



NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

# HISTORY OF AMERICA

EDITED

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# CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[The Spanish arms on the title are copied from the titlepage of Herrera.]

## INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EARLY SPANISH-AMERICAN HISTORY. <i>The Editor</i> . . . . .	i

## CHAPTER I.

COLUMBUS AND HIS DISCOVERIES. <i>The Editor</i> . . . . .	I
---	---

ILLUSTRATIONS: Columbus' Armor, 4; Parting of Columbus with Ferdinand and Isabella, 6; Early Vessels, 7; Building a Ship, 8; Course of Columbus on his First Voyage, 9; Ship of Columbus' Time, 10; Native House in Hispaniola, 11; Curing the Sick, 11; The Triumph of Columbus, 12; Columbus at Hispaniola, 13; Handwriting of Columbus, 14; Arms of Columbus, 15; Fruit-trees of Hispaniola, 16; Indian Club, 16; Indian Canoe, 17; Columbus at Isla Margarita, 18; Early Americans, 19; House in which Columbus died, 23.

CRITICAL ESSAY . . . . .	24
--------------------------	----

ILLUSTRATIONS: Ptolemy, 26, 27; Albertus Magnus, 29; Marco Polo, 30; Columbus' Annotations on the *Imago Mundi*, 31; on *Aeneas Sylvius*, 32; the Atlantic of the Ancients, 37; Prince Henry the Navigator, 39; his Autograph, 39; Sketch-map of Portuguese Discoveries in Africa, 40; Portuguese Map of the Old World (1490), 41; Vasco da Gama and his Autograph, 42; Line of Demarcation (Map of 1527), 43; Pope Alexander VI., 44.

NOTES . . . . .	47
-----------------	----

A, First Voyage, 46; B, Landfall, 52; C, Effect of the Discovery in Europe, 56; D, Second Voyage, 57; E, Third Voyage, 58; F, Fourth Voyage, 59; G, Lives and Notices of Columbus, 62; H, Portraits of Columbus, 69; I, Burial and Remains of Columbus, 78; J, Birth of Columbus, and Accounts of his Family, 83.

**ILLUSTRATIONS:** Fac-simile of first page of Columbus' Letter, No. III., 49; Cut on reverse of Title of Nos. V. and VI., 50; Title of No. VI., 51; The Landing of Columbus, 52; Cut in German Translation of the First Letter, 53; Text of the German Translation, 54; the Bahama Group (map), 55; Sign-manuals of Ferdinand and Isabella, 56; Sebastian Brant, 59; Map of Columbus' Four Voyages, 60, 61; Fac-simile of page in the Giustiniani Psalter, 63; Ferdinand Columbus' Register of Books, 65; Autograph of Humboldt, 68; Paulus Jovius, 70. Portraits of Columbus,—after Giovio, 71; the Yanez Portrait, 72; after Capriolo, 73; the Florence picture, 74; the De Bry Picture, 75; the Jomard Likeness, 76; the Havana Medallion, 77; Picture at Madrid, 78; after Montanus, 79. Coffin and Bones found in Santo Domingo, 80; Inscriptions on and in the Coffin, 81, 82; Portrait and Sign-manual of Ferdinand of Spain, 85; Bartholomew Columbus, 86.

POSTSCRIPT . . . . . 88

THE EARLIEST MAPS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE  
DISCOVERIES. *The Editor* . . . . . 93

**ILLUSTRATIONS:** Early Compass, 94; Astrolabe of Regiomontanus, 96; Later Astrolabe, 97; Jackstaff, 99; Backstaff, 100; Firckeymerus, 102; Toscanelli's Map, 103; Martin Behaim, 104; Extract from Behaim's Globe, 105; Part of La Cosa's Map, 106; of the Cantino Map, 108; Peter Martyr Map (1511), 110; Ptolemy Map (1513), 111; Admiral's Map (1513), 112; Reisch's Map (1515), 114; Ruysch's Map (1508), 115; Stobnicza's Map (1512), 116; Schöner, 117; Schöner's Globe (1515), 118; (1520), 119; Tross Gores (1514-1519), 120; Münster's Map (1532), 121; Sylvanus' Map (1511), 122; Lenox Globe, 123; Da Vinci Sketch of Globe, 124-126; Carta Marina of Frisius (1525), 127; Coppo's Map (1528), 127.

## CHAPTER II.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI. *Sydney Howard Gay* . . . . . 129

**ILLUSTRATIONS:** Fac-simile of a Letter of Vespucci, 130; Autograph of Amerigo Vespucci, 138; Portraits of Vespucci, 139, 140, 141.

NOTES ON VESPUCCIUS AND THE NAMING OF AMERICA. *The Editor* . . . . . 153

**ILLUSTRATIONS:** Title of the Jehan Lambert edition of the *Mundus Novus*, 157; first page of Vorsterman's *Mundus Novus*, 158; Title of *De Ora Antarctica*, 159; title of *Von der neu gefunden Region*, 160; Fac-simile of its first page, 161; Ptolemy's World, 165; Title of the *Cosmographie Introductio*, 167; Fac-simile of its reference to the name of America, 168; the Lenox Globe (American parts), 170; Title of the 1509 edition of the *Cosmographie Introductio*, 171; title of the *Globus Mundi*, 172; Map of Laurentius Frisius in the Ptolemy of 1522, 175; American part of the Mercator Map of 1541, 177; Portrait of Apianus, 179.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POMPONIUS MELA, SOLINUS, VADIANUS,  
AND APIANUS. *The Editor* . . . . . 180

**ILLUSTRATIONS:** Pomponius Mela's World, 180; Vadianus, 181; Part of Apianus' Map (1520), 183; Apianus, 185.

## CHAPTER III.

THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS. <i>Edward Channing</i> . . . . .	187
ILLUSTRATIONS: Map of Hispaniola, 188; Castilla del Oro, 190; Cartagena, 192; Balb6a, 195; Havana, 202.	
CRITICAL ESSAY . . . . .	204
ILLUSTRATION: Juan de Grijalva, 216.	
THE EARLY CARTOGRAPHY OF THE GULF OF MEXICO AND ADJACENT PARTS. <i>The Editor</i> . . . . .	217
ILLUSTRATIONS: Map of the Pacific (1518), 217; of the Gulf of Mexico (1520), 218; by Lorenz Friess (1522), 218; by Maiollo (1527), 219; by Nu6o Garcia de Toreno (1527), 220; by Ribero (1529), 221; The so-called Lenox Woodcut (1534), 223; Early French Map, 224; Gulf of Mexico (1536), 225; by Rotz (1542), 226; by Cabot (1544), 227; in Ramusio (1556), 228; by Homem (1558), 229; by Martines (1578), 229; of Cuba, by Wytfliet (1597), 230.	

## CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT FLORIDA. <i>John G. Shea</i> . . . . .	231
ILLUSTRATIONS: Ponce de Leon, 235; Hernando de Soto, 252; Autograph of De Soto, 253; of Mendoza, 254; Map of Florida (1565), 264; Site of Fort Caroline, 265; View of St. Augustine, 266; Spanish Vessels, 267; Building of Fort Caroline, 268; Fort Caroline completed, 269; Map of Florida (1591), 274; Wytfliet's Map (1597), 281.	
CRITICAL ESSAY . . . . .	283
ILLUSTRATIONS: Map of Ayllon's Explorations, 285; Autograph of Narvaez, 286; of Cabeza de Vaca, 287; of Charles V., 289; of Biedma, 290; Map of the Mississippi (sixteenth century), 292; Delisle's Map, with the Route of De Soto, 294, 295.	

## CHAPTER V.

LAS CASAS, AND THE RELATIONS OF THE SPANIARDS TO THE INDIANS. <i>George E. Ellis</i> . . . . .	299
CRITICAL ESSAY . . . . .	331
ILLUSTRATIONS: Las Casas, 332; his Autograph, 333; Titlepages of his Tracts, 334, 336, 338; Fac-simile of his Handwriting, 339.	
EDITORIAL NOTE . . . . .	343
ILLUSTRATIONS: Autograph of Motolinia, 343; Title of Oviedo's <i>Natural Historia</i> (1526), 344; Arms of Oviedo, 345; his Autograph, 346; Head of Benzone, 347.	

## CHAPTER VI

CORTÉS AND HIS COMPANIONS. *The Editor* . . . . . 349

ILLUSTRATIONS: Velasquez, 350; Cannon of Cortés' time, 352; Helps's Map of Cortés' Voyage, 353; Cortés and his Arms, 354; Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, 355; Cortés, 357; Map of the March of Cortés, 358; Cortés, 360; Montezuma, 361, 363; Map of Mexico before the Conquest, 364; Pedro de Alvarado, 366; his Autograph, 367; Helps's Map of the Mexican Valley, 369; Tree of Triste Noche, 370; Charles V., 371, 373; his Autograph, 372; Wilson's Map of the Mexican Valley, 374; Jourdanet's Map of the Valley, *colored*, 375; Mexico under the Conquerors, 377; Mexico according to Ramusio, 379; Cortés in Jovius, 381; his Autograph, 381; Map of Guatemala and Honduras, 384; Autograph of Sandoval, 387; his Portrait, 388; Cortés after Herrera, 389; his Armor, 390; Autograph of Fuenleal, 391; Map of Mexico after Herrera, 392; Acapulco, 394; Full-length Portrait of Cortés, 395; Likeness on a Medal, 396.

## CRITICAL ESSAY . . . . . 397

ILLUSTRATION: Autograph of Icazbalceta, 397.

## NOTES . . . . . 402

ILLUSTRATIONS: Cortés before Charles V., 403; Cortés' Map of the Gulf of Mexico, 404; Title of the Latin edition of his Letters (1524), 405; Reverse of its Title, 406; Portrait of Clement VII., 407; Autograph of Gayangos, 408; Lorenzana's Map of Spain, 408; Title of *De insulis nuper inventis*, 409; Title of Gomara's *Historia* (1553), 413; Autograph of Bernal Diaz, 414; of Sahagun, 416; Portrait of Solis, 423; Portrait of William H. Prescott, 426.

## DISCOVERIES ON THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

*The Editor* . . . . . 431

ILLUSTRATIONS: Map from the Sloane Manuscripts (1530), 432; from Ruscelli (1544), 432; Nancy Globe, 433; from Ziegler's *Schondia* (1532), 434; Carta Marina (1548), 435; Vopellio's Map (1556), 436; Titlepage of Girava's *Cosmographia*, 437; Furlani's Map (1560), 438; Map of the Pacific (1513), 440; Cortés' Map of the California Peninsula, 442; Castillo's Map of the California Gulf (1541), 444; Map by Homem (1540), 446; by Cabot (1544), 447; by Freire (1546), 448; in Ptolemy (1548), 449; by Martines (155-?), 450; by Zaltieri (1566), 451; by Mercator (1569), 452; by Percacchi (1572), 453; by Furlani (1574), 454; from Molineaux's Globe (1592), 455; a Spanish Galleon, 456; Map of the Gulf of California by Wytfliet (1597), 458; of America by Wytfliet (1597), 459; of Terre de Iesso, 464; of the California Coast by Dudley (1646), 465; Diagram of Mercator's Projection, 470.

## CHAPTER VII

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF NEW MEXICO. *Henry W. Haynes* . . . . . 473

ILLUSTRATIONS: Autograph of Coronado, 481; Map of his Explorations, 485; Early Drawings of the Buffalo, 488, 489.

CONTENTS.

ix

CRITICAL ESSAY . . . . . 498  
 EDITORIAL NOTE . . . . . 503

CHAPTER VIII.

PIZARRO, AND THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF PERU AND CHILI *Clements R. Markham* . . . . . 505

ILLUSTRATIONS: Indian Rafts, 508; Sketch-maps of the Conquest of Peru, 509, 519; picture of Embarkation, 512; Rütge's Map of Pizarro's Discoveries, 513; Native Huts in Trees, 514; Atahualpa, 515, 516; Almagro, 518; Plan of Ynca Fortress near Cusco, 521; Building of a Town, 522; Gabriel de Rojas, 523; Sketch-map of the Conquest of Chili, 524; Pedro de Valdivia, 529, 530; Pastene, 531; Pizarro, 532, 533; Vaca de Castro, 535; Pedro de la Gasca, 539, 540; Alonzo de Alvarado, 544; Conception Bay, 548; Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, 550; Peruvians worshipping the Sun, 551; Cusco, 554; Temple of Cusco, 555; Wytfliet's Map of Peru, 558; of Chili, 559; Sotomayor, 562; Title of the 1535 Xeres, 565.

EDITORIAL NOTES . . . . . 573

ILLUSTRATION: Prescott's Library, 577.

THE AMAZON AND ELDORADO. *The Editor* . . . . . 579

ILLUSTRATIONS: Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, 580; Sketch-map, 581; Castellanos, 583; Map of the Mouths of the Orinoco, 586; De Laet's Map of Parime Lacus, 588.

CHAPTER IX.

MAGELLAN'S DISCOVERY. *Edward E. Hale* . . . . . 591

ILLUSTRATIONS: Autograph of Magellan, 592; Portraits of Magellan, 593, 594, 595; Indian Beds, 597; South American Cannibals, 598; Giant's Skeleton at Porto Desire, 602; Quoniambec, 603; Pigafetta's Map of Magellan's Straits, 605; Chart of the Pacific, showing Magellan's Track, 610; Pigafetta's Map of the Ladrões, 611.

CRITICAL ESSAY . . . . . 613

INDEX . . . . . 619

# INTRODUCTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

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## DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EARLY SPANISH-AMERICAN HISTORY.

THE earliest of the historians to use, to any extent, documentary proofs, was Herrera, in his *Historia general*, first published in 1601.<sup>1</sup> As the official historiographer of the Indies, he had the best of opportunities for access to the great wealth of documents which the Spanish archivists had preserved; but he never distinctly quotes them, or says where they are to be found.<sup>2</sup> It is through him that we are aware of some important manuscripts not now known to exist.<sup>3</sup>

The formation of the collections at Simancas, near Valladolid, dates back to an order of Charles the Fifth, Feb. 19, 1543. New accommodations were added from time to time, as documents were removed thither from the bureaus of the Crown Secretaries, and from those of the Councils of Seville and of the Indies. It was reorganized by Philip II., in 1567, on a larger basis, as a depository for historical research, when masses of manuscripts from other parts of Spain were transported thither;<sup>4</sup> but the comparatively small extent of the Simancas Collection does not indicate that the order was very extensively observed; though it must be remembered that Napoleon made havoc among these papers, and that in 1814 it was but a remnant which was rearranged.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See further on Herrera *post*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Brevoort, on "Spanish-American documents, printed or inedited," in *Magazine of American History*, March, 1879; Prescott, *Mexico*, ii, 91.

<sup>3</sup> "Of all the narratives and reports furnished to Herrera for his History, and of which he made such scanty and unintelligent use, very few have been preserved."—Markham, *Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, p. vii.

<sup>4</sup> An overcrowding of archives in the keeping of the Council of the Indies was sometimes relieved by sending part of them to Simancas. Bancroft, *Central America*, i, 281. HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, i, 33, says all, or nearly all,

the papers relating to Columbus have been removed to Seville.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the documents at Simancas and in other repositories, beginning with 1485, have been edited in the Rolls Series (published for the English Government) by G. A. Bergenroth and by Gayangos (London, 1862-1879), in the *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to Negotiations between England and Spain*, contained in five volumes. Vol. i. comes through 1509; and the first paper in it is a complaint of Ferdinand and Isabella against Columbus for his participancy in the piratical service of the French in 1485. Various documents from the archives of Simancas are given in Ala-



Dr. Robertson was the earliest of the English writers to make even scant use of the original manuscript sources of information; and such documents as he got from Spain were obtained through the solicitation and address of Lord Grantham, the English ambassador. Everything, however, was grudgingly given, after being first directly refused. It is well known that the Spanish Government considered even what he did obtain and make use of as unfit to be brought to the attention of their own public, and the authorities interposed to prevent the translation of Robertson's history into Spanish.

In his preface Dr. Robertson speaks of the peculiar solicitude with which the Spanish archives were concealed from strangers in his time; and he tells how, to Spanish subjects even, those of Simancas were opened only upon a royal order. Papers notwithstanding such order, he says, could be copied only by payment of fees too exorbitant to favor research.<sup>1</sup> By order of Fernando VI., in the last century, a collection of selected copies of the most important documents in the various depositories of archives was made; and this was placed in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

In 1778 Charles III. ordered that the documents of the Indies in the Spanish offices and depositories should be brought together in one place. The movement did not receive form till 1785, when a commission was appointed; and not till 1788, did Simancas, and the other collections drawn upon, give up their treasures to be transported to Seville, where they were placed in the building provided for them.<sup>2</sup>

Muñoz, who was born in 1745, was commissioned in 1779 by the King with authority<sup>3</sup> to search archives, public and family, and to write and publish a *Historia*

man's *La República Mexicana*, three volumes, 1844-1849. We get glimpses in the *Historia* of Las Casas of a large number of the letters of Columbus, to which he must have had access, but which are now lost. HARRISSE thinks it was at Simancas, that Las Casas must have found them; for when engaged on that work he was living within two leagues of that repository. It seems probable, also, that Las Casas must have had use of the Biblioteca Colombina, when it was deposited in the convent of San Pablo (1544-1552), from whose Dominican monks HARRISSE thinks it possible that Las Casas obtained possession of the Toscanelli map. He regrets, however, that for the personal history of Columbus and his family, Las Casas furnishes no information which cannot be found more nearly at first hand elsewhere. See HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 122, 125-127, 129, 133.

<sup>1</sup> Robertson prefixes to his *History* a list of the Spanish books and manuscripts which he had used.

"The English reader," writes Irving in 1838, when he had published his own *Life of Columbus*, "hitherto has derived his information almost exclusively from the notice of Columbus in Dr. Robertson's *History*; this, though admir-

ably executed, is but a general outline." — *Life of Irving*, ii. 313.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 35. He also refers to the notarial records preserved at Seville, as having been but partially explored for elucidations of the earliest exploration. He found among them the will of Diego, the younger brother of Columbus (p. 38). Alfred DEMESSAY printed in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, June, 1864, a paper, "Une mission géographique dans les archives d'Espagne et de Portugal," in which he describes, particularly as regards their possessions of documents relating to America, the condition at that time of the archives of the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon (of which, after 1842 and till his death, Santarem was archivist); those of the Kingdom of Aragon at Barcelona, and of the Indies at Seville; and the collections of Muñoz, embracing ninety-five vols. in folio, and thirty-two in quarto, and of Mata-Laneres, included in eighty folios, in the Academy of History at Madrid. He refers for fuller details to TIRAN's *Archivos d'Aragon et de Simancas* (1844), and to João PEDRO RIBEIRO's *Memorias Autenticas para a Historia do real Archivo*, Lisbon, 1819.

<sup>3</sup> This authority to search was given later, in 1781 and 1788.

*del nuevo mundo*. Of this work only a single volume,<sup>1</sup> bringing the story down to 1500, was completed, and it was issued in 1793. Muñoz gave in its preface a critical review of the sources of his subject. In the prosecution of his labor he formed a collection of documents, which after his death was scattered; but parts of it were, in 1827, in the possession of Don Antonio de Uguina,<sup>2</sup> and later of Ternaux. The Spanish Government exerted itself to reassemble the fragments of this collection, which is now, in great part, in the Academy of History at Madrid,<sup>3</sup> where it has been increased by other manuscripts from the archives at Seville. Other portions are lodged, however, in ministerial offices, and the most interesting are noted by HARRISSE in his *Christophe Colomb*.<sup>4</sup> A paper by Mr. J. Carson Brevoort on Muñoz and his manuscripts is in the *American Bibliopolist* (vol. viii. p. 21), February, 1876.<sup>5</sup> An English translation of Muñoz's single volume appeared in 1797, with notes, mostly translated from the German version by Sprengel, published in 1795. Rich had a manuscript copy made of all that Muñoz wrote of his second volume (never printed), and this copy is noted in the *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 47.<sup>6</sup>



AUTOGRAPH OF MUÑOZ.

"In the days of Muñoz," says HARRISSE in his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 1, "the great repositories for original documents concerning Columbus and the early history of Spanish America were the Escurial, Simancas, the Convent of Monserrate, the colleges of St. Bartholomew and Cuenca at Salamanca, and St. Gregory at Valladolid, the Cathedral of Valencia, the Church of Sacro-Monte in Granada, the convents of St. Francis at Tolosa, St. Dominick at Malaga, St. Acacio, St. Joseph, and St. Isidro del Campo at Seville. There may be many valuable records still concealed in those churches and convents."

The originals of the letters-patent, and other evidences of privileges granted by the Spanish monarchs to Columbus, were preserved by him, and now constitute a part of the collection of the Duke of Veraguas, in Madrid. In 1502 Columbus caused several attested copies of them and of a few other documents to be made, raising the number of papers from thirty-six to forty-four. His care in causing these copies to be distributed among different custodians evinces the high importance which he held them to have, as testimonials to his fame and his prominence in the world's history.

<sup>1</sup> This volume is worth about five dollars.

<sup>2</sup> It was he who allowed Irving to use them.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Brevoort, in the *Magazine of American History*, March, 1879. Cf. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1873), ii. 508, and his *Mexico*, preface.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. p. 56, referring to Fuster's "Copia de los manuscritos que recogió D. Juan Bautista Muñoz," in *Biblioteca Valenciana*, ii. 202-238.

<sup>5</sup> HARRISSE, in his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 5, describes a collection of manuscripts which were sold by Obadiah Rich, in 1848 or 1849, to James Lenox, of New York, which had been formed by Uguina, the friend of Muñoz. There is in

the Academy of History at Madrid a collection of documents said to have been formed by Don Vargas Ponce.

<sup>6</sup> HARRISSE (*Christophe Colomb*, i. 65) refers to an unpublished fragment in the Lenox Library. The *Ticknor Catalogue* (p. 244) shows a discourse on Muñoz read before the Academy of History in 1833, as well as a criticism by Iturri on his single volume. HARRISSE (*Christophe Colomb*, i. 65) gives the titles of other controversial publications on the subject of Muñoz's history. Muñoz died in 1799. It is usually said that the Spanish Government prevented the continuation of his work.

One wishes he could have had a like solicitude for the exactness of his own statements. Before setting out on his fourth voyage, he intrusted one of these copies to Francesco di Rivarolo, for delivery to Nicolás Odérigo, the ambassador of Genoa, in Madrid. From Cadiz shortly afterwards he sent a second copy to the same Odérigo. In 1670 both of these copies were given, by a descendant of Odérigo, to the Republic of Genoa. They subsequently disappeared from the archives of the State, and HARRISSE<sup>1</sup> has recently found one of them in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris. The other was bought in 1816 by the Sardinian Government, at a sale of the effects of Count Michael-Angelo Cambiasi. After a copy had been made and deposited in the archives at Turin, this second copy was deposited in a marble custodia, surmounted by a bust of Columbus, and placed in the palace of the Doges in Genoa.<sup>2</sup> These documents, with two of the letters addressed (March 21, 1502, and Dec. 27, 1504)<sup>3</sup> to Odérigo, were published in Genoa in 1823 in the *Codice diplomatico Colombo-Americano*, edited with a biographical introduction by Giovanni Battista Spotorno.<sup>4</sup> A third letter (April 2, 1502), addressed to the governors of the Bank of St. George, was not printed by Spotorno, but was given in English in 1851 in the *Memorials of Columbus* by Robert Dodge, published by the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>5</sup>

The State Archives of Genoa were transferred from the Ducal Palace, in 1817, to the Palazzetto, where they now are; and HARRISSE's account<sup>6</sup> of them tells us what they do not contain respecting Columbus, rather than what they do. We also learn from him something of the "Archives du Notariat Génois," and of the collections formed by the Senator Federico Federici (d. 1647), by Gian Battista Richeri (*circa* 1724), and by others; but they seem to have afforded HARRISSE little more than stray notices of early members of the Colombo family.

Washington Irving refers to the "self-sustained zeal of one of the last veterans of Spanish literature, who is almost alone, yet indefatigable, in his labors in a country where at present literary exertion meets with but little excitement or reward." Such is his introduction of Martin Fernandez de Navarrete,<sup>7</sup> who was born in 1765,

<sup>1</sup> *Christophe Colomb*, i. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. 77. A third copy, made by Columbus' direction was sent to his factor in Hispaniola, Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal. This is not known; and HARRISSE does not show that the archives of Santo Domingo offer much of interest of so early a date. A fourth copy was deposited in the monastery of the Cuevas at Seville, and is probably the one which his son, Diego, was directed to send to Gaspar Gorricio. Cf. HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 16-23, 41, 46.

<sup>3</sup> This letter is given in fac-simile in the Navarrete Collection, French translation, vol. iii.

<sup>4</sup> This book was reprinted at Genoa in 1857, with additions, edited by Giuseppe Banchemo, and translated into English, and published in 1823 in London, as *Memorials of a Collection of Authentic Documents*, etc. A Spanish edition was issued at Havana in 1867 (Leclerc, nos.

134, 135). Wagner, in his *Colombo und seine Entdeckungen* (Leipzig, 1825), makes use of Spotorno, and translates the letters. These and other letters are also given in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*; in the *Lettere autografe di Colombo*, Milan, 1863; and in Navarrete's *Collecion*, vol. ii, following the text of those in the Veraguas collections. Cf. *North American Review*, xviii. 417; xxi. 398.

<sup>5</sup> Dodge also translated the other letters. Photographic fac-similes of these letters are in the Harvard College Library and in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See the *Proceedings* of the latter Society, February, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> *Christophe Colomb*, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Prescott, in the preface to his *Mexico*, speaks of him as "zealously devoted to letters; while his reputation as a scholar was enhanced by the higher qualities which he possessed as

and as a young man gave some active and meritorious service in the Spanish navy. In 1789 he was forced by ill-health to abandon the sea. He then accepted a commission from Charles IV. to examine all the depositories of documents in the kingdom, and arrange the material to be found in illustration of the history of the Spanish navy.<sup>1</sup> This work he continued, with interruptions, till 1825, when he began at Madrid the publication of his *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV*,<sup>2</sup> which reached an extent of five volumes, and was completed in 1837. It put in convenient printed form more than five hundred documents of great value, between the dates of 1393 and 1540. A sixth and seventh volume were left unfinished at his death, which occurred in 1844, at the age of seventy-eight.<sup>3</sup> His son afterward gathered some of his minor writings, including biographies of early navigators,<sup>4</sup> and printed (1848) them as a *Coleccion de opúsculos*; and in 1851 another of his works, *Biblioteca marítima Española*, was printed at Madrid in two volumes.<sup>5</sup>

The first two volumes of his collection (of which volumes there was a second edition in 1858) bore the distinctive title, *Relaciones, cartas y otros documentos, concernientes a los cuatro viages que hizo el Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon para el descubrimiento de las Indias occidentales*, and *Documentos diplomáticos*. Three years later (1828) a French version of these two volumes appeared at Paris, which Navarrete himself revised, and which is further enriched with notes by Humboldt, Jomard, Walckenaer, and others.<sup>6</sup> This French edition is entitled: *Relation des quatre voyages entrepris par Ch. Colomb pour la découverte du Nouveau Monde de 1492 à 1504, traduite par Chalumeau de Verneuil et de la Roquette*. It is in three volumes, and is worth about twenty francs. An Italian version, *Narrazione dei quattro viaggi*, etc., was made by F. Giuntini, and appeared in two volumes at Prato in 1840-1841.<sup>7</sup>

Navarrete's literary labors did not prevent much conspicuous service on his part, both at sea and on land; and in 1823, not long before he published his great Collection, he became the head of the Spanish hydrographic bureau.<sup>8</sup> After his death the Spanish Academy printed (1846) his historical treatise on the Art of Navigation and kindred subjects (*Disertacion sobre la historia de la náutica*), which was an enlargement of an earlier essay published in 1802.

a man,—by his benevolence, his simplicity of manners, and unsullied moral worth.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His projected work on the Spanish navy was never printed, though a fragment of it appeared in the *Memorias* of the Academy of History (*Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 247).

<sup>2</sup> Leclerc says it is "difficile à trouver," and prices it at 80 francs. The English price is from £2 to £3. A letter by Navarrete, descriptive of his *Coleccion*, is to be found in Zach's *Correspondance*, xi. 446. Cf. also Dufiot de Moiras, *Mendoza et Navarrete*, Paris, 1845, quoted by HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 67.

<sup>3</sup> There is a memoir of him, with a catalogue of his works, in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, vol. vi.; and of those published and unpublished in his *Biblioteca marítima Española*, ii.

458-470. These sixth and seventh volumes have never been published. The sixth was to cover the voyages of Grijalva and Lopes de Villalobos. HARRISSE (*Christophe Colomb*, i. 68) learned that the *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877) contains some parts of what was to appear in vol. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Columbus, Vespuccius, Ojeda, Magellan, etc.

<sup>5</sup> It is an alphabetical (by Christian names, — a not uncommon Spanish fashion) record of writers on maritime subjects, with sketches of their lives and works.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. an article in the *North American Review*, xxiv. 265, by Caleb Cushing.

<sup>7</sup> These form vols. i. and ii. of Marmocchi's Collection (Leclerc, no. 133).

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 199.

<sup>9</sup> *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 247.

While Navarrete's great work was in progress at Madrid, Mr. Alexander H. Everett, the American Minister at that Court, urged upon Washington Irving, then at Bordeaux, the translation into English of the new material which Navarrete was preparing, together with his Commentary. Upon this incentive Irving went to Madrid and inspected the work, which was soon published. His sense of the popular demand easily convinced him that a continuous narrative, based upon Navarrete's material, — but leaving himself free to use all other helps, — would afford him better opportunities to display his own graceful literary skill, and more readily to engage the favor of the general reader. Irving's judgment was well founded; and Navarrete never quite forgave him for making a name more popularly associated with that of the great discoverer than his own.<sup>1</sup> Navarrete afforded Irving at this time much personal help and encouragement. Obadiah Rich, the American Consul at Valencia, under whose roof Irving lived, furnished him, however, his chief resource in a curious and extensive library. To the Royal Library, and to that of the Jesuit College of San Isidro, Irving also occasionally resorted. The Duke of Veraguas took pleasure in laying before him his own family archives.<sup>2</sup> The result was the *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*; and in the Preface, dated at Madrid in 1827,<sup>3</sup> Irving made full acknowledgment of the services which had been rendered to him. This work was followed, not long after, by the *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus*; and ever since, in English and other languages, the two books have kept constant company.<sup>4</sup>

Irving proved an amiable hero-worshipper, and Columbus was pictured with few questionable traits. The writer's literary canons did not call for the scrutiny which destroys a world's exemplar. "One of the most salutary purposes of history," he says, "is to furnish examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish," — and such brilliant examples must be rescued from the "pernicious erudition" of the investigator. Irving's method at least had the effect to conciliate the upholders of the saintly character of the discoverer; and the modern school of the De Lorgues, who have been urging the canonization of Columbus, find Irving's ideas of him higher and juster than those of Navarrete.

