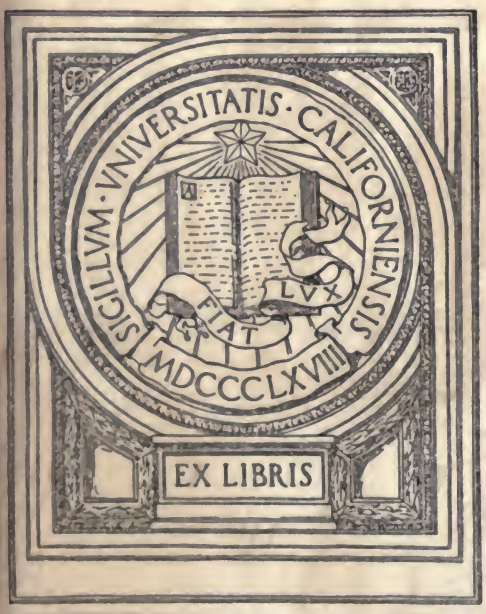
THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC STATES

HUBERT H. BANCROFT

VOL. I.

CENTRAL AMERICA

VOL. I. 1501-1530



PROSPECTUS

OF THE

LITERARY WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1882.

THE LITERARY WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

The Author.

Mr Bancroft was born at Granville, Ohio, in 1832. His parents were from New England, and he was early trained in all the stern doctrines of the Puritans. Working on the farm during summer, and attending school in winter, the time passed by, until in his sixteenth year he went to Buffalo, and entered the store of a bookseller. There he remained four years, until 1852, when he was sent by his employer to open a bookstore in California. The death of his patron disconcerted his plans, and it was not until 1856 that the business was begun on Montgomery street, in San Francisco. Though extremely fond of books, he was a diligent man of business, and applied himself early and late to place his establishment in the first rank on the Pacific Coast. His habits of industry never left him, and when he entered the field of letters, he carried with him not only the pecuniary means essential to the achievement of great results, but those common-sense views which spring from practical business experience, and which literary men so often lack.

The Library.

Hardly had Mr Bancroft begun his business career in San Francisco when he saw that much valuable information relating to the Pacific Coast was being lost, was dropping out of existence for want of some one to save it. Having from the first a *penchant* for publishing, and feeling a growing need of this lost knowledge in the preparation of books for the press, he began instinctively to gather and preserve it. First he went over his stock and placed by themselves all books and pamphlets on California and Oregon. Then from all parts of the country he brought in material, gradually extending the area of his territory, until the western half of North America was embraced within its limits. Then he went East, and to Europe, to see what could be gathered there; and this he did many times, with much diligence, and at great expense.

Both business and Library having assumed considerable proportions, in 1869 Mr Bancroft erected a large building on Market street, and moved into it, the Library being placed on the fifth floor. There it remained, subject to no small risk from fire, until 1881, when Mr Bancroft purchased a large lot on Valencia street, built in the middle of it a two-story and basement brick building, 40 by 60 feet, covered all the openings with strong iron shutters, and in it placed his books, maps, and manuscripts, which by this time numbered 35,000, besides 400 files of Pacific Coast newspapers. There they now stand, building and books, a monument to the elevation of mind and patient devotion of the collector.

The plain exterior of the substantial structure is somewhat relieved by the trees and flowers which surround it; the interior is conveniently arranged, and well lighted and ventilated. The main library and working room is on the second floor. Here also is

the historian's private study, a large apartment facing the south and east, with light softened by tints agreeable to the eye, and tastefully furnished. Four tables covered with historical notes, arranged in the order required by the writer for immediate use, occupy the floor; at one of these the historian may sit and write, at another he may stand. At one end is a case filled with manuscript ready for the printer, while on the walls are hung, beside maps for constant use, certificates of degrees conferred and memberships of learned societies. Three rooms in the rear are used by as many of Mr Bancroft's staff, while the remainder occupy the main hall. The Library walls are filled with shelving nine tiers high, containing four classes of books. Most of the space is occupied by works alphabetically arranged, each volume bearing a number, and the numbers running consecutively from 1 to 12,000, which constitutes the first class. The second class is that of rare books, three hundred volumes set apart by reason of their great value, not merely pecuniary, though each volume will bring from $40 to $400 in the book markets of the world, but literary value as standard authorities, bibliographic curiosities, specimens of early printing, and rare linguistics. Not one of these volumes but is worthy of careful study, particularly the earliest products of the Mexican press, and the first books printed in California. The third class is composed entirely of manuscripts, in 1200 volumes of three subdivisions relating respectively to Mexico and Central America, to California, and to other Pacific States. There are here many curious and valuable sixteenth-century records of Mexican affairs; but the Californian is attracted more particularly to the Californian manuscripts, numbering nearly 600 volumes. Here he is shown, first, the public archives of the State, and of its chief towns, from 1769 to 1847, in 76 volumes, copied and extracted from 500 tomes, and no end of packages of original records, preserved by the United States government,

and by the various counties; then 61 volumes of Mission Archives, copied from the writings of the old padres, and supplemented by several bulky volumes of originals; next 100 large volumes of private archives, most precious of all, consisting of some 5000 original papers collected from native Californian and pioneer families. The number of volumes gives no idea of the value of this collection, since each one would furnish from 10 to 50 documents heretofore wholly unknown, each of which by itself would send the enthusiastic local annalist into ecstasies. Two hundred volumes of original narratives from memory by as many early Californians, native and pioneer, written by themselves or taken down from their lips by Mr Bancroft's agents, constitute a valuable and unique mass of historic data; and finally a miscellaneous collection, 130 volumes strong, completes the Californian manuscripts. The thoughtful visitor is impressed particularly with the ideas, first, that it would be folly to attempt the writing of an exhaustive history without this material; and secondly, that for no other country in the world does there exist so perfect a collection of material for its earliest annals. The fourth class is that made up of 450 works of references, bibliographies, etc. This makes a total of 13,950 volumes, which were placed on this upper floor immediately on completion of the building.

Descending by a wide, open stairway, which practically throws the whole Library into one room, the visitor finds on the side-wall shelves of the lower department 104 sets, aggregating 10,000 volumes. These sets are conveniently lettered and numbered in a manner that renders each work readily accessible, but which need not be described in detail here. They consist of large collections of voyages and travels, and of documents, periodicals, legislative and other public productions of the different states and territories, collections of laws and legal reports, California supreme court records and briefs, scrap-books, almanacs, di-

rectories, folios, bound volumes of pamphlets, and other miscellaneous matter. Here may be noticed Lord Kingsborough's famous folios on Mexican antiquities; a splendid set of the *United States Exploring Expedition* in 27 volumes, quarto and folio; the tomes of photographs and engravings on Mexican and Central American ruins by Charnay, Waldeck, Dupaix, and others; 130 volumes of Judge Ben Hayes' historical collection on Southern California; works in Russian on Alaska, and the Ross colony; and some thousands of Mexican *sermones* in 60 volumes. Of no inconsiderable importance is a set of *Papeles Varios*, in 216 volumes, including some 3000 Mexican pamphlets, largely political in their nature, and invaluable for historic purposes. This grand set has been formed by uniting a dozen smaller ones collected by as many prominent Mexicans in past years. On the rear or western wall are the United States government documents, numbering 2000 volumes. Three lofty double tiers of shelving which extend across the room from north to south are loaded with the bulky files of 400 Pacific States newspapers, before mentioned, amounting—if a year of weeklies and three months of dailies be counted a volume—to over 4000 volumes. It is a somewhat unwieldy mass, but indispensable to the local historian. In this room is a huge case with drawers for maps, geographically arranged, and also cases containing card indexes and catalogues, which have been prepared with great labor, and which for working purposes are found infinitely preferable to any system of classifying books on the shelves. Amongst the first labors of the librarian after removal was to copy the card catalogue into an imperial folio volume of 1400 pages, and place in each volume the book-mark of 'The Bancroft Library.' Maps and historic prints fill all not otherwise occupied space on the walls; scattered about on top of the book-cases, and elsewhere, are some aboriginal relics and curiosities which have at various times been presented to the

Library by its admirers, but Mr Bancroft makes no effort to collect in this direction. The basement of the building is used for storage of fuel, of stereotype plates, and other articles. The Library is still growing at the rate of about 1000 volumes a year.

It is clearly evident to every intelligent person that the creation of this Library was an important event in the annals of the country. Nothing approaching it in originality, value, and magnitude has ever been accomplished in America, even by a state, a government, or a society. None but a private individual could have collected this material; none but a man of ability, wealth, and literary enthusiasm—qualities which we rarely see combined—could have remained capable and constant during the long series of years necessary to such a development. If a state or society would vote and supply the money, which they would be backward about doing even if they could; and if the officers of the state or society did not steal or misapply it; where would be found a competent person ready to devote thirty years of his life in the quiet, persistent effort necessary? Who would have tramped the whole world, searching every nook and corner of it for additions to an accumulation of facts? And when all printed material had thus been brought from the four quarters of the earth, the work was only just begun. There were a thousand, five thousand witnesses to the early history of this coast yet living, whom, as before intimated, Mr Bancroft resolved to see and question, all of them possible; and a thousand he did see, and a thousand his assistants saw, and wrote down from their own mouths the vivid narratives of their experiences. Then there were the government and family archives which he gathered or copied, and the thousands of stray documents he hunted and filed away for safe keeping. And after many years were thus spent, and many thousands of dollars, to erect a substantial edifice for the accommo dation and preservation of this priceless material—

has the thing ever been done in any such way as this before? No one with money could go into the market and buy such a collection; all the money in the United States could not reproduce it were it scattered or destroyed. Like the mammoth trees of California, such a Library is a growth, a development; it cannot be made to order, or spoken into existence.

A visitor writing in an Eastern journal says:—"As I left The Bancroft Library, it was with a conviction that the institution visited is one whose existence marks an era in the history of our far West. I know of no other private library anywhere for which a separate edifice has been erected. I doubt if there be another building used like this exclusively as a literary workshop. Certainly there is none such where there is no hope of pecuniary gain from the product of the labor done." And a Californian writes:—"For a private individual, a man of business, to collect 35,000 volumes on a special subject, and to erect a building to hold it, and preserve it from fire, at a cost of not less than $150,000; to go further, and devote his time and income to the profitless task of placing accurately on record his country's history, is a remarkable and unprecedented thing. We are glad and proud that it is in our state of California that such an evolution is to be noted. Mr Bancroft we suppose is after fame, and makes no claim to philanthropic motives; yet such a man, if it be a desirable thing that a country's history should be written, seems very like a public benefactor."

The Work.

It was not until after several years had elapsed from the beginning of the collecting, nor until the Library numbered over 12,000 volumes, that Mr Bancroft entertained serious thoughts of authorship. But during the process of collecting there had arisen in him a strong desire for production. He wished

during his life-time to see his collection utilized. By the year 1868 this desire became so strong in him that he determined to place in his brother's hands the active management of the business, retaining his interest in it nevertheless, and to devote the remainder of his life to literary pursuits.

It seemed due to science, to history, and to philosophy, that information concerning a new and rapidly developing country, information of vast importance to its occupants and to mankind everywhere, should not be simply hoarded by its possessor, but should be made the common property of all. Here were many measures of valuable knowledge brought together, but this knowledge was in such a shape as to be of little value to any one; being scattered through these thousands of volumes in half a dozen different languages, buried in illegibly written manuscripts, and mixed with an immense mass of useless and irrelevant matter, with petty personal narratives, voyages and travels, and local history, unimportant alike to the general reader and to the scholar. While life is so short, and there is so much to be learned, while mankind are hurrying forward so rapidly, and books and inventions are multiplied, the searcher after information wants his facts brought before him in a clear, compact, and well-arranged form, so that he may obtain them fully and quickly. Hence it was that Mr Bancroft concluded that he could do no better work, none that would more benefit mankind or reflect higher credit on himself, than to sift this material and bring together and arrange these facts in a series of at once compact and exhaustive works. In other words, he determined to write and publish a number of books, with this new Western Coast as the basis of them all, taking up one subject after another, such as its native races, its history, and the like, and to continue his labors as life and health should be spared.

The obstacles were great, but so were his resolu-

tion and his courage. Unused to literary labor, all was experiment with him at first, yet he planned boldly, and brought large resources to his aid. Realizing fully how little one laborer alone could accomplish in such a field, he sought to utilize the labor of others. But being himself at a loss how to start the work, he found it difficult to direct others. And thus passed a year, two years, nearly all of which were in one sense lost; for he was obliged to try at least a hundred persons unable to render him any assistance for every one who finally proved of value.

As competent persons were secured, he set about indexing the subject-matter of his whole collection. Selecting some thirty or forty subjects which approximately embraced all real knowledge—historical, ethnographical, biographical, and physical—he made an index of the whole mass as one would index a single book; thereby enabling the writer on any one of these topics to follow his subject through this otherwise trackless sea of knowledge. A stranger views with astonishment, as he inspects the Library, a great number of queer-looking paper bags, such as are used by grocers, seemingly out of place in a library, until informed of their use. The contents of these bags represent labor which cost not less than $80,000, consisting, as they do, of millions of notes and references made by Mr Bancroft's assistants, all working upon the same model, so that what ten or a hundred authors have said on each individual topic and incident may be brought before him at one time. It was here ascertained by experience that in no other way could notes be so conveniently arranged, or so compactly classified.

Money has been mentioned once or twice in this connection. Although there are some things money cannot buy—in which category we may safely place the enthusiasm and application of which were engendered the literary labors of Mr Bancroft—and although money cannot write books, yet a lavish expen-

diture during a long term of years has been absolutely essential to this achievement. During the fifteen years of active operation, in addition to the cost of his Library, his Library Building, and his own personal efforts and outlays, Mr Bancroft has spent not less than $300,000 in indexing, note-taking, making references, and in classifying, sifting, and arranging materials for his Literary Works. Yet this he counts as nothing. He has never for a moment regretted it. He might economize in some things, but not in this. The money was spent in a good cause. He did not indulge in literature for gain; he was too experienced a publisher to imagine for a moment that work of this kind would pay pecuniarily. Not that he was opposed to pay, or would think any the less of his work if it did pay; but he knew it to be contrary to the nature of things that there should be profitable returns from such expenditure. He will get back what he can in the publication of his work, but he is perfectly satisfied to be out several hundred thousand dollars. He expected nothing less. What he wants, and all he wants, is a just and proper appreciation of what he has done on the part of good and intelligent men everywhere, and that is being done to his entire satisfaction, as innumerable of the highest testimonials from all parts amply assure us. When Mr Bancroft gave to the world the first fruits of his literary toil, in a work of 5 vols. 8vo, entitled *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, the magnitude of the undertaking, and the great labor of which it bore the marks, created a veritable surprise in the reading and scientific world; and not only this, but the author's faithful research, fair treatment of other writers cited, modest pretensions, and graceful, vigorous literary style won for him the warmest praise from scholars on every side. No work of its solid class in the past fifty years has been so extensively and so favorably reviewed by the critics at home and abroad.

But this by no means filled the measure of his am-

bition. It was history, and that alone of the first order, that would satisfy him. Indeed, the *Native Races* was more the result of accident—a lucky one as it proved—than of design. It happened in this way. After giving up making an encyclopedia, which was Mr Bancroft's first idea, he seated himself to write history. Beginning with the coming of Rodrigo de Bastidas upon the isthmus of Panamá, then and thereafter whenever Europeans touched the country in any of its several parts, they encountered the aborigines, whom the historian could neither wholly pass by nor at once portray. The consequence was a separate work describing them, which, to what should follow, was at once independent and introductory. This being done, Mr Bancroft went on with his *History of the Pacific States*, carrying it to successful completion. This, indeed, is a series of full and complete histories from the coming of Europeans to the present time, and comprises *Central America; Mexico; New Mexico and Arizona; California; Utah and Nevada; The Northwest Coast; Oregon; Washington, Idaho, and Montana; British Columbia;* and *Alaska.* After the *History* comes the *California Pastoral*, being interesting and vivid sketches of life in California under the Mission régime. *California Inter Pocula* treats of the abnormal proceedings during the flush times. The work entitled *Popular Tribunals* makes the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance the central figure. In the *Literary Industries* the author gives details concerning his life work, and his life experiences. Further descriptions of all these works are given in their several Prospectuses.

HISTORY

OF THE

PACIFIC STATES.

THE WORLD: The white part showing THE PACIFIC STATES.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SPITZBERGEN
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HUDSON BAY
ICELAND
NOVAYA ZEMLIA
KARA SEA
North Cape
NORWAY
SWEDEN
St Petersburg
EUROPE
ASIA
NORTH SEA
Dublin
London
Paris
Berlin
Brest
BAY OF BISCAY
Madrid
Vienna
Lisbon
Rome
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cairo
Suez
CANADA
St Johns
Quebec
New York
Philadelphia
Washington
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Orleans
BERMUDAS IS.
GULF OF MEXICO
WEST INDIA Is.
Havana
Jamaica
Caracas
C. AMERICA
Panama
Quito
Amazon R.
PERU
Callao
SOUTH AMERICA
Pernambuco
Rio Janeiro
CHILE
Valparaiso
FALKLAND IS.
C. Horn
GRAHAM'S LAND
Great Desert
RED SEA
ARABIA
Mecca
Aden
ARABIAN SEA
C. Guardafui
AFRICA
GULF OF GUINEA
Zanzibar
MADAGASCAR
Port Natal
Cape of Good Hope

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OF

NORTH AMERICA.

