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PETER HEYLYN'S COSMOGRAPHY OF NEW MEXICO

By HERBERT O. BRAYER

WHILE the servants of Philip II were extending the borders of Spain's holdings deep into the North American continent, establishing a monopolistic system destined to make the Spanish crown the richest in the civilized world, certain of Spain's neighbors began to take more than a passing interest in the exploits of the *conquistadores*. Reports from New Spain were quickly spread through France, England, and the Netherlands. Reprints of the *relations* were published throughout Europe, gaining wide circulation and causing no little interest.

The English, among others, were commencing to think of the New World to the west. England was getting the *feel* of her sea-legs. Under Elizabeth, peace and prosperity had taken the place of chaos. Interest, which for almost a century had been centered on internal and external strife, was now free to seek beyond the borders of the British Isles. The Cabots, Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher were setting forth, carrying the lion-crested banner of England to the Seven Seas.

Inspired and guided by the Spanish tales of wealth, these sea-dogs were not loath to take advantage of the accounts of discoveries and explorations which were reprinted in England. In 1582, Richard Hakluyt published the first of his great works on geography and history, *Divers Voyages*

Touching the Discovery of America. This was followed by a translation, in 1587, by Cadman, of an account of Espejo's exploration of New Mexico. The next year, 1588, Parke published his notable *History of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China*, which was a translation of the Mendoza work of similar title. Many of the Spanish explorations were mentioned and mapped in various works during the sixteenth century. New Mexico, under the names *Nova Granata*, *California*, and *Quivira*, was often mentioned.¹

The account contained in this paper is from the famous *Cosmography* by Peter Heylyn, great English historian and controversialist. At the unusually youthful age of eighteen, Heylyn became a fellow at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he soon began to lecture on cosmography. In 1625 his first work in geography was published entitled *Mikrokosmos*. The success of this work was instantaneous, proving so popular that it soon exhausted eight editions. It was perhaps the most extensive geography of its day. It soon, however, brought its youthful author trouble as well as glory. James I took offense at that passage of the book which said, "France is the greater and more famous kingdom" than England. Heylyn, displaying the quick wit which characterized his whole life as well as his writing, explained that *is* was a misprint for *was*, and that the passage referred to the time of Edward II. In subsequent editions, however, the clause was conspicuous by its absence.

But Heylyn's interest in geography waned in the light of a new and weightier problem which was approaching a rapid and tumultuous crisis. Puritanism was sweeping England and was soon to engulf that island. It was to become the great motivating force of the period. Always interested in religious questions, the young Magdalen College Fellow now found himself engaged in a series of controversies which were to lead to his downfall and flight. He disputed with John Prideaux, regius professor of divinity at Oxford; he replied to the *Arguments* of John Williams in

1. Lynam, Edward, curator of Maps, British Museum. Private correspondence.

his pamphlets, *A Coal from the Altar*, and *Antidotum Lincolnense*; he assisted William Noy to prepare the case against Prynne for the publication of his *Histriomastix*, and made himself useful to the Royalist party in other ways. He now became a favorite of the king, editing a virulent news-sheet at Oxford called *Mercurius Aulicus*; but, for his ardor, his rectory at Alresford was plundered and his library dispersed.

The period of the Commonwealth proved a very trying one for Heylyn, who was forced to flee for his life. He wandered for several years, always in disguise, until 1648, when he settled at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, the home of his elder brother. Here, although still a fugitive, he was left unmolested by the Cromwellian forces. Now he was able to return to his studies, and, remembering the advice given him by a bystander during his examination before the commons' committee that "Geography is better than Divinity," he again took up this study. He enlarged his *Mikrokosmos* into a *Cosmography*, which was published in 1652. This book, containing all the new material on the New World that he was able to obtain, ran into many editions and was widely known and discussed. There are copies of several original editions in the United States. The Library of Congress has a 1665, a 1670, and a 1677 edition. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has one of the 1669 editions, while the John Carter Brown Library and Harvard University Library each own a copy of the 1674 edition. Of the original publication, printed in 1652, a copy is now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, a gift of Mr. Henry R. Wagner of San Marino, California. For the text of this paper the 1665 edition was used.

