among the Indians, and whom, as yet, they would never render until they had gotten their pledges home. This poor fellow cried out amain, because two Indians would have carried him into the woods to have cut his throat, whereupon he was succored, and delivered. These admonitions being well understood, after ripe deliberation thereof, M. DE OTTIGNI resolved to retire himself the 27th day of July; wherefore, he set his soldiers in order, and delivered, to each of them, a sack full of mill, and, afterward, he marched toward his barks, thinking to prevent the enterprise of the savages. There is, at the coming forth of the village, a great alley, about three or four hundred paces long, which is covered, on both sides, with great trees; my lieutenant disposed his men in this alley, and set them in such order as they desired to march; for he was well assured that, if there were any ambush, it would be at the coming out of the trees. Therefore, he caused M. DE ARLAC, mine ensign, to march somewhat before, with eight harquebusiers, to discover if there were any danger; besides, he com-

manded one of my serjeants and corporals to march on the outside of the alley, with four harquebusiers, while he, himself, conducted the rest of his company through it. Now, as he suspected, so it fell out; for M. DE ARLAC met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted us with an infinite number of their arrows, and, with such fury, that it was easy to see with what desire they sought to charge us. Howbeit, they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine ensign gave them, that they which fell down dead did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained alive. This done, my lieutenant hastened to gain ground, in such sort as I have already said. 1564.

After he had marched about four hundred paces, he was charged afresh, with a new troop of savages, which were, in number, about three hundred, which assailed him before, while the rest of the former set upon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustained, that, I may justly say, that Monsieur DE OTTIGNI so well discharged his duty as was possible for a good captain to do. And so it stood them; for he had to deal with such kind of men as knew well how to fight, and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knew so well to behave themselves in this conflict, as, if OTTIGNI had not prevented their practice, he had been in danger to have been defeated. Their manner in this fight was, that, when two hundred had shot, they retired themselves, and gave place to the rest that were behind; and, all the while, had their eye and foot so quick and ready, that, as soon as ever they saw the harquebuse laid to the cheek, so soon were they on the

1564. ground, as soon up, to answer with their bows, and to fight their way, if, by chance, they perceived we went about to take them; for there is nothing that they feared so much because of our swords and daggers. This conflict continued, and lasted from nine of the clock in the morning until the night departed them. And, if OTTIGNI had not bethought himself to cause his men to break the arrows which they found in the way, and so to deprive the savages of the means to begin again, without all doubt he should have had very much to do; for, by this means, they lacked arrows, and so were constrained to retire themselves. During the time of the conflict, they cried, and made signs, that they were the captain's and lieutenant's friends, and that they fought for none other cause but to be revenged on the soldiers, which were their mortal enemies. My lieutenant being come unto his boats, took a review of his company, and found two men wanting, which were killed, of whom the one was called JAMES SALE, and the other's name was MESUREUR. He found, moreover, twenty-two of them wounded, which, with much ado, he caused to be brought unto the boats. All the mill that he found among his company, came but to two men's burden, which he divided equally among them; for, as soon as the conflict began, every man was constrained to leave his sack to put his hand to his weapon.

In this, meanwhile, I remained at the fort, and caused every man diligently to travel, hoping that my lieutenant would bring us victuals; but, seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured, immediately. American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org ing, therefore, mine

hope frustrated on that side, I made my prayer unto God, and 1564.
thanked him of his grace which he had shown unto my poor
soldiers which were escaped. Afterward, I thought upon new
means to obtain victuals, as well for our return into France, as
to drive out the time until our embarking. I was advertised,
by certain of our company, which usually went on hunting into
the woods and through the villages, that in the village *Saurabi*,
situated on the other side of the river, and two leagues dis-
tant from the fort, and in the village *Emola*, there were fields
wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was, thereof,
in those parts, in great abundance. Wherefore, I caused my
boats to be made ready, and sent my serjeant thither, with
certain soldiers, which used such diligence, that we had good
store of mill. I sent, also, to the river, which the savages call
Iracana, named, by Captain RIBAUT, the river of *Somme*,
where Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant arrived, with two
boats, and their ordinary furniture, and found, there, a great as-
sembly of the lords of the country, among whom was *ATHORE*,
the son of *SATOURIOUA*, *APALOU*, and *TACADOCOROU*, which
were there assembled to make merry; because that, in this
place, are the fairest maids and women of the villages. Where-
upon, the boats were forthwith laden with mill, after they had
made our men as good cheer as they could devise. The queen
sent me two small mats, so artificially wrought, as it was impos-
sible to make better. Now, finding ourselves by this means
sufficiently furnished with victuals, we began, each of us in his
place, to travel, and use such diligence as the desire to see our
native country might move us; but, because two of our car-

1564. penters were slain by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned), JOHN DE HAIS, master-carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired unto me, and told me that, by reason or want of men, he was not able to make me up the ship against the time that he had promised me, which speech caused such a mutiny among the soldiers, that very hardly he escaped killing; howbeit, I appeased them as well as I could, and determined to work no more, from thenceforth, upon the ship, but to content to repair the brigantine which I had. So we began to beat down all the houses that were without the fort, and caused coal to be made of the timber thereof; likewise, the soldiers beat down the palisade which was toward the water-side, neither was I ever able to keep them from doing it. I had also determined to beat down the fort before my departure, and to set it on fire, for fear lest some new-come guest should have enjoyed and possessed it.

In the meanwhile, there was none of us to whom it was not an extreme grief to leave a country wherein we had endured so great travails and necessities, to discover that which we must forsake, through our own countrymen's default. For, if we had been succored in time and place, and, according to the promise that was made unto us, the war, which was between us and UTINA, had not fallen out; neither should we have had occasion to offend the Indians, which, with all the pains in the world, I entertained in good amity, as well with merchandise and apparel as with promise of greater matters; and, with whom I so behaved myself, that, although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not

the alliance of eight kings and lords, my neighbors, which continually succored and aided me with whatsoever they were able to afford. Yea, this was the principal scope of all my purposes, to win and entertain them, knowing how greatly their amity might advance our enterprise, and, principally, while I discovered the commodities of the country, and sought to strengthen myself therein. I leave it to your cogitation to think how near it went to our hearts to leave a place abounding in riches (as we were thoroughly informed thereof), in coming whereunto, and doing service unto our Prince, we left our own country, wives, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea, and were therein arrived, as in a plentiful treasure of all our hearts desire. As each of us were much tormented in mind with these, or such like cogitations, the third of August, I descried four sails in the sea as I walked upon a little hill, whereof I was exceedingly well repaid. I sent, immediately, one of them which were with me, to advertise those of the fort, thereof, which were so glad of these news, that one would have thought them to be out of their wits, to see them laugh and leap for joy.

After these ships had cast anchor, we descried that they sent one of their boats to land, whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed, with diligence, to send to meet them, and to know who they were. In the meanwhile, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my soldiers in order, and in readiness, attending the return of Captain VASSEUR and my lieutenant, which were gone to meet them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen; and, in truth, they had, in their com-

1564.