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME I.

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In about Twenty-eight Volumes, Octavo, averaging 700 pages each, with Maps and Illustrations.

VOLS. I. II. III.	*HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA.*
VOLS. IV.–IX.	*HISTORY OF MEXICO.*
VOLS. X.–XI.	*HIST. OF THE NORTH MEXICAN STATES.*
VOL. XII.	*HISTORY OF NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.*
VOLS. XIII.–XIX.	*HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA.*
VOL. XX.	*HISTORY OF NEVADA.*
VOL. XXI.	*HISTORY OF UTAH.*
VOLS. XXII.–XXIII.	*HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST COAST.*
VOLS. XXIV.–XXV.	*HISTORY OF OREGON.*
VOL. XXVI.	*HISTORY OF WASHINGTON, IDAHO, AND MONTANA.*
VOL. XXVII.	*HISTORY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.*
VOL. XXVIII.	*HISTORY OF ALASKA.*

TURNING to the Preface of the *Native Races* we find expressed some of the ideas of Mr Bancroft respecting his work in his own words.

"In pursuance of a general plan involving the pro-

duction of a series of works on the western half of North America," he writes, "I present this delineation of its aboriginal inhabitants as the first. To the immense territory bordering on the western ocean from Alaska to Darien, and including the whole of Mexico and Central America, I give arbitrarily, for want of a better, the name Pacific States. Stretching almost from pole to equator, and embracing within its limits nearly one twelfth of the earth's surface, this last Western Land offers to lovers of knowledge a new and enticing field; and, although hitherto its several parts have been held somewhat asunder by the force of circumstances, yet are its occupants drawn by nature into nearness of relationship, and will be brought yet nearer by advancing civilization; the common oceanic highway on the one side, and the great mountain ramparts on the other, both tending to this result. The characteristics of this vast domain, material and social, are comparatively unknown and are essentially peculiar. To its exotic civilization all the so-called older nations of the world have contributed of their energies; and this composite mass, leavened by its destiny, is now working out the new problem of its future. The modern history of this West antedates that of the East by over a century, and although there may be apparent heterogeneity in the subject thus territorially treated, there is an apparent tendency toward ultimate unity.

"Of the importance of the task undertaken, I need not say that I have formed the highest opinion. At present the few grains of wheat are so hidden by the mountain of chaff as to be of comparatively little benefit to searchers in the various branches of learning; and to sift and select from this mass, to extract

from bulky tome and transient journal, from the archives of convent and mission, facts valuable to the scholar and interesting to the general reader; to arrange these facts in a natural order, and to present them in such a manner as to be of practical benefit to inquirers in the various branches of knowledge, is a work of no small import and responsibility."

And in the Preface to the *History of the Pacific States*, which will bear the closest perusal, there is set forth much that we wish to know regarding this work, as well as the work in general. It reads as follows:

PREFACE.

During the year 1875 I published under title of *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, what purports to be an exhaustive research into the character and customs of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western portion of North America, at the time they were first seen by their subduers. The present work is a history of the same territory from the coming of the Europeans.

The plan is extensive and can be here but briefly explained. The territory covered embraces the whole of Central America and Mexico, and all Anglo-American domain west of the Rocky Mountains. First given is a glance at European society, particularly Spanish civilization at about the close of the fifteenth century. This is followed by a summary of maritime exploration from the fourth century to the year 1540, with some notices of the earliest American books. Then,

beginning with the discoveries of Columbus, the men from Europe are closely followed as one after another they find and take possession of the country in its several parts, and the doings of their successors are chronicled. The result is a HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, under the following general divisions:—*History of Central America; History of Mexico; History of the North Mexican States; History of New Mexico and Arizona; History of California; History of Nevada; History of Utah; History of the Northwest Coast; History of Oregon; History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana; History of British Columbia,* and *History of Alaska.*

Broadly stated, my plan as to order of publication proceeds geographically from south to north, as indicated in the list above given, which for the most part is likewise the chronological order of conquest and occupation. In respect of detail, to some extent I reverse this order, proceeding from the more general to the more minute as I advance northward. The difference, though considerable, is however less in reality than in appearance. And the reason I hold sufficient. To give to each of the Spanish-American provinces, and later to each of the federal and independent states, covering as they do with dead monotony centuries of unchanging action and ideas, time and space equal to that which may be well employed in narrating north-western occupation and empire-building would be no less impracticable than profitless. It is my aim to present complete and accurate histories of all the countries whose events I attempt to chronicle, but the annals of the several Central American and Mexican provinces and states, both

before and after the Revolution, run in grooves too nearly parallel long to command the attention of the general reader.

In all the territorial subdivisions, southern as well as northern, I treat the beginnings and earliest development more exhaustively than later events. After the Conquest, the history of Central America and Mexico is presented on a scale sufficiently comprehensive, but national rather than local. The northern Mexican states receive somewhat more attention in regard to detail than other parts of the republic. To the Pacific United States is devoted more space comparatively than to southern regions; and of the latter, California, in respect to local and personal detail, is regarded as the centre and culminating point of this historical field.

For the *History of Central America*, to which this must serve as special as well as general introduction, I would say, that beside the standard chroniclers and the many documents of late printed in Spain and elsewhere, I have been able to secure several valuable manuscripts nowhere else existing. Something from the Maximilian and Ramirez collections, and all of Mr E. G. Squier's manuscripts relating to the subject fell into my hands. Much of the material used by me in writing of this very interesting part of the world has been drawn from obscure sources, from local and unknown Spanish works, and from the somewhat confused archives of Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Guatemala.

Material for the history of western North America has greatly increased of late. Ancient manuscripts of whose existence recent historians never knew, or

which were supposed to be forever lost, have been brought to light and printed by patriotic men and intelligent governments. These fragments supply many missing links in the chain of early events, and illuminate a multitude of otherwise obscure parts.

My efforts in gathering material have been continued, and since the publication of *The Native Races* fifteen thousand volumes have been added to my collection. Among these additions are bound volumes of original documents, copies from public and private archives, and about eight hundred manuscript dictations by men who played their part in creating the history. Most of those who thus gave me their testimony in person are now dead; and the narratives of their observations and experiences, as they stand recorded in these manuscript volumes, constitute no unimportant element in the foundation upon which the structure of this western history in its several parts must forever rest.

To the experienced writer, who might otherwise regard the completion of so vast an undertaking within so apparently limited a period as work superficially done, I would say that this History was begun in 1869, six years before the publication of *The Native Races;* and from that time to the present, thirteen years, in addition to my own labors I have had constantly employed as my assistants not less than ten competent persons, and at times twice that number. Among these as the most faithful and efficient I take pleasure in mentioning Mr Henry L. Oak, Mr William Nemos, Mr Thomas Savage, Mrs Frances Fuller Victor, and Mr Ivan Petroff, of whom, and of others, I speak at length elsewhere.

Of my methods of working I need say but little here, as I describe them more fully in another place. Their peculiarity, if they have any, consists in the employment of assistants, as before mentioned, to bring together by indices, references, and other devices, all existing testimony on each topic to be treated. I thus obtain important material, which otherwise, having but one life-time to live, I could not control. Completeness of evidence will by no means ensure a wise decision from an incompetent judge; yet the wisest judge will gladly avail himself of all attainable testimony. It has been my purpose to give in every instance the fullest credit to the sources of information, and cite freely such conclusions of other writers as differ from my own. I am more and more convinced of the wisdom and necessity of such a course, by which, moreover, I aim to impart a certain bibliographic value to my work. The detail to be encompassed appeared absolutely exhaustless, and more than once I despaired of ever completing my task. Preparatory investigation occupied tenfold more time than the writing.

I deem it proper to express briefly my idea of what history should be, and the general line of thought that has guided me in this task. From the mere chronicle of happenings, petty and momentous, to the historico-philosophical essay, illustrated with here and there a fact supporting the writer's theories, the range is wide. Neither extreme meets the requirements of history, however accurate the one or brilliant the other. Not to a million minute photographs do we look for practical information respecting a mountain range, nor yet to an artistic painting of some one strik-

ing feature. As between the two extremes, equally to be avoided, the true historian will, whatever his inclination, be impelled by prudence, judgment, and duty from theory toward fact, from vivid coloring toward photographic exactness. Not that there is too much brilliancy in current history, but too little fact. An accurate record of events must form the foundation, and largely the superstructure. Yet events pure and simple are by no means more important than the institutionary development which they cause or accompany. Men, institutions, industries must be studied equally. A man's character and influence no less than his actions demand attention. Cause and effect are more essential than mere occurrence; achievements of peace outrank warlike conquest; the condition of the people is a more profitable and interesting subject of investigation than the acts of governors, the valor of generals, or the doctrines of priests. The historian must classify, and digest, and teach as well as record; he should not, however, confound his conclusions with the facts on which they rest. Symmetry of plan and execution as well as rigid condensation, always desirable, become an absolute necessity in a work like that which I have undertaken. In respect of time and territory my field is an immense one. The matter to be presented is an intricate complication of annals, national and sectional, local and personal. That my plan is in every respect the best possible, I do not say; but it is the best that my judgment suggests after long deliberation. The extent of this work is chargeable to the magnitude of the subject, and the immense mass of information gathered, rather than to any tendency to verbosity. There is scarcely a page but has been twice or thrice

rewritten with a view to condensation; and instead of faithfully discharging this irksome duty, it would have been far easier and cheaper to have sent a hundred volumes through the press. The plan once formed, I sought to make the treatment exhaustive and symmetrical. Not all regions nor all periods are portrayed on the same scale; but though the camera of investigation is set up before each successive topic at varying distances, the picture, large or small, is finished with equal care. I may add that I have attached more than ordinary importance to the matter of mechanical arrangement, by which through title-pages, chapter-headings, and indexes the reader may expeditiously refer to any desired topic, and find all that the work contains about any event, period, place, institution, man, or book; and to each topic I have aimed to give an encyclopedic exactness.

We hear much of the philosophy of history, of the science and signification of history; but there is only one way to write anything, which is to tell the truth, plainly and concisely. As for the writer, I will only say that while he should lay aside for the time his own religion and patriotism, he should be always ready to recognize the influence and weigh the value of the religion and patriotism of others. The exact historian will lend himself neither to idolatry nor to detraction, and will positively decline to act either as the champion or assailant of any party or power. Friendships and enmities, loves and hates, he will throw into the crucible of evidence to be refined and cast into forms of unalloyed truth. He must be just and humble. To clear judgment he must add strict integrity and catholicity of opinion. Ever in mind

should be the occult forces that move mankind, and the laws by which are formulated belief, conscience, and character. The actions of men are governed by proximate states of mind, and these are generated both from antecedent states of mind and antecedent states of body. The right of every generation should be determined, not by the ethics of any society, sect, or age, but by the broad, inexorable teachings of nature; nor should we forget that standards of morality are a freak of fashion, and that from wrongs begotten of necessity in the womb of progress has been brought forth right, and likewise right has engendered wrongs. He should remember that in the worst men there is much that is good, and in the best much that is bad; that constructed upon the present skeleton of human nature a perfect man would be a monster; nor should he forget how much the world owes its bad men. But alas! who of us are wholly free from the effects of early training and later social atmospheres! Who of us has not in some degree faith, hope, and charity! Who of us does not hug some ancestral tradition, or rock some pet theory!

As to the relative importance of early history, here and elsewhere, it is premature for any now living to judge. Beside the bloody battles of antiquity, the sieges, crusades, and wild convulsions of unfolding civilization, this transplanting of ours may seem tame. Yet the great gathering of the enlightened from all nations upon these shores, the subjugation of the wilderness with its wild humanity, and the new empire-modeling that followed, may disclose as deep a significance in the world's future as any display of army movements, or dainty morsels of court scandal, or the

idiosyncrasies of monarchs and ministers. It need not be recited to possessors of our latter-day liberties that the people are the nation, and rulers its servants. It is historical barbarism, of which the Homeric poems and Carlovingian tales not alone are guilty, to throw the masses into the background, or wholly to ignore them. "Heureux le peuple dont l'histoire ennuie," the French used to say; as if deeds diabolical were the only actions worthy of record. But we of this new western development are not disposed to exalt brute battling overmuch; and as for rulers and generals, we discover in them the creatures, not the creators, of civilization. We would rather see how nations originate, organize, and unfold; we would rather examine the structure and operations of religions, society refineries and tyrannies, class affinities and antagonisms, wealth economies, the evolutions of arts and industries, intellectual and moral as well as æsthetic culture, and all domestic phenomena with their homely joys and cares. For these last named, even down to dress, or the lack of it, are in part the style which is the man, and the man is the nation. With past history we may become tolerably familiar; but present developments are so strange, their anomalies are so startling to him who attempts to reduce them to form, that he is well content to leave for the moment the grosser extravagancies of antiquity, how much soever superior in interest they may be to the average mind. Yet in the old and the new we may alike from the abstract to the concrete note the genesis of history, and from the concrete to the abstract regard the analysis of history. The historian should be able to analyze and to generalize; yet his path leads not alone through the enticing fields of speculation, nor is it his only province to

pluck the fruits and flowers of philosophy, or to blow brain-bubbles and weave theorems. He must plod along the rough highways of time and development, and out of many entanglements bring the vital facts of history. And therein lies the richest reward. "Shakspere's capital discovery was this," says Edward Dowden, "that the facts of the world are worthy to command our highest ardour, our most resolute action, our most solemn awe; and that the more we penetrate into fact, the more will our nature be quickened, enriched, and exalted."

That the success of this work should be proportionate to the labor bestowed upon it is scarcely to be expected; but I do believe that in due time it will be generally recognized as a work worth doing, and let me dare to hope fairly well done. If I read life's lesson aright, truth alone is omnipotent and immortal. Therefore, of all I wrongfully offend, I crave beforehand pardon; from those I rightfully offend, I ask no mercy; their censure is dearer to me than would be their praise.

While on the subject of history-writing, and Mr Bancroft's conception of it, see what he says in a note at the end of Chapter IV., Volume I., *History of Central America.* The note is a criticism on the writings of Washington Irving, with incidental reference to Prescott, and to their treatment of the characters of Columbus, Ferdinand, and Isabella. It says: —

The highest delight of a healthy mind, of a mind not diseased either by education or affection, is in receiving the truth. The greatest charm in expression, to a writer who may properly be placed in the category of healthful, is in telling the truth. It is only when truth is dearer to us than tradition, or

pride of opinion, that we are ready to learn; it is only when truth is dearer to us than praise or profit that we are fit to teach. If the mind be intelligent as well as healthy, it knows itself to be composed of truth and prejudice, the latter engendered of ignorance and environment, holding it in iron fetters, and with which it knows it must forever struggle to win wholly to be free. Thus keenly alive as well to the difficulties as to the importance of right thinking and exact forms of expression, it nevertheless has its keenest pleasure in striving toward concrete truth. It is truthfulness to nature in all her beauties and deformities, rather than the construction of some more beautiful than natural ideal, that alone satisfies art, whether in the domain of painting, oratory, or literature. We of to-day, while holding in high esteem works of the imagination, are becoming somewhat captious in regard to our facts. The age is essentially informal and real: even our ideal literature must be rightly true to nature, while whatever pretends to be real must be presented in all simplicity, without circumlocution or disguisement.

Half a century ago it was deemed necessary, particularly by writers of selected epochs of history, in order to clothe their narratives with dramatic effect equal to fiction, to intensify characters and events. The good qualities of good men were made to stand out in bold relief, not against their own bad qualities, but against the bad qualities of bad men, whose wickedness was portrayed in such black colors as to overshadow whatever of good they might possess. Thus historical episodes were enthroned, so far as possible without too great distortion of truth, like a theatrical performance, each with a perfected hero and a finished villain. Of this class of writers were Macaulay and Motley, Froude, Freeman, Prescott, and Irving, whose works are wonderful in their way, not only as art-creations, but as the truest as well as most vivid pictures of their several periods yet presented, and which for generations will be read with that deep and wholesome interest with which they deserve to be regarded. For, although their facts are sometimes highly varnished, their most brilliant creations are always built upon a substantial skeleton of truth. I say that these, the foremost writers of their day, are none of them free from the habit of exaggeration, deception. Indeed, with a wasteful extravagance in the use of superlatives it is almost impossible to draw character strongly without in some parts of it exaggerating. But in these days of rational reflection wherein romance and reality are fairly separated, celestial fiction and mundane fact being made to pass under the same experimentum crucis; mind becoming so mechanical that it introverts and analyzes not only its own mechanism, but the mechanism of its maker; heaven becoming spiritualized, and the dreamy revival of the old Adamic serpent, that the knowledge of good and evil is not death but life and immortality, this knowledge being king of kings, vying with nature's forces and oftentimes defying them—I say, in days like these nature-marked becomes impatient of the Santa Claus, or other fictitious imagery, from which the infant mind derives much comfort, and profits, if necessary, the moments of truth to the elysium of faith. It is no longer valid logic that if the hero stoops to trickery, his biographer should stoop to trickery to cover it. For most undertake to shape the stiff clay of material facts into the artistic forms of fiction, and the result is neither history nor romance.