An attempt has been made to trace the sources of Heylyn's information, but it has been found that he differs in many instances from most of the known works on New Mexico in use during his day. It is highly probable that he consulted most of the works mentioned earlier in this introduction. It is known, however, that Heylyn was a student of the

languages and undoubtedly obtained and read many of the original Spanish accounts of the *relations*. In several places reference is made by Heylyn to the writings of Juan de Laet, whose sketches on America were printed in both Spanish and Latin. Footnotes have been added to call the attention of the reader to marked similarities between Heylyn's account and the Spanish records. These bits of what was then termed "authentic information," together with the biting wit which Heylyn generously spread through the pages, undoubtedly accounted for the tremendous success of the *Cosmography*. In the documentary portion of this paper the spelling has not been corrected, but has been left as it originally appeared in the *Cosmography*.

THE COSMOGRAPHY

"CALIFORNIA in the large and general acception of it, containeth all those Provinces of *Mexicana*, which lie on the West side of that Northern *Peninsula*, beyond *Nova Gallicia*, and *New Spain*: though in the stricter [sense], limited to that Province only which lieth on the other side of a long and spacious Gulf called *Mer Vermiglio*,² and from hence the Bay of *California*. But taking it in the largest sense, it hath on the West *New Spain & New Gallicia*, and so unto those undiscovered parts which lie furthest North, to the Streits of *Anian*. So witnesseth *John de Laet*,³ l.6.c.11. CALIFORNIA *communiter dicitur quicquid terrarum Novae Hispaniae atque Galliciae ad Occidentem objicitur, ad extremos Americae Septentrionalis terminos, & Fretum quod vulgo Anian vocant*.⁴ Limited in the stricter sense and

2. Mer Vermiglio, spelled by the Spanish *Mar Vermejo*, applied to the Gulf of California.

3. Belgian geographer and philologist. In 1624 he became a director in the West India Company, publishing several treatises on the New World. His works were printed in Latin and Spanish. Heylyn was familiar with the Latin editions. Laet's best known contributions with reference to the Americas were: *El Nuevo Mundo, o Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, Leiden 1625, and *Notae ad dissertationem H. Grotii de origine gentium americanarum*, the former being the work quoted by Heylyn.

4. "California generally is said to be whatever land is over against New Spain and Gallicia toward the west and towards the extreme borders of North America, and the sea which they generally call *Anian*."

acceptation of it, to an Island (as it is now generally conceived to be) extended in a full length from North to South, on the West hereof. So that for our more regular proceeding in the *Corographie* and Story of it, we must divide it into the Continent, and the Island; the Continent subdivided into the two large Provinces of 1 *Quivira*,⁵ and 2 *Cibola*,⁶ the Island into 3 *California* specially so called, and 4 *Nova Albion*.⁷

“And first, the Continent of this part which we call *California*, hath on the East some parts of *Nova Galicia*; and besides that, those vast and undiscovered Countries, which lie on the West side of *Canada* and *Virginia*, on the opposite shore: bounded on the North with the unknown parts of this *Mexicana*; on the North-west, with the Straits of *Anian*,⁸ if such Straits there be; on the West with the Sea interposing betwixt it and the Island, called *Mer Vermiglio*; and on the South and South-west, with the rest of *Nova Galicia*, from which parted by a great River called *Rio del Nort*.⁹ A River which rising in the 40 degree of Northern Latitude, first parteth *Tiguez* a Province of *Quivira*, from that of *New Mexico*, one of the Provinces of *Nova Galicia*; and after a long course falleth into the Sea, called *Mer Vermiglio*, above *Cinoloa*, another of the Provinces of that Division. Divided as before was said, into the two great Provinces of 1 *Quivira*, and 2 *Cibola*.

“1. *QUIVIRA*, taking up the most Northern parts of this side of *America*, is said to be very plain and level; of few trees, not many houses, nor much stored of people; quite destitute of fruits and Corn, and yielding nothing for mans

5. *Quivira* was that region in which Coronado made his eventful trip in 1542, the exact location of which has been the subject of much discussion, but which authorities now place in the region of Kansas or northern Oklahoma.

6. *Cibola* was the name applied to the Zuni pueblo region in northwestern New Mexico.