Henri Ternaux-Compans printed his *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, between 1837 and 1841.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Magazine of American History*, iii. 176. Cf., however, Navarrete's generous estimate of Irving's labors in the Introduction to the third volume of his *Coleccion*.

<sup>2</sup> The story of this undertaking is told in Pierre Irving's *Life of Washington Irving*, vol. ii. chaps. xiv., xv., xvi. The book was kindly reviewed by Mr. A. H. Everett in the *North American Review*, January, 1829 (vol. xxviii). Cf. other citations and references in Allibone's *Dictionary*, 942, and Poole's *Index*, p. 280. A portion, at least, of the manuscript of the book is in existence (*Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, xx. 201). Longfellow testified to Irving's

devotion to his subject (*Proc.*, iv. 394). See *post*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Irving also early made an abridged edition, to forestall the action of others.

<sup>4</sup> Their bibliography is fully given in Sabin, vol. ix. p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> It was completed in twenty volumes, and is now worth from 250 to 300 francs. See Leclerc, no. 562, for contents; Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,540; Alexander Young in *North American Review*, xiv. 222. Ternaux died in 1864. Santarem speaks of "the sumptuous stores of his splendid American library." Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 759.

This collection included rare books and about seventy-five original documents, which it is suspected may have been obtained during the French occupation of Spain. Ternaux published his *Archives des voyages*, in two volumes, at Paris in 1840;<sup>1</sup> a minor part of it pertains to American affairs. Another volume, published at the same time, is often found with it, — *Recueil de documents et mémoires originaux sur l'histoire des possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique*, whose contents, it is said, were derived from the Muñoz Collection.

The Academy of History at Madrid began in 1842 a series of documentary illustrations which, though devoted to the history of Spain in general (*Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*), contains much matter of the first importance in respect to the history of her colonies.<sup>2</sup> Navarrete was one of the original editors, but lived only to see five volumes published. Salvá, Baranda, and others have continued the publication since, which now amounts to eighty volumes, of which vols. 62, 63, and 64 are the famous history of Las Casas, then for the first time put in print.

In 1864 a new series was begun at Madrid, — *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados, en su mayor parte, del Real Archivo de Indias*. Nearly forty volumes have thus far been published, under the editing of Joaquin F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza at the start, but with changes later in the editorial staff.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. E. G. Squier edited at New York in 1860 a work called *Collection of Rare and Original Documents and Relations concerning the Discovery and Conquest of America, chiefly from the Spanish Archives, in the original, with Translations, Notes, Maps, and Sketches*. There was a small edition only, — one hundred copies on small paper, and ten on large paper.<sup>4</sup> This was but one of a large collection of manuscripts relative to Central America and Mexico which Mr. Squier had collected, partly during his term as *chargé d'affaires* in 1849. Out of these he intended a series of publications, which never went beyond this first number. The collection "consists," says Bancroft,<sup>5</sup> "of extracts and copies of letters and reports of *audiencias*, governors, bishops, and various governmental officials, taken from the Spanish archives at Madrid and from the library of the Spanish Royal Academy of History, mostly under the direction of the indefatigable collector, Mr. Buckingham Smith."

Early Spanish manuscripts on America in the British Museum are noted in its *Index to Manuscripts*, 1854-1875, p. 31; and Gayangos' *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii., has a section on America.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Now worth from \$12 to \$15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. contents in *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Magazine of American History*, i. 256; ii. 256; (by Mr. Brevoort), iii. 175 (March, 1879); Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. xiv. no. 58,072. Leclerc, *Bibliotheca Americana, Supplément*, no. 3,016, for 22 vols. (300 francs). HARRISSE, referring to this collection, says: "It is really painful to see the little method, discrimination, and knowledge displayed by the editors." The docu-

ments on Columbus largely repeat those given by Navarrete.

<sup>4</sup> Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. xiv. no. 58,270.

<sup>5</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 484; ii. 736.

<sup>6</sup> Collections like that of Icazabalceca on Mexico may be barely mentioned in this place, since their characteristics can better be defined in more special relations. Prescott had eight thousand manuscript pages of copies of docu-

Regarding the chances of further developments in depositories of manuscripts, HARRISSE, in his *Notes on Columbus*,<sup>1</sup> says: "For the present the historian will find enough to gather from the Archivo General de Indias in the Lonja at Seville, which contains as many as forty-seven thousand huge packages, brought, within the last fifty years, from all parts of Spain. But the richest mine as yet unexplored we suppose to be the archives of the monastic orders in Italy; as all the expeditions to the New World were accompanied by Franciscan, Dominican, Benedictine, and other monks, who maintained an active correspondence with the heads of their respective congregations. The private archives of the Dukes of Veraguas, Medina-Sidonia, and Del Infantado, at Madrid, are very rich. There is scarce anything relating to that early period left in Simancas; but the original documents in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon are all intact."<sup>2</sup>

Among the latest contributions to the documentary history of the Spanish colonization is a large folio, *Cartas de Indias, publicadas por primera vez el ministerio de fomento*, issued in Madrid in 1877 under the auspices of the Spanish Government. It contains one hundred and eight letters, covering the period 1496 to 1586, the earliest date being a supposed one for a letter of Columbus which is without date.

ments relating to Mexico and Peru. Cf. Preface to his *Mexico*. In 1792 Father Manuel de la Vega collected in Mexico thirty-two folio volumes of papers, in obedience to an order of the Spanish Government to gather all documents to be found in New Spain "fitted to illustrate the antiquities, geography, civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history of America," and transmit copies of them to Madrid (Prescott, *Mexico*, iii. 409).

<sup>1</sup> This book was privately printed (ninety-five copies) for Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, of New York. It has thrice, at least, occurred in sales (Menzies, no. 894, — \$57.50; J. J. Cooke, vol. iii. no. 580; Brinley, no. 17). It is an extremely valuable key to the documentary and printed references on Columbus' career. To a very small number (nine) of a separate issue of the portion relating to the letters of Columbus, a new Preface was added in 1865. Cf. Ernest Desjardin's *Rapport sur les deux ouvrages de bibliographie Américaine de M. Henri HARRISSE* (Paris, 1867, p. 8), extracted from the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*. The article on Columbus in Sabin's *Dictionary* (iv. 274, etc.) is based on HARRISSE, with revisions. Cf. references in H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 238; Saint-Martin, *Histoire de la géographie* (1873), p. 319; F. G. Cancellieri's *Dissertazioni epistolari bibliografiche sopra Colombo*, etc. (Rome, 1809).

<sup>2</sup> The Archives of Venice, at the beginning of this century, contained memorials of Columbus which can no longer be found (Marin, *Storia civile e politica del commercio de' Veneziani*, Venezia, 1800; HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Ad-*

*ditions*, p. xxi). This is perhaps owing to the Austrian depredation upon the Venetian archives in the Frari and Marciana in 1803-1805, and in 1866. Not a little, however, of use has been preserved in the *Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice* published by the British Government, in the Kolls Series, since 1864. They primarily illustrate English history, but afford some light upon American affairs. Only six volumes (the last volume in three parts) have been printed. Mr. Rawdon Brown, who edited them, long a resident of Italy, dying at Venice, Aug. 25, 1883, at eighty, has sent, during his labors in this field, one hundred and twenty-six volumes of manuscript copies to the English Public Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> Of these, twenty-nine are also given in facsimile; there are besides about two hundred and fifty fac-similes of autographs. The volume is priced at 150 marks and 300 francs. Cf. Leclerc, no. 2,688. H. H. Bancroft (*Mexico*, ii. 606) says of the volume: "There are about two hundred and twenty-four pages of geographical notes, vocabulary, biographical data, a glossary, and cuts, maps, and indexes. The letters and fac-similes, from the first to the last, are valuable in a historic sense, and the vocabulary is useful; but the biographical and historical data are not always reliable, numerous errors having been detected in comparing with official records and with memoranda of witnesses of the events related." Mr. Bancroft's own library is said to contain twelve hundred volumes of manuscript amassed for his own work; but a large portion of them, it is supposed, do not concern the Spanish history of the Pacific coast.

The late Mr. George Dexter,<sup>1</sup> who has printed<sup>2</sup> a translation of this letter (together with one of another letter, Feb. 6, 1502, and one of Vespuceus, Dec. 9, 1508), gives his reasons for thinking the date should be between March 15 and Sept. 25, 1493.<sup>3</sup>

At Madrid and Paris was published, in 1883, a single octavo volume, — *Costa-Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI, su historia y sus límites segun los documentos del Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, del de Simancas, etc., recogidos y publicados con notas y aclaraciones históricas y geográficas, por D. Manuel M. de Peralta.*

The more special and restricted documentary sources are examined in the successive chapters of the present volume.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dexter, a graduate of Harvard in 1838, after most servicable labors as Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, resigned that position on account of ill health, and died at Santa Barbara, California, Dec. 18, 1883. The *Proceedings* of the Society for January, 1884, contain tributes to his memory. Various communications in earlier volumes of the same *Proceedings* show the painstaking of his research, and the accuracy of his literary method. The first chapter in Vol. IV. of the present *History* was his last effort in historical study, and he did not live to correct the proofs. His death

has narrowed the circle of those helpful friends who have been ever ready to assist the Editor in his present labors.

<sup>2</sup> *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 318; also issued separately. The letters of Columbus are also translated in the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1883, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> An Italian version of the letters of Columbus and Vespuceus, with fac-similes of the letters (*Tre lettere di Colombo ed Vespucci*), edited by Augusto Zeri, was printed (six hundred copies) at Rome in 1881. Cf. *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 642.



# INDEX.

[Reference is commonly made but once to a book if repeatedly mentioned in the text; but other references are made when additional information about the book is conveyed.]

- AA, VANDER**, his collection, 68; map of the Pacific coast, 467. *See* Vander Aa.
- Abancay River**, 544.
- Abaren, F.**, *Reyes de Aragon*, 68.
- Abayon**, 233.
- Abert, J. W.**, *Report on New Mexico*, 487, 501.
- Ablyn, Nicolas Weerdt**, 410.
- Abreu de Galinceo**, 36.
- Acadia (Larcedia)**, 451, 453.
- Acapulco**, 320, 441; view of, 304; commerce with Philippines, 454.
- Ackin Island**, 92.
- Acla**, 108, 109, 500.
- Acoma**, 488, 487, 504.
- Aconcaqua**, 524, 528.
- Acosta, José de**, *Compendio historico de Nueva Granada*, 68; in Peru 552; used Duran's manuscript, 420; account of him, 420; *De Natura Novæ Orbis*, 420; on the conversion of the Indians, 420; on the natives of Peru and Mexico, 420; *Hist. nat. y moral de las Indias*, 420; *Bekehrung der America*, 420; *New Welt*, 420; *America oder West Indien*, 420; *East and West Indies*, 420.
- Actabachi**, 218.
- Actes de la Société d'Ethnologie**, 50.
- Acuña**, 471, 490.
- Acuña, bishop of Caracas**, 560; *Rin de los Amasos*, 580; translated by Gomberville, 584.
- Acus**, 473, 480.
- Adlard, Geo. A. M. R. Robert**, 466.
- Admiral's map**, 112.
- Adrian VI.**, 215.
- Adrian, Cardinal**, 307.
- Aeneas Sylvius**, 30; his *Historia*, 31; annotated by Columbus (cut), 32.
- Africa**, geography of, 39; circumnavigated by the ancients, 40; sketch-map of explorations (cut), 40; map of (1490), 41; supposed to be connected with America, 127; coast of, by Ptolemy, 263; map of (1590), 172; in Pomponius Mela's map, 180.
- Agathodemon maps**, 28.
- Agile**, 246.
- Agüero, Baptista**, portolano of Charles V., 221; map of the Moluccas, 440; map (1530), 445; map (1554), 448.
- Agriicola, Rudolphus**, 182; his tract *Ad Vindicandum*, 182.
- Agüedo, Juan**, 17.
- Aguiar, 473.**
- Aguiar, Conde de**, 300.
- Aguiar, Francisco de**, 360.
- Aguiar, Marcos de**, 386.
- Aguiar, Martin**, his voyage, 461.
- Aguirre, F. de**, 528.
- Aguirre, Lope de**, his revolt from Urrea, 582; killed, 582; account of, 582.
- Ahumada, Pedro de**, 254.
- Ailly, Pierre d' (Petrus de Aliacus)**, 28; *Ymago Mundi*, 28; notes on, by Columbus, 29; fac-simile of them, 31. *See* D'Ailly.
- Alabama River**, 205.
- Alaman, Lucas**, translates Prescott, 427; *Historia de la Republica Mexicana*, ii, 428; *Historia de Méjico*, 428; *Disertaciones*, 256, 365.
- Alaminos, Anton de**, pilot, 201, 203, 233, 234, 236, 281.
- Alarcon, Hernando**, sent to support by sea Coronado's expedition, 443, 481; on the Colorado, 481; his buried message found, 480.
- Alaska**, first fairly mapped, 464; (Alaschka) 459.
- Albertini, Francesco**, *Opusculum de Roma*, 154; *De Roma prisca*, 154.
- Albertus Magnus**, 28; his portrait (cut), 29; *De natura lacuum*, 64; edited by Tannstetter, 173.
- Albo (Alvaro)**, Francisco, log-book, 615.
- Alcabala**, 561.
- Alcalde**, duties of, 348.
- Alcáforado, Francisco**, 38.
- Alcantara, Francisco Martin de**, 512.
- Alcantara, Martin de**, 534.
- Alcázar, Diego d'**, 486, 491, 496.
- Alcazar, Compañia de Jesus**, 270.
- Alcon, Pedro**, 511.
- Aldana**, 230.
- Aldana, Lorenzo de**, 239, 540, 541, 545, 556, 560.
- Alderete, J. de**, 528.
- Aleutian islands**, first fairly mapped, 464.
- Aleque, F. - X.**, 109.
- Alexander VI.**, Pope, 13; his Bull, 13, 45; bust of, 44; addressed by Columbus, 46. *See* Bull; Demarcation.
- Alinger, Ambrosio de**, his expedition, 570.
- Aliguali**, 553.
- Alibano (Alimannu, Limannu)**, 250.
- Allard, Carolus**, his *Atlas*, 466.
- Allefoncea**, rough sketch-map of the Antilles, 227.
- Allegania**, name proposed for the United States, 176.
- Allegretti, Allegri**, his *Ephemerides*, 1.
- Allen, J. A.**, *Catalogue of Catalogs*, 420.
- Algermine geographische Ephemeriden**, 190, 503.
- Almagro, Diego**, 106, 505; proclaimed governor of Peru, 512; his career, 506; follows Pizarro, 507; made governor of Tumbes, 512; breaks with Pizarro, 512; brings reinforcements, 517; likeness, 518; asks for a province, 518; agreement with Pizarro, 522; goes to conquer Chili, 523; enters and claims Cuzco, 525; conference with Pizarro, 526; defeated and put in chains, 527; his son Diego, 527; killed, 527, 536.
- Almanaca**, early, 102.
- Almendral (Almendras)**, Martin de, 577.
- Alonso V. (Portugal)**, 3.
- Altamaha**, 246.
- Altamirano, D. G.**, 545.
- Aiva, Duke of St.**
- Alvarado, Alonso de**, 534, 541; advances on Cuzco, 526; defeated, 526; escapes from Cuzco, 526; likeness, 544; defeated by Giron, 545.
- Alvarado, Garcia de**, 535.
- Alvarado, Gomez de**, 527.
- Alvarado, Gonzalo**, his manuscript on the conquest of Guatemala, 410.
- Alvarado, Hernando de**, 523.
- Alvarado, Pedro de**, 351; his portrait, 366, 398; autogr., 367; with Orizaba, 207; in Mexico, 367; at the second siege, 376; receives Tapia, 380; in Guatemala, 383; accounts of his trial, 398, 419; in Peru, 520; his report to Cortés, 411; his despatches from Guatemala, 419; returns to Guatemala, 522; new grant to, 522.
- Alvarez**, 517, 538.
- Alvaro. See** Albo.
- Alvies, Diego**, 506.
- Alzate**, 375.
- Amador de los Rios, José**, edita Oviedo, 346.
- Amaguayo**, 213.
- Amandus, Chronica**, 417.
- Amat di San Filippo, Pietro**, *Biografia viaggiatori Italiani*, 133; *mappe-geometriche*, etc., 151; *Storia lit. e bibliog.*, 91.
- Amat, Dic. de los escritores Catalanes**, 45.
- Amatepeque**, 593.
- Amati, Kewerker**, 51.
- Amazon**, 519; discovered, 528; history of the, 579; (Paricura, Marañon, Orellana) 188; sketch-map, 582.
- Amazona (female warriors)**, 564, 585; (in New Mexico) 474.
- Amboyna**, 501.
- Amelia Island**, 582.
- America, L.**, 47.

- America, in Schöner's globe (1535), 118; name on the Trossa, 120; on the De Vinci sketch, 126; paper on the naming of, by Justin Winsor, 153; name proposed in *Cosmog. introd.*, with fac-similes, 146, 168; earliest use of name on map, 171, 172; should be called Columba, 174; a part of Asia, 176; the name first applied to the entire continent (1542), 178; name of, in editions of Ptolemy, 184. See North America, South America.
- American Ethnological Society, *Transactions*, 501.
- American Journal of Numismatics, 470.
- American Philosophical Society's *Transactions*, 35.
- American Review, 501.
- Amichel, 284; named by Garay, 237.
- Amigos del País, *Informe*, etc., 82.
- Amoretti, Charles, on Maldonado, 456; publishes Pigafetta, 614.
- Amuch, 589.
- Amunátegui, M. L., *Descr. i conq. de Chile*, 573; *La sorpresa de Cerroavaca*, 573.
- Anahuac plateau, 358, 359.
- Anaica, 246.
- Analectic Magazine, 50.
- Anales de Aragón, 68, 421.
- Anaquito, 538.
- Atasco, Juan de, 245, 246.
- Ancient, their references to western lands, 35.
- Ancona, *Yucatan*, 429, 558.
- Anconar, 440.
- Ancuparius, Thos., 173.
- Andagoya, Pascual de, 106, 109, 212, 505, 541, 564; his *Relacion*, 212, 214, 564; edited by Markham, 212, 564; inspector-general, 506; his life, 564; in Biru, 506; founds Buena-ventura, 536.
- Andahuaylas, 512.
- Andalusian bibliophiles, 66.
- Anderson, *America not discovered by Columbus*, 33.
- Andes, 514. See Cordillera.
- Andrade, J. M., 422; his library, 399; its sale, 430.
- Angliera. See Martyr.
- Anian, early use of the name, 445; on the Asiatic coast, 445.
- Anian Gulf of, 454.
- Anian Regnum, 452, 454, 459, 472.
- Anian, Straits of, origin of the name, 445; first on maps, 449; mentioned, 445, 451, 453, 454, 455, 459, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467; Goldson on, 456.
- Anson, *Voyages*, 467.
- Antarctic continent, 119, 433, 454, 457; (Terra Australis) 459.
- Antichthonos, 180.
- Antigua, 107; abandoned, 109. See Santa Maria.
- Antillas, 108.
- Antilles (Antigile), 220; (Entillas), 226; first named, 38.
- Antillia, 105, 115; (Antigile), 121; (Island) 36, 38.
- Antuschá, 534.
- Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hist. nova*, 575.
- Antonio de la Ascension, 460.
- Antwerp, *Bull. de la Soc. géog.*, 59.
- Anza, 468.
- Apalache, 281.
- Apalache Bay, 243, 283, 288.
- Apalachea, 295.
- Aplana, Petros (Blenewitz), *Cosmog. liber*, 173, 174, 182; *Declaratio 1799i cosmographica*, 176, 182; account of him, 182; annotated by G. Frisius, 183; later editions, 184, 185, 186; his likeness, from Reusner, 179; see also Blenewitz, 185; bibliography of, 186, etc.; his map (1520), 122, 173, 182; fac-simile of it, 183.
- Apollonius, Leuwinus, *De Permia rugicentia*, 178.
- Aporinic, 520.
- Araba, their marine charta, 94.
- Aragon, archives of, ii.; chronicles of, 68.
- Arana, Diego de, 10; *Bibliog. de obras andas.*, 66, 269.
- Araucanians, 524, 548; wars of, 561, 573; poem on, by Ercilla, 571.
- Araucaria, 562.
- Arauco, 524.
- Arfadans, 244.
- Arbolancha, Pedro de, 106, 211.
- Archaeological Institute of America, *Reports*, 502.
- Arche, 491.
- Archivo das Acores, 40.
- Archivo Mexicano, 398.
- Arcelega, Sancho de, 276.
- Arctic Ocean (mare septentrionale incognitum), 451.
- Ardoino, Ant. defence of C. de Vaca, 286; *Estámen*, 260.
- Arellano, C. d', 258.
- Arellano, Tristan d', 213, 482, 486, 489, 504; attacked, 495.
- Arenas (Cape), 281.
- Arequipa, 519, 558, 559; founded, 523.
- Argensola, *Anales de Aragón*, 91.
- Argo, de las islas Malucas, 616.
- Arguello, Hernando de, 213.
- Ariza, Gomez, 503; seeks De Soto, 283.
- Aribau, B. C., 584.
- Arca, 519.
- Arca, 24; *De mundo*, 26.
- Arizona, 477.
- Arkansas Indians, 204.
- Armas, J. L. de, *Las Conchas de Colón*, 82.
- Armedaris, 581, 582.
- Armor of Columbus' time (cut), 41.
- Armas' time, 360; Spanish, 359, 544, 550.
- Arms of Spanish towns and provinces, 409.
- Armin, T., *Das alte Mexico*, 310, 428.
- Arrowsmith, his maps show Lake Parima, 512.
- Arthur, Gothard, 420; *India orientalis*, 616.
- Art Carolina, 356.
- Ascension Bay in Yucatan, 203.
- Asensio, J. M., *Las vestes de Colón*, 82.
- Asia, in Pomponius Mela's map, 180.
- Asian theory, 42. See America.
- Aspa, Ant. de, 89.
- Aschloe, David, *Antiquités de Dieppe*, 134.
- Asaburriaga, F. S., 573.
- Asate, Miguel, his narrative, 566.
- Astrolabe, 96; picture of, 96.
- Astronomers, important on early voyages, 148.
- Atabillos, Marquis of, 522.
- Atacama, 550; desert, 524.
- Atacames, 508.
- Atahualpa, 514; portraits of, 515, 516; made prisoner, 516; offers ransom, 517, 566; murdered, 517.
- Atienza, Blas de, 520; with Balboa, 520.
- Atienza, Blas de (son), *Relacion*, 520.
- Atlantic Ocean, names of, 36; called "Mare del North," 451.
- Atlantis, 37.
- Atrato (river), 198, 509.
- Atti della Soc. Ligure di Storia Patria, 106, 616.
- Attwood's Bay, 96.
- Aubin manuscripts, 418.
- Audiencia, 346; of New Spain, 387; of San Domingo, 382.
- Augustinian friars, 399.
- Aulonard, des, 9, 66, 109.
- Aute (harbor), 242.
- Auto da fé in Peru, 557.
- Autun, d', 28.
- Avareta (Indians), 244.
- Avendado, Diego de, 520.
- Avila, Alonso de, 351, 429, 520.
- Avila, Pedro Arzas d', 505; governor of Nicaragua, 505. See Pedrarias.
- Avila. See Davila, Gil Gonzalez.
- Azacan, 260, 282.
- Ayala, Pedro de, 518.
- Ayaya, 523.
- Ayllon, Lucas Vasquez de, of St. Domingo, 238; on the Florida coast, 200; land of, 221; in Virginia, 213; dies, 241; authorities on, 285; map of his exploration, 285.
- Ayora, 107.
- Azevedo (Jesuit), 278.
- Azores, 105, 115, 451; in 1541, 177; *Archievo das Acores*, 40; rediscovered, 38.
- Aztec civilization, described by Prescott, 425; doubted by Wilson, 427.
- Aztec literature, 417.
- Aztecs before the Conquest, as described by Sahagun, 416; driven from Mexico, 445.
- BABURCA, 127.
- Bacallao, 128, 432, 434, 436; (Bacallao) 233, 228, 440; (Bacalar) 207; (Bacallaon) 435; (Bacalleon) 435; (Bacallear) 433; (Bacallearum) 760; (Bacall) 433; (Bacallion) 446; (Bacallan) 432; (Baqualan) 430; map of, 435.
- Bachiler, *Apuntes para la hist. de Cuba*, 236.
- Bachter, *La compagnie de Jéru*, 420.
- Back-staff, 98, 100. See Cross-staff.
- Bacon, F., *Life of Henry VIII.*, 2.
- Bacon, Roger, 28; *Opus Majus*, 28.
- Badajoz, Gonzalo de, 198.
- Badajoz, Congress of, 439.
- Barrie, K. van, editis Herrera, 468.
- Baerz, 282.
- Baquet, "Cas vestes de Colomb," 82.
- Bahamas (Sanama), 217; discovered, 233; number of, 53; map, 55; slaves taken at, 236.
- Bahia de Cavallon, 243.
- Bahia de la Cruz (Ayalache), 243, 288.
- Balbóa, M. C., *Historia de Peru*, 576.
- Balbóa, Vasco Núñez de, 103; hears of the Southern Sea, 104; discovers it, 176, 195, 211, 217, 436, 459, 505; his trial, 197; executed, 199, 212, 213; authorities on, 210; portrait, 198.
- Balbuena, *Bernart*, 430.
- Baldelli, *Milione di Marco Polo*, 156.
- Baldi, C., *Columbo*, 66.
- Baldwin, C. C., 457; *Prehistoric Nations*, 25.
- Ballenar, 524.
- Balsa, 160, 168.
- Bamba, river, 421.
- Banchero, G. lv., ed. of *Codice*, 78.
- Bancroft, Geo., on Prescott, 427.
- Bancroft, H. H., his manuscripts, vii; on Herrera, 67; his *Early American Chronology*, 207; his authorities on Mexican history, 309; criticism of Prescott, 425; his lists of books on Mexico, 430; his *Native Races*, 501; *History of Pacific States*, 501; *North Mexican States*, 501; *Central America*, 501, 502, 576; *Mexico*, 428, 429, 502; *California*, 502; *North-west Coast*, 502; *New Mexico and Arizona*, 502.
- Banda, 501.
- Bandelier, A. F., on Chimalpaín, 412; bibliography of Yucatan, 215, 420, 430; *Historical Introduction to Studies among the Secondary Indians*, 477, 502; and the *Code of Chimalpaín*, 418; *Ruins in the Valley of Mexico*, 428.
- Bandini, A. M., *Vita di Vesputcci*, 131, 154.
- Banks, Sir Joseph, 226.
- Baranda, vii.
- Barbosa, Duarte, *Synonymia*, 613.
- Barborata, 581.
- Barcelona, archives at, ii.
- Barca, Andrés, *Comentarios. Ensayo cronológico*, 285; *Historadores primitivos*, 401; editis Herrera, 67; editis G. de la Vega's *Florida*, 207; editis Torquemada, 422.
- Barro, Pedro del, 517.
- Barretz, 460.
- Barthema, *Nova Orbis*, 67.

