CHAPTER II

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF NEW ANDALUCIA

I. Pearl-fishing and the slave-trade. II. The early missions. III. Ocampo's campaign. IV. Las Casas' colony. V. Sedeño. VI. Diego de Ordaz and the exploration of the Orinoco. VII. Diego Francisco de Serpa.

I

THE territory known as Nueva Andalucia was that which forms the north-eastern part of the republic of Venezuela. It extended from the eastern coast of Paria and the Dragon's Mouths on the east to the river Unare, which separated it from the province of Venezuela, on the west. The northern boundary was the ocean, but the southern boundary was undefined, and was regarded as lying somewhere in the Orinoco region. Its capital was the town of Cumaná.[1]

For several years after the first explorations, the northern part of South America was favourably considered chiefly for the slaves which it furnished; in fact, "all of America then discovered was converted into a vast slave-market,"[2] and the few tribes that were not exploited in this way were those that were able to defend themselves and their liberty with their poisoned arrows.

Many of the slaves who were not taken to Santo Domingo were employed in pearl-fishing. This industry led to the establishment of a town on the island of Cubagua,

[1] Demarcación y división de las Indias, *Doc. inéd.*, xv. 438. This document, of 130 pages, contains a geographical description of the district and towns of the Indies.

[2] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 22; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes* (Paris, 1905), 31.

off the northern coast of Venezuela. This town was called New Cadiz, and its early prosperity is indicated by the fact that the royal fifths set apart for the treasury amounted in 1509 to 15,000 ducats. Enslaving the Carib Indians was permitted under the law of 1503, and in the eyes of the settlers every Indian was a Carib. But New Cadiz flourished for a period, and, with its solidly-constructed houses, had the appearance of a well-established town. In 1527 the emperor granted the inhabitants the right to elect an alcalde, who would have the authority of a judge in civil and criminal cases. There was also created a council of eight regidores, whose authority extended over the whole island of Cubagua.[1]

[1] The regidores were: Giraldo de Vierne Andrés Fernando, Vicente Dávila, Francisco de Portillo, Alonso de Rojas, Pedro de Alegria, Martin de Ochandiano, and Juan López de Archuleta. Ochandiano acted as treasurer of the island, and Archuleta was made *veedor*—comptroller, or inspector, of the finances. Humbert, *Origines*, 193; Rojas, A., *Estudios historicos*, Caracas, 1891, 18.

Codazzi, Agustin, *Resúmen de la geografía de Venezuela* (Paris, 1841), 258; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 6–10; "Y Cubagua, depués de cincuenta años de haber sido descubierta por Colon, volvió á ser lo que en los tiempos prehistóricos," *ibid.* 9. Las Casas referred to the pearl-fishing as an instance of the cruel treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards:

"The tyrannie which the Spanish exercise over the Indians, to fish for Pearles, is one of the cruelest that is in the world. There is no hell in this life, nor other desperate state in this world, that may be compared unto it: although that the Trade of Gold finding be, in his kind, very grievous, and very miserable. They let them into the Sea, three, foure, or five fathome forth downe right under water, from the morning untill Sun-set, where they are continually flitting without stint, to plucke Oysters, in the which are engendered the Pearles. They surge up above the waters, with a Net full of Oysters to take breath: where standeth readie a Spanish Tormentor, in a little Cocke Boate, or a Brigantine, and if the poore wretches stay never so little while to rest themselves: they all do be buffet them with their fists and draw them by the haire into the water to returne to their fishing. Their sustenance is fish, and the same very fish which containeth the Pearles, and the bread Caçabi, or some Maiz, which are the kinds of bread of that Countrie, the one of very slender nourishment, the other is not easie to bee made into bread, of the which also, they never give them their belly full. The beds that they lodge them in a nights, is to set them by the beeles, their bodies recoyling on the cold ground,