7. Named by Drake during his memorable trip around the world, 1570-80. The reference is to present day Northern California.

8. Straits of *Anian*, the mythical straits through the American continent which led to the rich spicelands of the Orient.

9. *Rio del Norte* was the name commonly applied by the Spanish to the Rio Grande. Heylyn has evidently confused the Rio Grande with the great Colorado in this description.

life but the flesh of Beasts, which they eat raw, and swallow down in great bits without any *chewing*. The men apparelled in Bulls skins from the head to the feet; the women, though in a cold Country, with no other garment than their hair, which they wear so long, that it serveth them in stead of a Veil to hide their *nakedness*. They live in *Hoords* and Companies, like the *Hoords* of the *Tartars*, not having any certain dwellings (except some chief men) but remove from one place to another, like the ancient *Nomades*. Near Neighbours unto *Tartary*, from whence (not being much distant from it) it is supposed that the Inhabitants first came, and from hence by degrees peopled all *America*.¹⁰

“The Country being full of Herbage, breeds great store of Cattel,¹¹ differing not much in bigness from those of *Europe*, but that they have high bunch betwixt their shoulders; bristled upon the back like Bores, with somewhat which resembleth the mane in Horses, and the beard in Goats; their legs short, and clad with fetlocks, their horns short, but sharp; the whole Beast of an aspect so horrid, that an Horse will not venture near them, till well acquainted. Yet in these Beasts lie all their riches, these being to this people, as we say with us of our *Ale* to Drunkards, meat, drink, and cloth, and more too. For the Hides yield them Houses, or at least the covering of them; their bones, bodkins; their hair, thread; their sinews, ropes; their horns, maws, and bladders, vessels; their dung, fire; their Calves skins budgets to draw and keep water; their blood, drink; and their flesh, meat. There is thought to be some traffique from *China*, or *Cathay*, hither: for when *Vasques di Coronado* conquered it, he saw in the further Sea certain ships, not of common making, which seemed to be well laden, and did bear in their prows

10. With modern ethnologists seemingly favoring the Bering Strait theory of migration in regard to the origin of the American Indian, it is interesting to note that this theory is far from new. Heylyn evidently held the same opinion.

11. Buffalo.

the figure of *Pelicans*;¹² which could not be conjectured to come from any Country but one of these two. I know, some place this Country more within the Land; and others are so far from letting it look towards any part of the Sea; that they have laid it close unto the back of *Virginia*. For my part, I have laid it along the Coasts, upon good authority; though I deny not but that some parts hereof may be more remote. Or else to reconcile the difference, it may thus be ended; that the *maritime* parts being known by other names, the *Inlands* might retain more specially the name of *Quivira*, as we have seen in many other Countries before described.

"And this I am the rather inclined to think, because I find mention of three Provinces on the North of *Cibola*, but in the way unto *Quivira*; the one called *Seio*,¹³ the other called *Cicucic*,¹⁴ and the third *Tiguez*,¹⁵ which I look upon as the maritime parts of the same one Country, but better peopled and frequented than the *In-lands* are, because lying in the way of traffique. The principal Towns of which *Provinces*, 1 *Acus*, or *Acuco*,¹⁶ a small Town, but situate in a strong and defensible place, about which groweth some store of *Cotton*, which from the place the Natives call by the name of *Acuco*. 2 *Tiguez*, on the banks of a River so called; inhabited by a stout and couragious people, who being resolved not to fall alive into the hands of the *Spaniards*, when besieged by *Vasques de Coronado*, after they had held out above six weeks, laid all their household-stuff and treasure in an heap

12. "He [Coronado] felt no slight joy at such good news, because the Turk said that in his country there was a river in the level country which was two leagues wide, in which there were fishes as big as horses, and large numbers of very big canoes, with more than 20 rowers on a side, and that they carried sails, and that their lords sat on the poop under awnings, and on the prow they had a great golden eagle," Winship, G. P., "Coronado Expedition 1540-1542," *14th Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I, 493.

13. This is perhaps another spelling for Zia, which, according to Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, had many different spellings.

14. Pecos pueblo in northern New Mexico.

15. The region which was occupied by the Tigua Indians in New Mexico, centering around the pueblos of Puaray and Kuaua, near Bernalillo. This name was also applied to a definite pueblo in this region, the site of which has not been definitely determined.