1564. pany one, whose name was MARTINE ANTINAS, of *Dieppe*, which, at that time, was in their service, which, on the behalf of Master JOHN HAWKINS, their general, came to request me that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great need, signifying unto me that they had been above fifteen days on the coast to get some. He brought unto me, from the general, two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheat, which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as, for seven months' space, I never tasted a drop of wine; nevertheless, it was all divided among the greatest part of my soldiers. This MARTINE ANTINAS had guided the Englishmen unto our coast, wherewith he was acquainted; for, in the year 1562, he came thither with me, and, therefore, the general sent him to me. Therefore, after I had granted his request, he signified the same unto the general, which, the next day following, caused one of his small ships to enter into the river, and came to see me, in a great ship-boat, accompanied with gentlemen, honorably appareled, yet unarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute, thereof, to every one. On my part, I made him the best cheer I could possibly, and caused certain sheep and poultry to be killed, which, until this present time, I had carefully preserved, hoping to store the country withal; for, notwithstanding all the necessities and sickness that happened unto me. I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed, by which means, in a short time, I had gathered together above a hundred pullets. Now, three days passed, while the English general remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me

whether he were my brother ; I told them he was so, and signified unto them that he was come to see me, and aid me with 1564.
so great store of victuals, that, from thenceforth, I should have no need to take anything of them. The bruit, hereof, incontinently, was spread over all the country, in such sort, as ambassadors came unto me from all parts, which, on the behalf of the kings, their masters, desired to make alliance with me; and even they, which before sought to make war against me, came to offer their friendship and service unto me, whereupon I received them, and gratified them with certain presents. The general immediately understood the desire and urgent occasion which I had to return into France, whereupon he offered to transport me and all my company home; whereunto, notwithstanding, I would not agree, being in doubt upon what occasion he made so large an offer; for I knew not how the case stood between the French and the English; and, although he promised me, on his faith, to put me on land in France, before he would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt, lest he would attempt somewhat in Florida, in the name of his mistress; wherefore I flatly refused his offer. Whereupon there arose a great mutiny among my soldiers, which said, that I sought to destroy them all, and that the brigantine, whereof I spake before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the year wherein we were. The bruit and mutiny increased more and more; for, after that the general was returned to his ships, he told certain gentlemen and soldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheer with him; he declared, I say, unto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to

1564. pass safely in those vessels which we had, and that, in case we should enterprise the same, we should, no doubt, be in great jeopardy; notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leave me a small ship to transport the rest. The soldiers were no sooner come home but they signified the offer unto their companions, which incontinently consented together, that, in case I would not accept the same, they would embark themselves with him, and forsake me, so that he would receive them, according to his promise. They, therefore, assembled themselves all together, and came to seek me in my chamber, and signified unto me their intention, whereunto I promised to answer within one hour after. In which, meanwhile, I gathered together the principal members of my company, which, after I had broken the matter with them, answered me, all with one voice, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor condemn the occasion which presented itself; and that they could not think evil of it in France, if, being forsaken as we were, we aided ourselves with such means as GOD had sent us.

After sundry debates of this matter, in conclusion, I gave my advice: that we ought to deliver him the price of the ship, which he was to leave us; and that, for my part, I was content to give him the best of my stuff, and the silver which I had gathered in the country. Whereupon, notwithstanding it was determined that I should keep the silver, for fear lest the Queen of England, seeing the same, should the rather be encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired; that it was far better to carry it into France, to give encouragement unto our

princes not to leave off an enterprise of so great importance for 1564.
our commonwealth; and that, seeing we were resolved to depart, it was far better to give him our artillery—which, otherwise, we should be constrained to leave behind us, or to hide it in the ground, by reason of the weakness of our men—being not able to embark the same. This point being thus concluded, and resolved on, I went, myself, unto the English general, accompanied with my lieutenant, and Captain VERDIER, and TRENCHANT, the pilot, and my serjeant—all men of experience in such affairs, and knowing sufficiently how to drive such a bargain. We, therefore, took a view of the ship which the general would sell, whom we drew to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine own men's judgment, who esteemed it to be worth seven hundred crowns; whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore, I delivered him, in earnest of the sum, two *bastards*, two *mynions*, one thousand of iron, and one thousand of powder. This bargain thus made, he considered the necessity wherein we were—having for all our sustenance but mill and water: whereupon, being moved with pity, he offered to relieve me with twenty barrels of meal, six pipes of beans, one hogshead of salt, and a hundred of wax, to make candles. Moreover, forasmuch as he saw my soldiers go barefoot, he offered me, besides, fifty pairs of shoes, which I accepted, and agreed of a price with him, and gave him a bill of mine hand for the same; for which, until this present, I am indebted to him. He did more than this; for, particularly, he bestowed upon myself a great jar of oil, a jar of vinegar, a barrel of olives, and a great quantity of rice, and a barrel of

1564. white biscuit; besides, he gave divers presents to the principal officers of my company, according to their qualities, so that, I may say, we received as many courtesies of the general as it was possible to receive of any man living; wherein, doubtless, he hath won the reputation of a good and charitable man, deserving to be esteemed as much, of us all, as if he had saved all our lives. Incontinent after his departure, I spared no pains to hasten my men to make biscuits of their meal which he had left me, and to hoop my cask, to take in water needful for the voyage. A man may well think what diligence we used, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well, that, the fifteenth day of August, the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, and all the soldiers' stuff, was brought aboard, so that, from that day forward, we did nothing but stay for good winds to drive us into France, which had freed us from an infinite number of mischiefs, which, afterward, we suffered, if they had come as we desired; but it was not God's good pleasure, as shall appear hereafter.

Being thus in a readiness to set sail, we bethought ourselves that it would do well to bring certain men and women of the country into France, to the end that, if this voyage should be taken in hand again, they might declare unto their kings the greatness of our king, the excellency of our princes, the goodness of our country, and the manner of living of the Frenchmen; and that they might also learn our language, to serve our turns thereby, in time to come; wherein I took so good order, that I found means to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the country, if our intentions had succeeded, as I hoped

they would have done. In the mean season, the kings, my 1564.
neighbors, came often to see and visit me, which, after they
understood that I would retire into France, demanded of me
whether I meant to return again, or no, and whether it should
be in short time. I signified unto them that, within ten
moons (so they call their months), I would visit them again,
with such force, that I would be able to make them conquerors
over all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leave
them my house, that I would forbid my soldiers to beat down
the fort and their lodgings, and that I would leave them a boat
to aid them, withal, in their war against their enemies; which
I made as though I would grant unto them, to the end, I might
always remain their friend until my last departure.

CHAPTER XVI.

THIRD EXPEDITION, COMMANDED BY M. RIBAUT.

1564.



S I was thus occupied in these conferences, the wind and the tide served well to set sail—which was the eighth and twentieth of August; at which instant, Captain VASSEUR, which commanded in one of my ships, and Captain VERDIER, which was chief in the other—now ready to go forth, began to descry certain sails at sea, whereof they advertised me, with diligence; whereupon I appointed to arm forth a boat, in good order, to go to descry and know what they were. I sent, also, to the sentinels—which I caused to be kept on a little nap—to cause certain men to climb up to the top of the highest trees, the better to discover them. They descried the great boat of the ships, which, as yet, they could not perfectly discern—which, as far as they could judge, seemed to chase my boat, which, by this time, was passed the bar of the river, so that we could not possibly judge whether they were enemies, which would have carried her away with them; for it was too great a ken to

judge the truth, thereof. Upon this doubt, I put my men in order, and in such array as though they had been enemies ; and, indeed, I had great occasion to mistrust the same, for my boat came unto their ship, about two of the clock in the afternoon, and sent me no news all that day long, to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day, in the morning, about eight or nine of the clock, I saw seven boats (among which mine own was one), full of soldiers, enter into the river, having every man his harquebuse in his hand, and morion on his head, which marched all in battle, along the cliffs, where my sentinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answer, notwithstanding all the demands that were made unto them ; insomuch as one of my soldiers was constrained to bestow a shot at them, without doing hurt, nevertheless, to any of them, by reason of the distance between him and the boats. The report, hereof, being made unto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend ourselves, if they had been enemies, as, in truth, we thought them to have been ; likewise, I caused the two small field-pieces, which I had left me, to be trimmed, in such sort, as if approaching to the fort, that if they had not cried out that it was Captain RIBAULT, I had not failed to have discharged the same upon them.

