

RICHARD HAKLUYT (1552?-1616), GEOGRAPHER AND WRITER. Richard Hakluyt was early exposed to the exciting Tudor milieu of world exploration. His uncle and guardian, also named Richard Hakluyt, was an eager compiler of travellers' accounts, and he had a large circle of friends among those men committed to the journeying to and writing about the 'New World' of the Americas, as well as the East, including merchants, professional sailors, map-makers, and gentlemen-explorers. Having taken his BA in 1574 and his MA in 1577 from Christ Church College, Oxford, the younger Hakluyt had an active career in the Church (being ordained in 1580), but most of his energies were absorbed by his geographic studies. He quickly gained a reputation for expertise in the economic and practical issues related to 'New World' colonization, demonstrated by his memorandum to Queen Elizabeth concerning the economic possibilities of colonies in Virginia, *A Discourse of Western Planting* (published, 1877). Hakluyt's most famous work is the encyclopaedic compilation of travel and exploration narratives, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589; revised and expanded into three volumes, 1598-1600). Ranging from dramatic tales of captivity and escape to early accounts of Indigenous societies to travellers' 'sight-seeing' lists, *Principal Navigations* has the over-arching purpose of informing the English people about their history of exploration in order to encourage their imperial and colonial ambitions.

THE CORONADO EXPEDITION AND THE REPORTS OF HERNANDO ALARÇON. Hernando Alarçon (Fernando Alarchon in Hakluyt's work) was an explorer and officer under General Francis Vazquez de Coronado, explorer and governor of Nueva Galicia (appointed, 1538). Alarçon is credited with the exploration of the Gulf of California and the discovery of the Colorado River. His addressee below is Antonio de Mendoza (1490-1552), Spanish aristocrat, diplomat, first viceroy of New Spain (1535-1550), and later viceroy of Peru. Mendoza was an efficient and relatively enlightened administrator, attempting to ameliorate working conditions for Indigenous labourers, and to develop the colonial economy. From his account, Alarçon began his journey on 9 May 1540, ordered by Mendoza to rendezvous with Coronado's earlier expedition, which Mendoza had sent to find the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola, in northern New Spain. These mythic treasure cities were well-known and many explorers had already sought them in vain. Alarçon and his men set off on what they believed to have been Vazquez's route, inquiring for him and his men as they travelled up the Colorado River (Alarçon named it 'El Rio de Buena Guia,' or 'the River of Good Guidance'). Alarçon did not find Vazquez, but the general and his men returned empty-handed on their own in 1542.

The sections below focus on Alarçon's reports concerning various Indigenous groups' social, religious, and cultural practices. I have left out sections dealing with Alarçon's 'impersonation' of an envoy of one Indigenous nature deity, the Sun (with an obvious play on Alarçon's Christian identity as a child of the Son of God, Christ). Alarçon's attempts at Christian evangelization usually involved instructing the Indigenous groups he encountered to set up a cross in some public place, and venerate it. In comparison with Hawks, below, Alarçon's accounts of the peoples he encountered are remarkably detailed.

EDITIONS

Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey, ed. and trans. *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-42*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: U of New Mexico P, 1940 (rept., AMS P, 1977).

THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, AND DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION (1599)

From THE RELATION OF THE NAVIGATION AND DISCOVERY WHICH CAPTAIN FERNANDO ALARCHON MADE BY THE ORDER OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD DON ANTONIO DE MENDOÇA, VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN,¹ DATED IN COLIMA,² A HAVEN OF NEW SPAIN.

[...]

CHAPTER 2: *Of the habit, armour and stature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had by signs traffic,*³ *victuals, and many courtesies.*

[...]