- Barlow, S. L. M., prints Harrison's *Notes on Columbus*, viii; his library, 48.
- Baronius, *Annales*, 599.
- Barricco, *De Ophira regione*, 154.
- Barrio-Nuevo, F. de, 212, 493.
- Barros, Arana Diego de, *Collection d'ouvrages inédits ou rares sur l'Amérique*, 573; *Proceso de Valdivia*, 569; *Collection de historiadors de Chile*, 572; book on Magellan, 617.
- Barros, João de, *Asia*, 90.
- Barrow, *Chronological History of Voyages*, 33, 425.
- Barry, J. J., on Columbus, 60.
- Bartlett, J. R., on C. de Vaca's route, 287; on early printing in Mexico, 400.
- Bartolozzi, F., *Ricerche circa scoperte di Vesputci*, 102; *Relazione*, 102.
- Basanier, 203, 208.
- Basle, treaty of, 80.
- Basos, 440.
- Basin de Sandacourt, 145, 164.
- Basitida, Rodrigo, 100, 180, 381; authorities on his voyage, 206, 207; his voyage, 22, 204.
- Baugault bay, 606.
- Baudouin, J., 575.
- Bautista, Joan, pilot, 616.
- Bayuera, C., *Copia de la lettera per Colombo*, 62.
- Bazan, Pedro de, 241.
- Bazares, Guido de, 257.
- Beaupré, 614.
- Beccaria, Diego, 108, 421.
- Bechet, *Landfall of Columbus*, 54, Hede, 28.
- Behring, Martin, his career, 104; his claim to early discoveries, 141; his map of Magellan's straits, 25, 604; improves the astrolabe, 97; on the African coast, 41; portraits, 104; his globe, 25, 104; section of, 105; described, 105.
- Behring on the Asiatic coast, 464; his straits, 468.
- Béjar, duque de, 300.
- Bein, river, 22.
- Beltramo, L. T., *Oasi di Colombo*, 81.
- Belknap, Dr. Jeremy, on Columbus, 68; in *American Biography*, 68.
- Bellegarde, Abbé de, 241.
- Bellegarde, *Histoire antiochelle*, 410.
- Bellerio, Juan, 186; his map, 227, 412.
- Bellin, Nic., his map of California, 468.
- Belloro, G. T., on Columbus' birth-place, 84; *Notizie*, 84.
- Belloy, Marquis de, Columbus, 69.
- Benaducci, Lorenzo Biondini, 2; his manuscript, 397, 418; *Idea de una nueva historia*, etc., 418, 429; *Catalogo*, 429.
- Benalcazar, Seb., 106, 538, 580.
- Beneventanus, Marcus, 121, 124.
- Benignas, Andrea, portolano, 38.
- Bensoni, Girolamo, 346; *Historia del mundo nuovo*, 346, 347; its bibliography, 347; his portrait, 347; *Novum nuncius vaticanae*, etc., 347; on Columbus, 69; *Novum nuncius orbis historia libri*, 307, 347; in De Bry, 347; *Der neuerer Welt*, 347; German versions, 347; Dutch versions, 347; English versions, 347.
- Berardi, Justico, 131, 142.
- Berckman, A., 182.
- Berendi, C. H., 402.
- Bergengroth, G. A., edita Rolls Series, 1; *Calendar of Letters*, etc., 1; finds a Columbus letter, 47; *Calendar of State Papers*, 47; on Isabella, 5.
- Bergomas, *Supplementum supplementi*, 61. See Foresti.
- Bertrando, *Bibliotheca Hispano-Americana*, 490.
- Berlio, Catalogue of manuscripts in the library at, 449; *Gesellschaft für Erkunde*, 81; *Berliner Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 579.
- Bermuda, 224, 451, 453; (1511) 110; (1520) 221; (1544) 227; (1556) 228; first seen, 195; (Belmudo) 229; in the early maps, 225.
- Bernaldes, Andrea, *Historia de los reyes católicos*, 47, 83.
- Bernalillo, 488.
- Bernard, A. J., *Geoffroy Tory*, 181.
- Berrec, Ant. de, 586.
- Herro, 236.
- Berthou, E. L., 467.
- Bertrand in *Journal des Savants*, 471.
- Berwick, Duke of, 88.
- Betancos, Juan de, 546.
- Beteta, Father Gregory de, 255.
- Bianco, Andrea, his sea-chart, 38, 94.
- Bibliophile Belge*, 50.
- Biblioteca de los Americanistas*, 398, 419.
- Biblioteca Colombina*, 65.
- Biblioteca Costanense*, 159.
- Biblioteca histórica de la Iberia*, 408, 411.
- Biblioteca nacional y extranjera*, 428.
- Biblioteca Vaticana*, iii.
- Bibliotheca Thottiana*, 171.
- Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins Stuttgart*, 570.
- Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*, 203.
- Biedma, Luys Hernandez de, *Relacion*, 280, 290; autog., 290.
- Bienewitz, See Agapius.
- Bigotes, 487, 488, 491.
- Bimini, 110, 217, 221, 283; fountain at, 212; name transferred to Mexico, 447.
- Biobio river, 532.
- Biondelli, 415.
- Biondo, *De ventis et navigatione*, 421.
- Biri, 108, 109, 505, 509; visited by Andagoya, 306. See Peru.
- Bison, 477; the range of, 244. See Buffalo.
- Blagu, *Atlas*, 587; his maps of California, 489.
- Blanco, Cape, 40, 280, 461; (Blamquo) 448.
- Blome, *Description*, 110, 466.
- Bobadilla, 20, 21, 180.
- Bobadilla, Friar Fr. de, 526.
- Bobadilla, Isabel del, 197.
- Boca del Drago, 189.
- Boca de Términos, 202.
- Bocchi, Francesco, *Libri stogiorum*, 154.
- Boemus, Johannes, *Omniium gentium moris*, 615.
- Boemus, *Le Mexique connu*, 430.
- Bogotá, 581; Federmann and others at, 579.
- Boban, 331.
- Boissard, *Comes*, 67; *Bibliotheca*, etc., 67, 73.
- Bojador, Cape, 40.
- Bollett, Wm., 582.
- Bonhomme, M., 186.
- Boni, G., *Bibliotheca Estense*, 107.
- Bonafoux, Baron de, *Vie de Colomb*, 60.
- Bontier, 36.
- Boothworn, 48.
- Borde, P. G. L., *L'île de Trinidad*, 587.
- Borja, J. H. de, 66a.
- Borromeo, Fred., Cardinal, 17, 614.
- Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Les Isles Fortunées*, 36.
- Bos, Van den, *Leyden en Daden*, 68.
- Bosshaert, 162.
- Bossi, L., *Vita di Colombo*, 68.
- Boston, a ship from, alleged to be met by De Fonte, 46a.
- Botero, *Relaciones*, 461.
- Boturim. See Benaducci.
- Bouquet, 500.
- Boulenger, Louis, 120.
- Bourke, J. G., on Coronado, 503.
- Bourcier, *Journal of the Sea*, 98.
- Bowers, his map, 468.
- Brabs, 405.
- Bracconero, 527.
- Bredford Co. publications, 200.
- Braga, John of, 596.
- Branco river, 589.
- Brant, Seb., portrait, 59; *Narrenschrift*, 58.
- Brantôme, *Grands capitaines*, 298.
- Brasile, 116, 119. See Brazil.
- Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popul-Vuk*, 251; on Spanish cruelty, 343; his authority, 418; *Nations civilisées*, 418, 428; on the manuscript of Bernal Diaz, 428; edita Bishop Landa's *Relation*, 429; his library, 418, 429; *Codex Chimalpopuca*, 418.
- Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, 378; *Cités du Monde*, 378.
- Bravo, Melchor, 542, 545, 551.
- Brazil, 228, 435, 436, 437, 446; bibliography of, 617; cut off by line of demarcation, 596; first visited, 150; in the Lenox globe, 123, 179; map of coast (1522), 598; natives of, 597; cannibals, 597; called *Terra Sanctae Crucis*, 160, 210; (Pissili) 121; (Bresilia) 429. See Brasilia, Brasilia, Bresilia.
- Breckenridge, H. M., *Early Discoveries in New Mexico*, 502.
- Bresil (island), 36, 451, 453.
- Bresilia, 423. See Brazil.
- Breusing, *Zur Geschichte der Kartographie*, 55.
- Breyer, J. C., on Spanish-American documents, 1; vii; on Muñoz, 103; *Remains of Columbus*, 82; on the arms of Columbus, 88; on the bibliography of Cortés, 411; on the bibliography of Gomara, 414; on Viscaino, 461.
- Breydenbach, B. de, his *Peregrinationes*, 8, 10.
- Briccio, Alonso, 36, 451, 453.
- Briggs, Master, his map in Purchas, 464, 466.
- Brinton, D. G., 279, 282; *Aboriginal American Literature*, 419; *Florida Peninsular*, 483.
- British Museum, Spanish documents in, vii; *Index to Manuscripts*, vii; *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts*, vii.
- Brito, Ant., 616.
- Brevius, 502.
- Brown, Rawdon, *Calendar of State Papers*, 1; and the Venetian archives, vii; discovery of letters respecting Vesputius, 12.
- Bruzen, la Martiniera, *Introduction à l'histoire*, 468.
- Buache, 468; *Considérations géographiques*, 461; *Découvertes de l'Amérique de Fonte*, 461; and Kind's map, 467; on Maldonado, 455.
- Bucll, Bernardus, 58.
- Buena Ventura, 509, 536.
- Buffalo, early pictures (1542) of, 477, 488, 489; first Spanish knowledge of, 467. See Bison.
- Buga, 500.
- Bull (or Boil), 16.
- Bull of demarcation, 592; the line moved, 599, 596. See Alexander VI.; Demarcation.
- Bullart, Isaac, 73.
- Bulletin de la Société d'América*, 82.
- Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 95.
- Burck, August, Magellan, 503, 617.
- Burriel opposes Deltia's views on De Fonte, 465.
- Burke, Edmund, *European Settlements in America*, 424.
- Burney, *South Sea Voyages*, 461.
- Burton, *Haus Slade*, 616.
- Bustamante, Carlos Maria de, 204; edita Cayo's *Tres Siglos*, 428; publishes Chimalpazán, 412.
- Butler, J. D., on the naming of America, 228; on portraits of Columbus, 71.
- Buttner, 221.
- Bvington, *Chaetona Defensor*, 258.
- Bynneman, Henry, 414.

- CABALLERO, Diego, 239.  
 Caballero, oration on Columbus, 81.  
 Cabeza de Vaca, 503; at Culiacan, 474; *Relation*, 499. *See* Vaca.  
 Cabeza, J. R., 90.  
 Cabo. *See* Cape.  
 Cabo, Desado, 508.  
 Cabo Frio, 595. *See* Frio.  
 Cabot, Sebastian, compared with Columbus, 59; his records of longitude, 100; his map, 113, 227, 243; on Vesputius, 154; was he on the Florida coast, 231; apparently ignorant of Gomez's voyage, 242; testifies in the Columbus lawsuit, 242; at La Plata, 449; an Italian, 2; with his father discovers North America, 235; thought it different from Asia, 130.  
 Cabral discovers Brazil, 24, 156, 169, 205.  
 Cabrera, Bueno, his *Navegacion*, 453.  
 Cabrera, Cristobal, *Manual de adultos*, 406.  
 Cabrillo, Juan Rodriguez, on the California coast, 444, 461.  
 Cabuto, 250.  
 Cacama, 164.  
 Cadamosto, 40.  
 Cadogagnin, 204.  
 Cadorel, *Via de Colomb*, 65, 69.  
 Caicedo, 196, 209, 210.  
 Caicos, 233.  
 Cakchiquel, 383.  
 Calancha, Ant. de la, *Cronica*, 570.  
 Caldera, 524.  
 Calderon de la Barca, 427.  
 Calderon de la Barca, Juan, in Chili, 531.  
 Calendars, published by English Government, 1.  
 Call, 599.  
 Calicut, 42.  
 California, coast of, in maps 447, etc.; map by Dudley, 463; discovered by Cortes, 301; origin of name, 443; history by Clavigero, 425.  
 California (gulf), map of, by Cortes, 442; called Gulf of Cortes, 443; Red Sea, 443; (Mer Vermiglio), 228; map of, by Castillo, 443; by Cabot, 447; by Freire, 448; (Mar Vermejo) 449; map by Wyttfiel, 458.  
 California (peninsula), Kino's explorations, 467; early thought to be an island, 441; then held to be a peninsula, 442; so shown on various maps, 445, etc.; omitted on others, 446; represented very broad, 228; distorted in shape, 452; by Wyttfiel, 458; later reputed to be an island, 461; maps showing it as peninsula, 461; earliest insularizing of it, 461; early suspicions of its insularity, 461; in Briggs's map, 462; an island on a captured Spanish chart, 462; a peninsula in De Laet, 462; an island, 466; varied views, 467.  
 Caliquen, 246.  
 Callao, 516.  
 Callender, *Voyages to Terra Australis*, 102.  
 Calpa, 251.  
 Calvet de Estella, "De rebus gestis Cortesi," 397.  
 Calveton. *See* Chauveton.  
 Cam, Diego, 41; on the African coast, 35.  
 Camargo, Diego de, at Pánuco, 238.  
 Camões, account of, 418; his *History of Flaxcala*, 418; his expedition, 284; names of his followers, 415.  
 Camaron, Josef, 261.  
 Cambiasl, Count, his sale, iv.  
 Cameracae (islands), 377.  
 Camers, John, edito Méla, 182; edito Solinus, 175.  
 Campanus on California, 466.  
 Campo, Friedrich, *Zum Andenken Piratkönigen*, 102.  
 Carmoche, 201, 203.  
 Campa, *Historia ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, 84.  
 Canada, 451, 453.  
 Canadian Monthly, 97.  
 Canarias (islands), 8, 103, 177, 451; as first meridian, 95; bibliography of, 36; settled by Béthencourt, 36. *See* Fortunate Islands.  
 Canasagua, 247.  
 Cañate (town), founded, 547.  
 Cañate. *See* Mendoza.  
 Canaveral, 277.  
 Canaveral, Cape, 263, 264, 295.  
 Cancelada, Louths of, 509.  
 Cancellieri, F. G., *Dis. sopra Colombo*, viii, 62, 73, 84.  
 Cancer de Barbastro, Luis, and the Indians, 254; in Florida, 255; killed, 255.  
 Cancheto, 187.  
 Cancio, 233.  
 Candia, F. de, 510, 512, 528, 536.  
 Cancho. *See* Canico.  
 Canizares, *El Pleyto de Cortés*, 430.  
 Cannibals, 175, 230, 303, 329; of Brazil, 297; picture of, 19, 598.  
 Cannon of Cortes's luna, 352; cast in Mexico, 380.  
 Cano, Francisco, 504.  
 Cano, Melchior, 316.  
 Canoe, Indian (cut), 171; described by Pigafetta, 596.  
 Canovini, S., *Élogio di Vesputci*, 135; various publications on Vesputius, 135.  
 Cantino, Alberto, his map, 43, 107, 121; sketch, 108; illustrates Vesputius's voyage, 136; type of, 122.  
 Cantipratensis, *De verum natura*, 28.  
 Cano, Ernesto de, *Archivo dos Açores*, 38; *Os Corde-Roucos*, 107.  
 Cantú, *Storia universale*, 83.  
 Canzio, M., 78.  
 Cape. *See* Arenas, Blanco, Rojador, Canaveral, Corrientes, Good Hope, Gracias a Dios, Hatteras, Mendocino, Mesurado, Non, Passado, Race, Roman, Roxo, Rostro, St. Augustin, St. Helena, St. Roman, San Francisco, Santa Maria, Stormy, Tiburon, Trafalgar. *See also* Cabo.  
 Cape Breton (Berton), 451, 453.  
 Cape De Verde Islands, 109, 109, 115.  
 Cape Gracias a Dios, 353.  
 Cape Race (Ras), 453.  
 Cape St. Lucas (de Buena), 458.  
 Cape St. Vincent, 81; at, 1, 2.  
 Capinpa, 559.  
 "Captana" ship, 20.  
 Capponi. *See* Guio.  
 Capriolo, *Ritratti*, 72.  
 Caravantes, F. L. de, 265.  
 Caravela, 2, 46.  
 Carbalja, F. de, joins Gonzalo Pizarro, 537; leads Vaca de Castro's army, 536; executed, 542.  
 Carbaljal, *Mexico*, 75.  
 Carballido y Zuniga. *See* Barcia.  
 Cardenas, 499.  
 Cardenas y Cano, *Florida*, 575. *See* Barcia.  
 Cárdenas, F. de, his *Coleccion*, vii.  
 Cardenas, Garcia Lopez de, 484, 488.  
 Cardena, Luis de, 397.  
 Carderera, V., *Retratos de Colon*, 70.  
 Cardosa, Nicolas de, 461.  
 Careta, 195.  
 Caribana (punta), 189.  
 Caribbee Islands, 16.  
 Carrillo, Luis, 196.  
 Carleton, J. H., *Excursion to the Ruins of Abo*, etc., 494.  
 Carlos (Indian chief), 279, 282.  
 Carlos. *See* Charles.  
 Caryle, Thomas, on Prescott's letters, 427.  
 Carmona, Alonso de, 209.  
 Caroline. *See* Fort Caroline.  
 Carpenter, his *Geography*, 462.  
 Carrion, A. de, 511.  
 Cartagena, 100, 101, 200, 58; view of, 102; taken by Lago, 584; plundered, 202.  
*Cartas de Indias*, viii, 567; map in, 222.  
 Carthagens, Juan de, 592, 599, 604, 607.  
 Carthagens. *See* Cartagena.  
 Cartier, watched by Spanish spies, 254.  
 Carvajal, A. S. de, factor of Columbus, iv.  
 Carvajal, B. de, 57.  
 Carver, the traveller, 469; his *Travels*, 469.  
 Casa de la Contratacion, 57, 348.  
 Casa Grande, 482, 502.  
 Casas, puruses Old, 384.  
 Caseneuve, 1; (admiral) 96.  
 Casati, *Annali di Genova*, 83, 90.  
 Casqui, 251.  
 Casa, Lewis, on Aztec civilization, 427.  
 Cassanara River, 586.  
 Cassano Serra, Duke de, 459.  
 Cassaquiri Canal, 581, 582.  
 Cassava bread, 538.  
 Castañeda, Gabriel, on the Conquest of the Chichimeca, 419.  
 Castañeda, Pedro de, *Relation*, 500.  
 Castañeda de Sosa, *Cosmogr.*, 504.  
 Castellani, 322; *Catálogo*, 455.  
 Castellanos, Juan de, his portraits, 583; *Elegias*, 78, 583.  
 Castillo del Oro, 98, 109, 221, 459, 505; map of, 199, 191.  
 Castilla Nueva, 212. *See* New Castile.  
 Castillo, 244; facsimile of his map of California, 441.  
 Castro, Lope Garcia de, governor of Peru, 551; his life, 570.  
 Castro, Vaca de, his letters, 567; his life by Herrera, 567.  
 Cat Islands, 55.  
 Catalan mappemonde, 38, 94.  
 Catalula, 392.  
 Catamaran, 611.  
 Catameo on Columbus, 53.  
 Catesby, *Carolina*, 64.  
 Cathay, 41, 105.  
 Catoche, 384 (punta) 201, 236.  
 Caulin, Ant., *Hist. Nueva Andaluca*, 587.  
 Caupeñican, 548, 549.  
 Cavendish, 401; on Pacific coast, 456; captures, Vincino, 460.  
 Cavo, Andrés, *Tres siglos de Mexico*, 428.  
 Cazamarca, 558.  
 Cazamarca, 544, 516, 519.  
 Caya, 251.  
 Centeno, Diego, 538, 541.  
 Cenó, expedition to, 208; (river) 189.  
 Cepeda, 537, 539, 540, 541.  
 Cepeda and Carillo, *Ciudad de Mexico*, 375.  
 Cermeñon, 453.  
 Ceron, George, 259.  
 Cerro, Diego Fernando de, 586.  
 Cervantes, Ant. de, 240.  
 Cespedes, A. G. de, *Reg. de Navegacion*, 45; 461.  
 Chachapoyas, 519, 528; founded, 523.  
 Chaco, Rio, 502.  
 Chac-sulub-chen, chronicle of, 419.  
 Chaz, Paul, *Basin de Mississipi*, 287.  
 Chalco, 369.  
 Chalcochima, 520.  
 Chalcoz, Nicolas de (Challus) at Fort Caroline, 206; *Discours*, 216; *Histoire memorable*, 206; *True and Perfect Description*, 207; edited by Gravert, 216; *De Gallorum Expeditione*, 207.  
 Champlain, his astrolabe, 97.  
 Champeon, 203.  
 Chamuscado, F. S., 504.  
 Chanaral, 524.  
 Chanay, Ed., 571; on Columbus's second voyage, 309.  
 Channing, Edw., "Companions of Columbus," 187.  
 Chapultepec, 274.  
 Charcas, 523, 525.  
 Charles III. (Spain), his care of documents, 11.

- Charles V. (Spain), forms archives of Simancas, 1.
- Charles V. (Emperor), 88; autog., 289, 372; gives a map to Philip II., 223, 445, 462; portrait in Jovius, 371; in Herrera, 373; portrait in title of a Latin *Cortés*, 409.
- Charlesfort (Fort Royal), 260, 274; abandoned, 262.
- Charlevoix on Columbus' birth, 83; *Isle Espagnole*, 88.
- Charlotte Islands, 463.
- Charon, his list of sources of Mexican history, 399; *Poyouour*, 10, 71.
- Chaumette des Fossés, *Colatigues*, 576.
- Chauveton, Urban, 297; translates Benzoni, 347.
- Chavanne, Dr. J., 222.
- Chaves, Diego de, 518.
- Chaves, F. de, 518, 520, 527; murdered, 521.
- Chaves, Hieronymus, his map, 282; description of the Atlantic coast, 492.
- Chénique, 247.
- Cherokee, 247.
- Chesapeake Bay visited by Spaniards, 240, 260, 262.
- Chevalier, M., *Mexique ancien et moderne*, 43.
- Chiabà, 491.
- Chiabò, 247.
- Chiametta, 424, 428.
- Chibchas, 521.
- Chicago, 250.
- Chicama, 519.
- Chichilicalli, 428, 429.
- Chilaga, 459.
- Chica, 538.
- Childo, E. V., translates Santarem's *Espeque*, 178.
- Chili, 228, 436, 459; *Anales de la Universidad*, 56; coast, 460; "Conquest and Settlement of," by Markham, 505; its earlier history, 524; sketch-map of the Conquest, 524; wars with Araucanians, 547; Valdivia defeated, 595; Villagra, governor, 549; G. H. de Mendoza, governor, 549; Villagra, governor, 551; Quiroga, governor, 551; audiencia of, 551; Wyllie's map, 559; Sotomayor, governor, 561; Loyola, governor, 561; sources of information, 571; *Varias relaciones del Peru y Chile*, 576. See Almagro, Valdivia.
- Chilani, 524.
- Chiloé, archipelago, 549.
- Chimahuacan, 569.
- Chimalpain, *Cronica Mexicana*, 418; translates Gomara, 412; Bustamante supposes it a native text, 412; Baudelier deceived, 412.
- Chimborazo, 509.
- Chinan. See Gaito.
- Chincha, 228, 519, 526, 538.
- Chiquito (Colorado), 483.
- Chira River, 515, 516.
- Chirino, Pedro, *Isles Filipinas*, 616.
- Chisca, 248, 251.
- Choco Bay, 509.
- Chocoto bluff, 291.
- Choix de documents étog. à la bibl. nat.*, 38.
- Cholula, 328, 362.
- Chronometer, 101.
- Chuchama, 506, 509, 509.
- Chuculco, 538.
- Chupas, 520; battle of, 567.
- Chuquiaguá, 519; battle at, 545.
- Cia, 491.
- Ciavca, Andrea de, 524.
- Cibola, 477, 478, 480, 528; identified, 483; the district of, 483; map of, 485; expedition to, 503; seven cities, 483; various identifications of, 501, 502, 503.
- Cibolito, 501.
- Ciudad, 487, 488.
- Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, 541; career, 508; fate of his manuscripts, 568; *La guerra de Ordo*, 568; bibliography of, 573; *Parte primera de la cronica del Peru*, 573; various translations, 574; Paris II., III., and IV., 574; copy of manuscript in Lenox Library, 574; *Tercero libro*, 574.
- Cignatao, 224.
- Ciguatan, 449, 473, 474, 499.
- Cinamon, Land of, 528, 531.
- Cipango, 8, 24, 25, 105, 110; described by Marco Polo, 29; (Cimpang) 128; (Zipangri) 118, 119, 121; (Zipagri) 120; (Zimanci) 123; (Zipagna) 124. See Japan.
- Cirouart, A. de, 66.
- Cimeroo, Diego, *Ciudad de Mexico*, 378.
- Citri, Bon André de, 424.
- Citri de la Guetta, 267.
- Civizza, Marcelino da, *Missiones Franciscanas*, 3.
- Civilla catolica*, 69.
- Claudio, C., *Investigaciones historicas*, 35, 28, 83, 105.
- Clark, *Progress of Maritime Discovery*, 35, 28, 83, 105.
- Clavigero, F. S., account of, 425; his *Mexico*, 425; *California*, 425; *Historia antigua de Mexico*, 425; *Catch nos Mexico*, 425; *History of Mexico*, translated by Cullen, 425; portrait, 425; his list of books on Mexico, 420.
- Clavus, Claudius, 28.
- Clementin on the value of ancient Mexico, 420.
- Clement, *Bibliog. curiosa*, 182.
- Clement VII., portrait, 407.
- Clemente, C., *Tablas*, 9.
- Clerigo, See Las Casas.
- Climatic lines, 95.
- Clinton, De Witt, on the Spaniards at Chocoma, 283.
- Club, Indian (cut), 16.
- Cooyen, 95.
- Cobo, Bernabé, *Fundacion de Lima*, 567.
- Coca, 248, 258.
- Coca River, 248.
- Cochiti, 491.
- Cocleius, Johannes, 182.
- Coco, 487.
- Codes Reunies*, 375.
- Codine, Jules, *Decouverte de la côte d'Afrique*, 40; *La mer des Indes*, 40, 96.
- Coello, Gonzalo, his voyage, 251, 162.
- Cofitachiqui, 251.
- Coguludo, D. L., *Yucatan*, 214, 459.
- Cola, 509.
- Coins-Collectors' Journal*, 470.
- Cole, Humphrey, invented the log, 98.
- Collection de doc. inéd. para la historia Espana*, vii.
- Collection de livres rares & curieuses*, 577.
- Colca, Juan, 290.
- Coligny, lives of, 298.
- Coligua, 251.
- Colin, edition of Herrera, 67; *Niverno Weyll*, 67.
- Colloa, 519, 524, 528, 558.
- Colo-colo, 548.
- Cologne, *Cronica van Coellen*, 59.
- Colmeiro, M., *Las ristas de Colon*, 82.
- Colmenares, Rodrigo Enriquez, 193, 210.
- Colombo. See Columbus: Colon.
- Colombo family, genealogical table, 87; lawsuit, 88; Harrison on, 89.
- Colombo, F. G., 72.
- Colombo, Luigi, *Patris del Ammiraglio*, 84.
- Colon. See Columbus, Colombo.
- Colon en Quinquena*, 65, 32.
- Colonon, Luis, 65, 66; renounces his rights, 28.
- Colon, Pedro, 65.
- Colorado (river), 468, 469, 485, 486; ascended by Alconon, 442.
- Columbia proposed as name for the United States, 178.
- Columbia River, 469, 470.
- Columbus. See Colon: Colombo.
- Columbus, Bartholomew, 88; on the African coast, 41; takes a map to England, 102; arrives in Hispaniola, 17; on the Honduras coast, 22; in Lisbon, 1; in England, 3; portrait, 86; memoir, 86.
- Columbus, Christopher, birth, 1; date of birth, 83, 89; place of birth, 83, 89; his father, 89; of humble origin, 84, 89; genealogy of his family, 87; signification of his name, 125; his practical career, 1; sells maps, 3; his marriage, 2, 90; his geographical theories, 3, 24; as to size of globe, 24; as to shape of globe, 99; his notes on D'Ailly, 29; on *Zenoas Sylvius*, 32; his argument from trees drifted ashore, 32; his alleged intercourse with Spanish pilot, 33; proposes to Ferdinand and Isabella, 31; made high admiral, 55; would rescue the Holy Sepulchre, 57; his voyages (collectively), 109; map of the four voyages, 60, 61, 67; his first voyage, 8, 46, 131; his ship, 7; number of his men, 10; money raised, 97; his track (map), 91; his attempt to ascertain longitude by the needle's declination, 100; landfall, 9, 52, 92; his prayer, 9; supposed he had reached Asia, 126; usual ascription of his discovery, 182, 208; builds fort in Hayti, 10; return voyage, 12; his reception, 12; news of the discovery carried to Italy, 48; effect in Europe, 61; his second voyage, 15, 131; observes eclipse of the moon, 98; returns to Spain, 18; authorities on second voyage, 17; his third voyage, 19, 132, 142; gets information of the Pacific, 211; Roldán's revolt, 202; Bobadilla arrives, 202; put in chains, 20; returns to Spain, 20; authorities on third voyage, 58; his fourth voyage, 20, 102; loses an anchor, 59; authorities on fourth voyage, 59; his associations with places (Barcelona), 56; (Costa Rica) 21, (Cuba) 10, (Genoa) 2, 90, (Hayti) 10, (Honduras) 21, (Ireland) 2, 33, (Jamaica) 21, 201, (Palos) 90, (Pavias) 90, (Portugal) 2, 90, (Rabida) 5, 90, (Salamancal) 4, 91, (Santa Fe) 5, (Segovia) 23; dies obscurely, 23, 78, 167; house where he died, 23; burial, 28; remains removed to St. Domingo, 80; supposed reinstatement at Havana, 81; his will, 65; the lawsuit of his heirs, 10, 204; his connection with Beatriz Enriquez, 4, 64; his characteristics, 23, 24; incarcenation, 91; makes slaves of the natives, 30; imagined himself inspired, 24; compared with Cabot, 99; personal relations and reciprocal influence with Cabot, 126; with Toscanelli, 2, 90; with Vesputius, 231, 142, 149, 178; his companions, 187; his fame, 65; early references to, 57, 62, 64; poems and dramas on, 68; efforts to canonize him, 69; Resully de Longue's efforts, 69; his name suggested for the New World, 169, 174; authorities on his career, 24; documents, 4, vii, viii; his letters-patent, iii; his privileges, 86; the "admiral's map," 113; other maps connected with him, 94, 104, 112, 144; his manuscripts, 65, 89; at Genoa, iv, 77; his manuscript on Portuguese discoveries, 151; his drawing of his triumph, 12; his letters, 46, 89; first letter, early editions, 48; fac-similes of pages, 49-54; Amerigo's text, 99; other texts, 90; turned into rhyme, 51; in later shapes, 51; letters lost,