The first expedition of filibusters in Venezuelan waters appeared off Cubagua in 1528. It was directed by the French, and consisted of three vessels and one hundred and sixty men. One of the vessels, a caravel, had been taken from the Portuguese on the sea. Oviedo y Valdez and Herrera present more or less contradictory accounts of the achievements of the French on this occasion, but there is reason to believe that they exerted no serious influence on the business of the island. Hereafter the pearl-fisheries of the island of Coche, which had been granted to Archuleta, the veedor, successfully rivalled those of Cubagua. But the inhabitants of Cubagua established posts on the minland, and found an additional source of income in the slave trade. Indians were captured and taken to Cubagua for sale, and this island became the first great slave-market in the New World.[1]

The trade in Indian slaves was practically confined to America, and pearls remained the most important articles of the early commerce between Spain and Tierra Firme; but the products of the pearl fisheries diminished rapidly towards the end of the sixteenth century, and, before the end of the seventeenth century, the industry had ceased. The beds of the oysters that had produced the pearls had become exhausted. The demand for them,

in a paire of stockes for feare of running away. Sometimes they are drowned in the Sea, and at their fishing and travell picking of Pearles, and never rise up againe above the water: because the Bunches (Sharkes) and whirlepooles doe kill them and eate them." Casas, Bartolomé de las, *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, Sevilla, 1552. This quotation is from the translation entitled, *A briefe Narration of the destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards;* written by a Frier Bart. de las Casas, a Spaniard, and Bishop of Chiapa in America" (in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), lib. viii. chap. 4; also in the same work, Glasgow, 1906, xviii. 134.). On the making of caçabi, or casava, bread from the roots of yuca, &c., see Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* (London, 1760), i. 68; i. 126–8, for description of pearl-fishing off Panama; Depons, *Voyage à la Terre-Ferme* (Paris, 1806), ii. 340.

[1] Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 20, 26; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 197–9.

moreover, was somewhat lessened by the use of diamonds; and in the meantime the Venetians had carried to great perfection the art of making imitations of the finest pearls. With the cessation of pearl-fishing, the wealth of Cubagua disappeared. After 1533 it was not important, and, ten years later, the island was overwhelmed by the sea. It was ruined by the earthquake and the hurricane; but its declining population continued to carry on a diminishing trade in slaves until 1550, when Cubagua was finally abandoned, and became what it has since remained, a desert island without vegetation, without water, and without resources of any kind.[1]

II

In 1510 the Dominican friars, Pedro de Cordova and Juan Garcés, undertook to form a settlement on the mainland of South America, shortly after the establishment of the order in Santo Domingo. Antonio de Montesinos, who was associated with them in the beginning, fell ill on the voyage, and disembarked at Porto Rico, and remained there while the others went on to the continent. After their arrival, they undertook the construction of the first monastery in South America, and, in 1513, caused the first mass to be celebrated. They sought to form permanent relations of peace with the Indians, and if they were not successful in this, the failure was due to the arrival of a company of Spaniards, who came to engage in pearl-fishing. The Indians, who usually took refuge in the forests at the sight of strangers, on this occasion determined to remain, trusting that the friars would protect them. The cacique and seventeen of his men were induced by friendly promises to visit the ship of the pearl-fishers, and, when they were on board, the captain set sail for Santo Domingo, carrying off his guests to be sold as slaves. The Indians

[1] Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 34.

who remained in Cumaná resented this treachery, and wreaked vengeance on the unoffending friars, who became martyrs through the greed of their countrymen.

Five years later, in 1518, a number of Dominicans and Franciscans determined to continue the work that had been checked by the death of Garcés and Cordova. The Franciscans established themselves in the building constructed by their predecessors, and the Dominicans built their monastery five leagues farther towards the west, in the land of the Chichiribichi. For two years the Dominicans laboured in peace among the natives; then, in 1520, there was a new outbreak of hostilities. The Indians entered the monastery, pretending that they came to attend mass. They killed the two priests who were there, and nine other persons whom they found in the monastery. They carried off the ornaments, and whatever else they discovered that seemed to them valuable.[1]