In this sort we went up two leagues, and I arrived at a cliff of a hill, whereupon was an arbour made newly, where they made signs unto me, crying I should [...] go thither, showing me the same with their hands, and telling [...] that there was meat to eat. But I would not go thither, seeing the place was apt for some ambush, but followed in my voyage. Within a while after issued out from thence above a thousand armed men with their bows and arrows, and after that many women and children showed themselves, toward whom I would not go, but because the sun was almost set, I rode in the midst of the river. These Indians came decked after sundry fashions: some came with a painting that covered their face all over; some had their faces half-covered, but all be-smoothed with coal; and every one as it liked him best; others carried vizards⁴ before them of the same colour, which had the shape of faces. They wear on their heads a piece of deerskin two spans broad,⁵ set after the manner of a helmet, and upon it certain small sticks with some sorts of feathers. Their weapons were bows and arrows of hard wood, and two or three sorts of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mighty people, well-featured, and without any grossness.⁶ They have holes bored in their nostrils whereat certain pendants hang, and others wear shells, and their ears are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and shells. All of them both great and small wear a girdle⁷ about their waist made of diverse colours, and in the middle is fastened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth down like a tail. Likewise on [...] their arms they wear a straight string, which they wind so often about it that it becometh as broad as one's hand. They wear certain pieces of deer's bones fastened to their arms, wherewith they strike off the sweat, and at the other certain small pipes of canes. They carry also little long bags about a

¹ *New Spain* This colonial possession included all of present-day Mexico and Central America, down to the S border of Costa Rica and portions of the United States (California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas).

² *Colima* Villa San Sebastián de Colima was a city on the coast in the state of Colima, Mexico; founded by the Spanish on the site of an older Indigenous city in 1523.

³ *traffic* trade, exchange.

⁴ *vizards* masks.

⁵ *two spans broad* about eighteen inches wide.

⁶ *without any grossness* i.e., the people are refined in their manners, comportment and speech.

⁷ *girdle* here, an ornamental belt.

hand broad⁸ tied to their left arm, which serve them also instead of bracers⁹ for their bows, full of the powder of a certain herb, whereof they make a certain beverage. They have their bodies traced with coals, their hair cut before, and behind it hangs down to their waist. The women go naked, and wear a great wreath of feathers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their hair like the men. There were among these Indians three or four men in women's apparel.¹⁰ [...]

[After some initial tension, Alarçon and the Indigenous inhabitants each lower their weapons and exchange gifts, after which Alarçon and his men continue their journey up the Colorado, encountering many different communities.]

CHAPTER 4: *Of Naguachato and other chief men of those Indians they receive great store of victuals; they¹¹ cause them to set up a cross in their countries, and he teacheth them to worship it. They have news of many people, of their divers¹² languages and customs in matrimony, how they punish adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the sicknesses which they are subject to.*

[...]

I desired to know what people lived on the banks of this river, and I understood by this man that it was inhabited by twenty-three languages, and these were bordering upon the river besides others not far off, and that there were besides these twenty-three languages, other people also which he knew not above the river. I asked him whether every people were living in one town together. And he answered me, no, but that they had many houses standing scattered in the fields, and that every people had their country several¹³ and distinguished, and that in every habitation there were great store of people. He showed me a town which was in a mountain, and told me that there was there great store of people of bad conditions which made continual war upon them; which being without a governor, and dwelling in that desert place where small store of maize groweth, came down into the plain to buy it in truck of¹⁴ deerskins, wherewith they were apparelled with long garments, which they did cut with razors and sewed with needles made of deer's bones, and that they had great houses of stone [...] Then I asked him whether the people which dwelt on the riverside dwelt always there or else sometime went to dwell in some other place. He answered me, that in the summer they abode there and sowed there; and after they had gathered in their crop, they went their way, and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foot

⁸ *hand broad* about nine inches wide.

⁹ *bracers* wrist guards used in archery.

¹⁰ Alarçon tells us here nothing more about these men, but see chapter 7, below.

¹¹ *they* i.e., Alarçon and his men.

¹² *divers* many; different, varied.

¹³ *several* separate.

¹⁴ *in truck of* in trade for.

of the mountain far from the river. And he showed me by signs that the houses were of wood compassed with earth without, and I understood that they made a round house, wherein the men and women lived all together.

I asked him whether their women were common¹⁵ or no, and he told me, no, and that he which was married was to have but one wife only. I desired to know what order they kept in marrying; and he told me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept and said, "I have a daughter to marry. Is there any man here that will have her?" And if there were any that would have her, he answered that he would have her, and so the marriage was made. And that the father of him which would have her brought something to give the young woman, and from that hour forward the marriage was taken to be finished, and that they sang and danced, and that when night came the parents took them and left them together in a place where nobody might see them. And I learned that brethren and sisters and kinfolk married not together, and that maids before they were married conversed not with men,¹⁶ nor talked with them, but kept at home to their houses and in their possessions, and wrought.¹⁷ And that if by chance any one had company with men¹⁸ before she were married her husband forsook her, and went away into other countries, and that those women which fell into this fault were accounted naughty packs,¹⁹ and that if after they were married, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death; and that no man might have more than one wife, but very secretly. They told me that they burned those which died, and such as remained widows stayed half a year, or a whole year, before they married.