1564.

Afterward, I understood that the cause why they entered in this manner proceeded of the false reports which had been made unto my lord admiral by those which were returned into France in the first ships ; for they had put in his head that I had played the lord and the king, and that I would hardly suffer that any other, save myself, should enter in thither to govern

1564. there. Thus, we see how the good name of the most honest is, oftentimes, assailed by such as, having no means to win themselves credit by virtuous and laudable endeavors, think, by debasing of other men's virtues, to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which, nevertheless, is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of war which are placed in government; for it is very hard, yea, utterly impossible that, in governing of a company of men gathered out of divers places and sundry nations, and, namely, such as we know them to be in our wars—it is, I say, impossible but there will be always some of evil conditions, and hard to be ruled, which easily conceived an hatred against him, which, by admonitions and light corrections, endeavoreth to reduce them to the discipline of war; for they seek nothing else but for a small occasion, grounded upon a light pretext, to sound into the ears of great lords that which, mischievously, they have contrived against those whose execution of justice is odious unto them. And, albeit, I will not place myself in the rank of great and renowned captains, such as lived in times passed, yet, we may judge by their examples how hurtful back-biters have been unto commonwealths. I will only take ALCIBIADES for witness, in the Commonwealth of the *Athenians*, which, by this means, was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefs, insomuch, as, in the end, they were constrained to call him home again, and acknowledge, at length, the fault they had committed in forgetting his good services, and rather believing a false report than having had regard unto so

many notable exploits which, in former time, he had achieved. 1564.
But that I lose not myself in digressing so far in this, my justification, I will return again to my first course.

Being, therefore, advertised that it was Captain RIBAUT, I went forth of the fort to meet him; and, to do him all the honor I could by any means, I caused him to be welcomed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot, whereunto he answered with his. Afterward, being come on shore, and received honorably with joy, I brought him to my lodging, rejoicing not a little, because that, in this company, I knew a good number of my friends, which I entreated, in the best sort that I was able, with such victuals as I could get in the country, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English general. Howbeit, I marvelled not a little, when, as all of them, with one voice, began to utter unto me, these, or the like speeches: "My Captain, we praise God that we have found you alive; and chiefly, because we know that the reports which have been made of you are false." These speeches moved me, in such sort, that I would needs, out of hand, know more, mistrusting some evil. Wherefore, having accosted Captain JOHN RIBAUT, and, going both of us aside out of the fort, he signified unto me the charge which he had, praying me not to return into France, but to stay with him, myself and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replied, that, out of this place, I would do him all service; that, for the present, I could not, nor ought not accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent than to occupy the place which I before possessed, and

1564. that I could have no credit to be there commanded; that my friends would never like of it, and that he would hardly give me that counsel, if, in good earnest, I should demand his advice therein. He made me answer, that he would not command me that we should be companions, and that he would build another fortress, and that he would leave mine own unto me. This, notwithstanding, I fully advertised him, that I could not receive a greater comfort than the news which he brought me to return into France; and, further, that, though I should stay there, yet, it must needs be, that one of us both was to command, with the title of the King's lieutenant; that this could not well agree together; that I had rather have it cast in my teeth, to be the poorest beggar in the world, than to be commanded in that place where I had endured so much to inhabit and plant there, if it were not by some great lord or king of the order; and that, in these respects, I prayed him, very heartily, to deliver me the letters which my Lord Admiral had written unto me, which he performed.

The contents of these letters were these :

"Captain LAUDONNIÈRE, because some of them which are returned from Florida speak indifferently of the country, the King desireth your presence, to the end that, according to your trial, he may resolve to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leave it; and, therefore, I send Captain JOHN RIBAUT to be governor there, to whom you shall deliver whatsoever you have in charge, and inform him of all things you have discovered."

And, in a postscript of the letter, was thus written :

"Think not that, whereas I send for you, it is for any evil opinion, or mistrust that I have for you, but that it is for your good, and for your credit; and assure yourself that, during my life, you shall find me your good master,

"CHASTILLON."

Now, after I had long discoursed with Captain RIBAUT, 1564.
Captain LA GRANGE accosted me, and told me of an infinite
number of false reports which had been made of me, to my
great hindrance; and, among other things, he informed me that
my Lord Admiral took it very evil that I had carried a woman
with me; likewise, that somebody had told him that I went
about to counterfeit the King, and to play the tyrant; that I
was too cruel unto the men that went with me; that I thought
to be advanced by other means than by my Lord Admiral, and
that I had written to many lords of the Court, which I ought
not to have done. Whereunto I answered, that the woman
was a poor chambermaid, which I had taken up in an inn, to
oversee my household business, to look to an infinite sort of
divers beasts—as sheep and poultry, which I carried over with
me to store the country withal; that it was not meet to put a
man to attend this business; likewise, considering the length of
the time that I was to abide there, methought it should not
offend anybody to take a woman with me, as well to help my
soldiers in their sickness as in mine own, whereinto I fell after-
ward. And how necessary her service was for us, each one, at
that time, might easily perceive. That all my men thought so
well of her, that, at one instant, there were six or seven which
did demand her of me in marriage, as, in very deed, one of
them had her, after our return. Touching that which was
said, that I played the king, these reports were made because I
would not bear with anything which was against the duty of
my charge, and the King's service. Moreover, that, in such
enterprises, it is necessary for a governor to make himself

1564. known and obeyed, for fear lest everybody would become a master, perceiving themselves far from greater forces; and that, if the tale-tellers called this rigor, it rather proceeded of their disobedience, than of my nature, less subject to cruelty than they were to rebellion. For the two last points, that I had not written to any of the lords of the court but by the advice and commandment of my Lord Admiral, which willed me, at my departure, to send part of such things as I should find in the country unto the lords of the council, to the end that, being moved by this means, they might deal with the Queen Mother for the continuance of this enterprise; that, having been so small time in the country, continually hindered with building of fortresses, and unloading of my ships, I was not able to come by any new or rare things to send them; whereupon I thought it best to content them, in the meanwhile, with letters, until such time as I might have longer space to search out the country, and might recover something to send them; the distribution of which letters, I meant not otherwise but to refer to my Lord Admiral's good pleasure; and that, if the bearer had forgot himself so far as that he had broken the covering of the letters, and presented them himself for hope of gain, it was not my commandment. And that I never honored nobleman so much, nor did to any man more willing and faithful service than to my Lord Admiral, nor ever sought advancement but by his means. You see how things passed for this day.