16. Acoma pueblo.

together, which they set on fire; and taking their Wives and children into the midst of their ranks, made a desperate sallie on the Enemy. A resolution worthy of a better fortune, most of them being slain in the fight, and the rest trod under the Horses feet, or drowned in passing over the River. Yet would not those few which were left give up the Town, till it was fired about their ears, and no longer tenable: the *Spaniards* buying this victory (notwithstanding the great odds of their Arms) with the loss of most of their Horses, the death of seven of their men, and wounding of eighty. 3 *Cicuick*,¹⁷ a small *Burrough*, but the chief of that Province, four dayes journey from *Tiguez*: from whence the whole way unto *Quivira*, specially so called, being 90 miles,¹⁸ hath in it neither Stone nor Tree, nor any landmark; insomuch as the *Spaniards* were fain to make heaps of *Cow-dung* to serve for their direction in their coming back.

“The first discovery of this Country is to be attributed to the diligence of *Antonio de Mendoza*, Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, who desirous to get wealth and honour by some new *Adventures*, imployed in the discovery of these Northern parts, *Frier Marco de Nisa*. By him and by a *Negro* which he had for his Guide, there was some light gotten of *Cibola*, the next Province to this; but so disguised in lyes, and wrapt up in fictions, that the light was little more than darkness. Yet by that glimmering, *Francisco Vasques di Coronado*, in the year 1540. undertook the business; and sped so well, that having made his way through *Cibola*, he took the town of *Tiguez*, as we heard before, and laid his way open to *Quivira*. Moved to a further journey by the report of the *Salvages*, (who desired to hasten him out of their Country) telling him of the wealth of *Tatarax*, who raigned in the In-land parts of *Quivira*: a bearded man (those of this Country wearing none) of a white complexion, and one who in his Chapel worshiped a *Cross*, and the Queen of *Heaven*. On went the *Spaniards* towards *Quivira*, and found out the *Tatarax*, a

17. Pecos pueblo.

18. This is, perhaps, a misprint, 900 miles being meant.

poor naked Prince, Master of no more Treasure than a brazen plate hanging on his breast, and without any such sign of *Christianity* as they did expect. So frustrated of all their hopes, and having got nothing but their labour for their pains, and the honour of a new discovery; with the loss of many of their men, they returned to *Mexico*, Anno 1542. Some Friars made bold to stay behind, but were all slain by the people of Quivira, except onely one, who like Jobs messenger was left to carry news of the murder: the *Spaniards* never looking into these cold Countries, where nothing else was to be gotten but blows and hunger.

2 CIBOLA hath on the North, *Quivira*; on the South, and South-east parts of *New Galicia*, from which divided by the River called *Rio del Nort*, as before was said; the West side of it washed with the *Mer Vermiglio*, interposed betwixt it and the Island, or *California* especially so called.¹⁹ By the natives it is called *Zuni*.²⁰

“The air hereof indifferently temperate, if not too much subject in the Winter to frosts and snows. The country for the most part level, rarely swelled with Hills, but those very Rocky. No Trees that bear them any fruit; few Trees at all, except it be a Wood of Cedars, from which abundantly supplied with Fewel and Timber; plenty of Maize, and small white Pease, which they make their bread of; great store of Venison, but they kill it only for the skin; some quantities of Sheep, known for such by their *Fleeces* only, but otherwise as big each of them as an Horse, or Ox, some of their Horns weighing fifty pounds.²¹ Of Lions, Bears, and Tigers so great a number, that they have more than enough for themselves, and could well spare them to their Neighbors.

19. Lower or Baja California was thought to be an island by the early Spanish explorers. Maps made of it as late as 1725 show California as an Island. The island of California was long believed to be the home of a mythical race of Amazons who ruled the island without men. See accompanying map.

20. Only six of the Seven Cities of Cibola have been identified. The ancient Zuni site of Hawikuh, some twenty miles to the southwest of the present pueblo, has been identified as one of the cities of Cibola, and probably the pueblo visited by Estevanico, the Negro, and later by Coronado.

21. “. . . we found many horns of rams which appeared to weigh upward of 16 pounds each.” Hammond, G. P., and Rey, A., *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, 21.