- ii; photographed, iv; his Journal abridged by Las Casas, 91; his printed writings, 89; *Cartas y testamento*, 51; *Copia de la lettera*, 62; *Lettera rarissima*, 62; his Journal, 46, 89, 91; *Libro de las profecias*, 24, 89; *Epistola C. Colom or De insula inuenta*, 48; *Eyn Schon hutsch*, etc., 51; letters in *Cartas de Indias*, viii; his writings, edited by Torre, 46; lives and notices of, 62; (Castellano) 58a, (Dodge) iv, (Ferdinand Columbus) 64, 65, (Gustmann) 62, (Harris) 88, (Living) vi, (Navarrete) v, (Robertson) ii, (Winsor) i; descriptions of his person, 69; likenesses, painted, engraved, and carved, — namely (Berwick-Aiba) 76, (Borgoña) 76, (Capriolo) 72, 73, (Cardenas) 78, (Coglietto) 72, (Cuccaro) 75, (D'Ambras) 72, (De Bry) 73, 74, 75, (De Pas) 72, (Edwards) 78, (Florence) 72, 74, (Fuchius) 76, (Genoa) 78, (Havana) 76, 77, (Jonard) 74, 78, (Jovius) 77, (La Cosa) 71, (Lima) 78, (Madrid) 78, (Maella) 76, (Malpica) 72, (Mercator) 71, (Montanus) 77, 79, (More) 76, (Mosaic) 73, (Opmeer) 72, (Parmigiano) 76, (Peachier) 76, (Philosofus) 77, (New Providence) 78, (Roma) 76, (Seville) 76, 78, (Washington) 78; his coat-armor, 15, 88, 89, 105; his armor, 4; his autog., 12; his handwriting, 14; his motto, 78.
- Columbus, Diego (brother of Christopher, the Admiral), 21, 16, 87, 88, 101; sent to Spain, 171; returns, 18 to Cuba, 349; his house, 88; his will, li.
- Columbus, Diego (son of the Admiral), 2, 86; a royal page, 5; lawsuit of, 144, 174; memorial on converting the Indians, 337; his remains, 80, 81.
- Columbus, Ferdinand<sup>o</sup> 87, 88; career of, 65; his mother, 64; accompanies his father, 21; relations with Vesputius, 170, 174; his alleged map, 43, 206; his *Historia*, 64; discredited by Harris, 66, 89; defended by Stevens and D'Arceve, 66; his library, 65; his income, 65; his tomb, 65.
- Columbus, Luis (grandson of the Admiral), his remains, 80, 81.
- Coma, G., 58.
- Comité d' Archéologie Américaine, 50.
- Comoge, 505, 509.
- Compass, 94; picture of, 94. *See* Magnet; Needle.
- Compendio historico, etc., 68.
- Compostella, 474, 480, 481.
- Coma, 493.
- Conception (Chili), 524; founded, 548. "Conception" (ship), 594.
- Concepcion Bay, 548.
- Conches, Feuillet de, 12.
- Conches, Guillaume de, his *Philosophia morum*, 28.
- Conchucos settled, 527.
- Conibas (Island), 463.
- Conibas (Lake), 457.
- Conitauage River, 247.
- Conquista del nuevo mundo, 575; *del Ferr*, 503.
- Conzag, his map, 468.
- Contarini, Gasparo, 617.
- Conti, Natali, *Universa historia libri*, 154.
- Conti, V., on Montserrat, 81.
- Cook, Captain James, 46.
- Cooley, W. D., *Maritime Discovery*, 34.
- Croca River, 248.
- Croacas, 358.
- Cocawattie, 247.
- Copala, 509, 502; sends further treasure to Spain, 382; sends jugglers to Rome, 407; receives plenary indulgence, 407; made governor and captain-general, 382; seeks passage to Asia, 411, 430; siezes Pánuco, 382; sends an expedition to Guatemala, 195; pursues Olid, 284; goes to Honduras, 384; returns to Mexico, 386; his commission suspended, 386; goes again to Spain, 387; made Marqués del Valle de Oajaca, 388; his wife dies, 389; marries a daughter of the Conde de Aguilar, 390; returns to Mexico, 391; aids Pizarro, 526; sends expeditions on the Pacific, 393; builds vessels at Tehuantepec, 393, 441; discovers California, 393, 441; last return to Spain, 393; his descendants, 395; dies, 396; his remains, 396; sources of information on his career, 397; his letters, 337, 397, 402; *Vida de Cortés*, 397; first letter, 402; its equivalents, 402; *De rebus exoticis Californiae*, 393, 441; *Cortés*, 397, 402; Peter Martyr on Cortés, 402; *Novus orbis*, etc., 402; *Trois lettres*, 402; *Novus Weltzug*, 402; *Ein drittes*, etc., 402; *Frans-Ianissius*, etc., 402; second letter, 404, 405; *Carta de relacio*, 403; *Carta de relacion*, 403; cut of Cortés before Charles V., 403; his map of the Gulf of Mexico, 404, *Pracleara*, etc., 404; fac-simile of its title and reverse, 405, 406; *The prester's narrations*, 407; *Ein schön neues Weltzug*, 408; edited by Lorenzana, 408; life by Sando, 408; *De insulis super inventis*, 408; fac-simile of title, 409; in Grynaeus *Notus orbis*, 409; *Correspondance de Cortés*, 410; *Cortés von dem neuen Hispanien*, 410; *Eraberung von Mexico*, 410; *Drei Berichte*, 410; *De Cortespen*, etc., 410; *Bruxela van Cortés*, 410; *Despatches* (Folom's ed.), 410; in Willer's *History of Transpala*, 410; third letter, 410; *Carta tercera*, 410; *Tertius narratio*, 410; the "secret letter," 411; fourth letter, 411; *La quarta relacion*, 411; the "new carta," etc., 411; fifth letter, 411; *Carta quinta*, 411; characteristics of his letters, 411; authorities on his Honduras expedition, 411; *Ultima carta*, 411; *Escritos sueltos*, 411; bibliography by Diaz Balcells, 411; by Harris, 411; by Brevoort, 411; account of, in Gomara, 412; in Bernal Diaz, 412; in Sahagun, 415; his marches shown on a map in Jourdane's *Bernal Diaz*, 415; names of his followers, 415; his career as drawn by Kubliochill, 417; by Camargo, 418; by Brasseur de Bourbourg, 418; by Ramirez, 419; by Vasquez, 419; by Torquemada, 421; by Solis, 421; by Robertson, 422; by Clavigero, 425; by Prescott, 425; by K. A. Wilson, 427; life by A. Heine, 428; his fiction, 430; in drama, 430; his portrait, 71, 76, 424; in *Cortés salvador*, 354; in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection, 357; in Solis, 360; in Torus, 381; in Herrera, 386; full-length portrait, 395; medal likeness, 396; other portraits, 386; engraving by Vertue, 424; his armor, 350; his banner, 381; his armor, 350; his autog., 361.
- Cortés, Martin, 95; *Arte de navegar*, 98.
- Cortina, Conde de, 416.
- Cosa, Juan de la, 16, 187, 189, 208, 209, 210; viceroy of Saint Christoph, 71; killed, 191; with Ubeda, 144; his voyages, 206; his chart, 193, 206. *See* La Cosa.
- Cocho (Alexander, Leander), 177; his rendering of Columbus' letter, 47.
- Coctonographic introduction, fac-similes of pages, 167, etc., (1514) 120. *See* Waldseemüller.
- Comette, Captain, 270.
- Coppé, Henry, "Conquest of Mexico," 375.
- Coppo, his map sketched, 127; *Portolano*, 128.
- Coquibaco, 187, 189.
- Coquimbo, 524, 525, 529.
- Corazones, 482, 485, 490.
- Cordiform projection of maps, 123.
- Cordeiro, Luciano, "Les Portugais dans la découverte de l'Amérique," 31.
- Cordeyro, *Historia insulara*, 33.
- Cordillera of the Andes, 514.
- Cordova, Bishop, 305.
- Cordova (Cordoba), Francisco Hernandez de, 200, 201, 402; voyage to the Bahamas, 236; to Yucatan, 214; dies, 217.
- Cordova, Pedro de, 310.
- Cordova y Figuera, Hist. of Chili, 573.
- Cordova y Salinas, 570.
- Cordova (town), 3.
- Corner, Francesco, 152.
- Coro, 279, 387.
- Coronado, V. de, governor of New Galicia, 474; account of, 474, 475; seeks Topira, 480; autog., 481; commands expedition to Cibola, 481; captures the town, 483; map of his explorations, 485; arrives at Quivira, 493; ill, 496; return march, 497; sources of information, 498, 499; his letters, 499; *Relacion del suceso de la tornada*, 500; *Traslado*, etc., 500; Jaramillo's account, 500; modern accounts, 501; his several expeditions, 503; his expedition connected with voyage on the Pacific coast, 443; bears of D. Soto's party, 392.
- Coronel, 119.
- Coronelli on California, 467.
- Correa, Gaspar, his account of Da Gama, 44; *Lendas da India*, 616.
- Correa, Juan, 208.
- Correni, Cesare, *Lettere antogvafi di Colombo*, 46.
- Corrientes, Cape, 233, 509.
- Corsini, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
- Cortambert, R., *Nouvelle histoire des voyages*, 72, 83.
- Cortereal, Aluis, 445.
- Cortereal, Gaspar, 66; at Hudson's Straits, 445; his discovery (*Regalia domus*), 122, 125.
- Cortereal, João Vas Costa, voyage to Newfoundland, 33.
- Corterales (1527), 219.
- Corterealita, 177.
- Cortés, Francisco, 441.
- Cortés, Hernando, chapter on, by Justin Winsor, 349; commander of expedition, 204, 349; suspected by Velasquez, 351; his cannon, 352; map of his voyage, 353; sends messengers to Montezuma, 355; founds Vera Cruz, 356; foils Velasquez, 356; sends treasure to the Emperor, 356; map of his march to Mexico, 358; sinks his ships, 359; numbers of forces in all his expeditions controverted, 359; at Cholula, 360; meets Montezuma, 362; has a flotilla on the lake, 362; receives tribute from Montezuma, 365; professes to build ships to leave the country, 365; Narvaez sent against him, 365; Cortés defeats him, 367; returns to Mexico, 368; shows Montezuma to the Mexicana, 368; endeavors to leave the city, 368; the *triste noche*, 369; at Otumba, 370; retreats to Tlascala, 370; his second letter, 371; builds brigantines, 372; establishes base at Tecuaco, 372; his marches round Mexico, 374; brigantines launched, 375; attacks the city, 376; captures it, 378; casts cannon, 380; sends further treasure to Spain, 382; sends jugglers to Rome, 407; receives plenary indulgence, 407; made governor and cap-



- Duro, C. F., *Peñalosa*, 503; *Colon y Pinar*, 284; *Informe*, etc., 242.  
 Duval, his map, 406.  
 Dwight, Theodore F., 469.
- EARTH, Columbus' idea of the form of, 133; centre of, in the terrestrial paradises, 99; a sphere, 24, 25; size of, 24, 30; shaped like a pear, 24. *See* Globe.
- Echete, 288.  
 Echeverri, J. de, *Las Censuras de Colon*, 81.  
 Ecija, 285; *Relacion*, 286.  
*Eclectic Magazine*, 426.  
 Eclipse. *See* Sun.  
*Eclipses*, *Review*, 50.  
 Edwards, B., *West Indies*, 78.  
 Edwards, E., *Memoirs of Libraries*, 65.  
 Eguayra y Eguren, *Biblioteca Mexicana*, 429.  
*Ein schone neue Zeitung*, 51.  
 Eldorado, name first applied, 579; (South America) history of the belief in, 579.  
*El General San Martin*, 532.  
 Elorraga, 599.  
 Ellis, George E., on Las Casas, 299; on Prescott's use of the nomenclature, 17.  
 Ellis, Henry, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 468.  
 Elvas, Gentleman of, his *Relacion*, 288; *Virginia richly wolded*, 389; *Historie of Terra Florida*, 289; *Discovery and Conquest of Florida* (edited by Ryer), 289.  
 Emory, W. H., *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 501.  
 Enciso, M. F. de, 191, 194, 195, 197; account of, 191, 208; *Suma de geografía*, 98, 208.  
 Encomiendas, 337, 348, 537, 571.  
 Engel, Samuel, *Memoirs*, 468; *Extrait raisonné*, 468.  
 Enim, 585, 589.  
 Equator, first crossed on the American side, 197; first crossed on the Pacific side, 507.  
 Erastosthenes, his theory of the Atlantic, 100.  
 Ercilla, Alonso de, in Chili, 549; *Argonautas*, 571; augmented by Osorio, 571.  
 Escambia River, 258.  
 Escobar, Maria de, 518, 547.  
 Escobiqui, *Mexico conquistada*, 430.  
 Escondido (river), 281.  
 Escondido, documents at, iii.  
 Espada, M. J. de la, editis Cieza de Leon, 574; editis *Memorias antiguas del Peru*, 571; editis *Relaciones geograficas*, 576.  
 Espejo, Ant. de, 497, 504.  
 Espinosa, *alcalde mayor*, 197.  
 Espinosa, *Chronica apostolica*, 399.  
 Espinosa, F. C., *Hist. de Mexico*, 428.  
 Espinosa, Gaspar de, 168, 505; in Lima, 126; his expedition, 211; a partner with Pizarro, 209; dies, 526.  
 Espinosa (with Magellan), 599.  
 Espiritu Santo, bay named by De Soto, 245; Rio de, 221, 224, 225, 229; (1520) 218; (1527) 219. *See* Misissippí.  
 Esquivel, Juan de, 191, 201, 214.  
 Essewein, A. O., *Bilder-Atlas*, 352.  
 Essequibo River, 167, 581, 587.  
 Estancelin, *Wanderers Normannia*, 34, 39.  
 Estero de los Lagartos, 203.  
 Esteva, R., 76.  
 Etienne, H., 186.  
 Estouillat, 459, 478.  
 Estrada, Alonso d', 475.  
 Estrada, Pedro de, 240.  
 Etowa, 347.  
*Etudes sur les fibres de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 60.  
 Europe, naming of, 167.  
 Eusebio, *Chronicon*, 64.
- Evans, R. S., 481.  
 Everett, A. H., and Irving, vi.
- FABER, Dr. John, 163, 173.  
 Fabian, 47.  
 Fabié, A. M., *Vida de Las Casas*, 743.  
 Fabre, Ant., 614.  
 Fabricius de Vagad, *Coronica de Aragon*, 59.  
 Fadeu, his map showing Lake Parima, 589.  
 Fairbanks, *Florida*, 292; *St. Augustine*, 293.  
 Faleiro, Rui, 591, 592.  
 Falero, *La longitud en la mar*, 98.  
 Falkenstein, *Buchdruckerkunst*, 407.  
 Fancourt, C. St. J., *Yucatan*, 409.  
 Farlan's Boat wrecked, 256.  
 Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, 34, 615; *Europa Portuguesa*, 57.  
 Farmer, Maria, 76.  
 Farrer, Virginia, her map, 466.  
 Favolius, Hugo, map-maker, 459.  
 Federici, F., his collection, iv.  
 Federmann, Nic., *Indiannische Historie*, 579; his expedition, 578.  
 Ferdinand (Spain), sign-manual, 56, 85; portrait, 85; dies, 88, 310.  
 Ferdinand and Isabella (cut), 6.  
 Fergani, Al., 24.  
 Fera, Pedro de, 256, 257.  
 Fer-Isabelica, 169.  
 Fernandez, Alonso, *Hist. eclesiastica*, 399.  
 Fernandez, Alvaro, 260.  
 Fernandez, Leon, *Colection*, 398.  
 Fernandez, Val., *Marco Paulo*, etc., 62.  
 Fernandez. *See* Cuba.  
 Fernando VI. (Spain), his care of documents, ii.  
 Ferraro, G., *Relaciones*, 62, 156, 162.  
 Ferrelous, 47.  
 Ferrello (or Ferrer), pilot, 444.  
 Ferrer, Jaume, his map, 45; his *Sem-teucana*, 45.  
 Ferrer, Juan, 216.  
 Ferro, meridian of, 95.  
 Feuillet de Conches on pictures of Columbus, 70.  
 Finzas, Orontius, his globe, 184, 431.  
 Fiorentino, F. C., *Chronica*, 62.  
 Fischer, Augustin, *Biblioteca Mijicera*, 459.  
 Fischer, Theobald, *Ueber Seeharten*, 93.  
 Fisher, L. P., on C. de Vaca, 288.  
 Flavigny, Vicomte de, 410.  
 Florencia, Fr. de, *Compania de Jesus*, 599.  
 Florida, 228, 229, 422, 435, 436, 453; (1520) 218, (1527) 219, (1541) 177, (1542) 228, (1606) 451; abandoned by the Spanish (1571), 260; Ribault in, 260; Laudonniere in, 262; ancient, by J. G. Shea, 231; named, 233; called Canico, 234; authorities on its history, 202; on Mependa, 202; on Ribault, 203; on Laudonniere, 204, 209; on Gougeon, 207; *La Republique de la Floride*, 207; as a name first confined to the peninsula, 275; Indian tribes in, 284; called Isabella, 116; Jesuits in, 289, 399; maps of (Cantino), 108, (Cortés) 404, (Da Vinci) 124, 126, (anon.) 202, (1665) 284, (1691, Lemoine) 274, (Ortelius) 472, (Weyliet) 281, (others) 275.  
 Florin, Juan. *See* Verrazano.  
 Foglietto, *Elogio*, 84.  
 Folieta, U., *Claverosum Ligurum elogia*, 67.  
 Folson, George, on early American discoveries, 34; *Discourses of Cortés*, 410, 411.  
 Fonseca, Juan Rodriguez, 57; opponent of Las Casas, 310; head of the council for the Indies, 311; opposes Columbus, 91, 311; opposes
- Fonseca, bay of, 200.  
 Fontaine, *How the World was Peopled*, 25.  
 Fontanarrosa, Susanna, 89.  
 Fontaneda, Hern. de Escalante, *Memoir*, 291.  
 Fonte. *See* De Fonte.  
 Force, Peter, 337.  
 Foresti, J. P. (Hergoma), *Supplementum supplementum cronicarum*, 52.  
 Forlani. *See* Furlani.  
 Formaleoni, *La marina des Vénitiens*, 36.  
 Forrari, Baliano de, 66.  
 Forquevaulx, Sieur de, his papers, 207.  
 Forster, F., *Columbus*, 69.  
 Fort Caroline founded, 262; site of, 264, 270, 274; map of, 265; views of, 268, 269; attacked by Menéndez, 221.  
 Fort Louis, 394.  
 Fortunate Islands, 36. *See* Canary Island.  
 Foscarini, *Della lett. Ven.*, 10.  
 Fountain of Youth (Bimini), 30.  
 Fouange. *See* Fouanque.  
 Fox, G. V., *First Landing-place of Columbus*, 50.  
 Francesca (1527), 219.  
 Francisco, A., his collection, 182.  
 Francis of Vittoria, 343.  
 Franciscans in Hispaniola, 305; in Mexico, 309; histories of, 399.  
 Franciscus, monk, *De ordo sua*, 431; his map, 431.  
 Francique-Michel on Saint-Brandan, 36.  
 Franck, Sebastian, *Witluch*, 421.  
 Frankfurt globe, 118, 122. *See* Schöner Frankl, poem on Columbus, 73.  
 Franklin, Benjamin, on the De Fonte story, 462.  
 Franquelin, on California, 467.  
 Freccia, 76.  
 Freherus, P., *Thaltes*, 73.  
 Freire, Juan, his map of the California coast, 447.  
 French standard, shown in view, 269.  
 Fresnoy, Du, *Méthode pour étudier la géog.*, 298.  
 Freyus, Fr. M. de, *Relacion*, 504; edited by J. G. Shea, 504.  
 Friars in Mexico, 399. *See* Dominicana, Franciscans, etc.  
 Friesa, Loren (Frisius, Phrysius), 125, 173; his mappemonde, 174; *Carta Marina*, 126, 127, 128, 220, 421; map of Antilles, 218, 220.  
 Frio, Cape, 126, 151; port, 162. *See* Cabo.  
 Frisius, Gemma, 101; on longitude, 98; annotates Apranus, 183.  
 Frisius. *See* Friesa.  
 Fritz, Samuel, map of the Amazon, 599.  
 Fructuoso, Gaspar, *Hist. das Ilhas do Porto Santo*, 38.  
 Fuca, *See* De Fuca.  
 Fuca Straits, 470.  
 Fuchsius, *Metaphysica*, 76.  
 Fuenclat, Bishop, 391; autog., 391.  
 Fuente, Alonso de la, 218.  
 Fuentes, F. de, 518.  
 Fuentes y Guzman, F. A., *Historia de Guatemala*, 398, 419, 428.  
 Furgosus, B., *Collociana*, 62.  
 Furlani, Paulo de Fortiani, *Carta nautica*, 439; his maps, 438, (1560) 449, (1592) 439, (1574) 450, 451; sketched, 454.  
 Fusang, 454, 463, 469.  
 Fusser, 11.
- GAFFAREL, Paul, his *Étude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Asie continentales avant Colomb*, 25, 34; his *Découverte du Brésil par Coutin*, 34; his *Hist. de Brésil Français*, 34; *La Floride Française*, 213.  
 Galard, Ferd. de, *Traité politique*, 33, 65.



- Caldvin Mendoza, V. de, 489.  
 Cali, Francisco (Gaulle), 455, 46a.  
 Galiano, 460.  
 Gallaeus, Philippus, *Enchiridion*, 450.  
 Gallardo, B., *Ensayo*, etc. 24.  
 Gallardo, B. J., 422.  
 Gallatin, Albert, on the Indian tribes, 496; on Aztec civilization, 497; *Ancient Semivivification of New Mexico*, 501.  
 Gallego, 49, 249.  
 Gallegos, Juan, 486, 496, 497.  
 Galeon, picture of a, 456.  
 Galima River, 499.  
 Gallot du Fé, 47.  
 Gallo, Ant., on Columbus, 52, 89.  
 Gallo (island), 508, 509, 513.  
 Gallucci, 420.  
 Galvarro, 549.  
 Gama, João da, 466; his land, 466; in the Pacific, 465.  
 Gama, Vasco da, his portrait, 49; autogr. 42; his discovery, 42.  
 Gamba, *De nov. C. Columbi*, 67.  
 Gambia River, 40.  
 Ganges, 113, 435; in the early discoveries, 168.  
 Garbido, 198, 199, 213.  
 Garay, Francisco de, 237; his patent, 237; governor of Jamaica, 219; authorities on his voyage, 284; exploits sung by Castellanos, 284; land of, 221; names of his followers, 415; at Pánuco, 382; dies, 383; 503.  
 Garces, Julian, 283.  
 Garcia, Nuña, de Torenó, his map, 43.  
 Garcia de Resende, *Chronica*, 90.  
 Garibay, *Uta de Santo Domingo*, 280.  
 Gasca, Pedro de la, likenesses, 539, 540; president of Peru, 539; enters Cuzco, 542; leaves Peru, 543; his reports, 568; authorities on his career, 569; his papers, 569.  
 Gasarun, A. P., *L'Asie*, 221.  
 Gastaldi, Jacopo, 433; *Notizie di Castelli*, 435.  
 Gaul. See Gall.  
 Gay, Sydney Howard, "Amerigo Vespucci," 129.  
 Gayangos, F. de, 47, 400; his autogr., 408; edita Marmolejo, 511; *Cartas de Cortés*, 402, 408, 411; *Catalogue of Spanish manuscripts*, vii.  
 Gayard, *Louisiana*, 302.  
 Gays, Claudio, *Historia de Chile*, 572.  
 Gayon, Gonzalo, 260.  
 Gazette litteraria universitatis, 222.  
 Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 44.  
 Gazielu, Domingo de, 564.  
 Gelewa, Nuño, 89.  
 Gérald, on Crellius, 471.  
 Genoa, birthplace of Columbus, 84; Academy of, 65; hawegate birthplace of Columbus, 84; archives of, iv; home of Columbus, 78; notarial records of, iv; papers at, 89.  
 George of Spines, 279.  
 Georgia (island), 171.  
 Geography, histories of, 93.  
 Gerladino, Alex., 41; his *Itinerarium*, 4.  
 German efforts at settling South America, 581; search for Eldorado, 584.  
 Gesius, 38.  
 Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Behaim*, 35.  
 Giants in Patagonia, 600; skeleton of, 602; seen by Drake, 602; named from their large feet, 602.  
 Gibbons, Edward, of Boston, 462.  
 Gli Gonzalez de Avila, 199, 202. See Davila.  
 Gila River, 495.  
 Gilbert, Sir H., map, 452.  
 Gilles de Gournont, 158.  
 Gino Capponi, Marquis, *Osservazioni su Vesputio*, 153.  
 Giocondo, Giovanni, 146; the architect, 159, 163, 164.  
 Giocondo, Giuliano B. del, 146.  
*Giovane Leventica*, 122.  
 Giovo. See Joyous.  
 Girau, *Cosmographie*, 438; its title-page, 437; descriptions of America, 180.  
 Giron, Francisco Hernandez, 542; enters Cuzco, 545; retreats and is captured, 545; his rebellion, 577.  
 Giuntini, F. v.  
 Giustiniani (Agostino), 90; *Falder*, 64; fac-similes of page, 65; *Annali di Genova*, 64.  
 Glarcanus, Henricus, 116, 176; *Geographica*, 25; its bibliography, 25.  
 Glas, Geo., *Conquest of the Canaries*, 36.  
 Globe, sphericity of, 104; picture of an ancient one, 437. See Earth.  
*Globus mundi*, 171, 172.  
 Godtalin, 371.  
 Godfrey, Thomas, his mariner's bow, 202.  
 Godin in Peru, 590; adventures of his wife, 590.  
 Godoy, his report to Cortés, 411.  
 Gohory, J., *La terre neuve de Peru*, 564.  
 Golfo Chinan, 451.  
 Gold coast, 40.  
 Golding, Arthur, translation of Mela, 186.  
 Goldson, William, *Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific*, 463; *Streets of Antioch*, 465.  
 Gomsara, Francisco Lopez, account of, 412; his access to documents, 412; translated by Chimalpain, 412; his *Historia general de las Indias*, 412, 561; descriptions of America, 180; on the Cortesals, 107; *Conquista de Mexico*, 412; on Peru, 412; *Cronica de la Nueva España*, 412; *Historia del Capitan Cortés*, 412; *Historia de México*, 412; *Conquista de México*, 412; *Hispánica Victoria*, with fac-simile of title, 412; *Pleasant History*, 414; *Conquista de Mexico*, 414; abridged in Eden's *Decades*, 414; in Hakluyt, 414; bibliography of, by Brewster, 414.  
 Gomberville, 589.  
 Gomez, Estevan, 241; on the North American coast, 241; with Magellan, 606; deserts, 609.  
 Gomez, Francis, 241.  
 Gomez, Pedro, with Valdivia, 528.  
 Gomez, archipelago of, 224.  
 Gonzaga, F., *De origine religionis Franciscanae*, 390.  
 Gonzalez de la Rosa, Manuel, 567; edita *Cieza de Leon*, 574.  
 Good Hope, Cape of, 41.  
 Goodall, B., *Trevel of Travell*, 68.  
 Goodrich, *Life of so-called Christopher Columbus*, 33, 69.  
 Gooze, Abraham, his map, 462.  
 Gordillo, Francisco, sails to Florida, 238; his expedition, 285.  
 Gorgona (island), 509, 511, 513.  
 Gorrizia, Gasparo, 197.  
 Gosnell, *Glog. des Grecs*, 101.  
 Gourgues, Domnie de, his attack on Florida, 282; "the avenger of the Huguenots," 298; *La reprisa de la Floride*, 297; different manuscripts of it, 299, 208; no Spanish authorities, 207; a slaver, 207.  
 Goyeneche, Juan de, his life of Solís, 424.  
 Gracias á Dios, Cape, 21.  
 Graham on the hourly variation of the needle, 100.  
 Grajales, Mendoza, 270.  
 Gran Quivira, 404. See Quivira.  
 Granada, arms of, 48; captured, 50; *in laudem*, etc., 30.  
 Granada (island), 226, 588.  
 Grand (isle), fabulous, 36.  
 Grand Turk island, 55.  
 Grant, Fort, 482.  
 Grantham, Lord, i.  
 Grappa in Peru, 547.  
 Gravier, Gabriel, edita Challeux, 296; *Rech. sur les navigations Euro-*  
*Afres*, 42; *La Canariens*, 36, 39; *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, 25.  
 Gravier, N. F., *Saint-Denis*, 162.  
 Gravière, J. de la, *Les merises*, 7, 83.  
 Gray, Capt., in the "Washington," 470.  
 Great Circle, 25.  
 Great Exuma (island), 55.  
 Great Inagua (island), 55.  
 Greco (northeast), 94.  
 Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 455; on the Oregon question, 469; *Northwest Coast*, 461.  
 Greenland, a peninsula of Europe, 28, 121, 123, 433; relations with Iceland, 33; seen by Cortesal, 109; on early maps, 28; in the Cantino map, 100; called by various names (Groelandia), 432 (Groelandia) 431, 453; (Groelandia) 434, 435; (Groenland) 472; (Groenlant) 452; 459; (Groenlant) 125; (Groenland) 175; (Terra nova) 446, 447.  
 Grege, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 495.  
 Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, his *Apologie*, 125.  
 Greif, J., 162.  
 Grieninger, Johannes, 128.  
 Grjajava, Juan de, 349, 351, 354; his expedition, v. 203, 215, 409, 423; sails with Garay (1523), 238; *Cronica*, 399; *Itinerario*, 397; portrait, 216.  
 Grimaldi, 48.  
 Grimaldo, 93.  
 Grimm, Sigmund, 408.  
 Grimston, Edw., 421.  
 Groclant, 459, 472.  
 Grothe, H., his *Leonardo da Vinci*, 31.  
 Gröninger, printer, 169.  
 Grynzus, *Novus Orbis*, 62.  
 Guachoyaque, 253.  
 Guadalaxara, 474.  
 Guadalupe, 374; Our Lady of, 399; *Coleccion*, 400.  
 Guaguaco, 551.  
 Guahan, 611.  
 Guale, 278.  
 Guale (Amelia) Island, 282.  
 Guaiterotti, R., *L'America*, 154.  
 Guamanca, 336, 337.  
 Guanañini, 59, 89, 224; (Guanañi) 221; (Guanahani) 205; (Guanao) 177; Ponce de Leon at, 233.  
 Guanape, 558.  
 Guandape, 241.  
 Guanims, 233.  
 Guanuco, 558.  
 Guazico, 556.  
 Guastecan, 472.  
 Guatari River (Watersee), 285.  
 Guatemala, 221; audiencia of, 460; *Coleccion de doc. anticq.*, 398, 419; the Process against Alvarado, 419; Remesal as an authority, 419; Vaquez *Cronica*, 419; *Historia of Fuentes y Guzman*, 419; the *Compendio* of Domingo Juvares, 419; expedition to, under Alvarado, 385; map, 384; sources of its history, 398, 419.  
 Guaxule, 247.  
 Guayaquil, 509.  
 Guayaquil, Gulf of, 511.  
 Guazzo, Marco, *Historia*, 576.  
 Guérin, Leon, *Navigations Française*, 34, 298.  
 Guerra, C., 109, 187, 204, 205.  
 Guevara, Juan de, 207.  
 Guibert, M. C., *Mémoires de Dièppe*, 34.  
 Guicciardini, *Hist. d'Italie*, 154.  
 Guinea coast, 39.  
 Gumilla, *El Orinoco*, 587.  
 Guss, A. L., "Early Indian History of the Susquehanna," 283.  
 Gutierrez, J. R., 370.  
 Guyas, 419.  
 Gasman, Alonso Enriquez de, 566; his autobiography, 567.