The next day, the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were; to whom I signified that this was he, which, in the year 1562, arrived in this country, and erected

the pillar which stood at the entry of the river. Some of them 1564. knew him; for, in truth, he was easy to be known, by reason of the great beard which he wore. He received many presents of them which were of the villages near adjoining, among whom there were some that he had not yet forgotten. The Kings HOMOLOA, SARAUAHI, ALIMACANI, MALICA, and CASTI, came to visit him, and welcome him with divers gifts, according to their manner. I advertised them that he was sent thither by the King of France, to remain there in my room, and that I was sent for. Then they demanded, and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that he had brought with him to be delivered them; and that, in a few days, they would bring him to the mountains of Apalatcy, whither they had promised to conduct me; and that, in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In those mountains, as they said, is found red copper, which they call, in their language, *Sieroa Pira*, which is as much as to say, red metal, whereof I had a piece, which, at the very instant, I showed to Captain RIBAUT, which caused his gold finer to make an essay thereof, which reported unto him that it was perfect gold. About the time of these conferences, communings, and goings of the kings of the country, being weakened with my former travel, and fallen into a melancholy upon the false reports that had been made of me, I fell into a great continual fever, which held me eight or nine days, during which time Captain RIBAUT caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my lieutenant had built, about two hundred paces

1564. without the fort; which he did, to the end they might be the better defended from the weather, and, likewise, to the intent that the meal might be nearer to the bakehouse, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to avoid the danger of the fire, as I said before. But, lo! how oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue us, even when we think to be at rest! Lo! see what happened after that Capt. RIBAULT had brought up three of his small ships into the river, which was the 4th of September. Six great Spanish ships arrived in the road, where four of our greatest ships remained, which cast anchor, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chief captains of the enterprise did, and called them all by their names and surnames. I report me to you, if it could be otherwise; but these men, before they went out of Spain, must needs be informed of the enterprise, and of those that were to execute the same. About the break of day, they began to make toward our men; but our men, which trusted them never a deal, had hoisted their sails by night, being ready to cut the strings that tied them; wherefore, perceiving that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to do them any pleasure, and, knowing well that their furniture was too small to make head against them, because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their anchors, and set sail. The Spaniards, seeing themselves discovered, lent them certain volleys of their great ordnance, made sail after them, and chased them all day long; but our men got way of them still toward the sea. And the Spaniards, seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French ships were better of sail than theirs,

and also, because they would not leave the coast, turned back, 1564.
and went on shore, in the river *Seloy*, which we call the *River of Dolphins*, eight or ten leagues distant from the place where we were. Our men, therefore, finding themselves better of sail than they, followed them, to descry what they did; which, after they had done, they returned unto the *River of May*, where, Captain RIBAUT having descried them, embarked himself in a great boat, to know what news they had. Being at the entrance of the river, he met with the boat of Captain CONSEL's ship, wherein there was a good number of men, which made relation unto him of all the Spaniards' doings; and how the great ship, named *Trinity*, had kept the sea, and that she was not returned with them. They told him, moreover, that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the *River of Dolphins*, and the other three remained in the road; farther, that they had put their soldiers, their victuals, and munitions on land.

After he understood these news, he returned to the fortress, and came to my chamber, where I was sick; and there, in the presence of Captains LA GRANGE, ST. MARIE, OTTIGNI, VISTY, YONOUILLE, and other gentlemen, he propounded that it was necessary, for the King's service, to embark himself, with all his forces, and, with the three ships that were in the road, to seek the Spanish fleet; whereupon, he asked our advice. I first replied, and showed unto him the consequence of such an enterprise, advertising him, among other things, of the perilous flaws of wind that rise on this coast; and that, if it chanced that he were driven from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recover it again, and that, in the meanwhile, they

1564. which should stay in the fort should be in fear and danger.

The Captains ST. MARIE and LA GRANGE declared unto him, further, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise in execution; that it was far better to keep the land, and do their best endeavor to fortify themselves; and that, after the *Trinity* (which was the principal ship) were returned, there would be much more likelihood to enterprise this voyage. This, notwithstanding, he resolved to undertake it; and that which more is, after he understood, by King EMOLA, one of our neighbors, which arrived, upon the handling of these matters, that the Spaniards, in great numbers, were gone on shore, which had taken possession of the houses of *Seloy*, in the most part, whereof, they had placed their negroes, which they had brought to labor, and also lodged themselves, and had cast divers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had—and, doubting (as he might well do) that the Spaniards would encamp themselves there, to molest us, and, in the end, to chase us out of the country, he resolved, and continued in his embarkment, caused a proclamation to be made, that all soldiers that were under his charge should, presently, with their weapons, embark them, and that his two ensigns should march; which was put in execution.

He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my lieutenant, mine ensign, and my serjeant, and to let all the good soldiers which I had go with him—which I denied him; because, myself being sick, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon, he answered me, that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would return the morrow after; that, in the mean-

while, M. DE Lys should stay behind, to look to all things. 1564.
Then I showed unto him that he was chief in this country, and that I, for my part, had no further authority; that, therefore, he would take good advisement what he did, for fear lest some inconvenience might ensue. Then he told me that he could do no less than to continue this enterprise; and that in the letter which he had received from my Lord Admiral, there was a postscript, which he showed me, written in these words:

"Captain JOHN RIBAUT, as I was enclosing of this letter, I received a certain advice, that Don PEDRO MELENDES departeth from Spain, to go to the coast of *New France*. See you that you suffer him not to encroach upon you, no more than he would that you should encroach upon him."

"You see," quoth he, "the charge that I have; and I leave it unto yourself to judge if you could do any less in this case, considering the certain advertisement that we have, that they are already on land, and will invade us."

This stopped my mouth. Thus, therefore, confirmed, or rather, obstinate in this enterprise, and having regard rather unto his particular opinion than unto the advertisements which I had given him, and the inconveniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himself the 8th of September, and took mine ensign and thirty-eight of my men away with him. I report me to those that know what wars mean, if, when an ensign marcheth, any soldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind to forsake his ensign. Thus no man of commandment staid behind with me, for each one followed him as chief, in whose name, straight after his arrival, all cries and proclamations were made. Captain LA GRANGE, which

1564. liked not very well of this enterprise, was, unto the 10th of the month, with me, and would not have gone aboard if it had not been for the instant requests Captain RIBAULT had made unto him, which staid two days in the road attending, until LA GRANGE was come unto him, who, being come aboard, they set sail altogether, and, from that time forward, I never saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the 10th of September, there rose so great a tempest, accompanied with such storms, that, the Indians themselves assured me, it was the worst weather that ever was seen on the coast; whereupon, two or three days after, fearing lest our ships might be in some distress, I sent for M. DE LYS unto me, to take order to assemble the rest of our people, to declare unto them what need we had to fortify ourselves, which was done accordingly; and then I gave them to understand the necessity and inconveniences whereinto we were like to fall, as well by the absence of our ships as by the nearness of the Spaniards, at whose hands we could look for no less than an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing they had taken land, and fortified themselves so near unto us; and, if any misfortune were fallen unto our men which were at sea, we ought to make a full account with ourselves that we were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many ways afflicted as we were. Thus every one promised me to take pains, and, therefore, considering that their proportion of victuals was small, and that, so continuing, they would not be able to do any great work, I augmented their allowance; although that, after the arrival of Captain RIBAULT, my portion of victuals was allotted unto me as unto a