"The people generally well limbed, and tall of stature, ingenious in respect of some other *Salvages*; and though naked except their privities only, or covered only with a Mantle, yet those *Mantles* wrought in divers colours: which, with some quantity of *Cotton* which they have amongst them (none of it growing in their Country) shew them to be an industrious Nation, and to maintain a course of trade with some of their neighbors. A further Argument of which, is those painted skins, which they have from *Cicuique*,²² or some other Country which lies towards the Ocean; my Author²³ telling that they travel for them eight dayes journey towards the North: and probably enough may be some of those Commodities, which the Inhabitants of the *maritime* Provinces of *Quivira* do receive from *Cathay*, or *China*, with which they are supposed to traffick, as before was said. Like industry is noted in the women also, one of which will grind and knead more *Maize* in a day, than the women of Mexico do in four. In other things not differing from the rest of the *Salvages*.

"This Country was first made known to the *Spaniards* by the Travels of Frier *Marco de Nisa*, employed on new Discoveries by *Antonio de Mendoza*, as before was said. Leaving *Couliacan*, the most Northern Province of *Nova Gallicia*, he overcame a tedious Desart four days journey long; at the end of which he met some people, who told him of a pleasant Country four days journey further, unto which he went. And staying at the place called *Vacapa*,²⁴ he dispatched the *Negro*,²⁵ whom he took with him for his Guide, to search towards the North; by whom he was advertised after four days absence, that he had been informed of a large and

22. Pecos pueblo in New Mexico.

23. Just who is meant by "my Author" this writer has been unable to discover. Most records vary considerably from this description.

24. According to Hodge, *Vacapa* is the same as *Matape*. "An Eudeve settlement which evidently contained also some *Coguinachi Opata*, in Lat. 29°, Long. 110°, central Sonora Mexico." *Bandelier* also identified the *Vacapa* with the *Matape*. According to *Davila, Sonora Historico* (1894), 317, it was a *Coguinachi* pueblo.

25. The negro was *Estevanico*, a Moor, who had been with *Cabeza de Vaca* on the latter's six years of wandering from Texas to Sinaloa. Naturally the Negro's stories of his wanderings drew great attention, and led to his appointment as guide for *Fray Marcos de Niza*.

wealthy Province called *Cibola*, a months journey thence: wherein were seven great Cities under the Government of one Princess, the houses of which were built of stone, many stories high, the Lintels of their Doors adorned with Turquoises; with many other strange reports of their Markets, multitudes, and riches. But neither the Frier nor the *Negro* had the hap to see it; the *Negro* being killed on the very borders,²⁶ and the Frier so terrified with the news, that he thought it better to return, and satisfy the *Vice-Roy* with some handsome Fiction, than put himself upon the danger of a further journey. To that end he enlarged and amplified the Reports which the *Negro* sent him; gave to the Desarts in his way the name of the Kingdoms of *Tonteaac* and *Marata*; ascribed unto this last a great City called *Abacu*,²⁷ once well inhabited, but at that time destroyed by Wars: to the other a more civil and well clothed people, than in other places, Inflamed with which reports, *Vasques de Coronado* undertook the action, but found the Frier to be a *Frier*; nothing of moment true in all his *Relations*: the Kingdom of *Marata*²⁸ to be found only in the Friars brains; *Tonteaac*²⁹ to be nothing but a great Lake, on whose banks had once been many Cottages, now consumed by Wars. And as for the seven Cities

26. A Zuñi legend translated by Frank Cushing, noted authority on Zuñi lore, tells of the arrival and death of the negro, Estavanico. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 281-282. "It is to be believed that a long time ago, when smoke hung over the walls of Kya-ki-me, when smoke hung over the house-tops, and the ladder-rounds were still unbroken in Kya-ki-me, then the Black Mexicans came from their abodes in Everlasting Summerland . . . Then and thus was killed by our ancients, right where the stone stands down by the arroyo of Kya-ki-me, one of the Black Mexicans, a large man with chili lips (lips swollen from chili peppers) . . . Then the rest ran away, chased by our grandfathers, and went back toward their country in the Land of Everlasting Summer."