III

The missionaries apparently furnished no adequate cause for this sudden uprising; they doubtless suffered for the iniquity of others. The natives could not forget that it was the countrymen, perhaps the kinsmen, of the missionaries who had carried off their tribesmen, and sold them into slavery. The destruction of the monastery of Chichiribichi was followed by a punitive expedition under the command of Captain Gonzalo de Ocampo, whose instructions were dated January 20, 1521. In these instructions he was ordered to capture the cacique Maraguey, his brother, and all the caciques and Indians of this province, whom he was able to take, and to send them to Santo Domingo, in order that justice might be done. Ocampo was ordered to make a cruel war upon any Indians who

[1] Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 210.

might offer resistance, capture them, and pacify the country. On the voyage to the continent, Ocampo halted at Porto Rico, and there met Bartolomé de las Casas. Las Casas had recruited a company of labourers in Spain, and had received a royal concession which permitted him to establish them on two hundred and sixty leagues of the coast between Paria and Santa Marta. With two hundred colonists he had left Seville for Tierra Firme, and now wished to go to the continent, but Ocampo informed him that, owing to the revolt of the Indians, the execution of his peaceful mission was then impossible.[1]

From Porto Rico Las Casas went to Santo Domingo, where he showed his commission to the authorities, and informed them that his colonists were waiting for him in Porto Rico. He, moreover, asked that Ocampo should be recalled; but that officer, with four caravels, had already left Porto Rico for Tierra Firme.[2]

Ocampo left three of his vessels at Cubagua, and arrived at the coast of Maracapana with a single ship. He ordered that only five sailors should appear on deck after he had reached the port, and that the soldiers and the rest of the sailors should remain concealed. The little show of force gave the Indians confidence, and they were finally induced to go on board; then, at a signal given by Ocampo, all of the soldiers rushed on deck and made the Indians prisoners. At the same time a sailor who had

[1] Asiento y capitulación de Bartolomé de las Casas, que hizó con S. M., sobre descubrimiento y población en Tierra Firme, desde la provincia de Pária hasta la de Santa Marta, por la costa del Mar, *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 65–89. This document was issued on the 19th of May 1520. The territory assigned to Las Casas is described as including the province of Paria, and extending along the coast to the Province of Santa Marta, comprehending about 260 or 270 leagues. The terms of the grant are set forth in thirty-two sections which furnish an important illustration of the ideas of the Spanish government respecting America. A series of supplementary documents adding details or an extension of the asiento, are found in *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 89–109.

[2] Quintana, *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas* (Bib. de Aut., Esp.) (Madrid, 1867), xix. 432, 451; Gomara, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. 77; Baralt y Diaz, *Hist. de Venezuela*, cap. 7.

been detailed for the purpose, fell upon and killed the cacique Gonzalez, who had remained in his boat.[1]

The destruction of the cacique and the imprisonment of a large number of his men left Ocampo free to carry out his designs of vengeance without fear of opposition. But in order to terrify the Indians who might still be hostile, he hung some of his prisoners to the yards of the ship, and then went on shore and continued his campaign of cruelty and outrage. Of the natives who fell into his hands, some were put to the sword, others were hanged, still others were impaled; but a greater number were sent to Santo Domingo and sold as slaves. While some of his men were employed with the vessels transporting Indians to Santo Domingo, the rest of the company founded a town about half a league from the mouth of the Cumaná River. This town was called New Toledo.

IV

While Ocampo was hunting Indians for slaves and founding the town of New Toledo, Las Casas was trying to persuade the authorities of Santo Domingo to assist him to carry out his plans. Finally, with one hundred and twenty men who had been placed at his disposal, he set sail for Porto Rico, where he expected to add to his company the colonists whom he had left on that island. But in this he was disappointed; for, without means of support, they had disbanded, and were scattered throughout the island. On reaching the mainland, Las Casas found Ocampo with his little army at New Toledo, reaping the reward of his merciless conduct. His supply of food was precarious; the natives were not subdued, and in their sullen hostility, were disposed to do what they were

[1] Herrera, *Dec.* II, lib. ix. cap. 16; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 80; Quintana, *Obras*, 452; Benzoni, *Hist. del Mondo Nuovo* (Venetia, 1572), 33; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 217.

able to further the progress of famine. The fierce Ocampo had run his course. With no further prospects in the country, he gathered together his men and the majority of those who had come with Las Casas, and departed for Santo Domingo.