I desired to know what they thought of such as were dead. He told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither punishment nor glory. The great sickness that this people die of, is vomiting of blood by the mouth; and they have physicians which cure them with tharms and blowing,²⁰ which they make.

The apparel of these people were like the former; they carried their pipes with them to perfume themselves, like as the people of New Spain use tobacco. I inquired whether they had any governor, and found they had none, but that every family had their several²¹ governor. These people have besides their maize, certain gourds and other corn like unto mill; they have grindstones and earthen pots, wherein they boil those gourds, and fish of the river, which are very good. My interpreter could go no further than this place, for he said that those which we should find further on our way were their enemies, and therefore I sent him back very well contented.

[...]

¹⁵ *common* i.e., held and treated as the common sexual property of all the adult males.

¹⁶ *conversed not with men* i.e., did not have sex with men.

¹⁷ *wrought* i.e., worked (at women's tasks, such as weaving, cooking, cleaning, etc.)

¹⁸ *had company with men* i.e., had sex with men.

¹⁹ *naughty packs* promiscuous or licentious women.

²⁰ *tharms and blowing* *Tharms* (animal intestines) could be inflated and were used for a variety of purposes, sometimes medicinally.

²¹ *several* separate, individual.

CHAPTER 7: *It is told him that they are ten days journey distant from Ceuola,²² and that there be Christians there, which make war against the lords of that country. Of the sodomy which those Indians use with four young men, appointed for that service, which wear women's apparel. Seeing they could not send news of their being there to them of Ceuola, they went back again down the river to their ships.*

Then I prayed them to tell me how many days that kingdom of Ceuola, which they spoke of, was distant from that river, and that man answered, that there was the space of ten days' journey without habitation [...]. Upon this advertisement²³ I was desirous to certify [...] Francis Vazquez²⁴ of my being there, and imparted my mind with my soldiers, among whom I found none that was willing to go thither—although I offered them many rewards in your lordship's name—only one Negro slave (although with an evil will²⁵) offered himself unto me to go thither; but I looked for the coming of those two Indians which they told me of, and herewithal we went on our way up the river against the stream in such sort as we had done before. Here that old man showed me as a strange thing²⁶ a son of his clad in woman's apparel, exercising their office.²⁷ I asked him how many there were of these among them, and he told me there were four; and that when any of them died, there was a search made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the first son which was born of them was appointed to do that duty belonging unto women, and that the women clad him in their apparel, saying, that seeing he was to do that which belonged to them, he should wear their apparel. These young men may not have carnal copulation with any woman, but all the young men of the country which are to marry may company²⁸ with them. These men receive no kind of reward for this incestuous²⁹ act of³⁰ the people of that country, because they have liberty to take whatsoever they find in any house for their food. I saw likewise certain women which lived dishonestly among men, and I asked the old man whether they were married, who answered me no, but they were common women, which lived apart from the married women.

I came at length after these discourses to pray them to send for those Indians, which they said had been at Ceuola, and they told me that they were eight days' journey distant from that place, but that notwithstanding there was one among them which was their companion and which

²² *Ceuola* Alarçon's term for 'Cibola' (see explanatory headnote). Earlier in the account, Cibola is described as a great city, with a single lord, a court, and manners and practices that strike Alarçon as decidedly 'European.' In chapter 5, Alarçon finds that Vazquez must have been at Cibola, since an African servant of a certain Friar Marco who accompanied the General was killed there (chapter 6); Alarçon's interpreter eavesdrops on a group that state clearly that Vazquez's company had also been in Cibola.

²³ *advertisement* information; notification.

²⁴ *Francis Vazquez* See explanatory headnote, above.

²⁵ *an evil will* i.e., very reluctantly, with great loathing.

²⁶ *strange thing* here, the emphasis seems to be on the old man's perception that this practice, commonplace in his culture, will be foreign, unusual or unfamiliar to Alarçon.

²⁷ *office* function, role (as the rest of the discussion makes clear, 'their office' refers to women's common role as sexual partners for men).