27. Hodge identified Abaca (spelled *Ahacus* by De Niza) as the ancient Zuñi pueblo of *Hawikah* which was situated some twenty miles southwest of the present pueblo of Zuñi.

28. Hakluyt, *Voyages*, III, 440, contains a description of *Marata* by Fray Marcos de Niza, describing it as a province southeast of *Cibola*. Regardless of Coronado's statement that the "Kingdom of *Marata* is not to be found, neither have the Indians any knowledge thereof," both Bandelier and Cushing have identified *Marata* with *Matyata*, or *Makyata*, a group of ruined pueblos between Zuñi and Acoma.

29. "Bandelier and Cushing believed the Hopi country, the later province of Tusayan, to be identical with the Totonteaac (*Tonteaac*) of Fray Marcos de Niza." Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 560.

of such Wealth and Bigness, he found them to be seven poor *Burroughs*; all situated within the compass of four leagues, which made up that so famous Kingdom of which the Frier dreamt of. The biggest of them held about 500 Cottages; the rest of them not above half that number. One of them, lest he might be said to return without doing something, he besieged, and took; but found it such a hot piece of service, that he was twice beaten down with stones as he scaled the Rampiers: but having taken it at the last, he found in it great plenty of *Maize* to refresh his Army, and caused the Town (consisting of 200 houses, or thereabouts) to be called *Granada*,³⁰ for some resemblance which it had to that Citie in *Spain*. Such as have since endeavoured the Discovery of these North-west parts, and failed all along the shore hereof on *Mer Vermiglio*, having added hereunto the names of some points, or Promontories; known in the Maps by the name of *Po de St. Clara*, not far from the mouth or influx of *Rhio del Nort*.³¹ 2 *Las Plaias*. 3 *St. Michael*. 4 *Rio de Teron*.³² 5 *Laques del Oro* bordering on *Quivira*; and 6 *Rey Coronado*,³³ on the East of that.

“Betwixt this Region and *Quivira* especially so called, lieth a Country, which the said *Vasques* names *Tucayan*,³⁴ memorable for the famous River of *Huex*; on the Banks whereof for the space of 20 leagues stand 15 *Burroughs* well built, and furnished with stoves, (if he hath not in this part of the Story outlyed the Frier) as in other cold but more civil Countries, against the extremities of Winter. This Region stretching seven days journey to the River of *Cicui-*

30. Granada was the name given to the Zuñi pueblo of *Hawikuh* by Coronado. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 1017.

31. The *Rhio del Nort* (Rio Grande) was thought to rise in the region of New Mexico and flow into the Gulf of California. It was not until late in the seventeenth century that the error was corrected and maps began to show the river emptying into the Gulf of Mexico. See the Sanson map.

32. Should be *Rio de Tizon*, “Fire-brand” river. So named because of the fire-brands carried by the natives.

33. This is the only account that we know of which gives the name of Coronado to a place in this region. This is, perhaps, an error, as most maps use the name *Rey Coromedo*.

34. The region of the Hopi pueblos in northern Arizona, usually spelled *Tusayan*.

que,³⁵ I reckon to belong to the North-east parts of *Cibola*. As I do also the fruitful Valley of *Aroia de Corazones*,³⁶ which they passed in their way hither from *Couliacan*; with the Town and Territory of *Chichilticala*,³⁷ and the Valley of *Nuestra, Sennora* or our *Ladies Dale*, in the South parts of it: not knowing otherwise what Province to refer them to . . .³⁸

7. *NOVA MEXICANA*, is bounded on the South, with *New Biscay*; on the West, with *Quivira*; the Countries on the North, and East, not discovered hitherto; though some extend it Eastwards as far as *Florida*. Extended 250 Leagues from the Town and *Mines* of *S. Barbara*,³⁹ and how much beyond that none can tell; the *Relations* of this Countrey being so uncertain, and indeed incredulous, that I dare say nothing positively on the Soil or People, but much less, of the Towns and Cities which are said to be in it. So named by *Antonio de Espeño*, a Citizen of *Mexico* in *New Spain*, by whom discovered and subdued.