Las Casas, surrounded by a few men who were personally attached to him, had to face a condition of affairs that would have disheartened a less brave or a less hopeful leader. He turned to the Franciscans of the neighbouring monastery, who aided him in constructing a building near the monastery in which to store his provisions and munitions. He then began to build a fort near the mouth of the Cumaná River, as a means of defence against the Indians and the slave-traders of Cubagua, who not only enticed away the men at work on the fort, but also continued their depredations in that region, making impossible the development of a centre of civilisation at New Toledo. Las Casas returned to Santo Domingo to solicit the assistance of the audencia, leaving Francisco de Soto in charge of the little colony, with strict orders not to allow their two ships to leave the harbour, but to hold them ready as places of refuge in case of an attack by the Indians. These orders were not obeyed, and both of the vessels went in search of slaves, pearls, and gold. When the Spaniards were thus deprived of means of escape, the Indians rose against them, destroyed the building erected by Las Casas, plundered the monastery, murdered Padre Dionisio, and mortally wounded Francisco de Soto. The few survivors fled, and, putting off from the shore in boats, were enabled, by great good fortune, finally to reach the ships, several leagues away, and were taken to Santo Domingo, where they joined Las Casas in urging upon the audencia the necessity of re-establishing Spanish authority on the continent. A new expedition was finally organised, and placed under the command of Captain Jacomé Castellón. It consisted of three hundred men and five caravels, and left Santo Domingo near the end of 1521. When

Castellón arrived at the coast of Cumaná, he sent out men in all directions to spread terror among the natives, and let it be known that the Spaniards had returned to avenge the overthrow of Las Casas' colony and the destruction of the Franciscan monastery. All the Indians who had participated in these acts were captured, and either executed or sold into slavery in Santo Domingo. Peace was at last temporarily restored to the region of the coast, and Castellón undertook to complete the fortress that Las Casas had begun. He also founded, in 1523, New Cordova, near the ruins of New Toledo. This was the beginning of the city of Cumaná. Castellón founded also the town of Asuncion, on the island of Margarita.[1]

V

After the foundation of New Cordova, the special attention of explorers was called away from that part of the northern coast, and directed to the region about the lower Orinoco and the Gulf of Paria. This region became the goal of numerous expeditions that sacrificed wealth and lives with little or no permanent results. In 1530, Pedro de Acosta, with three hundred men, made a settlement on the delta of the Orinoco, but it was destroyed by the Carib Indians.

Antonio Sedeño, an officer of the royal treasury in Porto Rico, desiring to extend his name and fame, and to spread the Catholic faith by the reduction of the Indians, petitioned the court for a licence to occupy the island of Trinidad. In response to his petition, he was granted the privilege desired, together with the title of governor of lands which he might conquer, and also that of adelan-

[1] Beralt y Diaz, *Hist. de Venezuela* (Curazao, 1887), i. cap. 7; Quintana, *Obras*, 452–4; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 86, 87; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 218–20; Fabié, *Vida y escritos de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo de Chiapa* (Madrid, 1879), i. cap. vi.; *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 109–16; xli. 289–92.