- Guzman, Diego de, expedition to Sinaloa, 505.
- Guzman, Fernando de, his revolt, 58a.
- Guzman, Nuno Beltran de, 473; his expedition to Ciguatan, 409; distresses the vessels of Cortés, 441; 442; avoids Cortés, 442; expedition to Fánuco, 386, 503; to New Galicia, 501, 503; invades Jalisco, 387; in Mexico, 395; account of his trial, 398.
- Guzman, Pero Nuñez de, 233.
- Guzman, S., *El peregrino indiano*, 430.
- HAGG, *La France protestante*, 208.
- Hacke, *Collection of Voyages*, 466.
- Hackitt, Thomas, 203; his *Florida*, 203.
- Hadley's quadrant, 201.
- Hagen, Von der, 170.
- Hagenberg, Francis, 471.
- Hain, *Reperitorium*, 48.
- Hakluyt, on Drake's discovery, 455; *Notable History*, 233; *Voyages*, 498.
- Hale, E. E., copy of a drawing of a buffalo, 489; on Coronado's discovery, 503; procures Cortés' map of California, 442; discovers original of the name of California, 443; *His Level Bed*, 443; "Magellan's discovery," 501; *Seven Spanish Cities*, 6; on *Frison*, 6.
- Hallam, H., *Literature of Europe*, 57, 571.
- Halley and the magnetic poles, 95; on terrestrial magnetism, 100.
- Hammocks (cut), 11; in Brazil, 596; figured, 597.
- Hansen, Leonard de, life of Santa Rosa, 560; *La bienaventurada Rosa*, 560; other versions, 560.
- Hardy, Jules, *Les Dieppeis en Guinée*, 59.
- Harley, Edward, 226.
- Haro, C. de, 615.
- Haro, H. de, 510, 520.
- Harrasowitz, *Archivum Americanum*, 157.
- Harris, John, the fac-similist, 50.
- Harris, *Collection of Voyages*, 497.
- Harrison, H., his proposed *America Vespere*, 155; on Ferdinand Columbus, 66; criticized by Stevens, 66; his *D. Fernando Colon*, 66; his *Fernand Colon*, 66; *Les Cortésades*, 33; *Les sépultures de Colomb*, 80; *Les vestes de Colon*, 81; his *Cabots*, 93; *Christophe Colomb*, 88; *Notes on Columbus*, privately printed, viii; his *History of C. Colomb attribué à son fils*, 66; *Les vestes mortels de Colomb*, 83; *Colomb et la Corce*, 84; *Les Colombes*, 86; Denjardin on, viii.
- Harteras, Cape, 285.
- Hauslab, Freiherr von, his globes, 171.
- Havana, 226, 230, 353; plundered by the French, 262; view of, 202.
- Havana (San Cristoval), 351.
- Hawkins, Sir John, 260.
- Hawkins, Sir Richard, captured, 561.
- Haza, 492.
- Haynes, Henry W., "Early Explorations of New Mexico," 473; favors the Zuni theory of the Seven Cities, 502.
- HAYN (1520), 221; (1541) 177. See Hispaniola, Santo Domingo.
- Hazard, Samuel, *Santo Domingo*, 71, 81, 88.
- Helps, Sir Arthur, 337; *Conquerors of the New World*, 428; *Spanish Conquest of America*, 60, 206, 428; *Life of Cortés*, 428; his map of Cortés' voyage, 353; *Life of Pizarro*, 578; *Life of Columbus*, 60; *Life of Las Casas*, 343; his map of the Valley of Mexico, 360.
- Hemets, 405.
- Hennepin, bibliography of, 67; his maps of the Pacific coast, 466.
- Henriques, Martin, viceroy of Peru, 537.
- Henry (Prince), the navigator, 2; portrait (cut), 39; autog., 39; lives of, 40.
- Hernshaw, H. W., 481.
- Hernando, Diego, 439.
- Hernando de Toledo, 454.
- Hernandez, Pero, *Comentarios*, 286.
- Herrera, A. de, his life of Vaca de Castro, 267; on Balboa, 211; his picture of Columbus, 71; on Columbus, 67; account of, 67; drew largely from Las Casas, 67, 340; bibliography of, 67; his *Historia general*, 3, 67; 213, 224, 263; his *Descripcion*, 67; edited by Garcia, 67; editions of, 68; in Vander Aa, Hulsius, etc., 68; translated by John Stevens, 68, 565; Robertson's opinion of it, 424; on Lake Parima, 587; and Magellan, 616; made (1601), 450; edited by Van Beerie, 461; charges Vespucius with falsifying dates, 154; historiographer, 563.
- Herries, William, 111.
- Hesperides (map), 177.
- Heusel, J. H., 50.
- Hevia, Diego de, 278.
- Hevin, *Cosmographie*, 466, 587.
- Heyn, Pieter, *Miroir du Monde*, 472; epitome of Ortelius, 472.
- Hinojosa, Pedro de, 540.
- Hipparchus and lunar tables, 99.
- Hispaniola, 435, 437; (1541) 177; (Española) 106, 110; (Española) 108; (Española) 216; (Hispania insula) 122; (Isabella) 114, 120, (Spagnola) 115, 123, 128, 175, 218, 223, 228, 229, 451; (Spagnola) 111, 116, 118, 170, 175, 450; (Spagnolo) 225; (Spagnola) 188; (Spaniola) 217, 432; Columbus at, 13; fruits of (cut), 16; mines, 16; map of, ascribed to Columbus, 104; other early maps, 105; map (1534), 188; name, 10; native houses (cut), 11; curing of sick (cut), 11. See Hayn, Santo Domingo.
- Hochelaga (Ochela), 451.
- Höfer, *Neue Map*, 210, 83.
- Hogenberg, *Civilized*, 5. See Braun.
- Hojeda. See Ojeda.
- Holbein, 466.
- Holgün, Pedro Alvarez de, 534; life of, 577; killed, 536.
- Homann, and Lake Parima, 587; his map (1719), 407.
- Homen, Diego, map of the Moluccas, 441; map (1540) 446; map (1558), 227, 229, 448; (1568) 449; *Atlante maritima*, 440.
- Hondius, Jodocus, his map of Gulf of California, 461; his circumpolar map, 461; *Carte neue Guineæ*, 597.
- Hondius-Mercator atlas (1613), 461. See Mercator.
- Honduras, Old's expedition to, 382; map, 384; Cortés in, 385; discovered, 101.
- Honger, Nic., translates Benzoni, 347.
- Honoratus, Fray, 475.
- Hooser, bibliography of, 120; new maps (1915), 122; *Reinholdernum cosmographum libri*, 122, 176.
- Hooke, K., 424.
- Horn, *Uranus*, 34.
- Horn-glass, 437.
- Howarth, George, 357.
- Hou, Alonso de, 548.
- Hou, Pedro Sanchez de, 528.
- Huallaga River, 510, 581.
- Huamachuco, 520.
- Huamanga, 520; founded, 523.
- Huancabamba, 516, 519.
- Huancabamba, 516, 519.
- Huancavelica, 561.
- Huancayo, 510, 520; settled, 527.
- Huarina, 510, 541; war of, 574.
- Huascar, 514.
- Huascar, 514.
- Huayna Capac, 514.
- Huayna Capac, 514.
- Hüber, Wolfgang, 160.
- Huelm-Guala, 528.
- Huet, Bishop, 420.
- Huguenots in Florida, 203 et seq.; dated by the Spanish, 202.
- Hugues, Luigi, 616.
- Hulsius, Levinus, his map "America par australis," 587.
- Humboldt, Juan de, 204.
- Humboldt, Alex., his *Examen critique*, 68, 178; autog., 68; *Krit. Untersuchungen*, 68; introduction to Chilly's *Debutin*, 68; his *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales*, 206; *Personal Narrative*, 206, 287, 375; *Essai politique*, 375; disapproved the myth of Eldorado, 360; defence of Vespucius, 128.
- Hurtado, 108.
- Hutchinson, *Two Years in Peru*, 516.
- Huten, Philip von, his expedition, 481.
- Huts in tree, native, 514.
- Hyalcomylus. See Waldseemüller.
- IBARRA, B. de, 106.
- Ibarra, Diego, 504.
- Ibarra, F. de, 504.
- Ibarra, J. L., 50.
- Icabalceza, J. G., 307; autog., 307; *Apuntes para un catalogo*, etc., 417; *Colection de documentos*, 307, 408; *Diccionario*, 400; edita Mendizábal, 421; on Lorenzana, 408; prints a secret letter of Cortés, 411. *Vida de Cortés*, 428.
- Iceland (Islandia), 434; visited by Columbus, 33.
- Ichus, 257.
- Ideler, J. L., 68.
- Ilaconmylus. See Waldseemüller.
- Illapel, 324.
- Imperial (town in Chili), 528.
- Inca Titus and the crown of Peru, 325.
- Inca empire, early reports of, 109.
- Incas. See Vindia.
- India in Pomponius Mela's map, 180.
- India Superior, 176. See Asia.
- Indian Ocean as an inland sea, 95, 165.
- Indians, other advocates of, than Las Casas, 343; described by Las Casas, 319; estimates of numbers at the time of European contact, 327; early cuts of, 150, 160; enslaved by the Spaniards, 303; sedentary, 473; pueblo, 473; the Spaniards' relations to, 209; as found by Columbus, 300; why so named, 160.
- Indies, council for the, and the publication of maps, 471; their archives, 1. See Council.
- Infantado, Duque del, 80; his manuscripts, viii.
- Inga, 579; *West-Indische Spiegel*, 469.
- Inghirami, Fedea, 68.
- Inquisition in Peru, 557; in Spain, 301, 302; history by Llorente, 325. *Inquisitio formativa*, 99.
- Irving, *Exatte*, *Life of W. Irving*, vi.
- Irving, Theo., *Florida and De Soto*, 200.
- Irving, Washington, his *Columbus*, vi, 68; *Companions of Columbus*, vi, 204; manuscript of his account of Columbus at Barcelona, 50; on portraits of Columbus, 71; on Vespucius, 155.
- Isabella (of Spain), sign-manual, 66; her will, 310, 343; dies, 31, 319; her character, 51; story of her jewels pledged, 93.
- Isabella (city), 16.
- Isabella. See Cuba.
- Isleta, 469.
- Isuardi, F., *Dissertation*, 84; *Nuovi doc.*, 84; *Patris di Colombo*, 73.
- Italian travelers, 93.
- Italy and American discovery, 2; Geographical society, 92.

- Iuuri on Muñoz, iii.  
Ivagana, 61.  
Itzilkoctli. *Historia Chichimeca*, 417; his works on New Spain, 417; *Historias conculadas*, 417; *Noticias*, 417; *Hist. des Chichimeques*, 417; *Rois de Tencuc*, 417; *Relaciones*, 417, 417.  
Ixtapalapa, 369, 374, 376, 379.  
Ixtapalaco, 369.  
JACK-STAFF, 98, 99. See Back-staff, Cross-staff.  
*Yahresbericht der tech. Anstalten in Nürnberg*, 150.  
Jal. A., *Archéologie navale*, 7; *La France maritime*, 12; *De Paris à Naples*, 12.  
Jalisco, 387.  
Jamaica, 128, 201, (1511) 110, (1540) 221, (1534) 223, (1541) 179, (Jamaica) 226, (Jamaica) 219, (Jamaica) 229, (Jamaica) 217, (Jamaica) 218; Columbus at, 22; a granary, 191; map, 499; settled, 216.  
Jamestown, its site occupied by the early Spaniards, 241.  
Jaqueado, 361.  
Jansson, *Nouveau marinier*, 462; *Orbis maritimus*, 462; editis *Mercator Hondius Atlas*, 462.  
Janssen, *Atlas maritimus*, 469.  
Japan, 452, (Cimpaga) 438; (Giapan) 451, 454, (Iapon) 464, (Zipangri) 170; in Ortelius, 472; in Toscanelli's map, 201. See Cipango.  
Japanese map of the Pacific coast, 466.  
Jaramillo, Juan de, 258; *Relacion*, 200.  
Jaume. See Ferrer.  
Jayme, Juan, 40; his Declinatorium, 100.  
Jefferson, Thomas, his picture of Columbus, 73; engraved, 74.  
Jefferys's map of De Font's narrative, 469; *Northwest Coast*, 460; translates Muller's voyages to the northwest, 469.  
Jemes, 495.  
Jequetpote, 216.  
Jerez, G. de, 311.  
Jeronymus, 311.  
Jesso (island), 463; in the maps, 469; depicted by Hennepin, 464; (Terro Eacon), 467.  
Jesus in Florida, 282; in Mexico, 469; in Peru, 523.  
Joan Baptista, Fray, 122.  
Jocundus. See Giocondo.  
John of Gaunt, 39.  
Jonard on likenesses of Columbus, 70; *Monument à Colomb*, 74.  
Jones, C. C., Jr., on De Soto's route, 291.  
Jordan River, 240, 294; whence named 285; (Pedee) 260.  
Jong, A. L., 424.  
Jourdant, Denis, editis Sahagun, 417; *La pression de l'air sur la vie de l'homme*, 375; his map of the Valley of Mexico, *holotype*, 375; *Histoire vénéralique*, 415.  
*Journal of the Franklin Institute*, 94.  
*Journal of the Military Service Institution*, 375.  
Jovius, Paulus, *Elogia*, 29, 67, 70, 71, 72; his gallery, 72; portrait, 70.  
Juan Ponce, Bay of, 283.  
Juan y Ulloa, *El marallano de descubrimientos*, 45.  
Juarros, Domingo, his *Guatemala*, 419.  
Judeus. See Judaea.  
Judaea, Cornelius de, his map, 457; *Synclium*, 457.  
Juiuy, 525.  
Julius II., Pope, 120.  
KAMPFFER, 466.  
Kalbfleisch, C. H., 113, 161, 173.  
Kansas City Review, 467.  
Karaikas, 601.  
Keating, Maurice, editis Bernal Diaz, 415.  
Kemenettes, 601.  
Kendall, Abraham, in Guiana, 587.  
Kendrick, Capt., in the "Columbia," 470.  
Kern, R. H., map by, 502.  
Kern, *Voyages*, 67, 162.  
Kettell, Samuel, translates Columbus' Journal, or *Personal Narrative*, 466.  
K. 4918, with Raleigh, 587.  
Kingsborough, his bound tracts on Mexico and Peru, 399; his text of Sahagun, 416.  
Kino, Father, explorations in California, 467; his map, 467.  
Kirke, J. P., 427; criticises R. A. Wilson, 427; editis Prescott's *Peru*, 578.  
Kitchin's map shows Lake Parima, 577.  
Klößen, K. von, "Die Welser," 579.  
Klunzinger, Karl, *Antheil der Deutschen an der Entdeckung von Südamerika*, 579.  
Klupfel, Karl, 570.  
Knight, A. G., Columbus, 69.  
Koeprus, Petrus, his maps, 464.  
Kohl, Dr. J. G., on discovery in the Gulf of Mexico, 464; his collection of maps, 341; his manuscript at Worcester, 127; his studies of the cartography of the Pacific coast, 451; his manuscript-memoir on this subject, 127, 451; on Magellan's Straits in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin*, 617; republished as *Magellan's Straits*, 617; *Lost Maps*, 117.  
Kolno. See Sakolny.  
Koppes, K. W., 410.  
Kries, *Magellan-Reise*, 615.  
Kublai Khan, 42.  
Küllb., 216.  
Küster, G., 51.  
LA CAILLÉ, 276.  
La Condamine, 590; descends the Amazon, 590.  
La Cosa, Juan de, his map, 106; account of, 106. See Cosa.  
La Croix, *Algèbre Harard Beschrijving*, 378.  
La Cruz, his map, 587.  
La Harpe, *Abregé des voyages*, 463.  
La Paz, 442.  
La Pérouse, 470.  
La Plata, 445, 450; Magellan at, 598; called early by Solis, 605. See Plata.  
La Roche, Jean de, 262.  
La Salle, Cavelier de, his connection with Peñafoya, 504; place of his death, 292.  
Labanoff, Alex., his maps, 93.  
Labarez, Guido de, 269.  
Laborden, J. B., *Mer du sud*, 468; *Voyage historique*, 389.  
Labrador, 435, 436, 450, 451; (Lavorador) 219; (Laborador) 228, 453; (terra laboratorum) 122; early visits to, 34.  
Lacio, publisher, 412.  
Ladrones, 438, 610; Pigafetta's map of, 611, 614.  
Lag. J. de, map of Lake Parima, 587, 588.  
Lafitau, *Dictionnaire des Portugais*, 42.  
Lafrezi, *Geografia*, 412.  
Lafuente y Alcantara, 47.  
Lake, Arthur, 11.  
Lamartine, C. Colomb, 83.  
Lambert, Jehan, 151.  
Lambert, P. H., on the origin of the name America, 170.  
Landa, Diego de, *Relacion de Yucatan*, 467.  
Landon, *Galeria historica*, 73.  
Langens, Colomb, 68.  
Langens, Magellan, 67.  
Lanús, J. D., *Colomb*, 84; *Estados*, 84.  
Laonglobe, 28.  
Lapie on Maldonado, 456; in *Nouv. annales des voyages*, 463.  
Larousse, *Grand dict. universel*, 68.  
Las Aias, Estevan de, 278.  
Las Casas, Antonio, 204.  
Las Casas, Bartholomew, chapter on, by Geo. E. Ellis, 209; his birth, 203; arrives in America, 212; ordained at Hispaniola, 205; goes to Cuba, 205; goes to Spain (1510), 207; returns to India, 207; other visits to Spain, 208; enters a convent (1522), 219, 223; made bishop of Chiapa, 214; died, 214; his character, 206, 220; his excommunications, 212, 218, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229; relations to slavery, 204, 214, 225, 226; on encomiendas, 227; his colony at Cumana, 213; his memorials to the Crown, 217; his "Propositions," 221, 222; opposed by Ovando and Sepúlveda, 214, 221; his opponents, 243; charges against him, 226, 243; supported by Herrera and Torquemada, 226; reviewed by Prescott, 248; his portrait, 222; his autogr., 222; authorities on his career, 222; letters of him, 241; by Fabie, 245; by Helye, 243; by H. H. Bancroft, 243; by Prescott, 243; by Lorente, 244, 240; his writings, 221, 225; bibliography of, 222; his *Obra* (Llorente's edition), 224, 240; *Cronica*, 240; *Apologética*, 240; his unpublished writings, 222; *Carta* (1520), 227; *Carta* (1545), 227; *Carta* (1554), 227; *Historia de las Indias*, vii, 89, 174, 217, 220; facsimile of indorsement on it, 220; *Conquista dell' India*, 229; his use of documents, 21; on De Soto, 229; on Columbus, ii; abridges the Journal of Columbus, 46, 91; his nine tracts, 225, 225; *Divinissima religio*, 223; facsimile of title, 224; *Conciencia espiritual*, 223; *Lo que se sigue*, etc., 225; *Entre los remedios*, 225; *Qui se citent non. etc.*, 225; facsimile of its title, 226; *Qui se contiene una disputa*, 225; *Este es un tratado*, 225; *Proposiciones*, 225; facsimile of title, 226; *Principios*, 225; *Tratado*, 225; *Explicacion*, 227; reprinted in *Las obras*, 227; translations of his tracts, 224; *Principios et oraciones*, 241; *The Spanish Colonies*, 241; *Tears of the Indians*, 241; *Stee care*, *Verbal*, 241; *Strophel der Sp. Tiranniz*, 241; *Historie admirable des horribles insolences*, 241; *Le mauvais de la tyrannie*, 241; *Histoire des Indes*, 241; *La découverte des Indes*, 241; *Relation des voyages*, 241; *Relation of the first voyage*, 241; *Nouveaux Vells*, 241; *Narratio reginam Indiarum*, 241; The Bty's engravings, 241; *Account of the first voyage*, 241; *Poetry truly displayed*, 241; *Old England for ever*, 241; *Werkstücker Bericht*, 241; *Umsständige vorhoffliche Beschreibung*, 241; *Reginam Indiarum*, 241; *Historia*, 241; *Ilustre*, etc., 241; *La liberis preterea*, 241.  
Las Casas, Francisco de, 200.  
Las Casas (Napoleon's chamberlain), 204.  
Lasso de la Vega, Gabriel, his *Corrite indorosa*, 254; *Mexicanos*, 254; his likeness, 255.  
Latitude, errors in, 96; first use of, 95. Latitude and longitude, earliest instance of, in Spanish maps, 226.  
Laudonnière, René, builds Fort Caroline, 262; *L'histoire malable*, 203; *Notable History*, 203; Lorraine's account, 206; *Orbis narratio*, 206; Challeux' *Discours*, 206.  
Lauron, 548; victorious, 549; killed, 549.  
Lavarez, Guido de, 504.

- Larrado, Count de, 42.  
Lava, early Spanish, respecting the New World, 327; of Mexico, 401. See New Lava.  
Laval Bay, 65.  
Le Clercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, 322.  
Le Verrier, 36.  
Leveque, its length, 45.  
Lévesque, Ant. de, *Précis de l'Opera*, 64.  
Ledesma, Pedro de, 176, 304.  
Léves, J. H., *Mémoires de Berneville*, 300.  
Legarra, M. L. de, 616.  
Leguina, Enrique de, *La Cosa*, 107.  
Leguizamo, Marco Sierra de, 554, 570.  
Leguizamo, Pedro de, 176, 304.  
Lemaire, Governor, 70.  
Lelewel, Joachim, *Die Entdeckung der Carthager auf dem Atlantischen Ocean*, 50; his map of the Atlantic according to the ancients (cont.), 37; makes an hypothetical map (1501-1503), 109; on Ortelius, 471, 472.  
Lemaire, *Spectulum*, 602.  
Lemouire de Morgues, Jacques, his account of L'Annonciation's expedition, 306; *Brevet maritain*, 306; translated by Perkins, 307.  
Lemus, James, on the Columbus letters, 47; his wood-cut map (1534), 221; facsimile of, 221; his globe, sketch of, 123; 170; *Lesons Library*, 150; Spanish documents in, 36.  
Leo Africanus, 103; his *Afrique*, 163.  
Leona, Cieza de, treatment of natives, 356.  
León, Jean. See Leo Africanus.  
Lepage, H., *Roi et Empire*, 104.  
Lepé, Diego de, 100, 188; his voyage, 140; authorities on his voyage, 304, 305; his map, 201.  
Lerou, *Geographus de la America*, 288.  
Léves, Charles Edwards, 130.  
*Letra de la noble yca, 576*.  
*Letras españolas*, 402.  
Leyrue (1681), 64.  
Leyva Juan Columbus, 69.  
Leyva Apollonia, 307.  
Leyva, 408.  
*Leyes y ordenanzas*, 347.  
Léves library, 100.  
*Licht der Ziv'liert*, 97.  
*Light of Navigation*, 97.  
Lightstone, William, *Complaints of England*, 341.  
Lillo, E., *De origine*, etc., 68.  
Linares, *Ordes heróicas*, 25.  
Lina, 513, 510, 558; accounts of its founding, 307; colleges 30, 501; councils 21, 552, 557; founded, 510, 522; called "Ciudad de los Reyes," 522.  
Linares, *Castillos de Mexico*, 360.  
Linderaz, *Corresp. de Zach*, 220.  
Lincolnton *Illustrations*, 457; editions of, 457; White's translation, 459; copies of, 459; maps in, 457; *Navigatio*, 460; *Histoire de la navigation*, 460; *Description de l'Amérique*, 460; *Beaunevoyage*, 460, 460; the Dutch editions used as sea-manuals, 460; in the Bry, 460; bibliography in Sabon, 460; his life, 460.  
Lions (islands), 600.  
Lippincott's *Maritime*, 71.  
Lisbon, archives of the Torre do Tombo, 5, 191, 60; Royal Academy, their *Naves para nação ultramarina*, 173, 614.  
*Livres pepts en vente publique 1500 francs*, 57.  
Llama, 506.  
Llorente, Juan Antonio, biographer and editor of Las Casas, 304, 324; history of the Inquisition, 325; his work on the Popes, 325.  
Llorens, Alonso de, 541.  
Llorens, Garcia de, 440.  
Llorens, Gerónimo, bishop, 537; archbishop of Lima dies, 557.  
Lockhart, John L., *Mémoires de Dint*, 415.  
Log, invention of, 68.  
Lok, Michael, his map, 454.  
Lomas Coimbreas, J. R. de, 504.  
Lombardi (corn), 7.  
Long Island (Kahama), 55.  
Longfellow, H. W., on Irving, 61.  
Longitude, errors in, 95; first use of, 95; more or less accurate at sea today, 101; rewards of accurate methods, 100. See Latitude.  
Lope de Vega, 209.  
Lope de Vega, on the Armenian war, 572.  
Lopes, Peru, 506.  
Lopez de Haro, *Abolario*, 88.  
Lopez, Diego, 404.  
Lopez, map of Mexico, 375.  
Lorch, Ant. de, 500.  
Lorenzana, *Cartas postales*, 470; cites records of ecclesiastical councils, 300; *Visita España*, 408, 443; account of him, 408; *Historia de Méjico*, 408; his map of New Spain (*Atlantique*), 350; on Vincenzo, 401.  
Lorenzo, R. de, *Salesa contre Colomb*, 60; *La cruz dans les deux mondes*, 60; *Chr Colomb*, 69; *L'embassadeur de Dant*, 69.  
Lora, Martin, Pedro de, 200.  
Lota, 574.  
Lowenstein, I., on likenesses of Columbus, 70.  
Loyola, Martin Garcia, 553; governor of Chili, 601; killed, 602; success of information, 573.  
Luzanan, 573, 544.  
Lucayan Islands, map, 61; their natives carried to Hispaniola, 321.  
Lucaynesque, 218.  
Lud, Walter, 145, 162, 471; named by Henry Stevens, 162; his *Spectulum*, 60, 145, 163.  
Luggerberg, his map, 464.  
Lugo, F. de, 580.  
Lugo, Luis Alonso de, 800; of New Granada, 581.  
Lugo, Montano de, 581.  
Luzena, 489, 501.  
Luis, missionary, 407.  
Lullius, Raymond, *Arte de manejar*, 96, 98.  
Luna, Gomez de, 534.  
Luna y Arellano, Tristan de, 357; his expedition, 358; returned to Cuba, 350.  
Lunar tables, 93.  
*L'antique polynésien*, 206.  
Luzque, Hernandez, 505, 507; made bishop of Tumbes, 512; died, 526.  
*Luzerne des abats de Garcia de Rosendo*, 56.  
MACDONALD, M., *Guatemalca*, 430.  
Macedo, notice of Ortelius, 471.  
Machin discovers Madeira, 32.  
Machipuro, 510.  
Mackenzie, A. S., 53.  
Macrao, 579.  
Macrobium, 28.  
Maculosa, Juan, 237.  
Madden, Sir Frederick, 377.  
Madiera discovered, 38; as first meridians, 69.  
Madrid, Academy of History, publications on American history, 60; Royal Academy, *Memorias*, 70; Soc. Geog., *Boletín*, 70.  
Maella, M., 76.  
Maese de Campo, 273.  
Maffius, 61; *Commentarii in universum libri*, 221; *Historiarum universum libri*, 457.  
Magalhães. See Magellan.  
Magalhães de Gândavo, 154.  
Magalhaes *pithecos*, 21, 306.  
Magdalena (Indian women), 255.  
Magdalena (Florida river), 241, 248.  
Magdalena (South American river), 140, 513.  
Magellan, Fernando de, career, 307; different forms of his name, 308; autog., 307; sails on his expedition, 302; portraits of, 72, 73, 76, 493, 574, 575; his fleet, 301; quarrels with Juan de Garbajera, 300, 302; at Rio de Janeiro, 300; at La Plata, 301; at Port Denre, 300; mutiny there, 300; crosses Mendocina and Quesada, 300; sees a giant, 300; fights the natives, 301; taken possession of Patagonia, 302; observes eclipse of sun, 304; in the straits, 300; reaches the Pacific, 308; his track in the Pacific, 300; map of it, 501; at the Ladrones, 611; at the Philippines, 612; killed, 612; sources of information for the voyage, 613; Pigafetta's diary, 613, 614; Max. Travi's letter, 613; lost account by Peter Martyr, 613; documents in Navarrete, 615; manuscript inscribed to Magellan, 615; enumeration of his companions, 615; accounts by Stan et, Major, etc., 617; bibliography of, 617; documents published by the Hakluyt Society, 616; account by Genoese pilot, 616; shows how Magellan followed the Antarctic current, 616; account in Ortedo, 616; in Herrera, 617; the *Notas* of Navarrete, 617. Magellan's Straits, 435, 436, 440, 450 (1574), 221; (1561) 177; treatise on its history by Kohl, 617; by Wieser, 617; named after the Eleven thousand Virgins by its discoverer, 604, 605; pictured on Behaim's map, 604; Pigafetta's map, 605; called "Straits of Patagonia," 604; voyage of the "Santa Maria de la Cabeza," 503.  
Magrin, J. A., edits Ptolemy, 457.  
Major, history of the 04' variation of 04' times of no variation, 95. See Compass, Needle.  
Magnetic curves, charts of, 100.  
Magnetic point, 65.  
Mada (island), 451, 457.  
Maldado, map of America (1577), 60, 210, 220.  
Major, R. H., *Select Letters of Columbus*, 10, 47; *Comment of the Columbus*, 30; on date of Columbus' birth, 21; on the Da Vinci map, 124; on Vesputius, 178; *Prince Henry de Navigation*, 40, 617; *Discoveries of Prince Henry*, 617.  
Mala, 510, 526.  
Maldonado, 211.  
Maldonado (river), 560.  
Maldonado, Diego, 503; made De Soto, 551.  
Maldonado, Francisco, 290.  
Maldonado, Lorenzo Ferrer de, his disputed voyage, 455; authorities for, 455; *Itinerary*, 460; *Mémoire* by Lape, 460; map, 468.  
Maldonado, Pedro de, 522.  
Maldonado, Rodrigo, 486, 490.  
Maldois Island, 244.  
Malpiera, Domenico, 60.  
Malloy, Charles, *Affairs maritimes*, 83.  
Malpica, 70.  
Malu-Bru, 164; *Floet de la yca*, 10.  
Manca, Yuca, 520; at Vitahamba, 520; neglected, 522; heads an army, 521; defeated by Ortedo, 520.  
Mandaba, 601.  
Mandeville, John de, influences Columbus, 27; *Illustrations*, 30.  
Mansero, *De rebus Mexicanorum*, 430.  
Mangli, 43, 105, 118, 434, 454, 472; mare de, 451, 453.  
Mansoni, 63.  
Mansoni, 213.  
Mantilla, 454.  
Mansoni, 458.  
Manzanera River, 330.  
Mansoni, Conrad, 57.  
Mansoni and Ptolemy, *Notas de Gândavo*, 410.  
Mansoni (city), 515; first in maps, 47; in later maps, 507, 508; disappeared, 510.