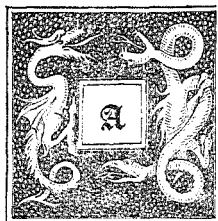
common soldier, neither was I able to give so much as part of a bottle of wine to any man which deserved it; for I was so far 1564. from having means to do so, that the captain, himself, took two of my boats wherein the rest of the meal was, which was left me of the biscuits which I caused to be made to return into France, so that if I should say that I received those favors at the hands of the Englishmen, being strangers unto me, I should say but a truth. We began, therefore, to fortify ourselves, and to repair that which was broken down, principally toward the water-side, where I caused three-score foot of trees to be planted, to repair the palisade with the planks which I caused to be taken off the ship which I had builded. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all our diligence and travail, we were never able fully to repair it, by reason of the storms, which commonly did us so great annoy, that we could not finish our enclosure. Perceiving ourselves in such extremity, I took muster of the men which Captain RIBAUT had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapons; I found nine or ten of them, whereof not past two or three had ever drawn sword out of a scabbard, as I think. Let them which have been bold to say that I had men enough left me so that I had means to defend myself, give ear a little now unto me, and, if they have eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine, there were four but young striplings, which served Captain RIBAUT, and kept his dogs; the fifth was a cook; among those that were without the fort, and which were of the aforesaid company of Captain RIBAUT, there was a carpenter, of three-score years old; one, a beer-brewer, one old cross-bow maker, two shoemakers, and

1564. four or five men that had their wives, a player on the virginals, two servants of M. DE LYS, one of M. DE BEAUHAIRE, one of M. DE LA GRANGE, and about four-score and five or six in all, counting as well lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troop, so sufficient to defend themselves, and so courageous as they have esteemed them to be; and, for my part, I leave it to others' consideration to imagine whether Captain RIBAUT would have left them with me, to have borrowed my men, if they had been such. Those that were left me of mine own company were about sixteen or seventeen that could bear arms, and all of them poor and lean; the rest were sick and maimed in the conflict which my lieutenant had with UTINA. This view being thus taken, we set our watches, whereof we made two sentinels, that the soldiers might have one night free. Then we bethought ourselves of those which might be most sufficient, among whom we chose two, one of whom was named M. ST. CLER, and the other, M. DE LA VIGNE, to whom we delivered candles and lanterns, to go round about the fort to view the watch, because of the foul and foggy weather. I delivered them, also, a sand-glass, or clock, that the sentinels might not be troubled more one than another. In the meanwhile, I ceased not, for all the foul weather, nor my sickness which I had, to oversee the *corps de garde*. The night between the 19th and 20th of September, LA VIGNE kept watch with his company, wherein he used all endeavor, although it rained without ceasing. When the day was, therefore, come, and that he saw that it still rained worse than it did before, he pitied the sentinals so moiled and wet, and, thinking the Spaniards would

not have come in such a strange time, he let them depart, and, 1564. to say the truth, he went himself unto his lodging. In the meanwhile, one which had something to do without the fort, and my trumpeter, which went up unto the rampart, perceived a troop of Spaniards which came down from a little *knappe*, where, incontinently, they began to cry alarm, and the trumpeter also, which, as soon as ever I understood, forthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and got me into the midst of the court, where I began to cry upon my soldiers. Some of them, which were of the forward sort, went toward the breach, which was on the south side, and where the munitions of the artillery lay, where they were repulsed and slain. By the self-same place two ensigns entered, which immediately were planted on the walls. Two other ensigns also entered on the other side, towards the west, where there was another breach, and those which were lodged in this quarter, and which showed themselves, were likewise defeated.

CHAPTER XVII.

1564.



S I went to succor them which were defending the breach on the south-west side, I encountered, by chance, a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men, and were now entered, which drove me back unto the court of the fort. Being there, I espied with them, one called FRANCIS JEAN, which was one of the mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spaniards thither. As soon as he saw me, he began to say: "This is the captain." This troop was led by a captain, whose name, as I think, was Don PEDRO MELENDES. These made certain pushes at me with their pikes, which lighted on my target. But, perceiving that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already won, and their ensigns planted on the ramparts, and that I had never a man about me, saving one, only, whose name was BARTHOLOMEW, I entered into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and, had it not been for a tent that was set up, I had been taken; but, the Spaniards which followed me were occupied in cutting off the cords of

the tent; and, in the meanwhile, I saved myself by the breach, 1564.
which was on the west side, near unto my lieutenant's lodging
and gateway, into the woods, where I found certain of my men,
which were escaped, of which number there were three or four
which were sore hurt.

Then spake I thus unto them: "Sirs, since it hath pleased
God that this mischance is happened unto us, we must needs
take the pains to get over the marshes, into the ships, which are
at the mouth of the river."

Some would needs go to a little village, which was in the
woods, the rest followed me through the reeds, in the water,
where, being able to go no farther, by reason of my sickness
which I had, I sent two of my men, which were with me,
which could swim well, unto the ships, to advertise them of
that which had happened, and to send them word to come and
help me. They were not able, that day, to get unto the ships,
to certify them, thereof, so I was constrained to stand in the
water up to the shoulders, all that night long, with one of my
men, which would never forsake me. The next day morning,
being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betook me
to my prayers, with the soldier that was with me, whose name
was JOHN DU CHEMIN; for I felt myself so feeble, that I was
afraid I should die suddenly; and, in truth, if he had not
embraced me in both his arms, and so held me up, it had not
been possible to save me.

After we had made an end of our prayers, I heard a voice,
which, in my judgment, was one of theirs which I had sent,
which were over against the ships, and called for the ship's

1564. boat, which was so in need; and, because those of the ships had understanding of the taking of the fort, by one called JOHN DE HAIS, master-carpenter, which fled unto them in a shallop, they had set sail to run along the coast, to see if they might save any, wherein, doubtless, they did very well their endeavor. They went straight to the place where the two men were, which I had sent, and which called them. As soon as they had received them in, and understood where I was, they came, and found me in a pitiful condition. Five or six of them took me, and carried me into the shallop; some of the mariners took their clothes from their backs, to lend them me, and would have carried me presently to their ships, to give me a little *aqua vitæ*. Howbeit, I would not go thither, until I had first gone with the boat along the reeds, to seek out the poor souls which were scattered abroad, where we gathered up eighteen or twenty of them. The last that I took in was the nephew of the treasurer, LE BEAU. After we were all come to the ships, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat again with speed, to see if they could find yet any more. Upon her return, the mariners told me how that Captain JAMES RIBAULT, which was in his ship, about two muskets-shot distant from the fort, had parleyed with the Spaniards, and that FRANCIS JEAN came unto his ship, where he stayed a long space, whereat they greatly marvelled, considering he was the cause of this enterprise, how he would let him escape. After I was come into the ship, called *The Greyhound*, Captain JAMES RIBAULT and Captain VALUST came to see me, and there we concluded to return into France. Now, forasmuch as I found the ship

unfurnished of captain, pilot, master, and master's-mate, I gave 1564. advice to chose out one of the most able men among all the mariners, and that by their own voices. I took also five men out of another small ship which we had sunk, because it wanted ballast, and could not be saved. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was myself embarked, and made one, which had been master's-mate in the foresaid small ship, master of mine. And, because I lacked a pilot, I prayed JAMES RIBAUT that he would grant me one of the four men that he had in his ship, which I should name unto him, to serve me for a pilot. He promised to give me them, which, nevertheless, he did not at the instant when we were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I used to him, in declaring that it was for the King's service. I was constrained to leave the ship behind me, which I had bought of the English captain, because I wanted men to bring her away; for Captain JAMES RIBAUT had taken away her furniture; I took away her ordnance only, which was all dismounted, whereof I gave nine pieces to JAMES RIBAUT to carry into France, the other five I put into my ship.