Proud as I am of the names of Prescott and Irving, at whose shrines none worship with profounder admiration than myself; thankless as may be the task of criticising their classic pages, whose very defects shine with a steadier lustre than I dare hope for my brightest consummations; still, forced by my subject, in some instances, into fields partially traversed by them, I can neither pass them by nor wholly praise them. In justice to my theme, in justice to myself, in justice to the age in which I live, I must speak, and that according to the light and the perceptions given me.

Mr Irving's estimate of the value of honesty and integrity in a historian may be gathered from his own pages. "There is a certain meddlesome spirit," he writes, "which, in the garb of learned research, goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from such pernicious erudition. It defeats one of the most salutary purposes of history, that of furnishing examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish." Now, if conscientious inquiry into facts signifies a meddlesome spirit; if the plain presentment of facts may rightly be called pernicious erudition; if the overthrow of fascinating falsehood is mutilating the trophies of history; if fashioning golden calves for the worship of the simple be the most salutary purpose of history; then I, for one, prefer the meddlesome spirit and the pernicious erudition which mutilates such monuments to the fairest trophies of historical deception. Again:—"Herrera has been accused also of flattering his nation; exalting the deeds of his countrymen, and softening and concealing their excesses. There is nothing very serious in this accusation. To illustrate the glory of his nation is one of the noblest offices of the historian; and it is difficult to speak too highly of the extraordinary enterprises and splendid actions of the Spaniards in those days. In softening their excesses he fell into an amiable and pardonable error, if it were indeed an error for a Spanish writer to endeavor to sink them in oblivion." When a writer openly avows his allegiance to falsehood, to amiable falsehood, to falsehood perpetrated to deceive in regard to one's own country, about which one professes to know more than a stranger, nothing remains to be said. Nothing remains to be said as to the veracity of that author, but much remains to be said concerning the erroneous impressions left by him of the persons and events coming in the way of this work.

With what exquisite grace, with what tender solicitude and motherly blindness to faults Mr Irving defends the reputation of Columbus! Is the Genoese a pirate, then is piracy "almost legalized;" is he a slave-maker, "the customs of the times" are pleaded; without censure he lives at Córdova in open adultery with Beatriz Enriquez, and there becomes the father of the illegitimate Fernando; a bungling attempt is made to excuse the hero for depriving the poor sailor of the prize offered him who should first see land; Oviedo is charged with falsehood because he sometimes decides against the discoverer in issues of policy and character; Father Buil was "as turbulent as he was crafty" because he disagreed with the admiral in some of his measures; the most extravagant vituperation is hurled at Aguado because he is chosen to examine and report on the affairs of the Indies; Fonseca is denounced as inexpressibly vile because he thwarts some of the discoverer's hare-brained projects; and so with

regard to those who in any wise opposed him, while all who smiled on him were angels of light. All through his later life when extravagant requests were met by more than the usual liberality of royalty, Irving is petulantly complaining because more is not done for his hero, and because his petulant hero complains. And this puerile pride from which springs such petulance the eloquent biographer coins into the noble ambition of conscious merit. Though according to his own statement the madness of the man increased until toward the latter end he was little better than imbecile, yet we are at the same time gravely assured that "his temper was naturally irritable, but he subdued it by the magnanimity of his spirit." The son Fernando denies that his father once carded wool; Irving does not attempt to excuse this blemish because his readers do not regard work as ignoble.

Now it is not the toning-down of defects in a good man's character that I object to so much as the predetermined exaltation of one historical personage at the expense of others utterly debased under like premeditation. Did Mr Irving, and the several scores of biographers preceding and following him, parade the good qualities of Bobadilla, Roldan, and Ovando as heartily as those of their hero, the world would be puzzled what to make of it. We are not accustomed to such statements. Unseasoned biography is tasteless, and we are taught not to expect truth, but a model. We should not know what these writers were trying to do if they catalogued the misdemeanors of Columbus and his brothers with the same embellishments applied to Aguado, Buil, and Fonseca; telling with pathetic exaggeration how the benign admiral of the ocean sea was the first to employ bloodhounds against the naked natives; how he practised varied cruelties in Española beyond expression barbarous; and how he stooped upon occasion not only to vulgar trickery, but to base treachery.

On the other hand, with those who seek notoriety by attempting to degrade the fair fame of noble and successful genius because more credit may have been given by some than is justly due, or by affecting to disbelieve whole narratives and whole histories because portions of them are untrue or too highly colored, I have no sympathy. Books have been written to prove, what no one denies, that centuries before Columbus other Europeans had found this continent, and that thereby the honor of his achievement is lessened—of which sentiment I fail to see the force. So far as the Genoese, his works, and merits are concerned, it makes no whit of difference were America twenty times before discovered, as elsewhere in this volume has been fully shown.

Prescott was a more exact writer than Irving, though Prescott was not wholly above the amiable weakness of his time. In the main he stated the truth, and stated it fairly, though he did not always tell the whole truth. The faults of his heroes he would speak, though never so softly; he seldom attempted entirely to conceal them. He might exaggerate, but he neither habitually practised nor openly defended mendacity. Prescott would fain please the Catholics, if it did not cost too much. Irving would please everybody, particularly Americans; but most of all he would make a pleasing tale; if truthful, well; if not, it must on no account run counter to popular prejudice. The inimitable charm about them both amply atones in the minds of many for any imperfections. Since their day much new light has been thrown

upon the subjects treated by them, but not enough seriously to impair the value of their works. In their estimates of the characters of Ferdinand and Isabella, relatively and respectively, these brilliant writers are not alone. They copied those who wrote before them; and those who came after copied them. It has been the fashion these many years, both by native and foreign historians, to curse Ferdinand and to bless Isabella, to heap all the odium of the nation and the times upon the man and exalt the woman among the stars. This, surely, is the more pleasant and chivalrous method of disposing of the matter; but in that case I must confess myself at a loss what to do with the facts.

None but the simple are deceived by the gentle Irving when he insinuates "she is even somewhat bigoted;" by which expression he would have us understand that the fascinating queen of Castile was but little of a bigot. Again: "Ferdinand was a religious bigot; and the devotion of Isabella went as near to bigotry as her liberal mind and magnanimous spirit would permit"—that is to say, as the plan of Mr Irving's story would permit. Quite as well as any of us Irving knew that Isabella was one of the most bigoted women of her bigoted age, far more bigoted than Ferdinand, who dared even dispute the pope when his Holiness interfered too far in attempting to thwart his ambitious plans. She was, indeed, so deeply dyed a bigot as to allow her ghostly confessor to overawe her finest womanly instincts, her commonly strict sense of honor, justice, and humanity, and cause her to permit in Spain the horrible Inquisition, the most monstrous mechanism of torture ever invented in aid of the most monstrous crime ever perpetrated by man upon his fellows, the coercion and suppression of opinion. Fair as she was in all her ways, and charming—fair of heart and mind and complexion, with regular features, light chestnut hair, mild blue eyes, a modest and gracious demeanor—she did not scruple, for the extermination of heresy, to apply to such of her loving subjects as dared think for themselves the thumb-screw, the ring-bolt and pulley, the rack, the rolling-bench, the punch, the skewer, the pincers, the knotted whip, the sharp-toothed iron collar, chains, balls, and manacles, confiscation of property and burning at the stake; and all under false accusations and distorted evidence. She did not hesitate to seize and put to death hundreds of wealthy men like Pecho, and appropriate to her own use their money, though her exquisite womanly sensibilities might sometimes prompt her to fling to the widows and children whom she had turned beggars into the street a few crumbs of their former riches. This mother, who nursed children of her own and who should not have been wholly ignorant of a mother's love, turned a deaf ear to the cries of Moorish mothers as they and their children were torn asunder and sold at the slave mart in Seville. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children she cruelly imprisoned, thousands she cast into the fiery furnace, tens of thousands she robbed and then drove into exile; but it was chastely done, and by a most sweet and beautiful lady. We can hardly believe it true, we do not like to believe it true, that when old Rabbi Abarbanel pleaded before the king for his people, "I will pay for their ransom six hundred thousand crowns of gold," Isabella's soft, musical voice was heard to say, "Do not take it," her confessor meanwhile exclaiming "What! Judas-like, sell Jesus!" Besides, thrice six hundred thousand crowns might be secured by not accept-

ing the ransom. And yet this was the bright being, and such her acts by Prescott's own statements, cover them as he will never so artfully, whose practical wisdom, he assures us, was "founded on the purest and most exalted principle," and whose "honest soul abhorred anything like artifice." Isabella was unquestionably a woman of good intentions; but with such substance the soul-burner's pit is paved.

Prescott throws all the odium of the Inquisition on Torquemada, and I concur. The monk's mind was the ashy, unmelting mould in which the woman's more plastic affections were cast. But then he should be accredited with some portion of the virtues that adorned the character of Isabella, for he was the author of many of them. To be just, if Isabella is accredited with her virtues, she must be charged with her crimes. And if the queen may throw from her shoulders upon those of her advisers the responsibility of iniquity permitted under her rule, why not King Ferdinand, who likewise had men about him urging him to this policy and to that? True, we excuse much in woman as the weaker, and very justly so, which we condemn in the man of powerful cunning. But Isabella was not exactly clay in the hands of those about her; or if so, then praise her for her imbecility, and not for any virtue. But she could muster will and spirit enough of her own upon occasion—witness her threat to kill Pedro Giron with her own hand rather than marry him, and the policy which speaks plainly her sagacity and state-craft in the selection of Ferdinand, and in the strict terms of her marriage contract which excluded her husband from any sovereign rights in Castile or Leon. Most inconsistently, indeed, in reviewing the administration of Isabella, at the end of three volumes of unadulterated adulation Prescott gives his heroine firmness enough in all her ways; independence of thought and action sufficient to circumscribe the pretensions of her nobles; and she "was equally vigilant in resisting ecclesiastical encroachment;" "she enforced the execution of her own plans, oftentimes even at great personal hazard, with a resolution surpassing that of her husband." When, however, she signed the edict for the expulsion of the Jews, the excuse was that "she had been early schooled to distrust her own reason." But why multiply quotations? The *Ferdinand and Isabella* of Prescott is full of these flat contradictions.

We all know that when carried away by feeling women are more cruel than men; so Isabella under the frenzy of her fanaticism was, if possible, more cruel than Ferdinand, whose passions were ballasted by his ambitions. Her feelings were with her faith; and her faith was with such foul iniquity, such inhuman wrong as should cause her euphemistic apologists to blush for resorting to the same species of subterfuge that makes heroes of Jack Sheppard and Dick Turpin. Again, murder and robbery for Christ's sake suits the devil quite as well as when done for one's own sake. And here on earth, to plead in a court of justice good intentions in mitigation of evil acts nothing extenuates in the eyes of any righteous judge. Therefore there is little to choose between those of whom it may be said:—Here is a man who perfidiously robs, tortures, and murders his fellow-beings by the hundred thousand in order to glorify himself, and extend and establish his dominions; and, Here is a woman who perfidiously robs, tortures, and murders her fellow-beings by the hundred thousand in order to glorify herself, her priest, her religion, and extend and establish the

dominions of her deity. At the farthest, and in the minds of the eloquent biographers themselves, the relative refinement and nobility of the two characters must turn wholly upon one's conception of the relative refinement and nobility of earthly selfishness and heavenly selfishness.

What can we say then, if we make any pretensions to fairness in portraying historical personages, in excuse for Isabella that cannot as rightfully be said in excuse for Ferdinand? For even he, whom sensational biographers array in such sooty blackness in order that the satin robes of Isabella may shine with whiter lustre, has been called in Spain the wise and prudent, and in Italy the pious. Of course there were differences in their dispositions and their ambitions, but not such wide ones as we have been told. He was a man, with a man's nature, cold, coarse, stern, and artful; she a woman, with a woman's nature, warm, refined, gentle, and artful. He was foxlike, she feline. Opposing craft with craft, she jealously guarded what she deemed the interests of her subjects, and earnestly sought by encouraging literature and art, and reforming the laws, to refine and elevate her realm. He did precisely the same. In all the iniquities of his lovely consort Ferdinand lent a helping hand; man could do nothing worse; and all the world agree that Ferdinand was bad. And yet, in what was he worse than she? Both were tools of the times, incisive and remorseless. To the ecclesiastical tyranny of which they were victims they added civil tyranny which they imposed upon their subjects. Ferdinand was the greatest of Spain's sovereigns, far greater than Charles, whose fortune it was to reap where his grandfather had planted. It was Ferdinand who consolidated all the several sovereignties of the Peninsula, save Portugal, into one political body, weighty in the affairs of Europe. He was ambitious; and to accomplish his ends scrupled at nothing. There was no sin he dared not commit, no wrong he dared not inflict, provided the proximate result should accord with his desires. He was less bound by superstition than the average of the age; he was thoughtful, powerful, princely. Both were personages magnificent, glorious, who achieved much good and much evil, the evil being as fully chargeable to the times, which placed princes above promises and religion, above integrity and humanity, as to any special depravity innate in either of them. And what was the immediate result of it; and what the more distant conclusion; and how much after all were Spaniards indebted to these rulers? First Spain enwrapped in surpassing glories! Spain the mistress of the world, on whose dominions the sun refuses to go down. Fortunate Ferdinand! Thrice amiable and virtuous Isabella! And next? Do we not see that these brilliant successes, these gratified covetings are themselves the seeds of Spain's abasement? Infinitely better off were Spain to-day, I will not say had she not driven out her Moors and Jews, but had she never known the New World. How much soever of honor Isabella may have brought upon herself by her speculations in partnership with the Genoese, for the self-same reason, resulting in the great blight of gold and general effeminacy that followed, Spain's posterity might reasonably anathematize her memory could they derive any comfort therefrom.

In regard to that much-lauded act of Isabella's in lending her assistance to Columbus when Ferdinand would not, there is this to be said. First, no

special praise is due her for assisting the Genoese; and secondly, she never assisted him in the manner or to the extent represented. Santángel and the Pinzons were the real supporters of that first voyage. Isabella did not pawn her jewels; she did not sell her wardrobe, or empty her purse. But if she had, for what would it have been? It makes a pleasing story for children to call her patronage by pretty names, to say that it was out of pity for the poor sailor, that it was an act of personal sacrifice for the public good, that it was for charity's sake, or from benevolence, for the extension of knowledge or the vindication of some great principle—only it is a very stupid child that does not know better. Clearly enough the object was great returns from a small expenditure; great returns in gold, lands, honors, and proselytings—a species of commercial and political gambling more in accordance with the character as commonly sketched of the "cold and crafty Ferdinand," whose measureless avarice and insatiable greed not less than his subtle state-craft and kingly cunning would have prompted him to secure so great a prize at so small a cost, than with the character of an unselfish, heavenly-minded woman. And were it not for the danger of being regarded by the tender-minded as ungallant, I might allude to the haggling which attended the bargain, and tell how the queen at first refused to pay the sailor his price, and let him go, then called him back and gave him what he first had asked, more like a Jew than like even the grasping Ferdinand.

In conclusion, I feel it almost unnecessary to say that Columbus, Isabella, and all those bright examples of history whose conduct and influence in the main were on the side of humanity, justice, the useful, and the good, have my most profound admiration, my most intelligent respect. All their faults I freely forgive, and praise them for what they were, as among the noblest, the best, the most beneficial to their race—though not always so, nor always intending it—of any who have come and gone before us. And I can hate Bobadilla, Roldan, and others of their sort, all historical embodiments of injustice, egotism, treachery, and beastly cruelty, with a godly hatred; but I hope never to be so blinded by the brightness of my subject as to be unable to see the truth, and seeing it, fairly to report it.

In addition to the complete information contained in the Preface, a brief glance at the books is all that is required to give a very fair idea of the work.

Volume I.

This is Vol. I. of both the *History of the Pacific States* and the *History of Central America*. It opens with a picture of European civilization toward the close of the sixteenth century, Spanish society being more fully presented, all ending in a comparison of the people of Europe with the people of America.