tado, but under the condition of fulfilling certain specified obligations, such as the duty to found cities, erect churches and hospitals, and the other obligations usually imposed by the Spanish king on discoverers. But, on account of failure to meet these requirements, he never held the title of adelantado. In 1530, he left Porto Rico with seventy men in two caravels, and landed on the island of Trinidad the same year, having with him stores of provisions and a certain number of domestic animals. The natives were at first friendly, and appeared at the place of landing in great numbers to receive gifts of combs, knives, bells, glass beads, and other articles of European manufacture. Sedeño, moreover, established amicable relations with the cacique, Chacomar, which were maintained after the members of the other tribes had turned against him. The encroachments of the Spaniards in their search for food, and the opinion spread among the Indians that their guests intended to establish themselves permanently in the island, produced, in the course of time, an unfriendly attitude, and even active hostilities. As a result of the assaults of the Indians, the Spaniards found themselves under the necessity of obtaining recruits. Sedeño, however, saw that to leave his men on the island during his proposed visit in Porto Rico to enlist the desired additional troops would be to expose them to complete destruction. After various conferences and anxious deliberations of the leaders, it was finally decided to remove the company to the mainland, and there erect a stronghold for their protection. In their fort in Paria the men were to wait for the return of Sedeño. The construction and occupancy of the fort aroused the Indians to suspect the Spaniards, and moved them to prepare for war. In the meantime, the Spaniards, with evil forebodings, saw their supplies gradually diminish, and the prospect of replenishing them from the country became more and more remote. In Porto Rico the outlook of Sedeño was not flattering. The court of Spain considered

that his expedition, after a year's experience, had failed, and issued orders that the Indians he had taken to Porto Rico should be returned to their country.[1]

VI

Shortly after the foundation of Cumaná, the King of Spain granted New Andalucia to Diego de Ordaz, and appointed him governor, adelantado, and captain-general. From the revenues granted with the titles and territory, Ordaz was required, in accordance with a usual formula, to maintain a certain number of dependents, an alcalde-mayor, a physician, a surgeon, an apothecary, thirty peons, and ten squires. He might introduce fifty negro slaves, and receive twenty-five horses and twenty-five mares from the king's stock in Jamaica.

Taking with him the force he had recruited at Seville, he sailed from the port of San Lucar in the beginning of

[1] Simon, Pedro, *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias occidentales* (Bogotá, 1882–92), i. 58–64; Caulin, Antonio, *Historia coro-graphica natural y evangelica de la Nueva Andalucia* (1779), 129–34; Michelena y Rojas, *Exploración official desde el norte de la America del sur* (Brusselas, 1867), lib. i. cap. 6. Pedro Simon was born in Parrilla, in the bishopric of Cuenca, in Spain. He studied the humanities in the monastery of San Francisco, in Cartagena, and arrived in Bogotá in 1604, with the design of devoting himself to instruction in theology and letters. In 1623, he was elected Provincial, and at the same time began his voluminous writings, making use of the materials he had been collecting for a number of years. His arrival in Bogotá was only about seventy-five years after the earliest of the events which he describes, and he was a participant in some of the latest. He visited various parts of New Granada and Venezuela, Coro, Antioquia, Cartagena, and Santa Marta, and everywhere he received oral accounts and written statements, which, in addition to the archives of his monastery, constituted the basis of his extensive narrative. This narrative has the following title: *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias occidentales*. The first part was published in Cuenca in 1627. This constitutes the first volume of the complete edition, which was issued in Bogotá during the years 1882 to 1892. Vergara, *Historia de la Literatura en Nueva Granada*, 75; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 379–82; see also *Prologo al Lector*, in the first volume of Simon's work.

1531. Some weeks later he arrived on the coast of Paria, with the design of entering at once upon the exploration of the Orinoco. The meeting between the Indians and the Spaniards indicated that both parties wished to maintain friendly relations with one another. The Indians informed the governor that there was another company of Spaniards established within the limits of his jurisdiction. On investigation these proved to be the twenty-five soldiers who had been left in their fort by Sedeño, the explorer of Trinidad. Ordaz immediately undertook the construction of vessels for the river voyage; and, when these were completed, he set out to explore the course of the Orinoco. In this expedition he suffered the embarrassment of too large a force, an embarrassment which apparently prevented the successful execution of many of the plans of early exploring expeditions. In this case the vessels were so large that when the wind failed it was difficult to manage them against the current. Moreover, the work of rowing them was too severe for the men, particularly as they soon became enfeebled by fever and other diseases induced by the hot, damp atmosphere of the lower stretches of the river. In the first weeks three hundred men died, and many of the others became too weak to offer any assistance in the undertaking. But the survivors were so numerous that it was impossible to find either in the stores of the vessels or among the Indians sufficient food for them; and when the Indians assumed a hostile attitude, or burned their villages and fled, the members of the expedition appeared to be in the presence of starvation.