The 25th of September, we set sail to return into France, and Captain JAMES RIBAUT and I kept company all that day and the next, until three or four of the clock in the afternoon; but, because his ship was better at bowline than ours, he kept him to the wind, and left us the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marvellous flaws of wind; and, about the 28th of October, in the morning, at the break of day, we descried the *Isle of Flores*, and one of the *Azores*, where, immediately upon our approaching to the land, we had a mighty

1564. gust of wind, which came from the north-east, which caused us to bear against it four days; afterwards, the wind came south and south-east, and was always variable. In all the time of our passage, we had none other food saving biscuit and water. About the 10th or 11th of November, after we had sailed a long time, and, supposing we were not far from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found three-score and fifteen fathoms of water, whereat we all rejoiced, and praised God, because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediately after, I caused them to set sail again, and so continued our way; but, forasmuch as we had borne too much toward the north-east, we entered into Saint George's Channel, a place much feared of by all sailors, and where so many ships are cast away; but it was a fair gift of God that we entered in it when the weather was clear. We sailed all the night, supposing we had been shot into the narrow sea between England and France, and, by the next day, to reach *Dieppe*, but we were deceived of our longing; for, about two or three of the clock after midnight, as I walked upon the hatches, I descried land round about me, whereat we were astonished. Immediately I caused them to strike sail, and sound; we found we had not under us past eight fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till break of day, which being come, and seeing, my mariners, told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approach unto it. Being near thereunto, I made them cast anchor, and sent the boat on shore, to understand in what country we were. Word was brought that we were in Wales, a province of England. I went incontinently on land, where, after I had taken the air,

a sickness took me, whereof I thought I should have died. In 1564.
the meanwhile, I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of
a small town, called *Swansea*, where I found merchants of *S.*
Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certain apparel
for myself, and part for my company that was with me; and,
because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two *wren*,
and salted them, and a tun of beer, which I delivered into his
hands which had charge of the ship, praying him to carry it into
France, which he promised me to do. For mine own part, I
purposed, with my men, to pass by land; and, after I had taken
leave of my mariners, I departed from *Swansea*, and came, that
night, with my company, to a place called *Morgan*, where the
lord of the place, understanding what I was, staid me with him
for the space of six or seven days; and, at my departure, moved
with pity to see me go on foot, especially being so weak as I
was, gave me a little hackney.

Thus I passed on my journey—first to *Bristol*, and then to
London, where I went to do my duty to M. DE FOIX, which,
for the present, was the King's ambassador, and helped me with
money in my necessity. From thence I passed to *Calais*, after-
ward to *Paris*, where I was informed that the King was gone
to *Moulins*, to sojourn there; incontinently, and with all the
haste I could possibly make, I got me thither, with part of my
company. Thus, briefly, you see the discourse of all that hap-
pened in New France, since the time it pleased the King's
Majesty to send his subjects thither to discover those parts.
The indifferent and unpassionate readers may easily weigh the
truth of my doings, and be upright judges of the endeavor which

1564. I there used. For mine own part, I will not accuse, nor excuse any; it sufficeth me to have followed the truth of the history, whereof many are able to bear witness, which were there present. I will plainly say one thing—that the long delay that Captain JOHN RIBAUT used in his embarking, and the fifteen days that he spent in roving along the coast of Florida before he came to our fort (*Caroline*), were the cause of the loss we sustained; for he discovered the coast on the 14th of August, and spent the time in going from river to river, which had been sufficient for him to have discharged his ships in, and for me to have embarked myself to have returned into France. I note well that all that he did was upon a good intent; yet, in mine opinion, he should have had more regard unto his charge than to the devices of his own brain, which, sometimes, he printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out, which also turned to his utter undoing; for he was no sooner departed from us but a tempest took him, which, in fine, wrecked him upon the coast, where all his ships were cast away; and he, with much ado, escaped drowning, to fall into their hands, which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

1567.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FOURTH EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA IN 1567, COMMANDED
BY THE CHEVALIER DE GOURGUES.



Chevalier de Gourgues, a gentleman born in the country, near unto *Bordeaux*, incited with a desire of revenge to repair the honor of his nation, borrowed of his friends, and sold part of his own goods, to set forth, and furnish three ships, of indifferent burthen, with all things necessary—having in them an hundred and fifty soldiers, and four-score chosen mariners, under Captain CAZENOVE, his lieutenant, and FRANCIS BOURDELOIS, master over the mariners. He set forth on the 22d of August, 1567, and, having endured contrary winds and storms for a season, he at length arrived, and went on shore in the *Isle of Cuba*. From thence he passed to the *Cape of St. Anthony*, at the end of the *Isle of Cuba*, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captain disclosed unto them his intention, which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leave him, being so near the enemy, so well furnished, and in such a cause; which they all

1567. sware unto him, and that with such courage, that they would not stay the full moon to pass the channel of Bahama, but speedily discovered Florida, where the Spaniards saluted him with two cannon-shot from their fort, supposing that they had been of their nation; and GOURGUES saluted them again, to entertain them in this error, that he might surprise them at more advantage, yet sailing by them, and making as though he went to some other place, until he had sailed out of sight of the place; so that, about evening, he landed fifteen leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the river *Tacatacouru*, which the Frenchmen called *Seine*, because they thought it to be like the *Seine*, in France. Afterward, perceiving the shore to be covered with savages, with their bows and arrows-(besides the sign of peace and amity which he made them from his ships), he sent his trumpeter to assure them that they were come thither for none other end but to renew the amity and ancient league of the French with them. The trumpeter did his message so well (by reason he had been there before, under Laudonnière), that he brought back from King SATOURIOUA (the greatest of all the other kings) a kid, and other meat, to refresh us, besides the offer of his friendship and amity. Afterward, they retired, dancing, in sign of joy, to advertise all the kings (SATOURIOUA's kinsmen) to repair thither the next day, to make a league of amity with the Frenchmen. Whereupon, in the meanwhile, our general went about to sound the channel of the river, to bring in his ships, and the better to traffic and deal with the savages, of whom the chiefs, the next day, in the morning, presented themselves—namely, the great King SATOURIOUA,

TECATACOUROU, HALMACANIR, ATHORE, HARPAHA, HELMA-
CAPE, HELICOPILÉ, MOLLOUA, and others, his kinsmen and 1567.
allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to
entreat the French general to come on shore, which he caused
his men to do, with their swords and harquebuses, which he
made them leave behind them, in token of mutual assurance,
leaving his men but their swords only, after that the savages,
complaining thereof, had left, and likewise sent away their
weapons at the request of GOURGUES. This done, SATOURIOUA,
going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand, in a
seat of wood of *lentisque*, covered with moss, made of purpose
like unto his own. Then two of the eldest of the company
pulled up the brambles and other weeds which were before
them, and, after they had made the place very clean, they all
sat round about them on the ground. Afterward, GOURGUES,
being about to speak, SATOURIOUA prevented him, declaring at
large, unto him, the incredible wrongs and continual outrages
that all the savages, their wives, and children had received of
the Spaniards since their coming into the country, and mas-
sacring of the Frenchmen, with their continual desire, if we
would assist them, thoroughly to revenge so shameful a treason,
as well as their own particular griefs, for the firm good will they
always had borne unto the Frenchmen.