All voyages of discovery from the earliest times to the year 1540 are next given in a Summary of Maritime Discovery. In the 87 pages devoted to this subject is compressed the knowledge found nowhere else in less than 87 volumes, and yet the subject is made so clear, and the matter so well presented, that the reader is satisfied with what he has learned and is ready to go on to the fuller details of the voyages of the Spaniards to America in the succeeding chapters. After the discoveries of Columbus in his first three voyages are given, Rodrigo de Bastidas, the first Spaniard to touch the continent of North America, is followed in his adventures along the Darien Isthmus and at Española. The fourth voyage of Columbus is then given, and the character of the man delineated. A chapter on the Administration of the Indies describes the earliest Spanish society and government in America. After this are given the mad pranks of those two fiery cavaliers Alonso de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa in their attempts to establish settlements on the mainland of America. The adventures of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa are related, how he outwitted the lawyer Enciso by being carried on board the vessel in a cask, how he finally beat the learned man with his own weapon, and finally drove him from his government, and how he discovered the Pacific Ocean, carried ships across the Isthmus and floated them in the bay of Panamá, and was at last infamously destroyed by old man Pedrarias. Gil Gonzalez Dávila also carried the material for ships across the Isthmus and discovered the Pacific Coast northward as far as Nicaragua. After a time he met bands of Spaniards coming down from Mexico, those who had gone with Cortés to conquer Montezuma's empire, and they fell to fighting each other. In this way is given the conquest of Central America in each of its several parts at various times. The Conquest of Peru is likewise briefly but graphically given, that scheme having originated at Panamá.

Volume II.

The famous and infamous doings of the Buccaneers are portrayed in this volume, together with the full history of the country during the rule of the viceroys, which lasted for more than two centuries.

Volume III.

What might be called the modern history of Central America is presented in this volume. The yoke of Spain thrown off, independent states were formed, and republican governments established. Revolution became chronic. This is the only successful attempt ever made toward a complete history of Central America.

Volume IV.

The fourth volume of the *History of the Pacific States* is Vol. I. *History of Mexico.* Opening with the discoveries of Córdoba and Grijalva, the brilliant conquest by Cortés is displayed, which fills half the volume. Prescott devoted three volumes to this short epoch, and to a description of the aborigines, which latter is much more fully and thoroughly given in the *Native Races.* After the fall of Montezuma, conquest is followed into the regions on every side; also the establishing of missions, and the organization of governments.

And so on through the successive volumes the history of the country is told clearly, concisely, yet fully and truthfully.

"The enterprise is startling in its magnitude," writes the editor of an eastern journal, "greater by far than any man has ever undertaken before in the nature of historical research; impossible of accomplishment, at first thought; but our faith grows as we see what has been done and how it is being done. For many years Mr Bancroft has been engaged upon this work, with

an average force of ten or twelve competent assistants, besides a small army at times of men and women and boys employed to copy, to sort notes, to paste scraps, to arrange newspapers, or in some other purely mechanical capacity. The methods by which the historian utilizes the services of his corps of assistants are too complicated to be fully explained; but the aim is to find and extract from each book, manuscript, or newspaper every item of information that it contains respecting each particular topic to be treated; and the result is that the author has before him at each successive step all the information that his library contains. Without this division of labor in preliminary research Mr Bancroft could not obviously look forward to anything but failure. With it, and with the aid of several competent collaborators, though the work advances slowly, he confidently expects success. Already there is manuscript enough practically ready for the printer, though still open for revision and for such changes as the discovery of new evidence may render necessary, to nearly complete the work, the hardest part of which was long since done. So much hitherto accomplished argues well for what the future may bring forth."

Little remains to be added to this Prospectus of the *History of the Pacific States* by the Publishers. Every part of it, every state, every nation, is independently and impartially treated. The citizen of California, of Oregon, of Mexico, of Central America, of New Mexico and Arizona, of Utah and Nevada, of British Columbia, and of Alaska may each rest assured that the section in which he is specially interested has been as thoroughly studied, and its incidents as carefully recorded as if the author had written nothing else. The whole work has been several times written, and several times revised before publication. Even after it was in type, every statement and every reference was compared with the original authority, and if wrong, corrected, that it might stand as abso-

lutely free from errors as is possible for human efforts to be.

It is claimed by the Publishers for this work:—

First. That it is a complete history of the western half of North America, including all of Mexico and Central America, an area equal to one twelfth part of the earth's surface, whereon are working out for themselves problems as important as any affecting the human race.

Second. That it is condensed into the smallest possible number of volumes consistent with the vast amount of information given, all the relevant knowledge contained in twenty-five thousand volumes being compressed into twenty-eight volumes.

Third. That by none other than a mind drilled at once to business and to literature could this work have been achieved. It demanded the unity of a diversity of talents. It could never have been effected by the mere order of any government or society. It required ability and wealth, an enthusiastic personal devotion, and a lavish expenditure of money. It required competent help which only business experience could gain and properly utilize.

Fourth. That having been undertaken at a period late enough for the country to have a history, and not so late but that the fullest knowledge might be obtained from its beginning; and being three fourths of it matter entirely new, which does not exist elsewhere in the English language, or even in print; and having had expended upon it an amount of time, intelligent labor, and money unparalleled in the annals of literature, it will forever stand as the most thorough historical work hitherto accomplished for any nation or section of the globe.

Fifth. Therefore the history of the world must be incomplete without the knowledge herein contained; drawn as it has been, not only from all printed matter extant, but from masses of unpublished manuscripts; from the national, ecclesiastical, and commercial ar-

chives of the Pacific and of the Atlantic states; of Mexico, Central America, and Canada; of Spain, Italy, France, Germany, and Great Britain; and, most important of all, from the mouths of more than one thousand personages who have acted their parts in creating the history here written.


90
88
86
84
16
14
12
10
8
6
YUCATAN
GUATEMALA
HIGUERAS
HONDURAS
ZULA
SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
MOSQUITO TERR
COSTA RICA
Amatique Bay
Three Points
Santiago de Buenavista
I. Utila
I. Roatan
I. Guanaja
Punta de Caxinas
Trujillo
Triunfo de la Cruz
Puerto de Caballos
Omoa
Santo Tomas de Castilla
Tepespa
Naco
Quinbistan
San o Pedro
Buena Esperanza
San Jorge de Olancho
Gracias a Dios
Comayagua or Nueva Valladolid
Chalatenango
Metapan
Mopicalco
Acatupo
Sonsonate
Tacuaxalco
Mishuatlano
Cuzcatlan or San Salvador
Zacatecoluca
San Vicente
Paulapan
San Miguel
Tegucigalpa
Jalapao
Segovia
Cholulteca
Matagalpa
Realejo
Leon
I. Managua
Managua
Cocos
Masayo
Granada
Lake Nicaragua
Rivas or Nicaragua
Golfo de Salinas
Golfo de Santiago
Punta de las Velas
Nicoya
Bruselas
C. Blanco
Pic S. Lazaro
Mexicalzas
Nueva Jaen
Machuca Rapids
Rio Grande
Rio Segovia or Yare
Valley of Olancho
Rio de Comayagua
Rio de Lempa
Rio de San Miguel
G. of Fonseca
C. Hermoso
Punta de las Higueras
Golfo Dulce
Rio de San Pedro or Polochic
Rio Sarstoon
Punta de Manabique
Punta de Manabique Bay
Roatan Channel
Honduras River
Rio de la Tierra de Brewer's Las
P. Patos
TORRERA
MAP OF
DARIEN
AND
TIERRA FIRME
Scale
1
1 300 000.
13.5 Statute miles to an inch.
BANCROFT'S HISTORY
Longitude


82
80
78
CUBA
ESPAÑOLA
Santo Domingo
JAMAICA
85
80
75
70
20
16
14
12
10
8
6
Gracias a Dios
Cay Lagoon
ld's Lagoon
NORTH SEA
Punta Blanca
Chiriquí
Escudo
Porto bello
Nombre de Dios
Puerto de Bastimentos
Puerto de Escribanos
Golfo de San Blas
Santa Cruz
Chagre
Cuba
Chepatha
Chepo
Comagre
Pocorosa
Aclas
Caledonia Bay
Punta de Carbonera
Caribe Creek
Cubica
Panamá
Tumaco
Coiba
Cuchunaque
Cutara
Chame
Chiriquí
David
Veraguas
Tabasara
Urraca
Natá
Pearl Is
Peru
Antigua
Uraba
San Sebastian
Punta de Burica
Santa Maria
Toria
Biruquite
Paris
Escoria
Parita
Punta Mala
Cebaco
Piñuela
Pinfra de Morado
Darien
Atrato
Nueva Andalucía
Greenwich

HISTORY

OF

CENTRAL AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SPAIN AND CIVILIZATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

General View—Transition from the Old to the New Civilization—Historical Sketch of Spain—Spanish Character—Spanish Society—Prominent Features of the Age—Domestic Matters—The New World—Comparative Civilizations and Savagisms—Earliest Voyages of Discovery.

How stood this ever changing world four hundred years ago? Already Asia was prematurely old. Ships skirted Africa; but, save the northern seaboard, to all but heaven the continent was as dark as its stolid inhabitants. America was in swaddlings, knowing not its own existence, and known of none. Europe was an aged youth, bearing the world-disturbing torch which still shed a dim, fitful light and malignant odor.

Societies were held together by loyalty and superstition; kingcraft and priestcraft; not by that coöperation which springs from the common interests of the people. Accursed were all things real; divine the unsubstantial and potential. Beyond the stars were laid out spiritual cities, each religion having its own; under foot the hollow ground was dismal

with the groans of the departed. Regions of the world outlying the known were tenanted by sea-monsters, dragons, and hobgoblins. European commerce crept forth from walled towns and battlemented buildings, and, peradventure escaping the dangers of the land, hugged the shore in open boats, resting by night and trembling amidships by day. Learning was but illuminated ignorance. Feudalism as a system was dead, but its evils remained. Innumerable burdens were heaped upon the people by the dominant classes, who gave them no protection in return. Upon the most frivolous pretexts the fruits of their industry were seized, and such as escaped seigneurial rapacity were appropriated by the clergy. It was a praiseworthy performance for a hundred thousand men to meet and slay each other in battle fought to vindicate a church dogma, or to gratify a king's concubine. Self-sacrifice was taught as a paramount duty by thousands whose chief desire seemed to be the sacrifice of others. Then came a change. And by reason of their revised Ptolemies, their antipodal soundings and New Geographies, their magnetic needles, printing-machines, and man-killing implements, their Reformations and revivals of learning, the people began in some faint degree to think for themselves. But for all this, divine devilishness was everywhere, in every activity and accident. God reigned in Europe, more especially at Rome and Madrid, but all the world else was Satan's, and destroying it was only destroying Satan.

Under the shifting sands of progress truth incubates, and the hatched ideas fashion for themselves a great mind in which they may find lodgment; fashion for themselves a tongue by which to speak; fashion for themselves a lever by which to move the world.

The epoch of which I speak rested upon the confines of two civilizations, the Old and the New. It

was a transition period from the dark age of fanaticism to the brightness of modern thought; from an age of stolid credulity to an age of curiosity and skepticism. It was a period of concretions and crystallizations, following one of many rarefactions; superstition was then emerging into science, astrology into astronomy, magic into physics, alchemy into chemistry. Saltpetre was superseding steel in warfare; feudalism, having fulfilled its purpose, was being displaced by monarchical power; intercourse was springing up between nations and international laws were being made. Even the material universe and the realms of space were enlarging with the enlargement of mind. Two worlds were about that time unveiled to Spain, an oriental and an occidental; by the capture of Constantinople ancient Greek and Latin learning was emancipated, and religion in Europe was revolutionized; while toward the west, the mists of the ages lifted from the ocean, and, as if emerging from primeval waters, a fair new continent, ripe for a thousand industries, stood revealed.

This was progress indeed, and the mind, bursting its mediæval fetters, stood forth and took a new survey. With the dawn of the sixteenth century there appeared a universal awakening throughout Christendom. Slumbering civilization, roused by the heavy tread of marching events, turned from dreamy incantations, crawled forth from monastic cells and royal prison-houses of learning, and beheld with wonder and delight the unfolding of these new mysteries. The dust and cobwebs of the past, sacred to the memory of patristic theologies and philosophies which had so long dimmed the imagination, were disturbed by an aggressive spirit of inquiry. The report of exploding fallacies reverberated throughout Europe; and as the smoke cleared away, and light broke in through the obscurity, there fell as it were scales from the eyes of the learned, and man gazed upon his fellow-man with new and strange emotions.

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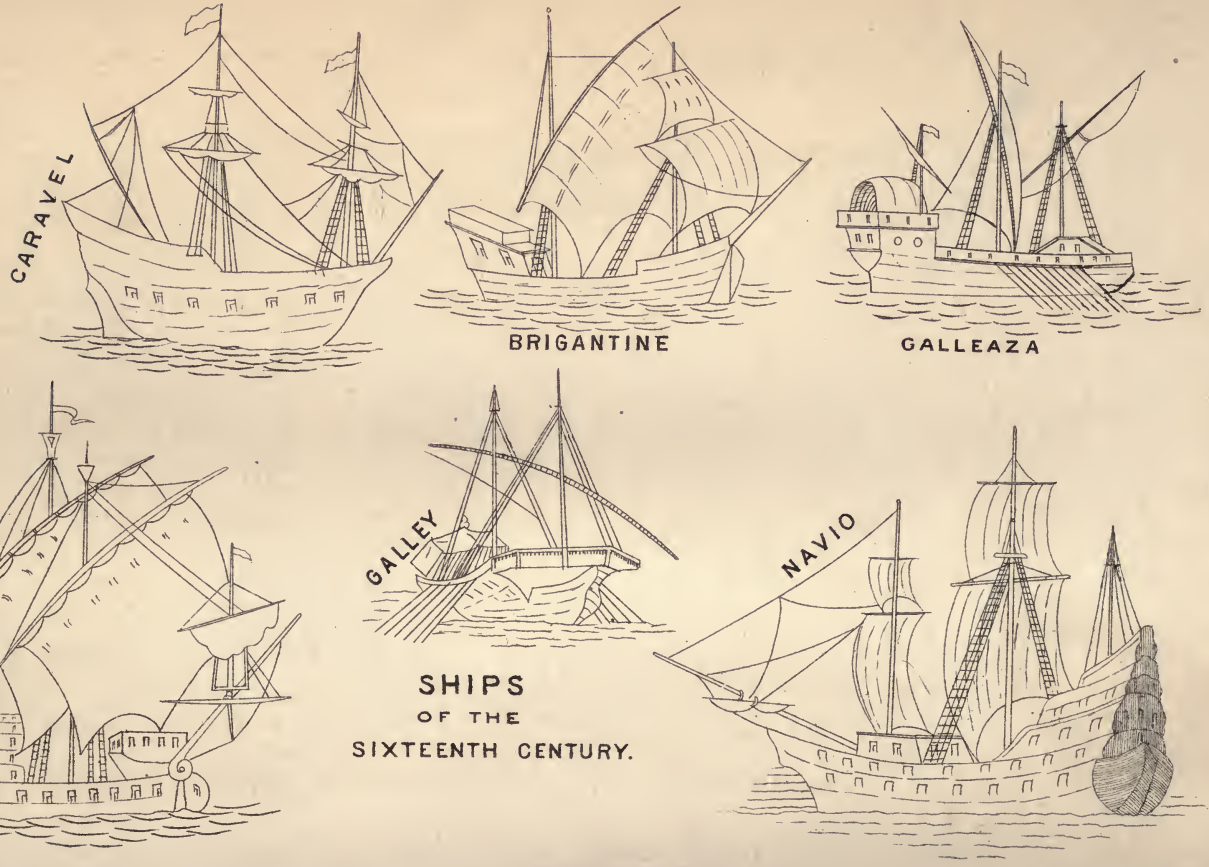
For centuries reason and religion had been chained to the traditions of the past; thought had traveled as in a tread-mill; philosophy had advanced with the face turned backward; knight-errantry had been the highest type of manhood, and Christianity had absorbed all the vices as well as the virtues of mankind. The first efforts of scholastics in their exposition of these new appearances, was to square the accumulative information of the day with the subtleties of the schools and the doctrines and dogmas of the past. The source of all knowledge, and the foundation of all science, fixed and unalterable as the eternal hills, were in the tenets of the Church, and in the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the Fathers. Any conception, or invention, or pretended discovery that might pass unscathed this furnace-fire of fanaticism was truth, though right and reason pronounced it false. Any stray fact which by these tests failed satisfactorily to account for itself was false, though by all the powers of soul and sense men knew it to be true. All the infinite unrest of progressional humanity, the deep intuitive longings of the creature in its struggle to touch the hand of its Creator, went for nothing beside the frigid lessons taught by the traditional sanctity of an Anastasius or a Chrysostom.