In spite of the hostility of the Indians, the sickness of the soldiers, and the scarcity of food, Ordaz advanced as far as the mouth of the river Meta. Here the strength of the current made it difficult, if not impossible, to proceed farther; and, remembering the disabled men who had been left at Uriapari, he determined to go down the river, take them on board, and return to the fort at Paria. But

Ordaz's troubles did not end with the voyage. On the contrary, disputes arose with Sedeño, and Ordaz was arrested by Sedeño's orders and conducted to Santo Domingo. He was there brought before the audiencia, and that court set him at liberty. In 1532, he was on the island of Cubagua, and died there of poison while preparing to return to Spain.[1]

Geronimo Ortal was appointed to succeed Ordaz as governor of New Andalucia. In the meantime, notices of the agreeable climate, the abundant products, and the large population of the region had been carried to Spain; and many persons, who had been made to think of the country as a terrestrial paradise, sold their property, took with them their wives and children, and exchanged their native country for a land that for them proved to be a land of misfortune and misery.

Arriving at the fort of Paria in 1535, Ortal found Alonso de Herrera and his twenty-five soldiers full of fear and anxiety, since they were reduced to such a state by their want of food that they were unable to withstand the Indians, who threatened to overwhelm them. Governor Ortal appointed Herrera to be his lieutenant-general. Ortal's plan laid stress on exploration and the slave-trade. In carrying out the first part of the plan, Herrera undertook a journey into the interior. He constructed a number of small vessels, and ascended the Orinoco as far as the mouth of the Meta. He entered this stream, but he had only gone a short distance when he found further advance difficult on account of the shallowness of the water, the failure of supplies, and the hostility of the natives. In a skirmish with the Indians here Herrera was killed, and, after this event, the command of the expedition passed to Alvaro Ordaz, a nephew of Governor Ordaz. The new commander consulted with his officers and men, and determined to turn back and return to the coast.

[1] *Carta de Xácome de Castellon a Su Magestad*, May 26, 1532, *Doc. inéd.*, xli. 338–41.

This second attempt to explore the Orinoco was quite as fruitless as the first. If it cost fewer lives, this more favourable result was due in part to the fact that fewer persons were involved. For Governor Ortal, who had remained on the coast during Herrera's voyage up the river, there was little or nothing in the results of the slave-trade, or of any other of his enterprises, to compensate for the failure of the expedition to acquire the untold riches that were imagined to exist in the region of the Meta. The soldiers who had returned after a year and a half on the banks of the Orinoco, where much of the time they had been face to face with famine, went about like skeletons, and were deaf to the call of the governor, who wished to gather a force for a new undertaking.

The fear of poisoned arrows, and the hard conditions to which the soldiers had been subjected, during the expeditions to the river Meta, curbed the enthusiasm for exploits that threatened to be repetitions of the experiences of earlier journeys; still there were leaders, both in the province and elsewhere, who were anxious to lay hold on the riches of El Dorado. Sedeño not only wished to return to Trinidad, but also hoped to be permitted to take part in the exploration of the mainland. This ambition brought him into conflict with Governor Ortal, whose territory he invaded; but the contest was not long, for Sedeño died on an expedition into the interior, miserably poisoned by one of his slaves. His followers then elected a new captain, but when they saw no prospects of realising their expectations, they mutinied, sent their captain to Santo Domingo as a prisoner, and dispersed.