²⁸ *company* have sexual intercourse.

²⁹ *incestuous* usually, referring to sexual intercourse between individuals too closely related, but it could also refer to adultery and bestiality; perhaps, here, used to emphasize Alarçon's perception of the 'disordered' sexual relations of these particular Indigenous inhabitants.

³⁰ *of* i.e., from.

had spoken with them, as he met them on the way, when they went to see the kingdom of Ceuola, and that they told him that he were not best to go any farther, for he should find there a fierce nation like us, and of the same qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Ceuola, because they had killed a Negro of their company, saying, ‘Wherefore have ye killed him? What did he to you? Did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong?’ and such like speech. And they said moreover, that these people were called Christians, which dwelt in a great house, and that many of them had oxen like those of Ceuola, and other little black beasts with wool and horns, and that some of them had beasts which they rode upon, which ran very swiftly; and that one day before their departure, from sun rising until sun setting these Christians were all day in coming thither, and all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, and that these two met with two Christians, which asked them whence they were, and whether they had fields sown with corn; and they told them that they dwelt in a far country, and that they had corn, and that then they gave each of them a little cap, and they gave them another to carry to their other companions, which they promised to do, and departed quickly.

When I understood this, I spoke again with my company, to see if any one of them would go thither, but I found them unwilling as at the first, and they laid against me greater inconveniences.³¹ Then I called the old man to see if he would give me any people to go with me, and victuals to travel through that wilderness, but he laid before me many inconveniences and dangers, which I might incur in that voyage, showing me the danger that there was in passing by a lord of Cumana,³² which threatened to make war upon them, because his people had entered into the other’s country to take a stag, and that I should not therefore depart thence without seeing him punished. And when I replied that in any wise I must needs go to Ceuola, he willed me to surcease from that purpose, for they looked that that lord without all doubt would come to annoy³³ them, and that therefore they could not leave their country naked³⁴ to go with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that war between them, and that then I might have their company to Ceuola. And upon this point we grew to such variance, that we began to grow into choler,³⁵ and in a rage he would have gone out of the boat, but I stayed him, and with gentle speeches began to pacify him, seeing that it imported me much to have him my friend: but for all my courtesies which I showed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he still remained obstinate.

In this meanwhile I sent a man away unto my ships to give them knowledge of the journey that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him back again, because I had determined, that seeing I saw no means to be able to go to Ceuola, and because I would stay no longer among those people, because they should not discover me,³⁶ and likewise because I meant in person to visit my ships, with determination to return again up the river, carrying with me other companions, and leave there some which I had sick, and telling the old man and the rest that I would return, and leaving them satisfied the best I could (although they always said that I went away for fear), I returned down the river: and that way which I had

³¹ *laid against me greater inconveniences* i.e., they brought to my attention more serious drawbacks or dangers.

³² *Cumana* another region along the Colorado River.

³³ *annoy* cause serious harm to, set upon violently.

³⁴ *naked* undefended, unprotected.

³⁵ *choler* wrath, the heat of temper.

³⁶ *because they should not discover me* i.e., so that they would not unintentionally or unconsciously reveal me.

gone against the stream up the river in 15 days and a half, I made in my return in two days and a half, because the stream, was great and very swift. In this wise³⁷ going down the river, much people came to the banks, saying, ‘Sir, wherefore do you leave us? What discourtesy hath been done unto you? Did you not say that you would remain continually with us, and be our Lord? And turn back again? If any man above the river hath done you any wrong, we will go with our weapons with you and kill him,’ and such like words full of love and kindness.

[...]

HENRY HAWKS AND NEW SPAIN. Little is known about Henry Hawks: he was a native of Devonshire and a member of the Andalusian Company, an English trading operation with a base in southern Spain, and trading privileges in New Spain. Hawks had lived in Seville and Mexico City, and although Spain generally barred foreigners from New Spain, Hawks, like some other merchants, seems to have been an exception; he spent five years in New Spain, returning to England in 1572. He proved a font of information for the Hakluyts, reporting on Mendaña’s discovery of the Solomon Islands, the continued Spanish search for the North-West Passage, and his friend the Spanish explorer Diego Gutierrez’s early voyage from Mexico to the Philippines, offering one of the first descriptions of this land (Glyndwyr Williams, *The Great South-Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570-1756* [New Haven: Yale UP, 1997], p. 15).