I do not mean to say that all darkness and nescience were swept away in a breath, or that knowledge fell suddenly on mankind like an inspiration; it was enough for some few to learn for the first time of such a thing as ignorance. Although the change was real and decisive, and the mind in its attempt to fathom new phenomena was effectually lured from the mystic pages of antiquity, there yet remained enough and to spare of bigotry and credulity. Searchers after the truth saw yet as through a glass darkly; the clearer vision of face to face could only be attained by slow degrees, and often the very attempt to scale the prison-house walls plunged the aspirant after higher culture yet deeper into the



SHIPS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ditch; but that there were any searchings at all was no small advance. Shackles were stricken off, but the untutored intellect as yet knew not the use of liberty; a new light was flashed in upon the mental vision, but the sudden glare was for the moment bewildering, and not until centuries after was the significance of this transitional epoch fully manifest. It may be possible to exaggerate the importance of this awakening; yet how exaggerate the value to western Europe of Greek literature and the revival of classic learning, of the invention of printing, or the influence for good or evil on Spain of her New World discoveries?

Our history dates from Spain, at the time when Castile and Aragon were the dominant power of Europe. Before entering upon the doings, or passing judgment upon the character, of those whose fortunes it is the purpose of this work to follow into the forests of the New World, let us glance at the origin of the Spaniards, examine the cradle of their civilization, and see out of what conditions a people so unlike any on the globe to-day were evolved.

Far back as tradition and theory can reach, the Iberians, possibly of Turanian stock, followed their rude vocations, hunting, fishing, fighting; guarded on one side by the Pyrenees, and on the others by the sea. Next, in an epoch to whose date no approximation is now possible, the Celts came down on Spain, the first wave of that Aryan sea destined to submerge all Europe. Under the Celtiberians, the fierce and powerful compound race now formed by the union of Iberian and Celt, broken indeed into various tribes but with analogous customs and tongues, Spain first became known to the civilized world. Then came the commercial and colonizing Phœnician and planted a settlement at Cádiz. After them the Carthaginians landed on the eastern shore of the Peninsula and founded Carthago Nova, now Cartagena. The power

of the Carthaginians in Spain was broken by the Scipios, in the second Punic war, toward the close of the third century B. C.; and yet, says Ticknor, "they have left in the population and language of Spain, traces which have never been wholly obliterated."

The Romans, after driving out the Carthaginians, attacked the interior Celtiberians, who fought them hard and long; but the latter being finally subjugated, all Hispania, save perhaps the rugged north-west, was divided into Roman provinces, and in them the language and institutions of Rome were established. Forced from their hereditary feuds by the iron hand of their conquerors, the Celtiberians rapidly increased in wealth and numbers, and of their prosperity the Empire was not slow to make avail. From the fertile fields of Spain flowed vast quantities of *cerealia* into the granary of Rome. The gold and silver of their metal-veined sierras the enslaved Spaniards were forced to produce, as they in succeeding ages wrung from the natives of the New World the same unjust service. The introduction of Christianity, about the middle of the third century, brought upon the adherents of this religion the most cruel persecutions; even as the Christians in their turn persecuted others as soon as they possessed the power. Some say, indeed, that Saint Paul preached at Saragossa, and planted a church there; however this may be, it was not until the conversion of Constantine that Christianity became the dominant religion of the Peninsula.

The fifth century opens with the dissolution of the empire of the Romans, for the barbarians are upon them. Over the Pyrenees, in awful deluge, sweep Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Silingi. The Suevi, in A. D. 409, take possession of the north-west, now Galicia; the Alani seize Lusitania, to-day Portugal; and the Vandals and Silingi settle Vandalusia, or Andalusia, the latter tribe occupying Seville. Blighted by this barbaric whirlwind,

waste and building up, building up by laying waste, civilizing as well by war and avarice as by good-will and sweet charity, civilizing as surely, if not as rapidly, with the world of humanity struggling against it, as with the same human world laboring for it.

Slowly rattles along the dim present, well-nigh drowned in its own dust; it is only the past that is well-defined and clear to history.

Summary of Geographical Knowledge and Discovery from the Earliest Records to the Year 1540.

Before entering upon the narration of events composing this history, it seems to me important, in order as well properly to appreciate the foregoing Introduction as to gain from succeeding chapters something more than gratified curiosity, that an exposition of Early Voyages should be given,—acting powerfully as they did on evolving thought and material development, giving breadth and vigor to intellect, enthusiasm to enterprise, and in elevating and stimulating that commercial spirit which was eventually to depose kings, exalt the people, strip from science its superstitions, from religion its cabalistic forms, and by its associations, its negotiations, its adventurous daring, its wars, its alliances, and its humanizing polities, to break the barriers of ancient enmity and bring together in common brotherhood all the nations of the earth.

Therefore, I now propose to give a chronological statement of every authentic voyage of discovery made beyond the Mediterranean prior to 1540, while doubtful and disputed voyages will be discussed according to their relative importance. I shall notice, moreover, such books and charts relating to America as were produced during this period, with fac-similes of the more important maps, to illustrate, at different dates, the progress of discovery. It is my purpose, so far as possible, in the very limited space allowed, to state fairly the conclusions of the best writers on every important point.

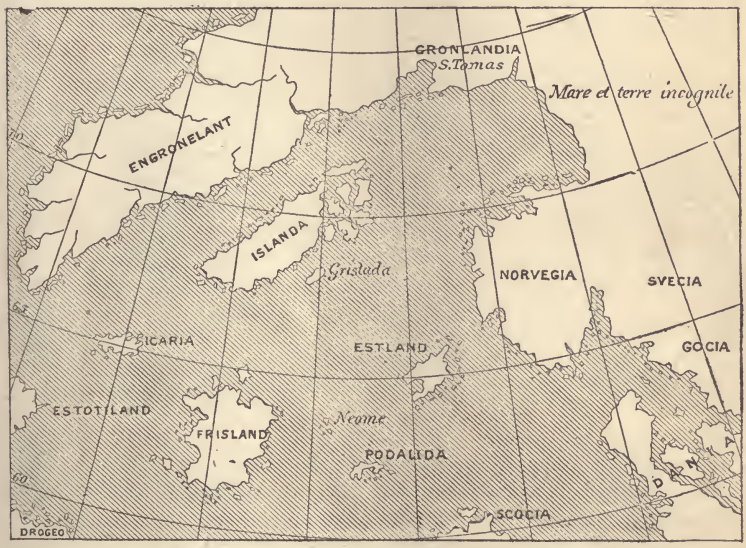
One word as to the authorities consulted in the preparation of this Summary. Of books relating to America, published prior to 1540, there are in all about sixty-five; only twenty-five, however, contain original information; twenty-three are general cosmographical works with brief sections on America compiled from the original twenty-five; while seventeen merely mention the New World or its discoveries, and are therefore of no value in this connection. Of the forty-eight containing matter more or less important, there are over two hundred editions, the earliest of which only, in most instances, will be mentioned, and that without extensive bibliographical notes. These books and charts I notice in chronological order under dates of their successive appearance.

The subject of Early Voyages has been so frequently and so thoroughly discussed by able modern writers that it is unnecessary, and indeed im-

THE WORLD; THE WHITE PART AS KNOWN AT THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, THE LIGHTLY SHADED PORTIONS AS KNOWN AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH.

all writings of the time, with fable. *Dello Scoprimento dell' Isola Frislanda Eslanda, en Grovelanda, et Icaria*, in *Ramusio*, tom. ii. fol. 230–4; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 121–8; *Bos, Leben der See-Helden*, pp. 523–7; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 48–9; *Lelewel, Géog. du moyen âge*, tom. iii. pp. 74 et seq. Irving, however, *Columbus*, vol. iii. pp. 435–40, sees in this voyage only another of "the fables circulated shortly after the discovery of Columbus, to arrogate to other nations and individuals the credit of the achievement," while Zahrtmann, *Remarks on the Voy. to the Northern Hemisphere, ascribed to the Zeni of Venice*, in *Journal of the Geog. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 102–28, London, 1835, claims that the whole account is a fable.

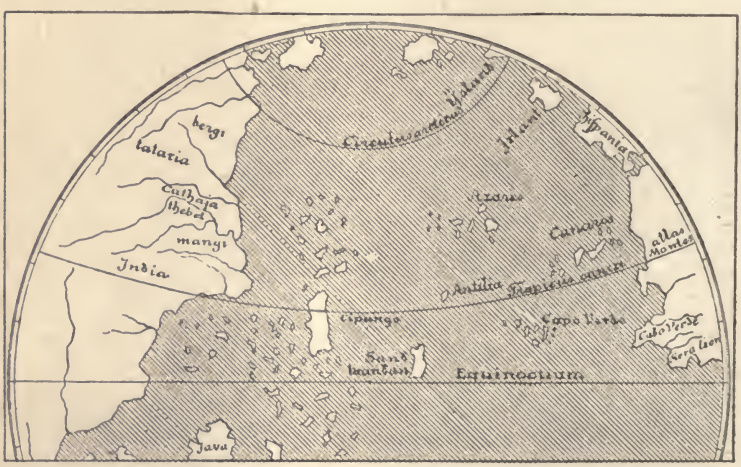
The chart by the brothers Zeni, published with the manuscript, is of great importance as the first known map which shows any part of America. It contains internal evidences of its own authenticity, one of which is that Greenland is much better drawn than could have been done from other or extraneous sources even in 1558. I give from Kohl's fac-simile a copy of the map, omitting a few of the names.



ZENO'S CHART, DRAWN ABOUT 1390.

There can be little doubt that the countries marked Estotiland, Drogeo, and Icaria—possibly Nova Scotia, New England, and Newfoundland—owe their position on this chart to the actual knowledge of America, obtained either by a fishing-vessel wrecked there, as stated by the Zeni, or from a tradition preserved since the time of the Northmen. The lines of latitude and longitude were not on the original manuscript chart, but were added by the editors in 1558. *Lelewel, Géog. du moyen âge*, tom. iii. pp. 79–101, Bruxelles, 1852; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 97–106.

What Columbus had to contend with at this juncture was not, as I have said, old doctrines oppugnant to any new conception, but the ignorance of the masses, who held no doctrine beyond that of proximate sense, which spread out the earth's surface, so far as their dull conceptions could reach, in one universal flatness; and the knowledge of courts, whence alone the great discoverer could hope for support, was but little in advance of that of the people. Then the Church, with its chronic opposition to all progress, was against him. The monks, who were then the guardians of learning, knew, or might have known, all that Prince Henry, Columbus, and other earnest searchers had ascertained regarding the geography of the earth; but what were science and facts to them if they in any wise conflicted with the preconceived notions of the Fathers, or with Church dogmas? "Il est vrai," says Humboldt, "que les scrupules théologiques de Lactance, de St. Chrysostôme et de quelques autres Pères de l'Église, contribuèrent à



MARTIN BEHAIM'S GLOBE, 1492.

pousser l'esprit humain dans un mouvement rétrograde." And again, the African expeditions of the Portuguese had not on the whole been profitable or encouraging to other similar undertakings, and the financial condition of most European courts was not such as to warrant new expenses. Portugal, more advanced and in better condition to embark in new enterprises than any other nation, now regarded the opening of her route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope an accomplished fact, and therefore looked coldly on any new venture. Nor were the extravagant demands of Columbus with respect to titles and authority over the new regions of Asia which he hoped to find, likely to inspire monarchs, jealous of their dignities, with favor toward a penniless, untitled adventurer. Passing as well the successive disappointments of Columbus in his weary efforts to obtain the assistance necessary to the accomplishment of his project, as his final success with Queen Isabella of Castile, let us resume our chronological summary.

DIEGO RIBERO'S MAP, 1529.

Mexico, the conquest of the region lying to the north-west of that city. The northern limit of his conquest in 1530–1 was Culiacan, between which and Mexico the whole country was brought under Spanish control by expeditions sent by Guzman in all directions under different leaders. *Relation di Nvnno di Gvsman*, in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 331, and abridged in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv. p. 1556; *Jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman á la Nueva Galicia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, tom. ii.; *Primera relacion*, p. 288; *Tercera relacion*, p. 439; *Cuarta relacion*, p. 461; *Doc. para Hist. de Mex.*, serie iii. p. 669; *Mota Padilla, Conquista de Nueva Galicia*, MS. of 1742; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii. pp. 559–77; *Gil, Memoria*, in *Boletin de la Soc. Mex. Geog.*, tom. viii. p. 424 et seq.

Hakluyt, in his *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 700, states that one William Hawkins, of Plymouth, made voyages, in a ship fitted out at his own expense, to the coast of Brazil in 1530 and 1532, bringing back an Indian king as a curiosity.

Peter Martyr, De Orbe novo, Cöpluti, 1530, is the first complete edition of eight decades; and *Opus Epistolarum*, of the same date and place, is a collection of over eight hundred letters written between 1488 and 1525, many of them relating more or less to American affairs.

In the *Ptolemy* of 1530, in several subsequent editions, and in *Munster's Cosmography* of 1572 et seq., is the map of which the following is a reduction.

THE NEW WORLD, FROM PTOLEMY, 1530.

I give this drawing, circulated for many years in standard works, to illustrate how extremely slow were cosmographers to form anything like a correct idea of American geography, and how little they availed themselves of the more correct knowledge shown on official charts. The following map, made in 1544, illustrates still further the absurdities circulated for many years

CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS AND HIS DISCOVERY.

1492–1500.

EARLY EXPERIENCES — THE COMPACT — EMBARKATION AT PALOS — THE VOYAGE—DISCOVERY OF LAND—UNFAVORABLE COMPARISON WITH THE PARADISE OF MARCO POLO—CRUISE AMONG THE ISLANDS—ONE NATURE EVERYWHERE—DESERTION OF PINZON—WRECK OF THE SANTA MARÍA —THE FORTRESS OF LA NAVIDAD ERECTED—RETURN TO SPAIN—RIGHTS OF CIVILIZATION—THE PAPAL BULL OF PARTITION—FONSECA APPOINTED SUPERINTENDENT OF THE INDIES—SECOND VOYAGE—NAVIDAD IN RUINS —ISABELA ESTABLISHED — DISCONTENT OF THE COLONISTS — EXPLORATIONS OF THE INTERIOR—COASTING CUBA, AND DISCOVERY OF JAMAICA —FAILURE OF COLUMBUS AS GOVERNOR—INTERCOURSE WITH SPAIN— DESTRUCTION OF THE INDIANS—GOVERNMENT OF THE INDIES—DIEGO AND BARTOLOMÉ COLON—CHARGES AGAINST THE ADMIRAL—COMMISSION OF INQUIRY APPOINTED—SECOND RETURN TO SPAIN—THIRD VOYAGE— TRINIDAD DISCOVERED — SANTO DOMINGO FOUNDED — THE ROLDAN REBELLION — FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA APPOINTED TO SUPERSEDE COLUMBUS — ARBITRARY AND INIQUITOUS CONDUCT OF BOBADILLA — COLUMBUS SENT IN CHAINS TO SPAIN.

IN the developments of progress the agent, however subordinate to the event, cannot fail to command our intelligent curiosity. The fact is less one with us than the factor. The instrument is nearer us in pulsating humanity than the event, which is the result of inexorable causations wholly beyond our knowledge. That America could not have remained much longer hidden from the civilized world does not lessen the vivid interest which attaches to the man Columbus, as he plods along the dusty highway toward Huelva, leading by the hand his boy, and bearing upon his shoulders the more immediate destinies of nations.

Nor are we indifferent to the agencies that evolved the agent. Every signal success springs from a fortuitous conjunction of talent and opportunity; from a coalition of taste or training with the approaching fancy or dominant idea of the times. While assisting his father wool-combing, the youthful Genoese was toughening his sinews and acquiring habits of industry; while studying geometry and Latin at Pavia, while serving as sailor in the Mediterranean, or cruising the high seas as corsair, he was knitting more firmly the tissues of his mind, and strengthening his courage for the life-conflict which was to follow. Without such discipline, in vain from the north and south and west might Progress come whispering him secrets; for inspiration without action is but impalpable breath, leaving no impression, and genius unseasoned by application decomposes to corruption all the more rank by reason of its richness.

His marriage with the daughter of Bartolommeo Perestrello, a distinguished navigator under Prince Henry; his map-making as means of support; his residence on the isle of Porto Santo, and his interest while there in maritime discovery; his conversations and correspondence with navigators and cosmographers in various quarters; his zealous study of the writings of Marco Polo, Benjamin of Tudela, and Carpini, and his eager absorption of the fantastic tale of Antonio Leone, of Madeira; his ponderings on ocean mysteries, and his struggles with poverty; his audience of John of Portugal, and the treachery of that monarch in attempting to anticipate his plans by secretly sending out a vessel, and the deserved defeat which followed; his sending his brother Bartolomé with proposals to England; his stealing from Lisbon with his son Diego, lest he should be arrested for debt; his supposed application to Genoa; his interviews with the dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, and the letter of the latter to Queen Isabella of Castile; his visit to the court at Córdova,

and the dark days attending it; the conference of learned men at Salamanca, and their unfavorable verdict; the weary waitings on the preoccupied sovereigns at Málaga and Seville; the succor given at La Rábida, and the worthy prior's intercession with the queen; the humble dignity of the mariner at Granada amidst scenes of oriental splendor and general rejoicings, which only intensified his discontent; the lofty constancy in his demands when once a royal hearing was obtained; the fresh disappointment after such long delay, and the proud bitterness of spirit with which he turned his back on Spain to seek in France a patron for his schemes; the final appeal of Santángel, who afterward assisted in obtaining the money, and the conversion of Isabella, who now offered, if necessary, to pledge her jewels to meet the charges of the voyage; the despatching of a royal courier after the determined fugitive, who returned in joy to receive the tardy aid—these incidents in the career of Columbus are a household story.