- Manrique de Lara, Rodrigo, 551.  
Manta Bay, 509.  
Mantuanus, B., *Opera*, 62.  
*Manuscrito de la Biblioteca du Roi*, 38.  
Mapocho River, 528.  
Maps of the earliest Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, 91; early Spanish ones very rare, 174. See *Cordiform*.  
Maracabo, 100; Lake of, 187.  
Maracayo Lake, 558.  
Maraguon, Rio, 228.  
Maranon (river), 188, 519, 519, 521. See *Amazon*.  
Marata, 477, 486.  
Marchand, Guy, or Goulet, printer, 49, 50, 51.  
Marchena de Rábida, 3, 5.  
Marchena, Perez de, 97.  
Marchesi, 42.  
Marchetti, edition of Orellius, 472.  
Marco, Fray, 475, 476, 477, 507; his *Descubrimiento*, 499; report altered in Ramusio and Hakluyt, 476, 490; his fictions, 499; rejoins Coronado, 48; general of the Franciscans, 481.  
Marcoz, Jules, on the naming of America, 170; *First Discoveries of California*, 443, 467; on Alarcón's voyage, 443.  
Mar del Sur, See *Pacific*.  
Margarita (island), 18, 20, 110, 134, 187, 225, 591, 588; map, 61; seized by Aguirre, 582.  
Margry, *Navigations Françaises*, 12, 19.  
Mariames (Indians), 444.  
Mariguana (island), 55, 56.  
Mariguano, battle of, 549.  
Marin, *Commercia de Venetianis*, viii, 60.  
Marina, 355, 366.  
Marini, G. B., 66.  
Marinuz, 24.  
Marinus of Tyre, 95.  
Markham, Clements R., "Pizarro, and the Conquest of Peru and Chili," 625. "Critical Essay," 561; his *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazon*, 593, 594, 596; his *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedro de Valdivia*, 564; edita Xerxa, 564; *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, 560; edita *Life of Columbus*, 567; *Notes and Letters of the Incas*, 571; *Travels of Juan de La Vega*, 574; *Cartas de la Vega's Royal Comendancia*, 571; discovered by Prescott, 578; his *Cusco and Lima*, 578; *Travels in Peru and India*, 578; his handbook on Peru, 578; *Search of Eldorado*, 582; edita Acozta, 421; edita Andagoya, 212.  
Marmocchi, *Raccolto*, v, 342.  
Marmolejo, G., 528, 551.  
Marmolejo, Gonzaga, canon, 572; *Hist. de Chile*, 573.  
Marquesa Islands, 961.  
Marquez, Diego, 212, 213.  
Martens, Th., 50.  
Martin, Alonso, 196.  
Martin, Cristóbal, 504.  
Martines, his maps, 490; (153-7) 490; (1578) 227, 229; his map of the Moluccas, 441.  
Martines, Father, 279.  
Martines, Hieronim, *Reportaria*, 421.  
Martines, the author of the story of Manoa, 579.  
Martines receives letter from Toucanelli, 31.  
Martyn, Peter, d'Anguiera, 57, 58; on Columbus' second voyage, 47; *Discursos*, 57, 122, 182; *Epistola*, 57; estimate of, 57; *De motu repperitis insulis*, 402; *Estrecho en virtud*, 410; on Magellan's voyage, 615; his map (1511), 100, 110; *Lectiones Bolytanae*, 109; *Summarium* (1534), 322.  
Martyn, the (Islands), 225.  
Mastriani, L., *Aletris*, 176.  
Mata-Lanaras, manuscripts of, ii.  
Matagorda Bay, 244.  
Matanzan, 203, 230, 276.  
Matquito, 549.  
Matzeno, Juan, 552; his *Gobierno de el Peru*, 571.  
Maule River, 524, 531, 559.  
Mauro, Fr. his map, 471, 94.  
Mauro, Lucio, 414.  
Maury, Myton, 106.  
Mavio, 248, 291; battle of, 249; name how spelled, 291.  
May (river), 292.  
Maya civilization, 429.  
Mayer, See *Meyer*.  
Mayer, Anton, *Wissens Buchdrucker-geschichte*, 184.  
Mayer, Pedro de, 528.  
Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, his library, 430.  
Maximilian, 372.  
McCulloch, *Antiquarian Researches in America*, 206.  
Mead, *Construction of maps*, 49.  
Mocia de Villandera, map of the Canaries, 36.  
Mecken, Israel van, 352.  
Medici, Lorenzo di, See *Francesco de'*, 145; letter to, from Vesputius, 156.  
Medici, princes, 131.  
Medina, Pedro de, *Arte de navegar*, 7, 98, 191; his map, 113, 226.  
Medina-Sidonia, Duke of, his manuscripts, viii.  
Medina, Libro, 6.  
Meck, Alexander, on De Soto's march, 206; *Romantic Passages*, 206.  
Megander, 205.  
Meier, H., 209.  
Mela, Pomponius, bibliography of, 180; his map of the world, 180; his *Geographica*, 182; *De civitate orbis*, 28, 181; *Geographica geographica*, 181; *De locis orbis descriptione*, 181; edited by Vadianus, 122, 182; issued with Solinus, 182; corrected by Olive and Barbaro, 183; translated by Golding, 186; his north and south theory, 28; on Vesputius, 154. See *Pomponius*.  
*Memoirs for the Curious*, 470.  
*Memorial Historico Español*, 573.  
Mena, Juan de, 256.  
Mena, Marco de, 256.  
Mendana, Alvaro de, 552.  
Mendez, Diego, 62.  
Mendiburn, *Directorio del Peru*, 570.  
Mendicita, Alonso de, 579.  
Mendicita, G., *Hist. Antiquaria Indiana*, 415, 422.  
Mendocino, Cape, 444, 465; earliest mention of, 455.  
Mendoza, Andrea Hurtado (Marquis of Cañete), viceroy of Peru, 545; dies, 547.  
Mendoza, Antonio de, 298, 474; his autogr., 254; conquers the Chichimecos, 472; viceroy of Peru, 542.  
Mendoza, Cardinal, 91.  
Mendoza, Garcia Hurtado de, governor of Chili, 549; defeats Capolichan, 591; addresses, 590; leaves Chili, 551; (fourth Marquis of Cañete) 560; his list, 572.  
Mendoza Geniales, his *Memoria*, 202.  
Mendoza, Hurtado de, his voyage, 441; on the Pacific coast, 302.  
Mendoza, Juan Gonzales de, *Historia del Reino de China*, 192.  
Mendoza, L. T. de, his *Colerium*, vii.  
Mendoza, Martin, counsellor with Magellan in the Straits, 607.  
Mendoza, Pedro de (in Peru), 519.  
Mendoza, P. G. de, archbishop of Toledo, 4.  
Mendoza, one of Magellan's captains, executed, and remains found by Drake, 200.  
Mendoza (Islet), 524.  
Meneses de Avila, Pedro, 260, 283; directed to conquer Florida, 261; attacks Ribault, 260; attacks Fort Caroline, 272; returns to Spain, 279; returns to Florida, 282; on the Chesapeake, 282; dies, 283; portrait, 261; authorities, 263, 297; *Cartas*, 293; his victims of the *Epistola explicatoria*, 297.  
Meneses, 243.  
Meneses, Pablo de, 545.  
Mer de l'Ouest, 462, 477, 468, 469.  
Meras, Soles de, 275.  
Mercadillo, 527.  
Mercado, Marina, 548.  
Mercator, Michael, his map, 461.  
Mercator, Gerard, map (1511), 177; (1550) 449, 452; and Cooyen, 95; his projection, theory of, 470. See *Hondius*.  
Mercator, Rumoldus, his map, 457.  
*Mémoires de France*, 350.  
Mercuri, engraving of Columbus, 27.  
Mérica, bishop of. See *Landa*.  
Meridian, first, 95. See *Longitude*.  
Mesquita, 599, 607.  
Mesurado, Cape, 40.  
Mota (river), 581, 586.  
Mertins, *Atterion*, 438.  
Mexico, (see *Cortés*), 435; called *Temisistlan*, 225; held to be Quimay, 412; human sacrifices in, 328; plans, descriptions, and views of the city, 450; plan of, before the conquest, 204; descriptions of, 364; lake of, 358; its causeways, 364, 369; alleged plan by Montezuma, 364; Hoip's plan, 369; Wilson's plan of the valley, 374; the lake in Cortés' day, 375; shrinkage of the lagoons, 375; map in Keating's *Journal*, 375; 415; Humboldt's map, 375; López map, 375; Sotomayor's map, 375; the writers of its lake supposed to flow into the Pacific, 375; inundations, 375; view of the city under the conqueror, 377; sketch in Borden's *Libro*, 378; new causeways built by the Spaniards, 378; city rebuilt, 378; cathedral built, 378; plans from Ramusio, 379; other plans, 378; account by Salazar, 378; other accounts, 378; Temple of, 408; second conquest by Cortés, 376; list of the conquerors and their descendants, 414, 415; conquest of, sources of information, 397; the "anonymous conqueror," 397; records of the municipality, 398; records of ecclesiastical councils, 399; authorities on church history, 399; documentary sources, 397; *Discursos sobre la historia*, 408; native manuscripts destroyed, 417; bibliography of, 420; by Berruini, 420; by Chaves, 420; by Ramirez, 420; by H. H. Bancroft, 420; plays and poems on the conquest, 430; map of the west coast, 450; Geographical Society of, 93; its *Boletín*, 431.  
Mexico, Gulf of, early maps of, 217; (Gulf Mexican) 451, 459; map by Martines, 450; Cabot's map, 447; (mare Cathayum) 433; Cortés' map of, 404.  
Meyer, See *Mayer*.  
Meyer, M. M., 102.  
Meyer, Tobias, 201.  
Meyenburg, 26.  
Michocuan, map of, 90.  
Micalasa (Indians), 392.  
Migrode, Jacques de, 547.  
Miles, alleged bishopric of Columbus, 24.  
Millaesque, 260.  
Mines and Mining, 578; in Hispaniola, 16.  
Mint established in Peru, 552.  
Miranda de Anzueto, 460.  
Mirach, Jose de, 204.  
Mirandola, Pico de, 462.  
Miravalles, Conna de, 364.  
Miruelo, 202.  
Miruelo, Diego, pilot, 236, 242.

- Mississippi (river), its supposed course, 282; crossed by De Soto, 247, 251; discovered by Pineda, 237; who discovered it? 292; called "Espiritu Santo," 177, 237, 404, 447, 504; early maps of, 292; map by Wyldt, 281; by Delisle, 204. *See* Espiritu Santo.
- Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 617.
- Mixco, 383.
- Mobile Bay, 205.
- Mocha (island), 511; (Chili), 524.
- Mogrovejo, Toribio de, bishop, 557.
- Molina, A. de, 511.
- Molneux globe, 422; map, 458.
- Moll, Hermann, map (1730), 468; map of the Pacific coast, 467; of California (1755), 468; Lake Parima, 587.
- Moluccas, 129, 217, 440, 610; discovered, 501; reached (1511), 441; expeditions to, 440; Cortés opens trade with, 503; supposed way to, 446; sold by Spain, 441; early maps, 440, 450 (1568), 449; history of, by Argensola, 616.
- Monarchus, Robertus; *Bellum Christ. Præcip.*, 51.
- Monasterio, 241.
- Monette, J. W., *Valley of the Missis-* 419.
- Monroy, Alonso, 528, 529; goes to Cusco, 530; dies, 532.
- Moiné, H., 40.
- Moniz, Vasco Gill, 90.
- Monserate, documents at, iii.
- Montaldo, Professor, 54.
- Montanus, 192; *Newsw. Weereld*, 466.
- Montejo, Francisco de, 351; in Yucatan, 459.
- Monteleone, Duke of, 395, 396.
- Montes, 516.
- Montesinos, Ant. de, 240, 254, 286.
- Montesinos, F., his career, 570; his *Memorias*, 450, 577; *Anales*, 570.
- Montezuma, heirs of Cortés, 253; picture of, in Montanus, 361; in Solis, 352; other likenesses, 76, 352, 424; meets Cortés, 362; in chains, 362; his descendants, 362; his appearance and age, 352; offers tribute to Cortés, 362; dies, 368; his tributaries, 468.
- Montezum, Baron de, 53.
- Monthly Miscellany*, 462.
- Moon. *See* Lunar tables.
- Mouqui pueblo, 484, 503.
- Mora, D. de, 519.
- Mora, J. de, 425.
- Mora, México, 428.
- Morales, 197.
- Morales, Andrés de, 204.
- Morales, Gaspar de, 505.
- Mora, Sir Thomas, his *Utopia*, 176.
- Morrell, Cav., *Lettera rarissima*, 62.
- Moreno, his maps, 55.
- Morga, *Philippine Islands*, 616.
- Morgan, L. H., *House and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, 502; on the seven cities of Cibola, 502.
- Monstus, *Orbis maritimus*, 34.
- Morris, J. G., 106.
- Morton, Thomas, on the Asiatic extension of North America, 439.
- Mosocco, Luis de, 248; succeeds De Soto, 253.
- Moscoso, P., 519.
- Motolinia, Toribio, 343; his life by Ramirez, 343; his autog., 343; *Historia*, 307.
- Montpe, 516, 519.
- Mount St. Elias, 469.
- Muller, E., 66.
- Muller, G. F., on voyages to the Northwest, 40.
- Müller, Johannes, of Königsberg (Rogiomontanus), 96, 99; his *Pharmacia*, 96; his *Tribula astrono-*, 92.
- Müller, Johannes, *Vereine Deutsch-* 92.
- Mulligan, John, 58.
- Mundus novus*, 157.
- Mundus Novus (South America), 115, 123.
- Muñoz, Juan, in Florida, 255.
- Muñoz, J. B., autog. of, 11; his collection of manuscripts, vii, 569; on Columbus, 68; his *Histeria* failed to record Vesputius, 123.
- Munroe, Prof. C. E., 352.
- Münster, Seb., his map (1532), 121, 122; *Novus orbis*, 122.
- Muratari, 90; *Rerum Ital. scriptores*, 48.
- Murphy, B., on the tomb of Cortés, 196.
- Murphy, H. C., 287; on the bibliography of the *Cosmog. Introd.*, 166.
- Murdock, J. B., *Cruise of Columbus*, 54.
- Murr, C. G. von, *Memorabilia*, 35, 221; *Gesch. des Ritters Behaim*, 35.
- Musters, G. C., on Patagonia, 603.
- Myritius, Johannes, *Opusculum geographicum*, 154, 439; map, 457.
- NAHUATL manuscripts, 418.
- Nancy globe, 422; sketch of, 433.
- Napione, 258.
- Napione, *Del primo scopritore*, 84, 163; *Patris di Colombo*, 83, 84.
- Napo River, 528, 588.
- Napoches, 459.
- Napoleon I., his havoc among the Spanish archives, 1.
- Napoli, Juan de, portolano, 38.
- Narraciones históricas*, 573.
- Narvaez, Pamphilo de, in Cuba, 201; has a patent, 242; disappears, 244; his landing in Florida, 274; where did he land? 288; names of his followers, 415; sent against Cortés, 465; treats with Cortés, 360; released by Cortés, 380; authorities, 286; autog., 286; map of his discoveries, 225.
- Nasca, 519, 543, 558.
- Nata, 509.
- Natchez (Indians), 258, 294.
- Nations*, 174, 71.
- Natives, earliest picture of, 19.
- Nativita, 188.
- Nautical Magazine*, 82, 100.
- Navarrete, E. F. de, 65; *La longitud en la mar*, 98.
- Navarrete, M. F. de, account of, iv; *La historia de la nautica*, v, 98; on Alonso de Santa Cruz, 100; on Andagoya, 212; his *Coleccion*, v; *Opusculos*, v; *Bibl. mar. Española*, v; his documents on Magellan, 615; edits *Doc. inditos*, vii; *Satl. y Mexicana* (atlant), 456, 561; on Maldonado, 456; his researches on Columbus, 68, 456; *Nuticia* of Magellan, 617; another in his *Opusculos*, 617; on Vesputius, 153, 178; *Viages memoras*, 204.
- Navarro, 210.
- Navarro, Joaquín, translates Prescott, 427.
- Navidad, La, 10, 16, 226.
- Navigation, books of, 98.
- Nebraensis, Ant., 58.
- Needle, declination of, 100; dip of, 100; variation of, as a means of ascertaining longitude, 99. *See* Magnet. Compass.
- Negrete, Juan de, 573.
- Negro River, 581.
- Negroes in Peru, 560. *See* Slavery.
- Neueröffnetes Amphitheatrum*, 78.
- New Andalusia, 88, 190, 191, 585; history of, 587.
- New Castle (Peru), 525. *See* Castilla nueva.
- New France (Nova Francia), 453.
- New Galicia, 220, 274, 504; conquered by Guzman, 301.
- New Granada, 458, 581.
- New Intertide*, 62.
- New Laws, 537; revoked, 530. *See* Laws.
- New Mexico, Coronado's incursion into, 472; sources of information, 470, 473; Coronado; early explorations of, 473; various expeditions to, 503.
- New Spain, Audiencia, 460; Lorenzana's map of, 468; maps of, 358, 359; map of, in Herrera, 302; (Nueva España) 450; map by Ortelius, 472.
- New Toledo (Chili), 525.
- New Quarterly Review*, 54.
- New York Historical Society, *Catalogue of Gallery*, 515.
- Neue Zeitung aus Hispanien*, 576.
- Newfoundland in the Canino map, 108; (Terra Cortesia) 121; early voyages to, 33; in Sylvanus' map, 122; (Terra nova) 450.
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 470; his theory of a sphere flattened at the poles, 509; expeditions to verify it, 509.
- Nicaragua, documents on, 18; Lake of, 200. *See* Peraltá.
- Nicholas of Lynn, 95.
- Nicholas, Thomas, 474; translates Zaraté, 568.
- Nicolini, Donato, 121.
- Nicoya, Diego de, 191, 198, 200.
- Nicuesa, 460, 200, 210.
- Nieva. *See* Zúñiga.
- "Nina," ship, 8, 187.
- Niño, 18, 203, 205.
- Niño, Andrés, 190.
- Niño, Pedro Alonso, 109, 187.
- Niño, 385.
- Nombre de Dios, 180, 190, 223, 229, 440, 590, 581; settled, 505; abandoned, 506.
- Non, Cape, 440.
- Nootka Sound, 460, 470.
- Nordenskiöld, A. E., *Trois cartes*, 28; *Bröderna Lenos*, 121, 436; edits manuscript of Marco Polo, 30.
- Noreña, Alonso de, 343.
- North's *Plantarck*, 76.
- North America, the belief in its narrowness, 460; connected with Asia, 285, 431; shown as an archipelago, 124. *See* America.
- North star, 99.
- Northmen, voyages to America, 33; their acquaintance with the loadstones, 94.
- Norumbega, 451, 459, 472; (Anoroberga) 224; (Norumberga) 453.
- Noticias históricas de la Nueva España*, 421.
- Novelles certaines des îles du Peru*, 576.
- Nova Galicia. *See* New Galicia.
- Novus orbis*. *See* *Cyrenaea*.
- Nucio, Antwerp publisher, 412.
- Nueva Galicia. *See* New Galicia.
- Nuñez de Balboa. *See* Balboa.
- Nuñez Vela, Blasco, 537.
- Nuremberg Chronicle, 34.
- Nuttall, *Travels into Arkansas*, 292.
- Nyeto, Alvaro, 257.
- Obras escogidas de Rilofes*, 317.
- Ocampo, Baltasar d', his *Provincia de S. F. de Villapampa*, 571.
- Ocampo, Florian d', edita Zaraté, 566.
- Ocampo, García de, 189.
- Ocampo, Sebastián de, explores Cuba, 201; sails around Cuba, 214.
- Ocampo, *Choromaca*, 421.
- Ocean Highways*, 221.
- Ochechiton, 258.
- Ochoa, Martín de, 271, 278.
- Ochuse, 257. *See* Ichuse.
- Oderigo, N., has manuscript of Columbus, iv.
- Odrinola, M., *Doc. históricos del Peru*, 576.
- Oettinger, *Bibl. hist.*, 66.
- Ogilby, his map (1671), 466.
- Ojeda, Alonso de, 16, 68, 88, 112, 124, 200, 506; his voyages, 109, 177, 200; authorities on, 204; authorities on his second voyage, 207; notice of,

by Navarrete, v; accompanied by Venpuscius, 149, 153.  
 Olano, Lope de, 194.  
 Old World, map of (1490), 41.  
 Ollabahi, 258.  
 Olin, Cristóbal de, 214, 351; at the second siege of Mexico, 176; in Honduras, 200, 383; his defection, 384, 421.  
 Olin, Amédée, *Hist. du Pérou*, 576.  
 Oliva, F. P. de, his account of Columbus, 66.  
 Oliva, Johannes, his map, 461.  
 Olives planted in Peru, 347.  
 Oliveros, 241.  
 Omaguas, 581; fabled empire of, 585.  
 Oña, Pedro de, *Arzobispo Obispo*, 572.  
 Oñate, Juan de, 461, 504.  
*Once a Week*, 66.  
 Ondegardo, Polo de, 545, 552; career, 571; *Relaciones*, 523, 571; his manuscripts, 571.  
 Ongania, his *Raccolta di mappamundi*, 107.  
 Onodaga, Spanish at, 283.  
 Oostanaula River, 247.  
 Opmeer, P. van, *Opus chronographicum*, 72.  
 Ordoñez, Diego, 351; his expedition, 579.  
*Ordenanzas reales*, 347.  
*Ordenaciones legumque collectiones*, 422.  
 Ordones de Montalvo, *Las sergas de Esplandián*, 443.  
 Orejon (river), 469.  
 Orellana, Francisco de, 188; with Gonzalo Pizarro, 248; courses the Amazon, 447, 528, 584; Herrera's account, translated by Markham, 563; goes to Spain, 585; returns and dies, 585. *See* Amazon.  
 Orgoñez, J. C., 523; defeats Alvarado, 526; defeats Manco, 526; killed, 527.  
 Orinoco River, 133; discovered by Columbus, 20; explored, 579; map of the mouth, 586, 588; explored by Whitdon, 586.  
 Orizaba, 283.  
 Orizaba, 358.  
 Oropeza, 525, 552, 562.  
 Orozco y Barra, 418; *Cartografía Mexicana*, 93, 106, 375; *Vallée de Mexico*, 375.  
 Orozco, Juan de, 504.  
 Orsenius, Ambrósio, 471.  
 Orsenius, Ferd., 471.  
 Ortega, C. de, *Resumen*, 603.  
 Ortega, C. F., 418.  
 Ortelius, account of, 471; genealogy of, 471; life by Van Hulst, 471; portraits referred to, 471, 472; notice by Macedo, 471; his list of authorities, 93, 471; editions of his *Theatrum*, 471, 472; which is the original text? 471; additions, 471; French and German translations, 471; his mappemonde described, 472; map of the New World, 472; epitomes of, 472; map of new Spain, 472; of Florida, 472; of Peru, 472; last edition, by himself, 471; *Il Teatro del mondo* (1598), 439; map (1582), 186.  
 Ortiz, Alonso, *Las tratadas*, 57.  
 Ortiz, Diego, 553.  
 Ortiz de Matienzo, Juan, 238.  
 Ortiz of Narvaes' expedition, 245; with De Soto when he died, 352.  
 Osmo, D' Colomb et Marchena, 3.  
 Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis gestis*, 616.  
 Osorno, 524; founded, 549.  
 Otao (south), 94.  
 Otaua, Duque d', 89.  
 Otava, 279.  
 Otnar, Johannes, 157.  
 Otubia, Juan Perez de, 233.  
 Otumba, 378, 399; victory at, 370, 374.  
 Ovalle, *Historica relatione*, 576; *Historica relatione*, 576; English version, 576.

Ovando, Nic. de, 21, 201; deporting natives from the Lucayan Islands, 228; at Hispaniola, 234.  
*Overland Monthly*, 288.  
 Oviedo y Baños, *Venezuela*, 534.  
 Oviedo y Herrera, *Vida de Santa Fe*, 560.  
 Oviedo y Valdés, G. F. de, 197; in Peru, 563; his account of Peru, 563; his career, 209, 343; *Sonarios*, 343, 345; official chronicler, 343; *Historia de las Indias*, 343, 345; critical estimation of his history, 563; published with Peter Martyr, 563; printed complete, 346; correspondent of Ramusio, 343; knew Cortés, 343; hated by Las Casas, 314, 345; bibliography of, 345; *De la natural historia*, 343, 345; facsimile of title, 344; his arms, 345; *Coronica*, 345; his autog., 346; *Historia natural*, 346; *Libro xx*, 346; died, 346; unprinted parts of his *Historia*, 346; *Historia de Nicaragua*, 346; letter from (1543), 410; and Magellan's papers, 616.  
 PABLOS, JUAN, 460.  
 Paca, 529.  
 Pacah, 251.  
 Pachacamac, 519; temple of, 517.  
 Pachama, 558.  
 Pacheco, J. F., *Coleccion*, vii, 498.  
 Pacific coast, discoveries on, 423; chronology of explorations on, 43.  
 Pacific Ocean, 277; heard of by Columbus, 212; discovered, 105, 608 (*See* Balboa); various names, 439; (Mar Pacifico) 432; (Mare del Sur) 232, 228, 450, 451; (Mare del Sul) 220; (Mare del Zur) 459; named in Pigafetta's map, 605; maps of (1513), 440; (1518) 217; chart of Magellan's tract, 610; trade-winds, 439.  
*Pacific Railroad Reports*, 502.  
 Padilla. *See* Davilla.  
 Padilla, Juan de, 486, 497, 502.  
 Padilla, Moia, *Nueva Galicia*, 468.  
*Parsi novamente ritrovati*, 205.  
 Paea, Juan 445.  
 Pafalaya, 250.  
 Pagua Hispanorum, 265.  
 Pallamcu, 561, 563.  
 Palafox y Mendoza, *Virtudes del Indio*, 343.  
 Palencia, Fernandez de, career, 569; *Historia del Perú*, 569; called "El Palentino" 469.  
 Palentino, el. *See* Palencia.  
 Palisirelli, B., *La moglie di Colombo*, 85.  
 Palma, Rio de, 242, 281.  
 Palos, 3, 6.  
 Palos, Juan, likeness of, 287.  
 Pampluna, 581.  
 Panama, 226, 229, 431, 501; documents in, ix; founded, 198, 199, 212, 505 (1566), 451. *See* Peralta.  
 Panagua, 569.  
 Panuco, 220, 253, 282, 286; Rio, 203 (1520), 216, 222; named, 237.  
 Panzer, *Annalen*, 159.  
 Papoao, 524.  
 Para, 581.  
 Parana, 459.  
 Parana Patanga, 589.  
 Paro, Capt. 278.  
 Pardo, Juan, 504.  
 Pares, Juan de, 507.  
 Paresstella at Puerto Santo, 38; his family, 90. *See* Paresstello.  
 Pareto, Bartolomeo, sea-chart, 58.  
 Paria, 124, 169, 177, 213, 223, 588; (Chili) 512; discovered, 167; gulf of, 586 (map), 61; (1511) 210; name of, 231.  
 Paria, University of, 90.  
 Parias, 121, 432; (in Schöner's globe) 218.  
 Paricura, 188. *See* Amazon.

Parima (lake), 58; first in maps, 58; in later maps, 587, 588; disappeared, 589.  
 Parima (river), 581.  
 Paris, Société de Géographie de, their *Recueil de voyages*, 30.  
 Paris (guilt), 198.  
 Parkman, F., *Pioneers of France*, 203, 298.  
 Parmentier of Dieppe, 102.  
 Parrigiano, picture of Columbus, 76.  
 Parr, Jacinto de, 560; *Rosa Laureada*, 560.  
 Parvata, land of (Brazil), 508.  
 Pas, Crispin de, 72; *Effigies regum*, etc., 72.  
 Passanotte, 194, 220, 211.  
 Pasqual, *Descubr. de la sit. de la America*, 58.  
 Pasqualigo, 107.  
 Pasado, Cape, 507.  
 Pastene, J. B., 530; his likeness, 531.  
 Panto, 509.  
 Pastro y Cueva, B. de, 561.  
 Patagonia, giants in, 600; dress of, 600. *See* Giants (regio giganteum), 438.  
 Patalis, 433.  
 Patinamit, 283.  
 Patito, 267.  
 Paucartambo River, 519.  
 Pauli, Reinhold, 337.  
 Paulus, Yvon, 526, 531.  
 Pauthier, G., editis Marco Polo, 50.  
 Payta, 519, 546.  
 Payviti, 581, 589.  
 Paz, M. de, 511.  
 Pearl coast, 20, 106, 169.  
 Pearl-fishery, 189.  
 Pearl Islands, 191, 198, 199, 505, 509.  
 Pecari, 598.  
 Peccolien, M. N., his map, 461.  
 Pedrarias Davilla, 209; *Letters di Pietro Arias*, 567; authorities, 111; his character, 196. *See* Avila-Peñon, *Riservato*, 105.  
 Peilantaru, 562.  
 Peña, Gutierrez de la, 582.  
 Peña, Núñez de la, *La Gran Canaria*, 36.  
 Peñalosa, Diego de, his discovery of Quivira, 593, 504.  
 Penno, 548; bay, 521.  
 Penguins (islands), 599.  
 Pensacola, 246, 259, 257, 295; discovered, 226.  
 Peralta, C. de, 510.  
 Peralta, Joan Suarez de, *Las Indias*, 422.  
 Peralta, Manuel M. de, *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama*, ix, 213.  
 Pensestrello 2. *See* Paresstello.  
 Peres de el Christo, Cristóbal, *Islas de Canaria*, 36.  
 Perez, Juan, 469.  
 Perkins, F. B., translates Lennoyne, 206.  
 Pernambuco, 228.  
 Permetty, *Voyage*, 502.  
 Perthes, Justus, *Mittelalten*, 471.  
 Peru, 432, 435, 436, 446, 450, 459 (1542), 177; Conquest and Settlement, 97; by Markham, 505; first rumors of the country, 505; origin of name, 505; Ribero first uses it in maps, 505; likenesses of the viceroys, 522; under Gasca, 530; revolt under Giron, 543; Andrea Hurtado de Mendoza, viceroy, 545; Zúñiga, viceroy, 547; sun-worship in, 551; Castro, governor, 551; Toledo, viceroy, 552; relations of natives with the Council of the Indies, 550; Inquisition introduced, 557; Henriques, viceroy, 577; F. de Torres, viceroy, 561; Mendouza (fourth marquis of Cañete), 560; described in the Dutch Atlas, 184; negroes introduced, 560; Luis de Velasco, viceroy, 561; sources of information, 563; in Gomara, 412; Xeres on, 345; gold sent to Europe, 566, 576;