“For first, they tell us of the People, that they are of great stature (and that like enough) but not so probable, that they have the Art of dressing *Chamois* and other *Leather*, as well as the best *Leather-Dresser* in all *Flanders*: or that they have Shoes and Boots so well sewed and soaled, that no *Shoo-Maker* in all *S. Martins* could do it better. Then for their Towns, that they are very fair and goodly, and houses well built of Lime and Stone, some of them four Stories, and in most of them *Stoves* for the Winter Season. The Streets even, and ordered in an excellent Manner. Particularly they tell us of a Town called, 1 *Chia*, one of the five

35. Pecos river in New Mexico.

36. “Valley of Hearts” so named by Cabeza de Vaca. However, this valley is not located in the area described by Heylyn, but is in the state of Sonora, Mexico.

37. “A ruined pueblo visited by Coronado’s army on its journey to Cibola (Zuñi) situated on the Gila river, east of the mouth of the San Pedro river, southern Arizona . . .” Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 259.

38. The balance of this chapter contains a description of Nova Albion and California. This section has been omitted as being unnecessary in this article.

39. A town in Nueva Vizcaya, Mexico, located on the head waters of the Rio Conchos. This town was the starting place for several expeditions into New Mexico.

chief Towns of the Province of *Cuames*,⁴⁰ which is said to contain eight Market-places, and all the houses to be plastered and painted in most curious manner.⁴¹ 2 Of *Acoma*, that it is situate on the top of a Rock, a great Town, yet no way unto it but by *Ladders*; and in one place a pair of stairs but exceeding narrow, hewn out of the Rock exceedingly well fortified by Nature (they say true in that, if any things were true which they tell us of it) and all their water kept in Cisterns (but nobody can tell from whence they have it.) 3 Of *Conibas*,⁴² on a Lake so called, the City seven Leagues long, two broad; (a second *Ninive* ⁴³) but the Houses scatteringly built amongst Hills and Gardens, which takes up a great deal of room: Inhabited by a People of such strength and courage, that the *Spaniards* only faced it, and so went away. Much of this stuff I could afford you, but by this taste we may conjecture of the rest of the *Feast*.

“The Country first discovered by *Augustino Royaz*,⁴⁴ a *Franciscan* Frier, Anno 1580. who out of Zeal to plant the Gospel in the North, accompanied with two other Friars⁴⁵ of that Order, and eight Souldiers, undertook the *Adventure*. But one of the Monks⁴⁶ being killed by the *Salvages*, the Souldiers playd the Poltrons, and gave over the Action. On

40. The correct name of the province was Punames. “Referring to the western division of the Rio Grande branch of the Keresan stock. Mentioned by Espejo in 1583 as a province comprising 5 towns of which Sia (Chia) was the largest. In Hakluyt’s version of Espejo’s narrative the name is misprinted *Cunames*, which in turn is corrupted into *Chuames* in Agilby’s *America*, 1671 [and in Heylyn’s *Cosmography*]. Strangely enough these corrupted forms closely resemble the Keresan term *Cuame*, signifying ‘people in the South,’ but they bear no relation to that word.” Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 327.

41. “After passing these pueblos of the first nation we came to a pueblo of many large houses three and four stories high, plastered on the inside and with many square windows. All the houses were painted in many designs and colors.” Hammond and Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, 28.

42. “In the year 1611 [a misprint, date should be 1601] the Captain already mentioned, Juan de Oñate, set out from this country towards the east and discovered the Canibaras Lakes (but which they are is not known).” Bloom, L. B., *Antonio Barreiro’s Ojeada Sobre Nueva Mexico*, 6.

43. *Nineveh*, capital of the ancient kingdom of Assyria.