And therein, thus far, we see displayed great persistency of purpose by one possessed of a conception so stupendous as to overwhelm well-nigh the strongest; by one not over-scrupulous in money-matters, or morality; proud and sensitive whenever the pet project is touched, but affable enough otherwise, and not above begging upon necessity. It was a long time to wait, eighteen years, when every day was one of alternate hope and despair; and they were not altogether worthless, those noiseless voices from another world, which kept alive in him the inspiration that oft-times now appeared as the broken tracery of a half-remembered dream.

An agreement was made by the sovereigns and the mariner, that to Columbus, his heirs and successors forever, should be secured the office of admiral, and the titles of viceroy and governor-general of all the lands and seas he should discover, with power to nominate candidates from whom the sovereigns

CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERY OF DARIEN.

RODRIGO DE BASTIDAS — EXTENSION OF NEW WORLD PRIVILEGES — THE ROYAL SHARE — JUAN DE LA COSA — SHIPS OF THE EARLY DISCOVERERS — COASTING DARIEN — THE TERRIBLE TEREDO — WRECKED ON ESPAÑOLA — SPANISH MONEY — TREATMENT OF BASTIDAS BY OVANDO — ACCUSED, AND SENT TO SPAIN FOR TRIAL — HE IS IMMEDIATELY ACQUITTED — FUTURE CAREER AND CHARACTER OF BASTIDAS — THE ARCHIVES OF THE INDIES — THE SEVERAL COLLECTIONS OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS IN SPAIN — THE LABORS OF MUÑOZ AND NAVARRETE — BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE PRINTED COLLECTIONS OF NAVARRETE, TERNAUX-COMPANS, SALVÁ AND BARANDA, AND PACÍHECO AND CÁRDENAS.

THE first Spaniard to touch the territory which for the purposes of my work I have taken the liberty to denominate the Pacific States of North America was Rodrigo de Bastidas, a notary of Triana, the gypsy suburb of Seville.

Although the discoveries of Columbus had been made for Castile, and Castilians regarded their rights to the new lands superior to those of any others, even other inhabitants of Spain; and although at first none might visit the New World save those authorized by Columbus or Fonseca; yet, owing to inadequate returns from heavy expenditures, and the inability of the admiral properly to control colonization in the several parts of the ever-widening area, at the solicitation of several persons desirous of entering the new field of commerce and adventure at their own charge, on the 10th of April, 1495, the sovereigns issued a proclamation granting native-born subjects of Spain permission to settle in Hayti,

CHAPTER IV.

COLUMBUS ON THE COASTS OF HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, AND COSTA RICA.

1502–1506.

THE SOVEREIGNS DECLINE EITHER TO RESTORE TO THE ADMIRAL HIS GOVERNMENT, OR TO CAPTURE FOR HIM THE HOLY SEPULCHRE — SO HE SAILS ON A FOURTH VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY — FERNANDO COLON AND HIS HISTORY—OVANDO DENIES THE EXPEDITION ENTRANCE TO SANTO DOMINGO HARBOR—COLUMBUS SAILS WESTWARD—STRIKES THE SHORE OF HONDURAS NEAR GUANAJA ISLAND — EARLY AMERICAN CARTOGRAPHY — COLUMBUS COASTS SOUTHWARD TO THE DARIEN ISTHMUS—THEN RETURNS AND ATTEMPTS SETTLEMENT AT VERAGUA — DRIVEN THENCE, HIS VESSELS ARE WRECKED AT JAMAICA — THERE MIDST STARVATION AND MUTINY HE REMAINS A YEAR — THEN HE REACHES ESPAÑOLA AND FINALLY SPAIN, WHERE HE SHORTLY AFTERWARD DIES—CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS—HIS BIOGRAPHERS.

SINCE his last return to Spain, Columbus had rested at Granada under the smiles of the sovereigns, who readily promised him all that he should wish, while resolved to grant nothing which might interfere with their absolute domination of the new lands that he had found for them. When tired of begging the restoration of his rights he urged their Majesties' assistance in seizing the holy sepulchre, that his vow might be fulfilled, and his mind at rest. After profound study and elaborate preparation he presented the case to them in a manuscript volume of prophecies and portents interlarded with poetry. Failing in winning them to this scheme, he promised, if ships were provided him, to undertake new discoveries. Partly because they would know more of their New World possessions, and partly to rid themselves of

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INDIES.

1492–1526.

COLUMBUS THE RIGHTFUL RULER—JUAN AGUADO—FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA—NICOLÁS DE OVANDO—SANTO DOMINGO THE CAPITAL OF THE INDIES—EXTENSION OF ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT TO ADJACENT ISLANDS AND MAIN-LAND—RESIDENCIAS—GOLD MINING AT ESPAÑOLA—RACE AND CASTE IN GOVERNMENT—INDIAN AND NEGRO SLAVERY—CRUELTY TO THE NATIVES—SPANISH SENTIMENTALISM—PACIFICATION, NOT CONQUEST—THE SPANISH MONARCHS ALWAYS THE INDIAN'S FRIENDS—BAD TREATMENT DUE TO DISTANCE AND EVIL-MINDED AGENTS—INFAMOUS DOINGS OF OVANDO—REPARTIMIENTOS AND ENCOMIENDAS—THE SOVEREIGNS INTEND THEM AS PROTECTION TO THE NATIVES—SETTLERS MAKE THEM THE MEANS OF INDIAN ENSLAVEMENT—LAS CASAS APPEARS AND PROTESTS AGAINST INHUMANITIES—THE DEFAULTING TREASURER—DIEGO COLON SUPERSEDES OVANDO AS GOVERNOR—AND MAKES MATTERS WORSE—THE JERONIMITE FATHERS SENT OUT—AUDIENCIAS—A SOVEREIGN TRIBUNAL IS ESTABLISHED AT SANTO DOMINGO WHICH GRADUALLY ASSUMES ALL THE FUNCTIONS OF AN AUDIENCIA, AND AS SUCH FINALLY GOVERNS THE INDIES—LAS CASAS IN SPAIN—THE CONSEJO DE INDIAS, AND CASA DE CONTRATACION—LEGISLATION FOR THE INDIES.

WE have seen how it had been first of all agreed that Columbus should be sole ruler, under the crown, of such lands and seas as he might discover for Spain. We have seen how, under that rule, disruption and rebellion followed at the heels of mismanagement, until the restless colonists made Española an *angustiarum insula* to the worthy admiral, and until their majesties thought they saw in it decent excuse for taking the reins from the Genoese, and supplanting him by agents of their own choosing. The first of these agents was Juan Aguado, who was merely a

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF NUEVA ANDALUCÍA AND CASTILLA DEL ORO.

1506–1510.

TIERRA FIRME THROWN OPEN TO COLONIZATION — RIVAL APPLICATIONS — ALONSO DE OJEDA APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF NUEVA ANDALUCÍA, AND DIEGO DE NICUESA OF CASTILLA DEL ORO — HOSTILE ATTITUDES OF THE RIVALS AT SANTO DOMINGO — OJEDA EMBARKS FOR CARTAGENA — BUILDS THE FORTRESS OF SAN SEBASTIAN — FAILURE AND DEATH — NICUESA SAILS FOR VERAGUA — PARTS COMPANY WITH HIS FLEET — HIS VESSEL IS WRECKED — PASSES VERAGUA — CONFINED WITH HIS STARVING CREW ON AN ISLAND — SUCCOR — FAILURE AT VERAGUA — ATTEMPTS SETTLEMENT AT NOMBRE DE DIOS — LOSS OF SHIP SENT TO ESPAÑOLA FOR RELIEF — HORRIBLE SUFFERINGS — BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF LAS CASAS, OVIEDO, PETER MARTYR, GÓMARA, AND HERRERA — CHARACTER OF THE EARLY CHRONICLERS FOR VERACITY.

THE voyages of Bastidas and Columbus completed the discovery of a continuous coast line from the gulf of Paria to Cape Honduras. In 1506 Juan Diaz de Solis, a native of Lebrija, and Vicente Yañez Pinzon took up the line of discovery at the island of Guanaja, where the admiral had first touched, and proceeding in the opposite direction sailed along the coast of Honduras to the westward, surveyed the gulf of Honduras and discovered Amatique Bay, but passed by without perceiving the Golfo Dulce which lies hidden from the sea. The object still was to find the much-desired passage by water to the westward. Continuing northerly along Yucatan, and finding the coast trending east rather than west, they abandoned the undertaking and returned to Spain. Meanwhile Juan Ponce de Leon was enriching himself by the pacifi-

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF SANTA MARÍA DE LA ANTIGUA DEL DARIEN.

1510–1511.

FRANCISCO PIZARRO ABANDONS SAN SEBASTIAN—MEETS ENCISO AT CARTAGENA—HE AND HIS CREW LOOK LIKE PIRATES—THEY ARE TAKEN BACK TO SAN SEBASTIAN—VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA—BOARDS ENCISO'S SHIP IN A CASK—ARRIVES AT SAN SEBASTIAN—THE SPANIARDS CROSS TO DARIEN—THE RIVER AND THE NAME—CEMACO, CACIQUE OF DARIEN, DEFEATED—FOUNDING OF THE METROPOLITAN CITY—PRESTO, CHANGE! THE HOMBRE DEL CASCO UP, THE BACHILLER DOWN—VASCO NUÑEZ, ALCALDE—NATURE OF THE OFFICE—REGIDOR—COLMENARES, IN SEARCH OF NICUESA, ARRIVES AT ANTIGUA—HE FINDS HIM IN A PITIABLE PLIGHT—ANTIGUA MAKES OVERTURES TO NICUESA—THEN REJECTS HIM—AND FINALLY DRIVES HIM FORTH TO DIE—SAD END OF NICUESA.

WHEN Alonso de Ojeda left San Sebastian for Española, he stipulated with Francisco Pizarro, who for the time was commissioned governor, that should neither he himself return, nor the bachiller Enciso arrive within fifty days, the colonists might abandon the post and seek safety or adventure in other parts.

And now the fifty days had passed; wearily and hungrily they had come and gone, with misery an ever present guest; and no one having come, they dismantled the fortress, placed on board the two small brigantines left them the gold they had secured—trust Francisco Pizarro for scenting gold, and getting it—and made ready to embark for Santo Domingo. But though only seventy remained, the vessels could not carry them all; and it was agreed that they should wait awhile, until death reduced their number to the capacity of the boats.

senting a state of society not unlike that of European feudalism. From this point, every quality and grade of government presents itself until full-blown monarchy is attained, where a sole sovereign becomes an emperor of nations with a state and severity equal to that of the most enlightened. The government of the Nahua nations, which was monarchical and nearly absolute, denotes no small progress from primordial patriarchy.

Like their cousins of Spain and England, the sovereigns of Mexico had their elaborate palaces, with magnificent surroundings, their country residence and their hunting-grounds, their botanical and zoological gardens, and their harems filled with the daughters of nobles, who deemed it an honor to see them thus royally defiled. There were aristocratic and knightly orders; nobles, plebeians, and slaves; pontiffs and priesthoods; land tenures and taxation; seminaries of learning, and systems of education, in which virtue was extolled and vice denounced; laws and law courts of various grades, and councils and tribunals of various kinds; military orders with drill, engineer corps, arms, and fortifications; commerce, caravans, markets, merchants, pedlers, and commercial fairs, with a credit system, and express and postal facilities.

They were not lacking in pleasures and amusements similar to those of the Europeans, such as feasts with professional jester, music, dancing; and after dinner the drama, national games, gymnastics, and gladiatorial combats. They were not without their intoxicating drink, delighting in drunkenness while denouncing it. Their medical faculty and systems of surgery they had, and their burial-men; also their literati, scholars, orators, and poets, with an arithmetical system, a calendar, a knowledge of astronomy, hieroglyphic books, chronological records, public libraries, and national archives.

The horoscope of infants was cast; the cross was

lifted up; incense was burned; baptism and circumcision were practised. Whence arose these customs so like those of their fellow-men across the Atlantic, whom they had never seen or heard of?

The conquerors found all this when they entered the country. They examined with admiration the manufactures of gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead, wrought to exquisite patterns with surprising skill. They gazed with astonishment on huge architectural piles, on monumental remains speaking louder than words; on temples, causeways, fountains, aqueducts, and light-houses, surrounded as they were with statues and intricate and costly stone carvings. They found that the Americans made cloth, paper, pottery, and dyes, and were proficient in painting. Their mosaic feather-work was a marvel.

There are many points of interest, well worth examination, which I have not space here properly to mention. The interested reader, however, will find all material necessary to careful comparison in my *Native Races of the Pacific States*. He will there find described conditions of society analogous to feudalism and chivalry; he will find municipal governments, walled towns, and standing armies. There were legislative assemblies similar to that of the Cortes, and associations not unlike that of the Holy Brotherhood. To say that trial by combat sometimes occurred is affirming of them nothing complimentary; but upon the absence of the Inquisition they were to be congratulated.

Although living lives of easy poverty, the wild tribes of America everywhere possessed dormant wealth enough to tempt the cupidity alike of the fierce Spaniard, the blithe Frenchman, and the sombre Englishman. Under a burning tropical sun, where neither animal food nor clothing was essential to comfort, the land yielded gold, while in hyperborean forests where no precious metals were discovered, the richest peltries abounded; so that no savage in

mind; when we consider the progress of even the last half-century, and listen to the present din and clatter of improvement, do we raise our eyes to the future and ask, Whither tends all this? Whither tends with so rapidly accelerating swiftness this self-begetting of enlightenment, this massing of human acquirements; whither tends this perpetually increasing domination of the intellectual over the material? Within the past few thousand years, which are but as a breath in the whole life of man, we have seen our race emerge from the wilderness, separate from the companionship of wild beasts, and coalesce into societies. We have seen nations cease somewhat their hereditary growlings, and brutal blood-sheddings, and mingle as brethren; we have seen wavy grain supplant the tangled wildwood, gardens materialize from the mirage, and magnificent cities rise out of the rocky ground. Thus we have seen the whole earth placed under tribute, and this mysterious reasoning intelligence of ours elevating itself yet more and more above the instincts of the brute, and asserting its dominion over nature; belting the earth with an impatient energy, which now presses outward from every meridian, widening its domain as best it may toward the north and toward the south, building equatorial fires under polar icebergs. All this and more from the records of our race we have seen accomplished, and yet do see it; civilization working itself out in accordance with the eternal purposes of Omnipotence, unfolding under man's agency, yet independent of man's will; a subtile, extraneous, unifying energy, stimulated by agencies good not more than by agencies evil, yet always tending in its results to good rather than to evil; an influence beyond the reach or cognizance of man, working in and round persons and societies, turning and overturning, now clouding the sky with blackness and dropping disorder on floundering humanity, but only to be followed by a yet more fertilizing sunshine; laying

the latter was granted a family coat of arms. While Columbus was fêted by the nobles, and all the world resounded with his praises, Martin Alonso Pinzon lay a-dying; the reward for his invaluable services, exceeding a hundred-fold all that Isabella and Ferdinand together had done, being loss of property, loss of health, the insults of the admiral, the scorn of the queen, all now happily crowned by speedy death.

Never had nature made, within historic times, a paradise more perfect than this Cuba and this Hayti that the Genoese had found. Never was a sylvan race more gentle, more hospitable than that which peopled this primeval garden. Naked, because they needed not clothing; dwelling under palm-leaves, such being sufficient protection; their sustenance the spontaneous gifts of the ever generous land and sea; undisturbed by artificial curbings and corrections, and tormented by no ambitions, their life was a summer day, as blissful as mortals can know. It was as Eden; without work they might enjoy all that earth could give. Disease and pain they scarcely knew; only death was terrible. In their social intercourse they were sympathizing, loving, and decorous, practising the sublimest religious precepts without knowing it, and serving Christ far more perfectly than the Christians themselves. With strangers the men were frank, cordial, honest; the women artless and compliant. Knowing no guile, they suspected none. Possessing all things, they gave freely of that which cost them nothing. Having no laws, they broke none; circumscribed by no conventional moralities, they were not immoral. If charity be the highest virtue, and purity and peace the greatest good, then were these savages far better and happier beings than any civilization could boast. That they possessed any rights, any natural or inherent privileges in regard to their lands or their lives; that these innocent and inoffensive people were not fit subjects

to be sounded. The Veragua was found too shallow for the ships. At the mouth of the Belen was a bar, which however could be crossed at high water; above the bar the depth was four fathoms. On the bank of the Belen stood a village, whose inhabitants at first opposed the landing of the Spaniards; but being persuaded by the interpreter, they at length yielded. They were a well-developed, muscular people, rather above medium stature, intelligent, and exceptionally shrewd; in fact, in point of native ability they were in no wise inferior to the Spaniards. When questioned concerning their country, they answered guardedly; when asked about their gold mines, they replied evasively. First, it was from some far-off mysterious mountain the metal came; then the river Veragua was made to yield it all; there was none at all about Belen, nor within their territory, in fact. Finally they took a few trinkets, and gave the intruders twenty plates of gold, thinking to be rid of them. Within a day or two the vessels were taken over the bar, and on the 9th two of them ascended the river a short distance. The natives made the best of it, and brought fish and gold.