- effect on prices, 566; *Coppy etlicher brieff*, 566; *Libro ultimo*, 566; authorities on the treatment of the Indians, 571; later histories, 570; *Documentos Históricos del Perú*, 576; manuscript sources, 576; *Varias relaciones del Perú*, 576; chief modern writers on Peru in English, 577; quinine in, 578; attempt to export treasure by the Amazon, 580; Spanish cruities in, 318, 319, 320; the Inca Titus, 325; maps of, 502; (Ribero) 505, (Ortelius) 472, (Kamunio) 228, (Wyfflet) 528; (sketch-maps of the Conquest) 500, 519; (Ruge) 513. See Pizarro, Bird.
- Peschel, Ocean, on Bianco's map, 94;
- Die Theilung der Erde*, 45; *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 99, 106; on Columbus' birth, 93.
- Petalain, 475, 498; (river), 244.
- Petavius, *History of the World*, 466.
- Petau. See Petavius.
- Felti Atlas maritima*, 375.
- Petiver, James, coins the De Fonte story, 429.
- Petrarca, F., *Chironica*, 62.
- Petri, Henry, prints Meta, 184.
- Philistus, 159. See Ringmann, M.
- Philip II., organizes the archives at Simancas, 1; map of, 222.
- Philippines Islands 502, 503, 602; conquered by the Spaniards, 454, 616; histories of, 616.
- Phillips, Sir Thomas, 337, 427; his manuscripts, 565, 614.
- Phillips, Henry, Jr., 375.
- Phillips, John (Milton's nephew), 342.
- Philoponus, F. H., *Novus Typis*, etc., 48, 486.
- Phrysius (Frisian). See Friens.
- Phyrius, Gemma, *Cosmographia*, 156; *De principijs astronomia*, 176, 421.
- Piache, 248.
- Pichot, Amédée, edita Prescott's *Peru*, 577.
- Pickett, *Invasion of Alabama by De Soto*, 291; *History of Alabama*, 291.
- Piedrahit, Juan, 546.
- Piedrahit, L. F., career, 584; *Historia general*, 584.
- Pieschmann, K., *Guanahani-Frage*, 55.
- Pigafetta, Antonio, *Trattato di navigazione*, 98; his narrative edited by Amoretti, 614, 615; by Fabre, 614; in different languages, 614; bibliography of, 613; his career, 613; his diary, 613; his illustrations, 613; different texts, 613, 614; *Uno libro*, 614; and the captive Patagonian, 609.
- Piguius, 154.
- Pignius, 472.
- Pinar, his library, 430.
- Pineapple found in Brazil, 507.
- Pineda, Alonso Alvarez de, on the Florida coast, 237.
- Pineda's expedition, 218.
- Pinet, Ant. du, *Pinata*, etc., de *plaisance villes*, 536.
- Pingel, C., *Orislands Hist. Minder-mackere*, 34.
- "Pinta," ship, 8.
- Pinto, José, 549.
- Pinzon, M. A., espousa Columbus' theory, 3.
- Pinzon, V. Y., 109, 187; authorities on his voyage, 204, 205; Varnhagen on it, 205; his voyage, 140.
- Pinzon and Solís, voyage of, 153, 154.
- Pinzón, S., 10, 34; contribute money to Columbus' outfit, 5, 91.
- Pirkeymerus, B., *Germanica explicata*, 99; edita Ptolemy, 108; portrait, 402.
- Piro, his *Cortés*, 430.
- Piscator. See Vischer.
- Pischo, 510.
- Pizra, 515.
- Pizarro, Francisco, 103; at Panama, 505; forms a company with Almagro and Luque, 506, 507; his previous history, 506; sails on his first expedition, 507, 507; his second, 507; left on Gallo, 508; draws the line on the sand, 510; names of such as crossed, 510; goes to Gorgona, 511; cruises along the coast, 511; goes to Spain, 512; takes his brothers to Peru, 512; breaks with Almagro, 512; goes to Peru again, 514; at Tumbes, 514; at Caxamarca, 516; imprisons Atahualpa, 516; exacts ransom, 517; murders Atahualpa, 517; line of his march from Tumbes, 519; sends treasure to Spain, 519; enters Cusco, 520; founds Lima, 521; made a marquis, 521; reconciliation with Almagro, 522; dispute with Almagro over bounds, 525; conference with him, 526; gives command of his army to his brother Hernando, 527; likenesses of, 77, 76, 522, 533; his standard, 532; his body preserved, 532; in Lima, 534; killed, 534, 567; his house in Lima, 534; his house in Cusco, 556; sources of his history, 553; account of treasure sent to Spain, 566; lives of, 567; earliest tidings of his success, in the *Copia delle lettere*, etc., 575; translations of it, 576; Felipe's character of him, 578; H. H. Bancroft's, 578; Robertson's, 578. See Peru.
- Pizarro, Gonzalo (brother of Francisco), 512; seized by Almagro, 526; escapes, 526; leads his brother's infantry, 527; sent to conquer Charcas, 527; explores east from Quito, 528, 570; deserted by Orellana, 584; returns, 528; on his estates, 537; leads army against Lima, 537, 538; enters it, 538; rejects pardon from Gasca, 540; defeats Centeno, 541; surrenders and is executed, 542; sentenced, 569; letter to Valdivia, 573.
- Pizarro, Gonzales (father of Francisco), 506.
- Pizarro, Hernando, 512; his expedition to Fachacamac, 517, 566; goes to Spain, 520, 521; returns to Peru, 521; at Cusco, 521; captures the Inca fortress, 524; seized by Almagro, 526; released, 527; commands his brother's army, 527; attacks Orgoñez, 527; imprisoned in Spain, 527; his letter, 566.
- Pizarro, Juan, 512; at Cusco, 522, 524; killed, 524.
- Pizarro, Pedro, 512; his *Relaciones*, 566.
- Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres*, 68, 567; his descent, 567.
- Pizignani, his charts, 38, 94.
- Placentia, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
- Planacays, 92.
- Planicus, map of, 457.
- Planché, Stephen, printer, 48.
- Plata, Rio de la, 224. See La Plata.
- Plata, *Critica* and *Timana*, 26.
- Plautus, C., 58.
- Plutarch, translated by North, 516.
- Poggiale, Gaetano, 163.
- Poincy, Louis de, 289.
- Pole Star. See North Star.
- Poleur, Jean, translates Oriedo, 346.
- Polo, Marco, *Milione*, 30; early manuscript of, 30; first printed, 30; editions of, his portrait (cut), 90; edited by Yule, 30; by Pauthier, 30.
- Pomar, J. B., on Cholula, 422.
- Pomponius Mela, 164, 166; edited by Vadianus, 172. See Mela.
- Ponce de Leon, Juan, his voyage to Bimini, 212, 233; names Florida, 213; directed to settle it, 235; likeness of, 235; dies, 236; authorities on, 283; boy of, 224, 225; the com-
- troverted date of his discovery, 284; his exploits celebrated by Castellanosa, 584; names of his followers, 415.
- Ponce de Leon, Luis, in Mexico, 386.
- Ponce Vargas, his manuscript, iii.
- Ponente (west), 94.
- Pontanus, his *Amsterdam*, 461.
- Pontonchan, 203.
- Popayan, 509, 513, 581; taken by Bellicaraz, 584.
- Popestiere, *Les trois mondes*, 454.
- Popocatepetl, 358; sulphur got from its crater, 380.
- Porcechi, map (1572), 449; sketched, 453; *L'Isle*, 449; copies of, 449; editions of, 450; *Carta da navigar*, 450.
- Porco, 558.
- Porra, Diego, 62.
- Porro, Hieronymus, his map in Ptolemy (1509), 457.
- Port. See Porto, Puerto.
- Port Desire, Magellan at, 599; view of, 602.
- Port Nipps, 55.
- Port Padre, 55.
- Port Royal, 203; Menendes builds fort, 203.
- Portfolia (Philadelphia), 410.
- Porto Bello, 22, 506.
- Porto Rico, 226; pillaged, 262.
- Porto Santo, 2; discovered, 360.
- Porto Seguro, Baron of. See Varnhagen.
- Portola, 433.
- Portugal, king of, on title-pages, 159, 160.
- Portuguese on the African coast (1482), 41; their authorities, 90; their earliest maps, 91; their possessions in the two Indies, 449; their supposed entry into the Pacific coast, 441.
- Postel, Guillaume, *Cosmog. disciplina compend.*, 15; *De orbis terrarum concordia*, 421.
- Potosi, 558.
- Poussinque, Florida, 298.
- Powell, J. W., *Geographical and Geological Survey*, 502.
- Pradello, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
- Preciado, 423.
- Prescott, W. H., account of, 423; *Conquest of Mexico*, 429, 430, 427, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 425; criticised by H. H. Bancroft, 425; portrait, 426; his manuscript material, vii, 397, 426, 427; on Columbus, 427; new editions by Kirk, 427; translations of, 427; his by Ticknor, 427; his letters, 427; his library, 427; his manuscripts in Harvard College Library, 427; his octograph, 426, 427; other manuscripts, 427; eulogy on, by George Bancroft, 427; view of his library, 577; *Conquest of Peru*, 577; translations, 577; new edition by Kirk, 578; reads Solís, 424; alleged lency to the Spaniards, 313, 328.
- Prevost, Robert, 598.
- Prévo, A. L., *Los vestes de Colon*, 81, 82; *Informe sobre los vestes*, 82.
- Prime, W. C., 126.
- Prince, L. B., *New Mexico*, 509.
- Prince, Thomas, on the De Fonte story, 462.
- Prince Albert Land, 95.
- Pringle, Dr., 472.
- Printing, early, in Mexico, 400, 401.
- Prusila, 114. See Brazil.
- Pronauca Indiana, 525.
- Prona, Vincenzo, *Memorie di Diego Colombo*, 274.
- Protoparaphis, 380.
- Proveda, M. de, 525.
- Provisiones, *cedulas*, etc. (1506), 347; (1506) 148.
- Prynne, Arthur, abridges Bernal Diaz, 415.



- Ptolemy, Claudius, editions and maps of, 25; (1475) 27; (1478) 27, 120; (1482) 28, 95; (1486) 28, 33, 95; (1490) 28, 120; (1507) 120; (1508) 94, 95, 100, 120, 121, 154, 155, 220; (1511) 62, 95, 109, 122, 123, 169, 184; (1512, *Stobonica*) 64, 116, 117, 121, 174; (1513) 64, 95, 109, 111, 112, 113, 169, 171, 173, 201; (1520) 112; (1522) 112, 125, 126, 148, 173, 175, 184, 598; (1525) 109, 112, 126; (1533) 95, 112, 127, 176; (1540) 446; (1541) 127, 184, 446; (1542) 446; (1545) 446; (1548) 226, 234, 414, 449; (1552) 184, 234, 446; (1553) 446; (1563) 436, 449, 471; (1569) 437; (1564) 437; (1574) 437; (1597) 457, 472; (1598) 457; (1599) 457; map of the world according to, 165; his theory of east and west extension 26, 95; portraits (cuts), 26, 27; Angelo's Latin version of, 26, 27; early editions, 27; spread of his views, 27; maps by Agathodamon, 28; manuscripts of, 28; bibliography of, 30, 438; recognizes latitude and longitude, 95; errors of longitude, 101.
- Pucara, 519, 545.
- Pueblo Indians, 473. *See* Moqui; Sedentary; Zuni.
- Puelles, Pedro de, 528, 538.
- Puente, Alonso de la, 213.
- Puerco, Rio, 488.
- Puerto Bello, 509. *See* Porto.
- Puerto Desgado, 203. *See* Fort Desert.
- Puerto Viejo, 509.
- Puga, Vasco de, his edition of laws, 146; *Provisiones*, 401.
- Puget Sound, 470.
- Puna, 509; island, 514.
- Pufendorf, 213.
- QUADRANT. *See* Hadley.
- Quadiu, map (1600), 460.
- Quaquima, 481.
- Quauhquemotzin, 371; captured, 378.
- Quech, F. G., on the Cacchiquela, 419.
- Quemado, 509.
- Quéranda, 598.
- Querecho, 492.
- Quezada, Gonzalo Ximenes, conquer New Granada, 580; his portrait, 580; goes to Spain, 580; his *Compendio*, 584; his daughter marries Barrea, 586.
- Quezon, Pedro de, 238, 240.
- Quiche, 289.
- Quicksilver in Peru, 552.
- Quiguate, 251.
- Quilacasa, 532.
- Quillota, 524.
- Quintana, Manuel José, on Balboa, 210; *Vidas*, 210, 243, 567; *Obras*, 243.
- Quintanilla, 5.
- Quintero, 524.
- Quinto, 89.
- Quipana, 251.
- Quir, F. de, his map, 461.
- Quirez, 485, 491.
- Quiriquitos, 524; island, 540.
- Quiro, Alvaro de, 507.
- Quiroga, Rodrigo de, governor of Chili, 528, 551.
- Quiros, 282.
- Quisao, 454.
- Quispicanchi, 311.
- Quito, 509, 513; audiencia, 460; histories, 27, 534.
- Quivdo, Bishop, 207.
- Quivira, 451, 450, 465, 492, 497; (1556) 228; (1599) 504; (1602) 504; (Quivir) 454; (City) 445; site transferred to the coast, 445; map of, 485. *See* Gran Quivira.
- Quivira, 251.
- Quivira, giant, picture of, 603.
- RÁBIDA, 3, 2; Columbus at, 90, 91.
- Raca, Cape (Raza), 432.
- Rado, J. de, 119, 225; plots against Pizarro, 534; dies, 535.
- Raemdonck. *See* Van Raemdonck.
- Rafa, Indian, 528.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, his account of searches for Eldorado, 579; at Trinidad, 581; sends out Whiddon, 586; map of the Orinoco, 587.
- Ramirez, Antonio, 215.
- Ramirez, José Fernando, edits the *Procesos de residencia*, 398; his library, 398, 399; *Biblioteca Mexicana*, 430; collates Sahagun, 416; edits Duran, 419; his life of Motolinia, 343, 397; notes on Prescott, 427.
- Ramirez, Juan, 241.
- Ramirez, Pedro, translates Bethencourt's narrative, 26.
- Ramusio, G. B., *Navigations*, 498, 499; on Columbus, 67, 93; his preface to Leo Africanus, 163; his map (1556) 227, 448; fac-simile, 228; knew Ortelius, 345; and the publication of Pigafetta, 614.
- Ranjel, Rodrigo, on De Soto, 201.
- Ranke, Leopold von, 337.
- Rappahannock, Spaniards on, 282, 283.
- Raynal, G. T., *Les Européens dans l'Inde*, 461.
- Rayon, I. L., *Archivo Mexicano*, 398.
- Recueil, Ocean, 616.
- Recueil de traités, 278.
- Regiontanas. *See* Müller, Johannes, de Königsberg.
- Registre Vascoïco, 429.
- Regnault, 47.
- Reina, F. S. de la, 599.
- Reinosa, Alonso de, 531.
- Reisch, Gregor, *Margarita philo-sophica*, 95, 113; his map, 114.
- Relaciones geográficas de Indias, 576.
- Rem, Lucas, *Argonauts*, 45, 162.
- Remesal, Ant. de, S. Vincent de Chynpa, 91, 343, 399, 419; on Guatemala, 8.
- Rémon, Alonso, 424.
- Renchini, 52.
- Rend, Duke, 206, 213, 146, 162, 164; dies, 169.
- Renteria, Pedro de la, 308.
- Resarimantón, 309, 537.
- Residencia, 14, 398.
- Reusner, Nic., his *Icones*, 26, 27, 59, 90, 102.
- Revell, S., 98.
- Revista de Lima, 569.
- Revista Peruana, 569.
- Revue archéologique, 70.
- Revue contemporaine, 70, 411.
- Revue de géographie, 25, 40, 378.
- Revue de Paris, 68.
- Revue des questions historiques, 66, 178.
- Revue géographique, 617.
- Revue oratoire et d'agriculture, 50.
- Revue politique et littéraire, 34.
- Revue rétrospective, 208.
- Rey, F. del, *Cortes de Tabasco*, 430.
- Reyuso, Captain, 270.
- Rheinisches Archiv, 51.
- Ribadeneyra, *Bibliotecas*, 412.
- Ribault, at Fort Royal, 260; at Fort Caroline, 262; attacked by Menéndez's fleet, 263; wrecked, 273; surrenders, 295; authorities on his expedition in Florida, 293; *Histoire de l'expédition*, 293; *True and Last Discoveries*, 293; *Wahle and True Discoveries*, 293; flayed (?), 297.
- Ribeiro, J. P., *Hist. do real archivo*, 8.
- Ribera, A., 511.
- Ribera, Nic. de, 509, 510.
- Ribeiro, his map, 42, 206, 221, 222, 205; its influence, 221; records Gomes' discoveries, 242.
- Riccardi Palace (Florence), maps in, 428.
- Rich, Obadiah, 577; helps Irving, vi.
- Richel, Dionisio, *Compendio*, 400.
- Richard, Pierre, *La Florida*, 292.
- Richeri, G. B., his collection, 347.
- Richter, J. P., *De Vinici*, 124.
- Riggs, George W., 287.
- Rimac River, 524, 547.
- Rincon, A. del, 72.
- Ringmann, Matthias, 146, 161, 164; at work on Ptolemy, 171; dies, 171. *See* Philaeus.
- Rio de Janeiro, visited by Magellan, 595; Pero Lopes at, 596.
- Rio de Palmas, 222, 287.
- Rios, Pedro de los, 508.
- Riquelme, 216.
- Rithayer, *De orbis terrarum*, 421.
- Ritter, Karl, on Bernal Diaz, 415.
- Rivarolo, F. di, iv.
- Robertson, Dr. William, his use of documents, ii; on Columbus, ii; *History of America*, 68, 424; on Peru, 578; on Vesputius, 146, 154.
- Rocca Saporta, 58.
- Roco, Denys, 158.
- Rochefort, César de, *Hist. naturelle des Indes Antilles*, 289; *Carrilby Islands*, 289.
- Rodrigo, B., 528.
- Rodriguez, Juan, 204.
- Rodriguez de Villa Fuente, Francisco, 511.
- Rogel, Father, 279, 282.
- Rollo Island, 28.
- Rojas, Gabriel de, illness of, 523.
- Roldán, his revolt, 201; drowned, 221.
- Rolls Chronicles (British Government), i.
- Roman, Cape, 260.
- Rome (Georgia), 247.
- Rondon, Antonio, 528.
- Roque Coocchia, Bishop, *Los vestos de Colon*, 8.
- Roquette, De la, 53, 107.
- Rosaccio, 457.
- Rosaspina, 73.
- Rosny, *Histoire de Colomb*, 40, 50.
- Ross, Thomassina, 206.
- Rossi, *Del disaccamento di Colombo*, 68.
- Rostro hermoso (cape), 188.
- Rota, 611.
- Rota, his map of the Antilles, 216.
- Rouen, globe at, 34; Indians at, 61.
- Rours, F. du, *La conquête de Méxique*, 410.
- Roux de Rochelle, *Ferd Cortez*, 430.
- Roxo, Cape, 237.
- Rudders introduced, 98.
- Ruge, Sophus, *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 45, 69, 106; *Walt-anachronism des Columbus*, 69; his map of Corde's march, 358; his map of Guatemala, etc., 584; his map of Pizarro's discoveries, 512.
- Ruia, Bartolomé, 297, 519, 511; made grand pilot, 511.
- Ruis, Fray F., 504.
- Rum Cay, 55.
- Rupununi (river), 581, 587.
- Ruscilli, *Carta marina*, 435; his maps (1544), 431; (1561) 449; his text of Ptolemy, 457.
- Russian Academy's map of the north-west coast, 469.
- Ruy de Pisa, *Don João II*, 90.
- Ruysh and the magnetic pole, 95; his map, 156; its connection with Vesputius, 280; Varlagens' view of it, 155.
- Ruyter, *Sea-Feldens*, 77.
- Rycant, *Royal Commentaries*, 575.
- Rye, W. E., edits the Knight of Elvra, 289; Biedma, 290.
- SAABVEDRA, CAROL, 441.
- Saavedra, Juan, 225.
- Sabellicus, M. A., *In rapud. hist.*, 99.
- Sabin, *Works of Las Casas*, 333.
- Sacchi, 408.
- Sacchini, *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, 282.
- Sacchuma, 259.
- Sacahuana, 510.
- Sacshumana (Inca fortress), 522.
- Sacahuana, 520, 541.
- Saeghman, his *Voyages*, 347.

- Saegman Collection, 460.  
*Saggio di storia Americana*, 587.  
 Sagras, Ramon de la, *Hist. de Cuba*, 320.  
 Sagres, school at, 40.  
 Sahagun, F. B., account of him, 415; his manuscript lost and discovered, 415, 416; studies the Aztec, 415; *Evangelarium*, etc., 415; his manuscripts, 415; *Symonias*, 415; his portrait, 415; *Hist. general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 416; *Conquista de México*, 416; his autogr., 416; the text in Kingsborough, 416; different texts, 416; *La aparición de N. S. de Guadalupe*, 416; contrasted with Bernal Diaz, 416; article on, by Ferd. Denis, 416; *Hist. générale des choses*, etc., 417.  
 Sails, reeving, 98.  
 Saint. See San, Sanct, Santa, Santo.  
 St. Augustine, Cape, 188; early names of, 205.  
 St. Augustine, 228, 291; burned by Drake, 283; founded by Menendez, 269, 264, 265; view of, 266.  
 Saint Die, account of, 162; his press, 162; its scholars, 162; its press broken up, 171.  
 St. Elias. See Mount.  
 St. Francis, Kingdom of, 460.  
 St. Helena (cape), 221.  
 St. Helena (river), 225, 229.  
 St. Iago (Mexico, west coast), 449.  
 St. John the Baptist (San Juan Bautista) River, 230, 240.  
 St. John's River (Florida), 268, 265; Spanish forts at, 260.  
 St. Julian, port of, 605.  
 St. Lawrence (gulf), 109, 223.  
 St. Lazarus Archipelago (northwest coast), 463; (Philippines), 612. See San Lazarus.  
 St. Lucia, 226.  
 Saint-Martin, Vivien de, *Hist. de la géog.*, 30, 617.  
 St. Matthew (island), 36.  
 Saint-Méry, M. de, on Santo Domingo, 80.  
 St. Michael's (Azores) and the first meridian, 95.  
 St. Roman, Cape, 221.  
 St. Thomas (island), 227, 447, 449, 450, 451.  
 Saint-Victor, Geoffroy de, his *Microcosmos*, 28.  
*Sainteté de Colomb*, 69.  
 Salamancea, council at, 41; its university faculty on the making slaves of the Indians, 337; junto at, 91.  
 Salazar, Dominic de, 257.  
 Salazar, F. C., his account of Mexico, 378.  
 Salazar, Joseph de, *Crisis*, etc., 283.  
 Salazar de Mendoza, F., *Monarquía de España*, 68.  
 Salazar y Olarte, Ignacio, *La conquista de México*, 222.  
 Salazar, usurper in Mexico, 386.  
 Salcedo, names of his followers, 415.  
 Saldomando, E. T., 571.  
 Salinas, 519, 527.  
 Salinas, Marquis of. See Velasco.  
 Salmeron, *Annot. ad Tacitum*, 83.  
 Salmon, *America*, 468.  
 Salfie, Martin, 219.  
 Saltonstall, W., translates the Hondius-Mercator atlas, 462.  
 Salta, vil.  
 Salvador, 468.  
 Samana (Bahamas), 55, 56, 92.  
 Samano, Julian de, 254, 256.  
 Samar, 612.  
 San. See Sanct, Santa, Santo, St.  
 "San Antonio", 503.  
 San Brandon Island, 36.  
 San Diego (California), 444.  
 San Esteban del Puerto founded by Cortés, 218.  
 San Felipe (Chili), 524.  
 San Francisco, the older bay so called, 453.  
 San Francisco, Cape (Peru), 509.  
 San Gallan (Pisco), 510.  
 San José, Rio, 501.  
 San Juan de Ulloa, 203, 352, 353.  
 San Juan River, 21, 212, 509, 513; (Peru) 507.  
 San Lazaro Archipelago, 459. See St. Lazarus.  
 San Lorenzo (Peru), 509; (Nootka) 469.  
 San Lucar, 142, 144, 200; (gulf) 198.  
 San Martin, Thomas de, 522.  
 San Mateo (bay), 509, 513, 514; (fort) 279, 282.  
 San Miguel, 519; founded, 515; (California) 444; (gulf) 190, 196, 500; settled (Jamestown), 241; (Sinaloa) 244.  
 San Saba Mountains, 244.  
 San Salvador Island, 53.  
 San Sebastian, 191.  
 San Vicente, Juan de, 265.  
 Sana, 519.  
 Sanchez (Sanxia), Gabriel (Raphael), 47, 48.  
 Sanchez, Gonzalo, 257.  
 Sancho, Pedro, 566.  
 Sanct Vicentis (gulf), 109.  
 Sanctæ Crucis Terra (South America), 115. See Santa Crucia.  
 Sand cloaks, 101.  
 Sandia Mountains, 488.  
 Sandoval, Gonzalo de, 352; at Villa Rica, 366; with Cortés, 367; his ride, 372; convicts brigantines, 373; at second siege of Mexico, 376; confers with Tapia, 380; in Honduras, 385; goes to Spain, 387; autogr., 387; portrait, 384; dies, 388.  
 Sanguinetti, 84.  
 Sanguinetti, A., *Origine de F. Colomb*, 49, 61; *Comunicação di Colombo*, 69; *Vita di Colombo*, 69.  
 Sanson, Guillaume, 463.  
 Sanson, Nic., 466; died, 463; his maps show Lake Patima, 687.  
 Santa. See San, Santo, St.  
 Santa, 511.  
 Santa founded, 547.  
 Santa Argo, 612.  
 Santa Clara Island, 511.  
 Santa Cruz, A. de, his variation chart, 100.  
 Santa Cruz Bay (California), 442.  
 Santa Elena (Port Royal), 250.  
 Santa Lucia, Bay of. See Rio de Janeiro.  
 Santa Maria (Chili), 524.  
 Santa Maria del Antigua del Darien, 193.  
 Santa Maria de la Consolacion (cape), 188.  
 "Santa Maria," ship, 8.  
 Santa Maria, 189; (mountain) 169.  
 Santa Martha, 580, 581.  
 Santa Rosa (bay), 257; (island) 242.  
 Santa Rosa (of Lima), 500; sources of her history, 500.  
 Sanctæ Crucis (cape), 598. See Sanctæ Crucis.  
 Santangel, Luis de, 5, 46, 91.  
 Santarem, Viscount, 178; his accusations of Vesputius, 155, 178; *Hist. de la cartographie*, 28, 93; *Recherches sur Vesputie*, 178; translated by Childé, 178; his works on Vesputius, 178.  
 Santiago (Chili), 524, 539; *Libro Berrero*, 272.  
 Santiago River (Peru), 509.  
 "Santiago de Palos," ship, 20.  
 Santillan, Hernando de, 542, 545.  
 Santo. See San, Santa, Saint.  
 Santo Domingo, archives of, iv; Cathedral at, 79, 81; founded, 20; Hazard's book on, 71. See Hispaniola, Hayti.  
 Santo Tomas, Domingo de, 542.  
 Sautou, 65.  
 Sautou, Livio, *Geografia distinta*, 430.  
 Sautou, Marino, his map, 36, 92; his *Diarii*, 108.  
 Saona, 188.  
 Saragosa, treaty of, 441.  
 Saravia, 509.  
 Sargent, Henry, 357.  
 Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro, *Relacion*, 616.  
 Sarmiento, Bishop, 275.  
 Sarmiento's voyage to Magellan's Straits, 557.  
 Saturiba, 279, 280.  
 Saucé, Mateo de, 218.  
 Savage, James, on the De Fontes story, 463.  
 Savona, 89, 90; archives, 89; alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.  
 Savonarola, 131.  
 Savorgnanus, Pierre, 404, 410.  
 Sayt Lupce, 546; dies, 552.  
 Scandia, 47.  
*Scella di curiosità letteraria*, 169.  
 Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, 3.  
 Schedel, Hartmann, *Registrum, or Nuremberg Chronicle*, 34, 35.  
 Scheler, Ch., 105.  
 Scherzinger, Abel, translates Benozzi, 347.  
 Scherzer edits Ximenes, 415.  
 Schmeller, Dr., on the discovery of Madeira, 38.  
 Schmeller, J. A., *See-Karten*, 616.  
 Schmiechel, *Terra Historia*, 387.  
 Schotter, M., on Vesputius, 179.  
 Schomburgk, R. H., *Bavadaea*, 226.  
 Schöner, Johann, *De nuper reperta insula*, 118; reprinted by Varrhaegen, 128; globe (1515), 118, 173; (1520) 119, 173; his *Lucentissimas description*, 118, 173; his note-book, 113; *Opusculum geographicum*, 176, 432; portrait, 117; references, 117.  
 Schönlandia, 437.  
 Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 509.  
 Schott, Andreas, *High illust.*, 51.  
 Schott, Charles A., *Variation of the Compass*, 100.  
 Schott, T., *Columbus*, 69.  
 Schott, A., 186.  
 Schumacher, H. A., *Petrus Martyr*, 110.  
 Scott, Winfield, his approach to Mexico, 375.  
 Scotto of Genoa, 441.  
 Scylliacus, Nic., *De insulis*, etc., 58.  
 Sea-manuals. See Navigation.  
 Sea of Darkness, 36.  
 Sechura, 516; desert of, 519.  
 Sededo, Father, 268.  
 Sedentary Indians, 473. See Pueblos; Moqui; Zuni.  
 Sédillo, *Les instruments des Arabes*, 94.  
 Seeley, J. R., *Expansion of England*, 45, 461.  
 Segno, on history of Florence, 154.  
 Segura, 372.  
 Segura, Father, 262.  
 Segura, Juan, 281.  
 Segura mission, 282.  
 Senaraya, 84.  
 Senaroga, *De rebus Germanicis*, 48, 90.  
 Seneca, his *Medea*, 26.  
 Sepulveda, opposes Las Casas, 314, 333; his career, 314; his book printed and seized, 315; dispute with Las Casas, 315; his *Democratæ Secunda*, 315, 335; *Apologia*, 315; *Opera*, 315.  
 Serena, 524; founded, 531.  
 Serpent's mouth, 596.  
 Serrano, 1941; murdered, 612.  
 Serrano, Juan, 606.  
 Serrano, Miguel Sanchez, 258.  
 Serrus edita Ptolemæ, 127. See Ptolemæ (1515).  
 Sessa, Duque de, 288.  
 Sestebon, 507.  
 Seutter, Atlas, 467.  
 Seven Cities (islands), 36, 38; called Heptapoli-, 177.