From A RELATION OF THE COMMODITIES OF NOVA HISPANIA,³⁸ AND THE MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS, WRITTEN BY HENRY HAWKS, MERCHANT, WHICH LIVED FIVE YEARS IN THE SAID COUNTRY, AND DREW THE SAME AT THE REQUEST OF MASTER RICHARD HAKLUYT, ESQUIRE OF ESTON IN THE COUNTY OF HEREFORD, 1572.

[...]

The people of the country are of a good stature, tawny-coloured, broad-faced, flat-nosed and given much to drink both wine of Spain and also a certain kind of wine which they make with honey of *magueiz*,³⁹ and roots, and other things which they use to put into the same. They call the same *pulco*.⁴⁰ They are soon drunk, and given to much beastliness, and void of all goodness. In their drunkenness they use and commit sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they have their pleasures and pastimes. Whereupon they are defended⁴¹ from the drinking of wines, upon

³⁷ *wise* way.

³⁸ *Nova Hispania* New Spain. See n1.

³⁹ *honey of magueiz* i.e., the sweet liquid found in the maguey plant, a species of aloe.

⁴⁰ *pulco* i.e., pulque, an alcoholic drink native to Mexico and some part of Central America, made from the fermented sap of the agave or maguey.

⁴¹ *defended* protected.

pains of money,⁴² as well he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandment were not, all the wine in Spain and in France were not sufficient for the West Indies only.

They are of much simplicity, and great cowards, void of all valour, and are great witches. They use divers times to talk with the Devil, to whom they do certain sacrifices and oblations; many times they have been taken with the same,⁴³ and I have seen them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are given to all manner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the coming of the Spaniards: I say, all manner of arts. They are very artificial⁴⁴ in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of manner as he is. The fitness and excellency of this is wonderful, that a barbarous people as they are should give themselves to so fine an art as this is. They are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, railers,⁴⁵ saddlers, embroiderers, and of all other kind of sciences; and they do work so good cheap that poor young men that go out of Spain to get their living are not set on work, which is the occasion there are many idle people in the country, for the Indian will live all the week with less than one groat, which the Spaniard cannot do, nor any man else.

They say that they came of the lineage of an old man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a *canoa*,⁴⁶ but they cannot tell whether it were before the Flood⁴⁷ or after, neither can they give any reason of the Flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spaniards came first among them, they did certain sacrifice to an image made in stone, of their own invention. The stone was set upon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their *Cowa*. And certain days in the year they did sacrifice certain old men and young children, and only believed in the sun and moon, saying that from them they had all things that were needful for them.

They have in these parts great store of cotton wool, with which they make a manner of linen cloth, which the Indians wear, both men and women, and it serveth for shirts and smocks, and all other kind of garments which they wear upon their bodies; and the Spaniards use it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all manner of cloth that goeth out of Spain, I say 'linen cloth,' would be sold out of all measure.

The wild people go naked without anything upon them. The women wear the skin of a deer before their privities,⁴⁸ and nothing else upon all their bodies. They have no care for anything, but only from day to day for that which they have need to eat. They are big men, and likewise the women. They shoot in bows which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrows are of cane, with a sharp flint stone in the end of the same; they will pierce any coat of mail, and they kill deer and cranes, and wild geese, ducks and other fowl, and worms, and snakes, and divers other vermin, which they eat. They live very long, for I have seen men that have been a hundred

⁴² *upon pains of money* fines.

⁴³ *taken with the same* i.e., discovered engaged in these practices.

⁴⁴ *artificial* artful, skillful.

⁴⁵ *railers* perhaps, those who make fences.

⁴⁶ *canoa* canoe.

⁴⁷ *the Flood* i.e., the Flood in Genesis that drowns the whole world.

⁴⁸ *privities* genital area.

years of age. They have but very little hair in their face, nor on their bodies.

The Indians have the friars in great reverence: the occasion is that by them and by their means they are free and out of bondage, which was so ordained by Charles the emperor,⁴⁹ which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and silver coming into Europe as there was while the Indians were slaves; for when they were in bondage they could not choose but do their task every day, and bring their masters so much metal out of their mines, but now they must be well paid and much entreated to have them work [...]

⁴⁹ *Charles the emperor* Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519-1558) and king of Spain (1516-1556).