With an armed force the adelantado sets out in boats to explore the Veragua. He has not proceeded far when he is met by a fleet of canoes, in one of which sits the *quibian*,[20] the king of all that country, having under him many subordinate chiefs. He is tall, well-modelled, and compactly built, with restless, searching eyes, but otherwise expressionless features, taciturn and dignified, and, for a savage, of exceptionally bland demeanor. We shall find him as politic as

[20] Although used by most Spanish and English writers as a proper name, the word *quibian* is an appellative, and signifies the chief of a nation, or the ruler of a dynasty, as the *cacique* of the Cubans, the *inca* of the Peruvians, the *ahau* of the Quichés, etc. Columbus, writing from Jamaica, employs the term *el Quibian de Veragua;* and again, *Carta de Colon*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, i. 302, 'Asenté pueblo, y dí muchas dádivas al *Quibian*, que así llaman al Señor de la tierra.' Napione and De Conti write *il Quibio o cacico di Beragua*. See their *Biog. di Colombo*, 388:—'Il Prefetto andò colle barche al mare per entrare nel fiume e portarsi alla popolazione del Quibio, cosi chiamato da quei popoli il loro Re.'

the slave mart in Seville. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children she cruelly imprisoned, thousands she cast into the fiery furnace, tens of thousands she robbed and then drove into exile; but it was chastely done, and by a most sweet and beautiful lady. We can hardly believe it true, we do not like to believe it true, that when old Rabbi Abarbanel pleaded before the king for his people, "I will pay for their ransom six hundred thousand crowns of gold," Isabella's soft, musical voice was heard to say, "Do not take it," her confessor meanwhile exclaiming "What! Judas-like, sell Jesus!" Besides, thrice six hundred thousand crowns might be secured by not accepting the ransom. And yet this was the bright being, and such her acts by Prescott's own statements, cover them as he will never so artfully. whose practical wisdom, he assures us, was "founded on the purest and most exalted principle," and whose "honest soul abhorred anything like artifice." Isabella was unquestionably a woman of good intentions; but with such substance the soul-burner's pit is paved.

Prescott throws all the odium of the Inquisition on Torquemada, and I concur. The monk's mind was the ashy, unmelting mould in which the woman's more plastic affections were cast. But then he should be accredited with some portion of the virtues that adorned the character of Isabella, for he was the author of many of them. To be just, if Isabella is accredited with her virtues, she must be charged with her crimes. And if the queen may throw from her shoulders upon those of her advisers the responsibility of iniquity permitted under her rule, why not King Ferdinand, who likewise had men about him urging him to this policy and to that? True, we excuse much in woman as the weaker, and very justly so, which we condemn in the man of powerful cunning. But Isabella was not exactly clay in the hands of those about her; or if so, then praise her for her imbecility, and not for any virtue. But she could muster will and spirit enough of her own upon occasion—witness her threat to kill Pedro Giron with her own hand rather than marry him, and the policy which speaks plainly her sagacity and state-craft in the selection of Ferdinand, and in the strict terms of her marriage contract which excluded her husband from any sovereign rights in Castile or Leon. Most inconsistently, indeed, in reviewing the administration of Isabella, at the end of three volumes of unadulterated adulation Prescott gives his heroine firmness enough in all her ways; independence of thought and action sufficient to circumscribe the pretensions of her nobles; and she "was equally vigilant in resisting ecclesiastical encroachment;" "she enforced the execution of her own plans, oftentimes even at great personal hazard, with a resolution surpassing that of her husband." When, however, she signed the edict for the expulsion of the Jews, the excuse was that "she had been early schooled to distrust her own reason." But why multiply quotations? The *Ferdinand and Isabella* of Prescott is full of these flat contradictions.

We all know that when carried away by feeling women are more cruel than men; so Isabella under the frenzy of her fanaticism was, if possible, more cruel than Ferdinand, whose passions were ballasted by his ambitions. Her feelings were with her faith; and her faith was with such foul iniquity, such inhuman wrong as should cause her euphemistic apologists to blush for resorting to the same species of subterfuge that makes heroes of Jack Sheppard and Dick Turpin.

on the mysterious southern sea. At an early hour Vasco Nuñez was astir, to prepare with thrilling anticipations for the ascent. But sixty-seven, out of the one hundred and ninety Spaniards who within the month had embarked upon this enterprise at Antigua, possessed sufficient strength for the present effort. Departing from the town, their way at first lay through a tangled forest, which fringed the mountain base, and whose dense foliage hid from view the more distant objects. As they mounted upward into a cooler, drier atmosphere, the vegetation became more stunted, yet the undergrowth was still so thick that the soldiers had to cut a passage with their sabres. Emerging at length into an open space near

año de 1513;' and Herrera, i. x. i.: 'A veynte y cinco de Setiembre, deste año, de donde la mar se parecia.' Careful writers following these first authorities also name the day correctly, as Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, i. 319, who says: 'Vasco Nuñez de Balboa vit la Mer du Sud, le 25 septembre 1513, du haut de la Sierra de Quarequa;' and Acosta, *Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 50: 'Esto pasó el dia 25 de setiembre del año de 1513 poco antes de medio dia y forma una de las épocas notables en el descubrimiento de la América;' and Quintana, *Vidas de Españoles Célebres*, 'Balboa,' 20: '25 de setiembre;' and Chevalier, *L'Isthme de Panama*, 15: 'Le vingt-cinquième jour, le 25 septembre;' and Campbell, *Hist. Span. Am.*, 23: 'the 25th of *Septembre;*' and Helps, *Span. Conq.*, i. 361: '25th of September;' etc. In the face of which, Irving, *Columbus*, iii. 198, shows gross carelessness when he writes 'the 26th of September.' To support him he has Ramusio, who, *Viaggi*, iii. 20, falls into a mistake of Peter Martyr's, 'alli ventisei adunque di Settembre,' and Du Perier, *Gen. Hist. Voy.*, 139, and, to copy his error, Dalton, *Conq. Mex. and Peru*, 43, and a host of others. Not quite so often mentioned as Columbus' voyages is this discovery of Vasco Nuñez, though nearly so. After Oviedo and Las Casas probably Peter Martyr gives the best original account. Herrera copied from all before him. The following popular accounts are most of them meagre and unreliable:—*Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, cxlviii. 11–12; *Goodrich's Manupon the Sea*, 201–8; *Voyages, New Col.*, i. 180–6; *World Displayed*, i. 153–9; *Monson's Tracts*, in *Churchill's Voy.*, iii. 372; *Marchy Labores, Marina Española*, i. 413–59; *Dufey, Résumé Hist. Am.*, i. 75–86; *Gottfriedt, Newe Welt*, 239–41; *Juarros, Guat.*, 122; *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 66–72; *Ogilby's Am.*, 69–72; *Norman's Hist. Cal.*, 10–11; *Patton's Hist. U. S.*, 11; *Pim's Gate of Pacific*, 99; *Hazlitt's Gold Fields*, 3; *Roberts' Nar. Voy.*, xx.; *Isth. Panama*, 5; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 17; *Lallement, Geschichte*, i. 25; *Bidwell's Panamá*, 23–7; *Andagoya's Nar.*, 19; *Galvano's Discov.*, 123–4; *Cavanilles, Hist. España*, v. 230–1; *Greenhow's Mem.*, 22; *Farnham's Adv.*, 119; *Fédix, L'Orégon*, 67–8; *Span. Emp. in Am.*, 23; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, i. 8–9; *Niles' S. Am. and Mex.*, 14–15; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, ii. 67–8; *Colton's Jour. Geog.*, no. 6, 84; *Douglas' Hist. and Pol.*, 44; *Holmes' Annals Am.*, i. 32–3; *Inter-Oceanic Canal and Monroe Doct.*, 11; *Hesperian*, ii. 27–33; *Lardner's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 40–1; *Harper's Mag.*, xviii. 469–84; *Macgregor's Prog. Am.*, i. 10–11; *Mofras, L'Orégon*, i. 88–9; *Ovalle, Hist. Rel. Chile*, in *Pinkerton's Col.*, xiv. 142–4; *Mesa y Leompart, Hist. Am.*, i. 88–94; *Mavor's Am. Hist.*, xxiv. 52–5; *Holinski, Cal.*, 62–4; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 47–8; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 15; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 20.

the summit, a bare eminence was pointed out by the guides, whence the view was said to be unobstructed, and the sea distinctly visible.

Viewed prosaically, there was nothing astounding in ascending a hill and taking a look at the ocean. It had been often done elsewhere; it had been often done here. Nor was there any peculiar difference between sea and land here and sea and land elsewhere. But there was that to the minds of the impetuous and impressible Spaniards, there is that to our own minds, in first things and first views of things, our first view, our country's first awakening, that stirs the soul and sets faster beating the heart. Reduced to words, the sentiment is the pleasure the mind derives from improving surprises; it is the joy of development, the ecstasy of evolution.

If such be commonly the case, how much more reason had Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to be impassioned on this occasion. Behind him was ignominy, perhaps chains and death; before him was glory, immortal fame. And it was meet in him that this ordinarily trivial act should be consummated with a ceremony becoming to one of civilization's great achievements.

Ordering a halt, Vasco Nuñez advanced alone. His should be the first European eye to behold what there was to behold, and that without peradventure. With throbbing heart he mounted the topmost eminence which crowned these sea-dividing hills. Then, as in the lifting of a veil, a scene of primeval splendor burst on his enraptured gaze, such as might fill with joy an archangel sent to explore a new creation. There it lay, that boundless unknown sea, spread out before him, far as the eye could reach, in calm, majestic beauty, glittering like liquid crystal in the morning sun. Beneath his feet, in furrowed prospect, were terraces of living green, sportive with iridescent light and shade; waving plains and feathered steeps white-lined with flowing waters, here dashing boisterously down the hill-side, yonder winding silent through the

sighing foliage to the all-receiving sea. In that first illimitable glance time stood back, the mists lifted, and eternity was there. What wonder if to this Spanish cavalier, in that moment of triumphant joy, visions of the mighty future appeared pictured on the cerulean heights, visions of populous cities, of fleets and armies, of lands teeming with wealth and industry. And to Spain should all these blessings and advantages accrue; to Spain through him.

Dropping on his knees, he poured forth praise and thanksgiving to the author of that glorious creation for the honor of its discovery. The soldiers then pressed forward, gazed enchanted likewise, and likewise assumed the attitude of prayer; for however devotedly these cavaliers served their devil, they never ceased praying to their god.

"There, my friends," exclaimed Balboa, rising and pointing to the prospect before him, "there is the realization of your hopes, the reward of your labors. You are the first Christians to look upon that sea, or to tread its luxuriant shores. The words of the chivalrous Panciaco concerning the Southern Sea are more than verified; please God so may we find them regarding the riches of its shore. All are yours, I say, yours the glory of laying this celestial realm at your sovereign's feet; yours the privilege of bringing to the only vile thing in it the cleansing properties of our holy faith. Continue, then, true to me, and I promise you honor and wealth to your fullest desire." A shout of approbation, such as the rabble are ever ready with before success, was followed by pledges of fidelity and fair service, to be broken upon the first occasion. And if we may believe old Peter Martyr, who enjoyed this triumph of progress almost as much as the discoverers themselves, Hannibal from the summit of the Alps, pointing to his soldiers the delicious fields of Italy, displayed no grander conception of his high achievements, past and future, than did Balboa at this moment. A cross was erected, round

The inhabitants melted before the invaders, and it was with difficulty that men could be captured for guides. The Spaniards had not advanced far before they learned that a council had been held by the chiefs confederated for self-protection, to determine whether the gold taken from Badajoz should be returned. Some were in favor of restoring it; but others objected that, this being given up, as much more would be demanded, and since fight they must in either case, it was agreed to do so before surrendering the treasure. It so happened that Diego Albites with eighty men was marching in advance, and coming to a rivulet he espied some Indians hidden under the bank and undertook to capture them. Instantly the country was alive with savages; Albites found himself surrounded by four thousand of the enemy, wholly cut off from the main body. The Spaniards fought desperately for six hours, and would have been destroyed had not Espinosa appeared and let loose upon the assailants the bloodhounds and the horsemen. Twenty caciques and a host of warriors were slain, and many of the Spaniards were badly wounded. "That night we slept upon the battle-field," says Espinosa, "and next day I threw up a protection of palisades and sent out in search of the cacique Paris." The cunning chief had burned his village and fled, thus leaving the invaders neither gold nor provisions. Albites went out to forage, with instructions to fire a cannon in case of danger. Nine times that night the licentiate heard the report of a gun, and was not a little alarmed for the safety of the captain. Great was his joy, therefore, when early in the morning Valenzuela appeared with reinforcement of one hundred men from Antigua and informed the licentiate that it was he who had fired the guns while in search of the commander's camp.

Espinosa having now three hundred men felt himself strong enough to prosecute discovery according

CHAPTER XVII.

COLONIZATION IN HONDURAS.

1524–1525.

CORTÉS IN MEXICO—EXTENSION OF HIS CONQUESTS—FEARS OF ENCROACHMENTS ON THE PART OF SPANIARDS IN CENTRAL AMERICA—CRISTÓBAL DE OLID SENT TO HONDURAS—TOUCHING AT HABANA, HE IS WON FROM ALLEGIANCE TO CORTÉS—TRIUNFO DE LA CRUZ FOUNDED—OLID AS TRAITOR—MEETING WITH GIL GONZALEZ—THE WRATH OF CORTÉS—CASAS SENT AFTER OLID—NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN TRIUNFO HARBOR—CASAS FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF OLID, WHO IS SOON CAPTURED BY THE CAPTIVE—DEATH OF OLID—RETURN OF CASAS TO MEXICO—TRUJILLO FOUNDED—INTERFERENCE OF THE AUDIENCIA OF SANTO DOMINGO.

WHILE certain of the Spaniards were settling themselves in possession of the Isthmus and parts of Central America, others were engaged in like manner elsewhere. Among the latter was Hernan Cortés, who sailed from Cuba, in 1519, for the conquest of Mexico, which was accomplished in 1521. So great was the glory of this achievement, complete details of which will be given in a later volume of this work, that fresh hordes flocked to the banner of its hero, whose further efforts toward conquest in different directions were little more than triumphal marches. On nearly every side his captains found rich provinces and populous settlements which promised flattering rewards in tributes, plantations, and submissive slaves; or their ears were filled with reports of still greater cities, still richer territories, further on. From such substance rumor blew its gaudy bubbles, which danced in iridescent hues and ever increasing size before the eyes of the conquerors,

luring them on into the depths of mysterious regions beyond. Insatiate, a world apiece would scarcely satisfy them now.

Of the several points toward which expeditions were sent out from the Mexican capital by its conqueror, the southern regions seemed in some respects the most alluring. Information came to Cortés of the high culture of the inhabitants in that quarter, of their manifold wealth, their palaces and great cities, all magnified by mystery and distance. Further than this, the possibility, nay, the certainty that Spaniards moving northward from the Panamá region would soon be in possession there if not forestalled, made delay seem dangerous. Hence it was that Oajaca and Chiapas were quickly made to open their portals; and now the redoubtable Pedro de Alvarado, second only to Cortés himself, was entering Tehuantepec to rend the veil which enfolded the Quiché kingdom, and to disclose the splendor of Utatlan.

Likewise the northern seaboard to the south of Yucatan claimed attention. This could scarcely now be called an undiscovered country, for Spaniards as well as natives poured into the conqueror's ears the sure truth of what might be expected. There were pilots whose course had led them along the coast of Hibueras, or Honduras,[1] and who charmed their hearers with tales of gold so abundant that fishermen used nuggets for sinkers. In this there was nothing startling to Cortés, however, for since his first entry into Mexico he had received such information touching this Honduras country, particularly two provinces, that were but one third true, "they would far exceed Mexico in wealth, and equal her in the size of towns, in the number of inhabitants, and in culture."[2]

These reports could not be disregarded. An expe-

[1] See chapter iv., note 6, this volume.

[2] 'Una que llaman Hueitapalan y en otra lengua Xucutaco.... ocho ó diez jornadas de aquella villa de Trujillo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 469. 'Higueras y Hŏduras, que tenian fama de mucho oro y buena tierra.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 233.