- Seven Cities (towns in New Mexico), 473, 480.
- Sevilla Nueva (Sevilla d' Oro) in Jamaica, 201.
- Seville, annals of, 68; archives at, ii, viii; cathedral of, 65; views of, 5; garden of Columbus, 5; notarial records of, ii.
- Storza, Ascanto, 57.
- Storza, Lud., 58.
- Shapley, 462.
- Shea, J. C., on the Remains of Columbus, 80, 83; on "Ancient Florida," 231; on the Segura mission, 282; on the Spaniards in the Chesapeake, 282; edita *Relacion* of Peltalon's expedition, 504.
- Shelcock, *Voyages*, 467.
- Sherer, *Researches*, 25.
- Ship-language, 507.
- Shipp, Bernard, *De Soto and Florida*, 290.
- Ships, early (cuts), 6, 7, 10, 13, 18, 19, 259; method of building, 8; first one built on the North American coast, 240. *See* Veselsa.
- Siecard, Commodore, 352.
- Siguencia, map of Mexico, 375.
- Siguencia y Gougeon, 288.
- Silla, 421.
- Silva, Miguel de, 227.
- Silva, Pedro Malaver de, 585.
- Silver Bluff (Georgia), 247.
- Silvius, Willem, edita Zaratate, 568.
- Simancaz, archives of, i.
- Siméon, Remi, edita Bahagun, 417.
- Simon, Pedro, *Noticias*, 582.
- Simpson, J. H., *Coronado's March*, 502; *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance*, 502.
- Sinacam, 385.
- Simón, 425, 499.
- Singreir, Jean, 482.
- Sirocco (southeast), 94.
- Sismond, *Literature of South of Europe*, 571.
- Skolnus. *See* Skolny.
- Slater, E. F., *Incorrect Latitudes*, 96.
- Slave voyages, 215.
- Slavery, African, in the Spanish islands, 504; connection of Las Casas with, 512; of Indians, 348; instituted by Columbus, 303; its character, 390.
- Slaves captured at the Bahamas, 239.
- Sloane, Hans, 460.
- Sloane manuscript, early map in, 432.
- Smith, Buckingham, *The Captivity of Orin*, 245; on C. de Vaca's route, 287; memoir of, by Shea, 287; *Cabeza de Vaca*, 286; his *Coloquio*, 288, 498; his manuscripts, vii, 288; on De Soto's landing, 291.
- Smith, J., *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, 73.
- Smith, W., *Dictionary of Ancient Biography*, 164.
- Smithsonian Institution, Reports, 502.
- Smyth, William, *Lectures on Modern History*, 424, 578.
- Snow, *History of Boston*, 463.
- Sobrarus, *Panegyricum*, 62.
- Socorro, 480.
- Soderini, Piero, 145; addressed by Vesputius, 162, 163.
- Solano, Fr., 570.
- Solano, Juan de, 537.
- Soligo, Cristofalo, his chart, 38.
- Solinus, bibliography of, 180; his *Polihistor*, 122, 182; issued with Mela, 182, 186; edited by Camers, 122, 173.
- Sola, Antonio de, *Conquista de México*, 422, 575; continuation by Salazar, 422; account of, 422; portrait, 423; editions of, in various languages, 424; life by Goyeneche, 424.
- Sola, Juan Díaz de, 101.
- Solis de Meras, *Memorias*, 503.
- Solomon Islands discovered, 352.
- Solorzano, Juan de, *Poltica Indiana*, 451, 571, 592.
- Sonora, 486.
- Sopete, 402.
- Soria Luce, D. de, 511.
- Sorie, Jacueta, sacks Havana, 269, 275.
- Sotelo, C. de, 535.
- Sotil, Alonso Fernandez, 238.
- Soto, Domingo de, 215; his summary of the Las Casas controversy, 135.
- Soto, Fernando de, 196, 200; his expedition, 509; in Florida, 244; crosses the Mississippi, 221; likeness of, 252; autog., 253; dies, 253; spot of his death, 294; in Peru, 288, 216, 517, 520; protests against Atahualpa's death, 518; authorities on, 288; *Relacion verdadera*, 288; B. Smith on, 287; Knight of Elvas, 288; Biedma, 286; Garcilasso de la Vega, 290; Ranjel's narrative, 291; Soto's own letter, 291; opinions as to his route, 291, 296; its northerly limit, 292; his will, 291; his route in Delisle's map, 294, 295; other maps of the route, 295.
- Sotomayor, Alonso de, governor of Chili, 561; portrait, 562.
- Sotomayor, Juan de V., *Provincia de el Leon*, 419.
- South America, cartographical history of, 619; maps, 434, 437; (Ortelius) 460, 461; (Martines) 450; (*Mundus novus*) 450; (*Terra Sancta Crucis*) 122, 123. *See* America; *Mundus novus*.
- South Sea. *See* Pacific.
- Southern Cross*, 41, 160.
- Southern Literary Messenger*, 292.
- Souther, Robert, *Expedition of Ormus*, 582, 583; *History of Brazil*, 589.
- Sowden*, *The*, 206.
- Southwell, Sir Robert, 464.
- Souza, Lopez de, *Diario*, 155.
- Souza, arria of (cuts), title, 6, 413; chroniclers of, 68; permits various early expeditions, 122; its government suppresses maps, 113. *See* Spanish; Spaniards.
- Spalding, Archbishop, on Prescott, 427.
- Spangenberg, 469.
- Spaniards, administrative and judicial system, 348; regulations regarding slavery, 348; their rapacity and cruelty, 201, 206, 319, 326, 327, 343, 417; and the Indians, 299. *See* Spain.
- Spanish arms, 324, 344, 406; with quarters, 356.
- Spanish maps, earliest, 93.
- Spanish voyages to the Northwest, 469.
- Sparks, Jared, *Ribault*, 293, 298; on Vesputius, 159.
- Speed, John, his *Prospect*, 462, 464; maps (1651), 466.
- Sphericity of the earth, 24. *See* Earth; Globe.
- Spice islands, 441. *See* Moluccas.
- Spitzer, F., 445.
- Spotorno, G. B., *Codice dipl. Colombiano-americano*, and editions of, iv, 68; on Columbus' birthplace, 82.
- Sprengel, M. C., on Ribero's map, 221; *Beyslager*, 615; his version of Muñoz, iii.
- Squier, E. G., *Collection of Documents*, vii; manuscripts, 578; map of New Mexico, 501; on New Mexico, 501; plan of Inca fortress, 521.
- Stadius, 96.
- Stanley, J., *Dynastus*, 62.
- Stanley, H. E. J., 44; edita Morera's *Philippine Islands*, 616; life of Magellan, 617.
- Stapler, J. J., 410.
- Steelsio, Juan, publisher, 412.
- Steinbauer, A., 222.
- Stephen, a negro, 475; killed at Cibola, 475; tradition of his death, 483.
- Stevens, Henry, on the ancient geographers, 181; *American Bibliographer*, 19; his opinion of Clavigero, 425; on early Spanish laws, 347; on Hartree, 68; his prints of Las Casas' writings, 327; his notice of Lud., 162; on Ortelius, 471.
- Stevens, John, translates Herrera, 68; Cieza de Leon, 574.
- Stevens, *History of Georgia*, 201.
- Stobnicza, his introduction to Ptolemy (*see* Ptolemy); his map, 116, 121.
- Stocklein, *Reise Beschreibungen*, 580.
- Stoeffler, Johann, *Etiologia Astronómica*, 99; editor of Procius, 99.
- Stormy Cape, 41.
- Strabo, 24; *De situ orbis*, 25; on the sphericity of the globe, 102.
- Studi biografici e bibliografici*, 155.
- Stukely projects an English settlement in Florida (1683), 262.
- Stürven, *De vera novi orbis inventore*, 35.
- Suarez de Figueroa, Cristóbal, *Hechos de Honduras*, 572.
- Sugar-cane, 597.
- Sumner, Charles, *Prophetic Voices concerning America*, 25.
- Sumner, George, 65; on Columbus at Barcelona, 56.
- Sun, eclipse observed by Magellan, 604.
- Sun-worship, 551.
- Suroz, 543.
- Susquehanna, early Indian history of, 263.
- Suya, 421.
- Sweet potato, 597.
- Sylvanus, B., edita Ptolemy, 122, 123; his map, 122. *See* Ptolemy (1511).
- Szekely, John, 34.
- TABASCO, 203, 352, 353, 384.
- Tabeqa, 507.
- Tacatacura (St. Mary's), 280, 282.
- Tacuba, 374.
- Tafur, Pedro, 510.
- Taignier's *Navigations*, 98.
- Talavera, 57, 91, 210; pirate, 191, 192.
- Talchahuano, 549.
- Talpa, 210.
- Talladega River, 248.
- Tallashatchee River, 248.
- Tallise, 248.
- Tamarique, 218.
- Tambo River, 519.
- Tamisiy de La Roque, 298.
- Tampa Bay, 246, 286, 295; its various names, 288.
- Tangarara, 515.
- Tanguio (Bahia), 202.
- Tansteiter, Georg, edita Albertus Magnus, 173.
- Taos, 495.
- Tapac, Amaru, his flight, 580.
- Tapia, André de, his *Relacion*, 508.
- Tapia, Cristóbal de, 237; ordered to New Spain, 380.
- Tapiri, 600.
- Taschous, 278, 295.
- Tascheran, 208.
- Tastaluza, 248, 249.
- Taylor, Alexander S., his version of the *Relacion* of Cabriollo's voyage, 4451.
- First Voyage to California*, 445.
- Tehuac, 495.
- Tehuantepec, 225, 441, 584, 593; (Tehuantepecque) 219.
- Tehuclches, 603.
- Tehuac, 537.
- Tegua, 82; *Los vestes de Colon*, 82, 83.
- Teloz, 473.
- Telles, F., *Oratio*, 62.
- Temisitan, 365, 432. *See* Mexico.
- Temporal, Jean, 163.
- Tendilla, 57.
- Temochtlan, 365. *See* Mexico.
- Tepeaca, 358.
- Tepeacana, 372.
- Tepeyacac, 376.
- Tequesta, 279.
- Ternau, 501.
- Terraz-Compass, Henri, 427; his manuscript collection, iii; his *Voyages*, vi; his library, vi; his *Ar-*

- chros des voyages*, vii, 498, 499, 576; *Recueil de documents*, vii; *Pièces sur la Floride*, 297; his collections on Mexico, 417; publishes part of Oviedo, 346.
- Terra Esontis, 467.
- Terra Fernis, 223. *See* Tierra.
- Terra Sanctæ Crucis, 169.
- Terrrossa, 86.
- Terrazas, Francisco de, 397.
- Testu, G., his map, 320.
- Teucaria (river), 404.
- Teutsch, G. D., on Honter, 122.
- Tezucoc, *See* Tezucoc.
- Tezucoc, kings of, 417.
- Tezera, explores the Amazon, 589; map of Pacific coast, 466.
- Texas, 403.
- Tezucoc, 358, 369, 374.
- Tezucoc en los últimos tiempos*, 418.
- Tezozomoc, F. de A., *Cronica Mexicana*, 418.
- Theatro de virtudes*, 408.
- Thevenot, map (1663), 403.
- Thevet, André, *Le grand insulaire*, 105; *Select Lives*, 389; and Laudonnière's papers, 297; *Povivaires and Lignes*, 516, 602.
- Thomassy, Raymond, 614; *Les papies géographiques*, 27, 62.
- Thornike, Israel, 73.
- Thottians, 58.
- Thule, 37; (Iceland?) 33.
- Thyle, 446.
- Thuron (cape), 188.
- Ticknor, George, criticises R. A. Wilson, 427; *Life of Prescott*, 426, 427; *Spanish Literature*, 68; catalogue of his Spanish library, 47.
- Tidor, 501.
- Tierra del Fuego, 425, 450, 459; explored by De Poma, 462; named by Magellan, 607.
- Tierra firme, 169, 189, 209, 218; trading-voyages to, 208. *See* Terra.
- Tigres, 425, 483, 493, 495.
- Timor, 614, 615.
- Tiraboschi, 65; *Litteratura italiana*, 831.
- Tiran, *Archives d'Aragon*, ii.
- Titian, head of Cortés, 424.
- Tititaca, Lake, 519, 538.
- Tito Atacchi, 516, 520.
- Titu Cusi Yupanqui, 552, 553.
- Tizon River, 486.
- Tlaxopan, 376.
- Tlalpa, 358.
- Tlascalala, 358, 359, 362; Cortés' retreat to, 370.
- Tlatelulco, market of, 376.
- Tobar, Pedro de, 484, 496.
- Toba, Cristóbal de, 285.
- Tobago, 509.
- Toledo, Fernando Alvarez de, 573.
- Toledo, Francisco de, governor of Peru, 552; his *Libro de Tasa*, 556, 570; returns to Spain, 557; *Ordenanzas*, 570.
- Toledo, Luis de, 549.
- Tolin, 459, 472.
- Tolosa, Diego de, 255.
- Tolosa, Juan de, 503, 581.
- Toluca, 358.
- Tome, Rio, 259.
- Ton, English, as compared with the Spanish *tonelas*, 594.
- Tonkas, 294.
- Tonnage of ships, 7, 594. *See* Ships; *Vessels*.
- Tont, his route (1702), 294.
- Tontontec, 459.
- Tontontec (river), 449.
- Topin, 418, 480, 500.
- Tordesillas, convention of, 14, 45, 502.
- Toreno, Nuño Garcia de, 224; part of his map, 220, 221.
- Toribio de Benavente. *See* Motolinia.
- Toribio de Otiquezua, 584.
- Toro, Alonso, 538.
- Torquemada, Juan de, 460; *Memorias Indianas*, 421, 422; account of, 421; edited by Barcia from the manuscript, 422; on Xuarez, 287.
- Torre, G. B., *Scritti di Colombo*, iv, 46, 52, 65.
- Torre, Juan de la, 510.
- Torre do Tombo. *See* Lisbon.
- Torres, Antonio de, 17.
- Torres y Portugal, Fernando de (Conde de Villar don Pardo), 560.
- Torre do Tombo, *See* Lisbon.
- Tortugas, 278; (1520) 221; (1542) 226; discovered, 233; on maps, 234.
- Tory, Geotroy, edita Mela, 181; account of, by Bernard, 181.
- Toscanelli, 2, 3, 30; his views, 25; correspondence with Columbus, 39, 31; 90; map, ii, 38, 101; restored, 102.
- Tosinus, publisher in Rome, 220.
- Tosti engravings, 73.
- Totoncos, 359.
- Totontec, 477, 480.
- Tototoc, 472.
- Touha, F. de, translates Solis, 424.
- Tour du monde*, 298.
- Tourneq, K. de la, 224.
- Touron, *Hist. de l'Amérique*, 256.
- Toux, Juan, 420.
- Town, building of a, 522.
- Townsend, Thomas, version of Solis, 424.
- Tozen, E., *Entdecker der neuen Welt*, 35.
- Trifalgar (Hatteras), Cape, 221; 285.
- Tramont (north), 54.
- Transylvania, Maximilian, *De Moluccis insulis*, 615; *De Hispaniarum navigatione*, 615.
- Triango Island, 92.
- Tribaldo, Luis, 504.
- Trinidad, 131, 137, 221 (Cuba) 353; discovered, 201; map, 586.
- Triste noche*, 369; tree of, 370.
- Trithemus, Johannes, 221; *Epist. tom.*, 121.
- Trivigiano, Angelo, 106.
- Trivulgio Library, 51, 58.
- Tross goeses, 120, 173.
- Trujillo, Sebastian, 344.
- Trujillo, 385.
- Truxillo, Diego (or Alonso), 511.
- Truxillo (north), 523; founded, 523; (Peru) 519.
- Tschudi, *Antiquitates*, 515.
- Tucapel, 524, 548.
- Tucason, 477.
- Tulla, 251.
- Tumaco, 505, 509.
- Tumbes, 223, 508, 509, 511, 514, 519, 528.
- Tupac Amaru, 552; captured, 553, 570; executed, 553; documents on, 570.
- Turin, *Mem. de l'Académie*, 82.
- Turner, Sharon, 3.
- Turner, W. W., *Pacific R. R. Reports*, 502.
- Turquoise mines, 488.
- Tusayan (Moqui), 484, 485.
- Tutahaco, 487, 489.
- Tuxtlahuac, 313.
- Twiss, Sir Travers, *Monograph on Burial-place of Columbus*, 82; *Oregon Question*, 455.
- Taylor, E. B., *Anahuac*, 428; confirms Prescott, 428.
- Typographical errors in early books, 153.
- UADPE Indians, 581.
- Ucavali River, 510.
- Ucía (Indian), 245.
- Ugnaín, Antonio de, his manuscripts, iii.
- Uillac Umu, 524.
- Uira-cocha, Inca, 520.
- Uliabahal, 248.
- Ulloa, Alfonso de, 65, 568.
- Ulloa, Carlo V., 421.
- Ulloa, Francisco de, explores in the Pacific, 199, 422; his charts, 449.
- United States Naval Institute, *Proceedings*, 54.
- Urucaos, *Pithecurus*, 36.
- Urabá (gulf), 180, 504.
- Urano, C. M., translates Bossi's *Colombo*, 68.
- Urdaneta, Andres de, 445, 454.
- Uricochea, *Mafalca Colombiana*, 93.
- Uruca, Pedro de, in Bogota, 581; founds Pampluna, 581; kills the Cimarrones, 582; seeks Eldorado, 582, 582; murdered, 582; account of, 582.
- Uspallata, 562.
- Utiilian, 383.
- Uzioli, Gustavo, *Scelta*, etc., 51; *Atlantid*, etc., 93; on the early maps, 155.
- VACA, CABEZA DE, with Narvaez, 223; his journey overland, 224; his *Relacion*, 286; *Naufragios*, etc., 286; in South America, 286; autog., 289; memoir by T. W. Field, 287; his route, 287. *See* Cabeza de Vaca.
- Vaca de Castro, defecis Diego Almagro, 530; governor of Peru, 537; imprisoned, 537; escapes to Panama, 537; likeness of, 535; sent to Peru, 536.
- Vacapa, 477.
- Vadianus, adopts the name of America, 124; edita Pomponius Mela, 173, 182; his likeness, 181; bibliography of, 180; his true name Watt, 182; letter to Rudolphus Agricola, 182; his *Epistolas*, 179, 184, 186; his map, 184.
- Valdés, 466.
- Valdivia, Pedro, 109, 104; leads Pizarro's infantry, 527; starts to complete conquest of Chili, 528; likeness of, 529, 530; proceeds against Gonzalo Pizarro, 534; joins Gasca, 541; goes to Valparaiso, 548; killed, 549; his letters, 572; accusations against, 572.
- Valdivia (town), 524, 548.
- Valerius, Cornelius, *De sphaera*, 176.
- Valeriosa, 189.
- Valadolid (New Mexico), 495.
- Vallard, Nicholas, his map, 226.
- Valori, Baccio, 63.
- Valparaiso, 524; named, 525; name confirmed, 531.
- Valsequa, Gabriel de, his chart, 28, 174.
- Valzarca, D. de, *Compendio*, 84.
- Valverde, V. de, 512; bishop of Cuzco, 520, 566; death, 566; *Carta-relacion*, 566.
- Van Brocken, *Colomb*, 60.
- Van Heuvel, J. A., *El Morado*, 589.
- Van Huis, Felix, on Ortelius, 211.
- Van Kampen, *Levens van Nederlanders*, 400.
- Van Loon, *Zee-Afkeer*, 463, 466.
- Van Ramondt, his *Navigators*, 471; *Géard de Crémér*, 471.
- Van Riechthofen, China, 119.
- Vascoques on the northwest coast, 470.
- Vander Aa, *Vernameling*, 280; *Zee-vind Landverreken*, 289. *See* Aa.
- Vandera, Juan de la, 278.
- Varenia, 470.
- Variation-chart, 100.
- Variation of the needle, 45. *See* Needle.
- Varnhagen, F. A. de, on the name of America, 198; his *Schoner e Aphronse*, 183; *Cariva de Colón*, 47; publishes Columbus' notes on D'Ailly, 29; prints a Columbus letter, 47; *Das rechte Guanahani*, 55, 56; *Verdadero Guanahani*, 91; edita Lopez de Souza's *Diaria*, 155; his *Hist. de Brazil*, 155; his *Amoroso Vesputius*, 131, 155; his track of Vesputius' first voyage, 155; his various publications on Vesputius, 156; on Vesputius' voyage (1497), 211.
- Varrhema, *Itinerario*, 215; copies of, 215.
- Vasari, *Lives of the Painters*, 72.
- Vasconcellos, D. Juan al Segundo, 90.
- Vasquez, Alonso, 291.

Vasquez de Aillon, Lucas, sent to Mexico, 365, 367.  
 Vasquez, P., his account of Aguirre, 384; *Chronica*, 419; *Guatemala*, 399.  
 Vasquez, Pedro, 212.  
 Vasquez, Tomas, 543; 545; 546.  
 Vattenare, H., 411.  
 Vaugondy, his map, 468; *Observations*, 463.  
 Vega, Gustav de, *Prins Heinrich*, 40.  
 Vega, Gabriel Lasso de la, *Cortés vater*, 430; *Mexicana*, 430. See Lasso.  
 Vega, Garcilaso de la, bibliography of, 575; *Commentarios reales*, 575; *Hist. general del Peru*, 570, 575; Rycaul's *Royal Commentaries*, 575; Markham's version, 575; other versions, 575; *Florida del Inca*, 590, 575; *Compte de la Floride*, 590; *Erdbeurung von Florida*, 590; English version in Shipp's *De Solo*, 590; at school in Cusco, 547; deacria Gonzalo Pisarro, 547; as a writer, 569.  
 Vega, Garcilaso de la (father), 521.  
 Vega, Lope de, *Marques del Valle*, 410.  
 Vega, M. de, the gatherers documents in Mexico, viii; *Historia*, 20.  
 Velarde, Luis, 467.  
 Velasco, Juan de, *Hist. de Quito*, 576, 584.  
 Velasco, Luis (an Indian), 379, 282.  
 Velasco, Luis de, 454; anxious to conquer Florida, 250; father of the Indians, 450.  
 Velasco, Luis de (Marquis of Salinas), 561.  
 Velasco (river), 463.  
 Velasco (judge in Peru), 534.  
 Velasquez de Cuellar, Diego, governor, 349; portrait, 350; his adherents, 355; his intrigues against Cortés, 356, 357; sends Narvaez against him, 365; his expedition to Cuba, 367, 371, 365; death of, 374.  
 Velasquez de Leon, 351, 366, 367.  
 Veloz de Medrano, Juan, 377.  
 Velser, 579.  
 Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, 401; bibliography of, 463.  
 Venereal diseases in America, 339.  
 Venezuela, 187, 190, 410; colonies on the coast of, 179; history of, 584.  
 Venice, archives of, viii; plundered by the Austrians, viii; *State Papers*, viii; Columbus at, 90.  
 Ventura de Rauiica, *Colombo*, 60.  
 Vera Cruz (Mexico), 203, 258; founded, 355, 356; site shifted, 356.  
 Vera Paz, 254.  
 Veragua, C., 50.  
 Veragua, of Veragua, Duque de, 65, 87, 88; his collection of papers, iii, vii, 89.  
 Veragua (town), 21, 198, 509.  
 Vergara, Juan de, 169, 307, 327.  
 Vernejo River, 483.  
 Verne, Jules, *Découverte de la terre*, 38, 71.  
 Verriano, supposed pirate, 322.  
*Verische Ost-Indische Voyagien*, 460.  
 Vespucci. See Vesputius.  
 Vesputius, Americus, chapter on, by S. H. Gay, 120; an Italian, 2; spelling of the name, 129, 179; his forename of German origin, 137, 179; notices of (Gay), 120; (Navarrete) 7; (Wissler) 153; account of his voyages collectively, 142, 145; in the *Cosmog. introd.*, 145; *Quatuor navigationes*, 160; his relations with Saint-Dié, 174; his alleged first voyage, 137, 140, 155; his second voyage, 140, 150, 153; with Ojeda, 144, 149, 153, 187; his third voyage, 145, 150, 156; in the Portuguese service, 146; his fourth voyage, 151; his letter to F. de Melitz, 150; his letter to Soderini, different texts of, 163;

editions, of the *Mundus novus*, and translations, 157; fac-similes of pages, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161; *De Ora Antartica*, 159; his connection with early maps (Ruyech), 220; (missing map) 250, 174; as a mariner, 148; with Coelho, 162; his character, self-praising, 160; charged with deceit, 144, 176; an impostor, 154; a charlatan, 142; claims to have discovered the main, 153; was he on the Florida coast? 231; named in the *New Interlude*, 62; the first to describe the cannibals of Brazil, 598; thought America was Asia, 161; personal relations with Da Vinci, 172; with Columbus, 121, 149, 178; with Cabot, 154; mentioned by Oviedo, 154; not mentioned in the Portuguese archives, 137, 154, 155; appointed pilot-major, 152; his later voyages, 151; his death, 151; his portrait, 72, 74, 75, 140 (Bronzino) 139; (Parmigiano) 140; (Peale) 140; (Montanum) 141; his autogr., 128; fac-simile of letter, 30; his descendants, 121.  
 Vesputius, Giorgi Antonio, 129.  
 Vesputius, Jerome, 129.  
 Vesputius, Nastugio, 129.  
 Vessel, size of early, 205, 504; picture of, 21, 27; *Tomaz*; *Tomaz*.  
 Vetaucour, *Teatro Mexicano*, 399.  
 Vétancourt, Augustin de, *Teatro Mexicano*, 418; *Tenaco*, 418.  
 Vianello, 129, 156.  
 "Victoria," ship, 504; her fate, 613; commemorated by the Hakluyt Society, 612.  
 Vienna, geographers at, 173, 181; presses at, 184.  
 Viera y Clavijo, *Atlas de Caserion*, 26.  
 Vigel, *Biblioteca Mexicana*, 340, 418.  
 Vilcabamba, 220, 546.  
 Villa Rica. See Vera Cruz.  
 Villa Rica (Chili), 224.  
 Villacuri, 519, 543.  
 Villalme, Angel de, 256; in Florida, 257; at Santa Elena, 250.  
 Villagra, F. de, 548; governor of Chili, 502; defeated at Mariguano, 549; in Chili, 551.  
 Villagra, F. de, 528.  
 Villalobos, Lopes de, voyages, v; on the Pacific coast, 448.  
 Villalva, José Garcia de, translates Irving's *Columbus*, 68.  
 Villault de Bellefond, *Costes d'Afrique*, 39.  
 Villroel, Gonzalo de, 279.  
 Vincent, *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, 41.  
 Vincencius of Beauvais, 28; his *Speculum*, 28.  
 Vinci, Da, acquaintance with Columbus, 21; his alleged map, 124-126. See Da Vinci.  
 Viranow, 251.  
 Viraratu, 358.  
 Virechow and Holtzendorff, *Verträge*, 69.  
 Virgi on western lands, 25.  
*Virginia rocky named*, 289.  
 Vincaino, Seb., 504; his voyage, 460; his map of the Pacific coast, 461.  
 Viscecher, his map of Pacific coast, 466.  
 Viuet, *Anc. villes de France*, 39; *Hist. de Dieppe*, 34.  
 Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Hist. de la géog.*, 472.  
 Vitacaino, Juan. See Cosa.  
 "Vitacaino," ship, 26.  
 Volant (see Verhagen), 47.  
 Von Murr, C. G., *Ritter Behaim*, 105; *Memorabilia*, 96.  
 Vopellin, Caspar, his map, 438, 448; fac-simile of his map, 436.  
 Vorsterman, W., 158.  
 Voss, *Nachricht von dem neuen Welt*, 126.

*Voyage au nord*, 292.  
*Voyage ofa Schipwark*, 460.  
 WACKENHUT, J. C., *Sacra parentalia*, 15; *Historia*, 35.  
 Wagner, *Colombo und seine Entdeckungen*, iv.  
 Waldemeyer, dies, 107.  
 Waldseemüller, Martin (Waltzemüller, Hylacomylus, Ilacomylus), 113, 147, 201; his *Cosmographia introductio*, 145, 148; at Saint-Dié, 164; edis Ptolemy, 254; bibliography of his *Cosmographia introductio*, 164, etc.; his map, 122.  
 Wallace, *Amazon and Rio Negro*, 585.  
 Waldseemüller. See Waldceemüller.  
 Warburton, *Conquest of Canada*, 208.  
 Warden, *Chron. hist. de l'Amérique*, 236.  
*Warwickshire Historical Collections*, 466.  
 Washburn, J. D., reviews Wilson's *New History*, 427.  
 Washita River, 251.  
 Water-clocks, 101.  
 Waters, River, 240; (Guatari), 285.  
 Watling's Island, 59.  
 Watson, Paul Barron, *Bibliography of Pre-Columbian Discoveries*, 34.  
 Watson, R. G., *Spaniards and Portuguese South America*, 398.  
 Watt, Joculum. See Vadianus.  
 Weimar globe, 118.  
 Weinhold, Moritz, "Födermann's Reise," 560.  
 Weiss, A. J., *Discoveries of America*, 94.  
 Weissenburger, 182.  
 Weller, *Reperitorium*, 139.  
 Wells, Edward, *New Set of Maps*, 467.  
*Welt-Kugel*, *Der*, 171.  
 Werner, John, of Nuremberg, 101.  
 West Indies, when named, 169.  
 Wheat introduced into Peru, 518, 547.  
 Wheeler, George M., 504; *Report of Survey*, 413.  
 Whiddon, Jacob, explores the Orinoco, 580.  
 Whipple, A. W., *Pacific R. R. Reports*, 503.  
 White Sea (South America), 589.  
 Whitney, J. D., 446; on California, 443.  
 Wiesener, *Verges et Colomb*, 178.  
 Wieser, Franz, *Magnalides-Strauss*, 62; *Der Fortleben des Königs Philipp*, ii, 178, 222.  
 Will and Nopitsch, *Lexicon*, 417.  
 Williams, Helen Maria, 206.  
 Williams's Florida, 296.  
 Wilson, L. A., *Life of De Soto*, 296, 427.  
 Wilson, R. A., *New History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 427; *Mexico and its Religion*, 427; *Mexico, its Peoples and its Priests*, 427; *Mexico, Central America, and California*, 427; criticized by George Ticknor, 427; by Kirk, 427; by J. D. Washburn, 427.  
 Winds, names of, 94.  
 Winnepeg, Lake, 469.  
 Winsor, Justin, "Columbus," 1; "Cortés and his Companions," 149; "Discoveries on the Pacific Coast of North America," 431; "Documentary Sources of Early Spanish-American History," 1; on editions of Cieza de Leon, 571; on Garcilaso de la Vega, 575; *Kohl's Collection of Early Maps*, 94; on Las Casas, 343; "Sources of information" about Magellan's voyages, 613; "Vesputius and the naming of America," 121; *Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography*, 28, 438; "Early Cartography of the Gulf of Mexico," 217; "The Amazon and Eldorado," 179.  
 Wolfenbüttel map, 222.

- Wood, W. M., 66.  
 Wright, Edw., *Certain Errors of Navigation*, 466, 470.  
 Wutke, Heinrich, *Gesch. der Erdkunde*, 40, 224.  
 Wyse, Lieutenant, 352.  
 Wyfflin, Cornelius, 472; *Descriptionis Ptolemæica augmentum*, 457; map of California, 458; map of America, 459; his map of Peru, 558; of Chili, 559; *Reverum Danicarum historia*, 34.  
 XABA, 492.  
 Xahila, E. A., *Texpan Aztlan*, 419.  
 Xalisco, 228.  
 Xaquiquana, war of, 574.  
 Xauxa, 500, 558; (river) 570.  
 Xeres, Francisco de, with Pizarro, 564; *Verdadera relacion*, 564; title of Venno (1535) edition, 565; a version by Jacques Cohory, 345; *L'histoire*, 345.  
 Ximenes, Cardinal, 307, 311; opposes African slavery, 312.  
 Ximenes, *Origen de los Indios*, 415.  
 Ximenes, pilot, killed, 442.  
 Xivrey, B. de, *Des premières relations*, 68.  
 Xl'icia, Mark de, 320.  
 Xoloc, 369, 370.  
 Xualla, 247.  
 Xuares, Father Juan, 243, 244; likeness of, 267.  
 YAGUMA, 233.  
 Yanes, picture of Columbus, 72.  
 Yaxoo River, 250.  
 Yca, 519, 543.  
 Yemassee, 205.  
 Yéménis, Nic., his sale, 166.  
 Yncas, Empire of. *See* Peru.  
 Yncas, likenesses of, 515.  
 Young, Alex., on Ternaux, vi.  
 Yucatan, 109, 177; its name, 220; (Iucatan) 220, 221, 223; (Lucatan) 225; (Luchatan) 219; (Luchita) 219; 225; counted, 203; Cordoba at, 214, 217; discovered by Pinzon, 209; authorities on, 429; maps of, 220, 231, 353, 384, 404; as an island, 128, 220; *Trois lettres sur la découverte*, 402.  
 Yucay, 524, 547.  
 Yupala, 246.  
 Yunque-Yunque, 495.  
 ZABALLOS, 280.  
 Zacatula built, 380.  
 Zacatula, 430, 441.  
 Zach, *Correspondance*, v, 84, 221.  
 Zalango, 509.  
 Zaltieri, map, (1566), 449; fac-simile, 451.  
 Zamacois, N. de, *Hist. de Méjico*, 428.  
 Zamal, 612.  
 Zamudio, 103, 104.  
 Zapala y Mendoza, J. V., *Cronica*, 481.  
 Zaragoza, Justo, 419.  
 Zarate, Aug. de, 537; career, 567; his *Historia*, 568; translations, 568; *Conquista de México*, 430; *De Wonderlijche ende Warachtighe Historie*, 512.  
*Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 404.  
*Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Geog.*, 55.  
 Zeni explorations and Columbus, 33; their map, 28, 437, 472.  
 Zeri, Augusto, *Tre lettere di Colombo*, etc., ix.  
 Zhaudal, 576.  
 Ziegler, Alex., *Regimentanus*, 96.  
 Ziegler, his *Schönheit*, 433; map, 434.  
 Ziletti, 574.  
 Zon-na-me-la, on Reich's map, 114.  
 Zorgi, Alessandro, 117.  
 Zuazo, 385. *See* Cuaco.  
 Zuazo, Diego M. de, 213.  
 Zuatepec, 381.  
 Zumaraga, Bishop, 400.  
 Zuhñ, 503, 502; pueblos of, 482.  
 Zuñiga, *Angles eccl.*, 65, 68.  
 Zuñiga y Velasco, Diego Lopes de (conde de Nieva), Vicaroy of Peru, 547.  
 Zuria, *Fra Mauro*, 31; *Di Marco Polo*, 30.  
 Zurita, 256; on New Spain, 417.  
 Zurutua, 180.  
 Zutuglia, 382.