44. Father Agustín Rodríguez.

45. The two friars were Fray Francisco López, superior, and Fray Juan de Santa María.

46. Fray Juan de Santa María.

their return, *Beltram*⁴⁷ a Frier of the same Order (from whose mouth we must have the former Fictions) desirous to preserve the lives of his Fellows which staid behinde, encouraged one *Antonio de Espejo*, a Native of *Corduba*, but a Citizen of *Mexico*, to engage in such an *holy Cause*: who raising a band of 150 horse, accompanied with many Slaves, and Beasts of Carriage, undertook the business. I omit the many Nations of the *Conchi*,⁴⁸ *Pasnugates*,⁴⁹, *Tobosi*,⁵⁰ *Patarabueyes*,⁵¹ *Tarrahuamares*,⁵² *Tepoanes*,⁵³ and many other as hard names, which he passed thorow on his way. But coming at the last to a great River which he called *Del Nort*, there he made a stand; caused the Countrey on both sides of it to be called *Nova Mexicana*, and a City to be built which he called *New Mexico*, situate in the 37th degree of *Northern* Latitude, and distant from old *Mexico* five hundred Leagues:⁵⁴ the name since changed to that of *S. Foye*,⁵⁵ but still the *Metropolis* of that Province, the Residence of the Governour, and a pretty Garrison consisting of two hundred and fifty *Spaniards*. Some other Towns he found at his coming hither, *viz.* 2 *Socorro*,⁵⁶ so called by the Spaniards because of what suc-

47. Fray Bernardino Beltrán.

48. Conchas, or Conchos, "a little known tribe formerly living on a river of the same name in Chihuahua, Mexico." Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 335.

49. Spelled *Pazaguantes* by Obregón. "Leaving the Conchos nation the Spaniards entered the lands of the Cabri, called also Pazaguantes by later chroniclers." Hammond and Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, 5.

50. Properly spelled *Toboso*. A tribe of Indians in northern Mexico.

51. Spelled by Espejo "Patarabueyes." These Indians were Jumanos. Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, 636.

52. A tribal group living in Northern Mexico, in present day Sonora.

53. *Tepoanes* is now spelled *Tepehuane*, and according to Hodge was "a Pimian tribe formerly inhabiting mainly the state of Durango, Mexico, but extending in Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Jalisco, Zacatecas and Coahuila."

54. An interesting account, but we have no evidence of such a city being founded by Espejo. The 37th degree north is the present northern boundary of New Mexico.

55. Note the spelling of Santa Fe. In other editions of the *Cosmography* the spelling is *S. Fogye*. Heylyn evidently believed that Espejo founded the city but called it "New Mexico." No contemporary source seems to use the same story, leaving one to wonder where Heylyn obtained his information on this important point.

56. Hammond, G. P., *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*, 97, "June 14 the men marched three leagues and halted in front of Teipana, or Socorro, as the Spaniards called it, because they found a much needed supply of maize."

cour and relief they found there for their half starved Bodies. 3 *Senecu*,⁵⁷ 4 *Pilabo*,⁵⁸ and 5 *Seviletta*,⁵⁹ old Towns but new Christened by the Spaniards, when the Inhabitants thereof did embrace the Gospel; each of them beautified with a Church. 6 *St. Johns*,⁶⁰ built afterwards in the year 1599. by *John de Onate*, who with an Army of five thousand followed the same way which *Espeio* went; and having got a great deal of Treasure, laid it up in this place, that it might be no incumbrance to him in his Advance. This is the most I dare relie on for this Countrey: And this hath no such Wonders in it, but what an easie Faith may give credit to: though I had rather believe the *Friers* whole Relations, than go thither to disprove any part thereof."

57. "A former pueblo of the Piro, 13 miles below Socorro, New Mexico, on the west bank of the Rio Grande at the site of the present village of San Antonio. Site of the Spanish mission of San Antonio de Senecú founded in 1629 by Fray Antonio de Arteaga and Fray Garcia de Zuñiga, and contained the first church and monastery erected on the lower course of the Rio Grande in New Mexico." Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 509; Bandelier, A., *Archaeological Institute Papers*, IV, (1892), 250, says, "on the 23rd of Jan. 1675, the Apaches surprised the pueblo of Senecú, killed its missionary Fray Alonso Gil de Avila, and slaughtered so many of the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to Socorro, and the pueblo remained forever deserted."

58. Pilabo is the aboriginal name for the pueblo of Socorro. Mentioned in Benavides, A., *Memorial*, 16, 1630. Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 612.

59. A former pueblo of the Piro on the east bank of the Rio Grande, about twenty miles above Socorro; visited by Oñate in 1598 and named by him Nueva Sevilla.

60. Heylyn has anglicized some of the Spanish names and used others in the original Spanish. Saint John is therefore *San Juan de los Caballeros*, founded by Oñate in 1599.