Whereupon GOURGUES, giving them his faith, and making a
league between them and him with an oath, gave them certain
presents of daggers, knives, looking-glasses, hatchets, rings,
bells, and such other things, trifles unto us, but precious
unto these kings; which, moreover, seeing his great liberality,

1567. demanded, each one, a shirt of him, to wear only on their festival days, and to be buried in at their death. Which things, after that they had received, and SATOURIOUA had given in recompense to Captain GOURGUES two chains of silver grains which hung about his neck, and each of the kings certain deer-skins, dressed after their manner, they retired themselves, dancing and very jocund, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring unto the said place good companies of their subjects, all well armed, to be avenged thoroughly on the Spaniards. In the meanwhile, GOURGUES very narrowly examined PETER DE BRÉBORN, in *Newhaven*, which, being but a young stripling, escaped out of the fort into the woods, while the Spaniards murdered the rest of the French, and was, afterwards, brought up with SATOURIOUA, which, at that time, bestowed him on our general, whose advice stood him in great stead; whereupon he sent to discover the fort, and the estate of the enemies, by certain of his men, being guided by OLOTACARA (SATOURIOUA's nephew), which he had given him for this purpose, and for assurance of ESTAMPES, a gentleman of *Cominges*, and others, which he sent to descry the state of the enemies. Moreover, he gave him a son of his, stark naked, as all of them are, and his wife, which he loved best of all the rest, of eighteen years old, appaared with the moss of trees, which, for three days' space, were in the ships, until our men returned from descrying the state of the enemy, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rendezvous.

Their marching being concluded, and the savages' rendezvous being appointed them beyond the river *Salinacani* (of our men

called *Somme*), they all drank, with great solemnity, their drink, 1567.
called *cassine*, made of the juice of certain herbs (as they are wont to do when they go to any place of danger), which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for twenty-four hours, and GOURGUES was fain, as though he drank, thereof, for company. Afterward, they lifted up their hands, and sware all, that they would never forsake him; OLOTOCARA followed him, with pike in hand. Being all met at the river *Sarauabi* (not without great trouble, by reason of the rain and places full of water, which they must needs pass, which hindered their passage), they were distressed with famine—finding nothing, by the way, to eat, their bark of provision being not arrived, which was to come unto him from the ships, the oversight and charge whereof he had left unto BURDELOIS, with the rest of the mariners.

Now, he had learned that the Spaniards were four hundred strong, being divided into three forts, builded and flanked, and well fortified upon the *River of May*—the great fort, specially began by the French, and, afterward, repaired by them, upon the most dangerous and principal landing-place, whereof, two leagues lower, and nearer toward the river's mouth, they had made two smaller forts, which were defended—the river passing between them, with six-score soldiers, good store of artillery, and other munition, which they had in the same. From *Saracary*, unto these small forts, was two leagues' space, which he found very painful, because of the bad ways and continual rain. Afterward, he departed from the river *Catacouru*, with ten shot, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day, in the

1567. morning, by the break of day, which he could not do, because of the foul weather and darkness of the night.

King HELICOPILÉ, seeing him out of quiet, in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easy way, though it were farther about; insomuch, as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter, which was but begun to be entrenched. Thus, after he had sounded the small river that falleth down thereby, he staid until ten of the clock in the morning, for an ebb-water, that his men might pass over there unto a place where he had seen a little grove, between the river and the fort (that he might not be seen to pass, and set his soldiers in array), causing them to fasten their stalks to their morions, and to hold up their swords and *kalivers* in their hands, for fear lest the water, which reached up to their girdles, should not wet them, where they found such abundance of great oysters and shells, which were so sharp, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others lost their shoes. Notwithstanding, as soon as they were passed over, with a French courage, they prepared themselves for the assault, on the Sunday eve next after Easter-day, in April, 1568. Inso-much, that GOURGUES, to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gave twenty shot to his lieutenant (CAZENOVE), and ten mariners, laden with pots and balls of wild-fire to burn the gate, and then he assaulted the fort on another side, after he had made a short speech unto his men of the strange treasons which the Spaniards had played their companions. But, being descried as they came, holding down their heads, within two

hundred paces from the fort, the gunner, being upon the terrace of the fort, after he had cried "Arm! arm! these be Frenchmen!" discharged twice upon them a culverin, whereon the arms of France were graven, which had been taken from Laudonnière; but, as he went about to charge it the third time, OLOTOCARA, which had not learned to keep his rank, or, rather, moved with rage, leapt on the platform, and thrust him through the body with his pike, and slew him. Whereupon GOURGUES advanced forward, and, after he had heard CAZENOVE cry that the Spaniards, which issued out armed at the cry of the alarm, were fled, he drew to that part, and so hemmed them in between him and his lieutenant, that, of three-score, there escaped not a man, saving only fifteen, reserved unto the same death which they had put the French unto. The Spaniards of the other fort, in the meanwhile, ceased not to play with their ordnance, which much annoyed their assailants—although to answer them, they had, by this, placed, and oftentimes, the four pieces found in the first fort.

Whereupon GOURGUES, being accompanied with four-score shot, went aboard the bark, which met him there to good purpose, to pass into the wood near unto the fort, out of which he supposed the Spaniards would issue, to save themselves, through the benefit of the woods, in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from the same. Afterward, the savages, not staying for the return of the bark, leapt all into the water, holding up their bows and arrows in one hand, and swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards, seeing both the shores covered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards

1567. the woods; but, being charged by the French, and, afterwards, repulsed by the savages, towards whom they would have retired, they were sooner, than they would, bereft of their lives. To conclude, they all there ended their days, saving fifteen of those, which were reserved to be executed for the example of others. Whereupon, Captain GOURGUES, having caused all that he found in the second fort to be transported unto the first, where he meant to strengthen himself to take resolution against the great fort, the state, whereof, he did not understand; in fine, a serjeant of a band, one of the prisoners, assured him that they might be there very near three hundred, well furnished, under a brave governor, which had fortified there, attending further succors.

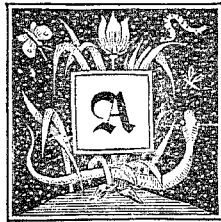
Thus, having obtained of him the platform, the height, the fortification, and passages unto it, and, having prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the country against the Spaniards, that he might not have news, nor succors, nor retreat, on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meanwhile, the governor sent a Spaniard, disguised like a savage, to spy out the state of the French; and, though he were discovered by OLOTOCARA, yet he used all the cunning he could possibly to persuade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which having escaped, and, seeing none but savages on every side, he hoped more in the Frenchmen's than their mercy, unto whom he came to yield himself, disguised like a savage, for fear lest, if he should have been known, he should have been massacred by those barbarians. But the spy, being brought face to face with the serjeant of the band, and convicted to be one of the great

1567.

fort, was reserved until another time, after that he had assured Gourgues, that the bruit was, that he had two thousand Frenchmen with him, for fear of whom the two hundred and three-score Spaniards, which remained in the great fort, were greatly astonished. Whereupon Gourgues, being resolved to set upon them while they were thus amazed, and, leaving his standard-bearer and a captain, with fifteen shot, to keep the fort and the entry of the river, he caused the savages to depart by night, to lay in ambush within the woods, on both sides of the river ; then he departed in the morning, leaving the serjeant, and the spy, fast bound, along with him, to show him that, indeed, which they had only made him understand before, by painting.

CHAPTER XIX.

1567.



As they marched, OLOTOCARA, a resolute savage, which never left the captain, said unto him, that he had served him faithfully, and done whatsoever he had commanded him; that he was assured to die in the conflict at the great fort; wherein, nevertheless, he would not fail, though it were to save his life; but he prayed him to give unto his wife, if he escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that she might bury the same with him, that thereby he might be better welcome unto the village of the souls, or spirits departed. To whom Captain GOURGUES answered, that he had commended his faithful valor, the love towards his wife, and his noble care of immortal honor; that he desired rather to honor him alive than dead; and that, by GOD's help, he would bring him home again with victory.