VII

For two or three decades after this event, or until 1568, the province of New Andalucia was neglected, and the few inhabitants were barely able to maintain themselves. On May 15 of that year, the King of Spain bestowed the title and power of governor on Diego Fernandez de Serpa. Serpa left Spain with several hundred soldiers and colonists, and reached New Andalucia in 1569. He landed on the coast near Cumaná, where he found the colonists introduced by Castellón in a miserable state, and willing to abandon their settlement. Serpa had brought with him a hundred married men with their families. Twenty-three of these he left here, and they joined the survivors of Castellón's colony, and organized the municipality of Cumaná, or reformed the town of New Cordova and gave it a new name. The members of the ayuntamiento were appointed on the 24th of November 1569. Having completed these arrangements, Serpa set out on a campaign against the warlike tribe of the Cumanagotos, who occupied the coast region between Cumaná and Piritu. Many of his soldiers had had military experience in European wars, and with them he intended, as soon as the enemy was subdued, to march southward to the Orinoco. In order to be free from the embarrassment of having a large number of non-combatants in his train, he formed a town under the name of Santiago de los Caballeros. Here he left the women and children, with a sufficient number of armed men to protect them, and proceeded southward about fifty miles, where the Cumanagotos, allied with the Chacopatas, enraged by the evident purpose of the Spaniards to establish themselves in the country, prepared to attack the invaders. In this encounter Serpa and one hundred and eighty-six of his men were killed, although the battle lasted only about an hour. The rest of the

Spanish force, a large number of whom were severely wounded, escaped into the hills, and, in great confusion, found their way back to the town of Santiago de los Caballeros. Within a few days after reaching the coast, the majority of the wounded died. The Indians pursued the fugitives, and besieged the town where they had taken refuge. During fourteen days the Spaniards resisted the attacks of the natives, and at the end of this period Captain Francisco de Carceres appeared with soldiers, munitions, and a supply of food. But even with the assistance of the reinforcements it was not thought advisable to attempt to maintain the settlement, on account of the number of hostile natives in that region. The survivors of the little army and the settlers of Santiago de los Cabelleros were, therefore, embarked for Cumaná and the island of Margarita, and many of them later went to Bogota.[1]

Expeditions to New Andalucia succeeded one another at irregular intervals. Many repeated the unfortunate experience of those who had preceded them. Captain Juan Ponce obtained a grant of the island of Trinidad, and, towards the end of 1571, he arrived at the island with his brilliant train of soldiers, immigrants, and priests. A few days after this event, his company was smitten by a scourge of the plague, which left alive only a feeble and terror-stricken minority of those who had landed. The few who escaped the ravages of the pestilence abandoned the island, leaving it depopulated, without prospects of a better state. In spite of the misfortunes which attended the conquest of this part of Tierra Firme, there was a slow but gradual increase of the population on the mainland.[2]

[1] Baralt y Diaz, *Hist. de Venezuela*, i. 239–41; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 221–4; *Doc. inéd.*, iv. 467; Caulin, *Hist. de Nueva Andalucia*, lib. ii. cap. 9; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 224; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 352.

[2] Caulin, *Hist. de Nueva Andalucia* (1779), 109–67; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 64–73; Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado* (Madrid, 1745), i. 29.

The first edition of Gumilla's *El Orinoco illustrado* appeared in the same year as Cassani's *Historia*, namely, in 1741. It is based on the

work of Rivero. It was printed in Madrid, and a second edition was issued in 1745. The full title is: *El Orinoco illustrado, y defendido, historia natural, civil, y geographica de este gran rio, y de sus caudalosas vertientes: govierno, usos, y costumbres de los Indios, sus habitadores, con nuevas, y utiles noticias de animales, arboles, frutos, aceytes, resinas, yervas, y raices medicinales; y sobre todo, se hallaran conversiones muy singulares á N. Santa Fé, y casos de mucha edificacion.* Under his name on the title-page, Gumilla describes himself as a member of the Society of Jesus, missionary, superior of the missions of the Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare, *calificador* and *consultor* of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena of the Indies, synodal examiner of the bishopric of Cartagena, sometime provincial of that province of New Granada, and actual procurador of the missions and the province.