After the discovery of the fort, the Spaniards were no niggards of their cannon-shot, nor of two double culverins, which, being mounted upon a bulwark, commanded all along the river, which

made Captain GOURGUES to get to the hill covered with wood, 1567.
at the foot whereof the fort beginneth, and the forest, or wood,
continueth and stretcheth forth beyond it, so that he had suffi-
cient coverture to approach thereunto, without offence. He
purposed, also, to remain there until the morning, wherein he
was resolved to assault the Spaniards, by scaling their walls, on
the side toward the hill, where the trench seemed not suffi-
ciently flanked for the defence of the *courtains*, and from whence
part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which
should show themselves, to defend the rampart, while the rest
were coming up. But the governor hastened his unhappy des-
tiny, causing three-score shot to sally forth, which, passing
through the trenches, advanced forward, to descry the number
and valor of the French: whereof twenty, under the conduct
of CAZENOVE, getting between the fort and them, which now
were issued forth, cut off their repassage, while GOURGUES com-
manded the rest to charge them in the front, but not to dis-
charge, but near at hand, and so that they might be sure to hit
them—that afterward, with more ease, they might cut them in
pieces with their swords; so that, turning their backs as soon
as they were charged, and compassed in by his lieutenant, they
remained all slain upon the place; whereat the rest that were
besieged were so astonished, that they knew no other means to
save their lives but by fleeing into the woods adjoining; where,
nevertheless, being encountered again by the arrows of the
savages, which lay in wait there for them (whereof one ran
through the target and body of a Spaniard, which therewithal
fell down stark dead), some were constrained to turn back,

1567. choosing rather to die by the hand of the French, which pursued them—assuring themselves that none of them could find any favor, neither with the one nor the other nation, whom they had, alike, and so out of measure, cruelly entreated—saving those which were reserved to be an example for the time to come.

The fort, when it was taken, was found well provided of all necessities; namely, of five double culverins, and four *mynions*, with divers other small pieces, of all sorts, and eighteen gross cakes of gunpowder; all sorts of weapons, which GOURGUES caused, with speed, to be embarked, saving the powder and other moveables, by reason it was all consumed by fire, through the negligence of a savage, which, in seething of his fish, set fire on a train of powder, which was made and holden by the Spaniards, to have feasted the French, at the first assault, thus blowing up the storehouse, and the other houses, built of pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards being led away prisoners with the others, after that the general had showed them the wrong which they had done, without occasion, to all the French nation, were all hanged on the boughs of the same trees whereon the Frenchmen hung—of which number five were hanged by one Spaniard; which, perceiving himself in like miserable estate, confessed his fault, and the just judgment which God had brought upon him.

But, instead of the writing which PEDRO MELENDES had hanged over them, importing these words, in Spanish: “I do not this as unto Frenchmen, but as unto *Lutherans*,” GOURGUES caused to be imprinted, with a searing iron, in a table of

firewood: "*I do not this as unto Spaniards, nor as unto mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murtherers.*" 1567.

Afterwards, considering he had not men enough to keep his forts which he had won, much less to store them, fearing, also, lest the Spaniards, which hath dominions near adjoining, should renew his forces, or the savages should prevail against the Frenchmen, unless his Majesty would send thither, he resolved to raze them. And, indeed, after he had assembled, and, in the end, persuaded all the savage kings so to do, they caused their subjects to run thither with such effect, that they overthrew all the three forts flat, even with the ground, in one day. This done by GOURGUES, that he might return to his ships, which were left in the *River of Seine*, called *Tacatacourou*, fifteen leagues distant from thence, he sent CAZENOVE and the artillery by water; afterward, with four-score harquebusiers, armed with corselets, and matches lit, followed, with forty mariners, bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to have in so many savages, he marched by land, always in battle array; finding the ways covered with savages, which came to honor him with presents and praises, as the deliverer of all the countries round about adjoining. An old woman, among the rest, said unto him, that now she cared not any more to die, since she had seen the Frenchmen once again in Florida, and the Spaniards chased out. Briefly, being arrived, and finding his ships set in order, and everything ready to set sail, he counseled the kings to continue in the amity and ancient league which they had made with the King of France, which would defend them against all nations; which they all promised, shedding tears

1567. because of his departure—OLOCOTARA especially; for appeasing of whom, he promised them to return within twelve moons (so they count the year), and that his King would send them an army, and store of knives for presents, and all other things necessary. So that, after he had taken his leave of them, and assembled his men, he thanked GOD of all his success since his setting forth, and prayed to Him for a happy return. The 3d day of May, 1568, all things were made ready, the rendezvous appointed, and the anchors weighed to set sail so prosperously, that, in seventeen days, they ran eleven hundred leagues, continuing which course, they arrived at *Rochelle* the 1st of June, the thirty-fourth day after their departure from the *River of May*, having lost but a small pinnace, and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen, and others, which were slain in the assaulting of the forts.

After the cheer and good entertainment which he received of those of *Rochelle*, he sailed to *Bordeaux*, to inform M. MONLUC of the things above mentioned; albeit, he was advertised of eighteen pinnaces, and a great ship of two hundred tons, full of Spaniards, which, being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at *Rochelle*, came as far as *Che-de-Bois* the same day that he departed thence, and followed him as far as *Blay* (but he was gotten already to *Bordeaux*), to make him yield another account of his voyage than that wherewith he made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholic king, being afterward informed that GOURGUES could not easily be taken, offered a great sum of money to him that could bring him his head; praying, moreover, King CHARLES to do justice on him, as of the

author of so bloody an act, contrary to their alliance and good 1567.
 league of friendship. Insomuch as, coming to *Paris* to present
 himself unto the King, to signify unto him the success of his
 voyage, and the means which he had to subdue this whole
 country unto his obedience (wherein he offered to employ his
 life and all his goods), he found his entertainment and answer so
 contrary to his expectation, that, in fine, he was constrained to
 hide himself a long space in the Court of *Roanne*, about the year
 1570; and, without the assistance of President MARIGNY, in
 whose house he remained certain days, and of the Receiver of
Vacqueiulx, which always was his faithful friend, he had been in
 great danger; which grieved not a little DOMINIQUE DE GOUR-
 GUES, considering the services which he had done, as well unto
 him as to his predecessors, kings of France. He was born in
Mount Marsan, in *Guyenne*, and employed for the service of
 the most Christian kings in all the armies made since these
 twenty-five or thirty years. At last, he had the charge and honor
 of a captain, which, in a place near unto *Seine*, with thirty
 soldiers, sustained the brunt of a part of the Spanish army, by
 which, being taken in the assault, and having all his men cut
 to pieces, he was put into a galley, in token of the good war
 and singular favor which the Spaniard is wont to show us;
 but, as the galley was going toward Sicily, being taken by
 the Turks, led away to *Rhodes*, and thence to *Constantinople*;
 it was shortly afterward recovered by ROMEGUAS, commander
 over the army of Malta.

By this means, returning home, he made a voyage on the
 coast of Africa, whence he took his course to Brazil, and to the

1567. South Sea. At length, being desirous to repair the honor of France, he set upon Florida, with such success as you have heard. So that, being become, by his continual warlike actions, both by land and sea, no less valiant captain than skillful mariner, he hath made himself feared by the Spaniards, and acceptable unto the Queen of England, for the desert of his virtues.

To conclude, the Chevalier DE GOURGUES died in the year 1582, to the great grief of such as knew him.