And thus are opened the portals of Guatemala,[4] a region within whose parallels centuries rocked the cradle of American civilization, now disclosed by monuments the most imposing of any on the continent. The history of their origin is hidden in the remote past, of which only an occasional glimpse is permitted the investigator. A mighty Maya empire looms forth under the name of Xibalba, founded perhaps by Votan, the culture-hero, and centring round the famous Palenque. A golden age was followed by long struggles with a growing power, which brought about its downfall toward the beginning of our era. The Nahuas now rise into prominence, but some five centuries later disaster falls also on them, and a general breaking-up ensues, leading to mighty migrations and the formation of smaller independent nations, such as the Toltecs, Chichimecs, and Quichés. After this even tradition ceases to speak, save in alluding vaguely to a later foreign immigration. With this come also certain Toltecs, who, after the downfall of their empire in the more northerly Anáhuac, seek here an asylum where once again may bloom the culture that, cradled in this very region, now returns with invigorating elements. Mingling with the natives, they stir anew the progress paralyzed by civil wars, infuse fresh spirit into tottering institutions, and, combining with the aboriginal culture, develop the new era apparent in the art relics of this western plateau.

A series of struggles soon ensues, out of which rises in the twelfth or thirteenth century the Quiché empire. Subordinate tribes gradually acquire sufficient strength, however, to cast off a yoke which has

[4] According to Fuentes y Guzman, derived from *Coctecmalan*—that is to say, *Palo de leche*, milk-tree, commonly called *Yerba mala*, found in the neighborhood of Antigua Guatemala. See also *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 257–8. In the Mexican tongue, if we may believe Vazquez, it was called *Quauhtimali*, 'rotten tree.' *Chronica de Guat.*, 68. Others derive it from *Uhatezmalha*, signifying 'the hill which discharges water;' and Juarros suggests that it may be from *Juitemul*, the first king of Guatemala, by a corruption, as *Almolonga* from *Atmulunga*, and *Zonzonate* from *Zezontlatl*. The meaning of the word would then be 'the kingdom of Guatemala.' *Guat.*, i. 4; ii. 259–60.

springs, but the period of refreshment was short. At hand was a yet more formidable native force, led by Prince Ahzumanche, one of the highest among the relatives and officers of the king.

The engagement which followed was exceptionably bloody. The Quichés approached over the extensive plains, and when they had arrived at a position favorable for the Spaniards to make the attack the horsemen charged upon them. But the Quichés were better on their guard than before. Recovered from their panic, and animated by the example of their leader, they displayed greater bravery this time, standing the shock unflinchingly,[8] fighting foot to foot, or banded two and three together, endeavoring by their own strength to overthrow the horses, seizing them by mane and tail, and trying to pull them down, and laying hold of the riders to unhorse them. The Spaniards were indeed closely beset, and for a time it seemed by no means certain that victory would finally declare for them. But what naked power could long withstand the steady fire of arquebuse and cross-bow, the steady fall of sword-blow and lance-thrust!

Relaxing their efforts for a moment, the natives were charged by the cavalry with deadly result, and were trampled under foot by hundreds, and speedily routed. For a league they were followed with great havoc, till they took refuge in a stronghold of the sierra. By pretending flight, however, Alvarado drew them from their position to the open plain, and then wheeled and fell upon them. The carnage for a time was dreadful; the ground was covered with the mangled bodies of the dead and dying, and the waters of the Olintepec ran crimson with blood. And henceforth the stream was called Xequiqel, that is to say, River of Blood.[9]

[8] 'I aqui hicimos otro alcance mui grande, donde hallamos Gente, que esperaba vno de ellos à dos de Caballo.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, i. 158. See also for a description of this engagement, *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. ix.

[9] 'La mucha sangre de Indios que avia corrido en Rios en *Xequikel* (que por esso se llamó assi).' *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 524. '*Xequiqel*, que quiere

Among the fallen was Prince Ahzumanche, and a number of the nobility and chiefs. The contest being over, the army encamped for the night at the springs before mentioned. The loss to the Spaniards, as usual, was insignificant.[10]

Let us pause for a moment to review the position of the invaders. They had surmounted with irresistible progress the coast range, had crossed the summit, fought their way down the corresponding slopes, and were within a league of Xelahuh, the great stronghold of the Quichés, on their western confines. All the defences to it had been won, the Zacaha fortifications had been carried, passive nature's majestic guardianship had been overcome, and human opposition had proved futile. Far behind them stood the deadly forest through which they had struggled; over the golden-edged hills, the rugged steep by which they had made their way hither. Around them now were open pine woods,[11] and at their feet the wide cultivated plains of the table-lands on which the sun shed its uninterrupted rays. Dotted with towns and parti-colored with maize-fields and orchards, silver-threaded by streams, the landscape displayed before the Spaniards the picture of a paradise. And this beautiful realm now lay helpless in the conqueror's grasp, its very air[12] becoming traitorous by refreshing and in-

decir rio de sangre.' *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 250. This last author states that from the river Zamalá to the Olintepec six battles were fought, but that this was the most strongly contested and the most bloody. Compare *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, 158; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 174; *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 3–4; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229.

[10] 'Murió vn señor de quatro que son en Vtatlan.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229. Besides Prince Ahzumanche, two principal lords of Utatlan were slain in the battles of the pass—the one Ahzol, a great captain, and a relative of the king, and the other Ahpocoh, his shield-bearer, whose office in the army was of the highest. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 250; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 174. The words Ahzol and Ahpocoh are not, however, patronymics, but titles.

[11] The district is called El Pinar by Juarros, *Guat.*, ii. 248; and El Pinal by Vazquez, *Chronica de Gvat.*, 524.

[12] 'Corriendo la Tierra, que es tan gran Poblacion como Tascalteque, i en las Labranças, ni mas, ni menos, i friisima en demasia.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, i. 158.

vigorating the invaders, bracing their nerves and inspiring their hearts to new enterprise.

At dawn the Spanish camp was astir; and while the voices of Christian priests chanting praises to God for past victories floated over the hideous battle-field, Christian soldiers were buckling on their armor for the further butchering of helpless human beings who had done them no harm. A hermitage and a town were established at Zacaha, the former under the charge of Friar Francisco Martinez de Pontaza,[13] whose memory was ever after fragrant in those parts, the latter under the direction of Juan de Leon Cardona.[14] The natives of the subjugated neighborhood finally came in and helped to swell the numbers of the town, which was called Quezaltenango.[15]

These measures taken,[16] the army advanced on Xelahuh,[17] only to find it abandoned. The inhabitants, terror-stricken at the success of the invaders, had fled to the mountains. Alvarado took up his quarters in the deserted city, where for six days he remained, resting and reconnoitring.[18]

[13] Vazquez visited this hermitage at Zacaha in 1690, and there saw a picture of the virgin, which had been brought by the conquerors, and was known as La Conquistadora, for a description of which the reader can consult *Chronica de Gvat.*, 9. In his time the shrine was a place greatly revered. It was a current belief that some member of the priestly order, the object of devotion, was interred there, a strong supposition prevailing that the remains were those of the first bishop of Guatemala; but this is wrong, for Bishop Marroquin died in the Episcopal palace at Guatemala. The remains were probably those of the priest Pontaza. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 8–10, 526.

[14] The descendants of this conquistador were still living in the same locality in the time of Vazquez, who describes them as raisers of small stock, as poverty-stricken as the descendants of the conquered natives. *Id.*, 8–9.

[15] Four years later the town was removed to the present site. *Id.*, 7–8; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 241. The meaning of the term Quezaltenango is the 'place of the quetzal,' the American bird of paradise, called 'trogon' by the naturalists. The name was of Mexican origin, and was probably applied not only to the district but to the city of Xelahuh.

[16] During a stay of two to three days. *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS.

[17] Four years later the inhabitants were removed to the new town of Quezaltenango, which the Indian population still call Xelahuh.

[18] On the authority of a manuscript of sixteen leaves found at San Andrés Xecul, a town not far from Quezaltenango, Juarros states that on the second day four caciques humbly surrendered themselves, and owing to their influence the inhabitants peaceably returned and tendered allegiance. *Guat.*, ii. 240–1. No mention of such an event is made by Alvarado, Bernal Diaz, or

Tecum Umam was an ambitious prince and a brave commander. With no small concern he had seen defeated one after another the forces sent against the foe, and he now resolved to take the field in person. About noon on the seventh day of their sojourn at Xelahuh the Spaniards saw converging to that point from every quarter dense masses of warriors.[19] Well aware that his great strength lay in the cavalry, Alvarado with a large part of his force[20] hastened to occupy an open plain, three leagues in length, at no great distance from the city. Tecum Umam was shrewd enough to comprehend the manœuvre, and before the last Spaniard was a bow-shot from camp the Quiché army in two principal divisions was upon them. Alvarado had divided his cavalry into two bodies, commanded respectively by Pedro Puertocarrero and Hernando de Chaves, who were directed to assail at different points one of the opposing bodies when well in position, while the infantry, commanded by himself, were to engage with the other. The onset was terrible. Through and through the dense columns rush the horsemen, heedless alike of the flint-tipped arrow, the javelin with fire-hardened point, and the slung pebble. Resistance was not possible. Plunged through and hurled to earth, crushed beneath the horses' hoofs, the broken ranks of this division sought the protection of the other. Thus half of Tecum's last hope was lost, while the other half was fast dwindling. Early in the combat the Quiché king had recognized

Herrera; and Vazquez distinctly states that these four chiefs were won over, with some difficulty, after the final battle and the death of Tecum. Though Brasseur de Bourbourg follows Juarros, I incline to the opinion that the pacification of Xelahuh was subsequent to the battle which is yet to follow.

[19] Twelve thousand of whom were from the city of Utatlan. *Relacion*, i. 158. Juarros says the first contingent contained 16,000 men. *Guat.*, ii. 251. Bernal Diaz gives the whole number as more than 16,000. *Hist. Verdad.*, 174. Herrera uses the indefinite but safe expression 'vn gran exercito de Quazaltenalco.' dec. iii. lib. v. cap. ix.

[20] The numbers are differently given. Alvarado says there were 90 horsemen; Juarros, 135 horse; Herrera, that the whole force consisted of 80 horse, 200 infantry, and a strong body of Mexicans. Bernal Diaz uses the general expression, 'with his army.'

the conspicuous figure of the mounted Spanish commander, and as Tecum now saw his forces broken by the cavalry, he determined upon one last desperate effort. Gathering around him a few chosen warriors, he threw himself in person upon Alvarado, and with his own hand so wounded his horse that the Spaniard was obliged to fall back and mount another. A second and a third time the undaunted warrior assailed his superior foe, till pierced by Alvarado's lance he fell, staining with his life-blood the ground he had fought so bravely to defend.

It was not often that the heavenly powers deigned to help the poor natives in their dire struggle with the steel-clad Europeans, as was so frequently the case with the Spaniards. The gods usually prefer fighting on the strongest side; but here we find an exception. It is my duty to relate, as a truthful historian, that during the mortal combat between these two leaders an eagle with great pinions was observed by the Quiché army circling round and round the Spanish commander, ever and anon swooping down upon him, and with beak and claw attacking him about the head. It was the *nagual*, the guardian spirit of Tecum Umam. But less strong than Santiago or the virgin, it was discomfited at the moment of the monarch's death, and disappeared from the sight of the vanquished Quichés.[21]

Contrary to the usual course pursued by natives in warfare, the fall of their commander did not immediately disperse the Quiché warriors, but seemed rather to enrage them; for the moment after there fell upon the Spaniards such a blinding tempest of javelins as would have delighted the Spartan Dieneces. It was but for a moment, however; it was their last expiring effort, for soon the cavalry came thundering on their flanks, dispersing and slaying after the usual fashion. For two leagues along the plain they were pursued by

[21] Such is the legend long retained among the Quichés. *Guatemala, Chronica de la Prov.*, i. 13; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 641.

the horsemen, who then turned and rode back, repeating the carnage over the same field. The slaughter was particularly bloody at a stream on one side of the plain, and the commander proudly refers to it in his despatch.[22] The infantry captured a vast multitude which had taken refuge from the insatiate horsemen on a hill near by.

Thus ended another day in the annals of the grand extermination, a day dark indeed for the noble Quiché nation, but of which European progress and propagandizing might well be proud.[23]

The religion of Christ being thus revealed to these heathen, opportunity was now offered them to come forward and join the fold. Indeed, four captive chieftains[24] of Xelahuh received the intimation that it would be as well for them to cast their lots with the saintly crusaders. Being promised their liberty they submitted to baptism at the hands of the priests Torres and Pontaza. Christian raiment with swords were then given them and they were entertained at the table of Alvarado.[25] After this they were sent out as missionaries to their affrighted brethren, bringing quite a number to a knowledge of the Savior. They also aided in erecting a more suitable hermitage at Zacaha, and in building houses for the Donatís.[26] Nay

[22] 'I nuestros Amigos, i los Peones hacian vna destruicion, la maior del Mundo, en vn Arroio.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 158.

[23] Vazquez asserts that this engagement took place on the 14th of May, 1524, while the despatch by Alvarado reporting the event to Cortés is dated more than a month earlier, April 11th.

[24] It is difficult to arrive at any approximation to the number of slain during the series of engagements on the Pinar. Vazquez is the only authority who ventures to put down figures. 'Viniendo sobre el Exercito Christiano... de trece mil, en trece mil, cada dia, aquellos...Barbaros tan imperterritos â la muerte, y al estrago que las Catholicas armas hacian en su numeroso Exercito, quedando muertos mas de diez, y doze mil infieles, encendiendo en los que quedauan viuos...que açoradas con la vertida sangre de sus compañeros avivaban mas su rabia, para embestir con irracional despecho â las Españoles.' *Chronica de Gvat.*, 5. See also *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 159.

[25] The names of these caciques, given by Juarros, were Calel Ralak, Ahpopqueham, Calelahau, and Calelaboy, as supplied by the manuscript previously mentioned in note 17, this chapter.

[26] So they called the Spaniards, as the soldiers of Alvarado, generally known by the name of Tonatiuh, the initial 'T' being changed by the Quichés into 'D.' *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 524.

he maintains for some time a desperate struggle, striking with deadly effect upon the enemy. Then he loses his sword, and nothing remains to him but a dagger. It is not in this instance the bravery of the man that astonishes so much as his extraordinary muscular power. The horse, by kicking and plunging, prevents capture, while Aguilar, circumscribed by threatening death, exhibits almost superhuman strength. No blow dealt to kill or stun, no attempt to seize him, can stop the quick stroke of that strong right arm as it drives the keen steel straight into the assailants' vitals. With wounds and ever increasing exertion, however, he grows weaker; but capture signifies immolation. To be gazed at, helpless on a heathen altar, an offering to odious gods—the thought is horrible—and the fatal dagger is still, by swift movements, driven to the hilt. And now the battle cry of Santiago to the rescue! rings in his ears and tells of succor; he hears a leaden sound, as of crushed bone and flesh, and the whistle of descending blades, and knows that help is at hand. Six horsemen have plunged into the unequal contest, and they scatter the swarthy foe like sheep. They gather round their countryman, support his exhausted frame, and carry him wounded and faint to a place of safety. The courage, strength, and skill of this single man, and the valor displayed in his rescue, so impressed the Chignautecs that they retired disheartened, regarding their efforts of no avail against such beings,[22] and they returned to their homes.

The siege had now lasted a month. On the third day after the retrograde movement, which resulted in

[22] In this engagement, for the Indians were pursued after Aguilar's rescue, more than 200 Chignautecs fell, says Juarros. On the side of the Spaniards many Tlascaltecs were slain, among whom were two illustrious chiefs, Juan Xuchiatl and Gerónimo Carrillo—the Spanish name of this Indian chief—while of the Spaniards themselves a considerable proportion received severe wounds. *Guat.*, ii. 285. Besides Aguilar and the three captains, whose names are given in the text, Fuentes mentions also Gutierre de Robles and Pedro de Olmos as having greatly signalized themselves in this action. *Recordacion Florida*, MS., 16.

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VOLUME IX.

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HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE OF HERNANDEZ DE CÓRDOBA TO YUCATAN.

1516–1517.

A Glance at the State of European Discovery and Government in America at the Opening of this Volume—Diego Velazquez in Cuba—Character of the Man—A Band of Adventurers Arrives from Darien—The Governor Counsels them to Embark in Slave-Catching—Under Hernandez de Córdoba they Sail Westward and Discover Yucatan—And are Filled with Astonishment at the Large Towns and Stone Towers they See there—They Fight the Natives at Cape Catoche—Skirt the Peninsula to Champoton—Sanguinary Battle—Return to Cuba—Death of Córdoba.

During the first quarter of a century after the landing of Columbus on San Salvador, three thousand leagues of mainland coast were examined, chiefly in the hope of finding a passage through to the India of Marco Polo. The Cabots from England and the Cortereals from Portugal made voyages to Newfoundland and down the east coast of North America; Amerigo Vespucci sailed hither and thither in the service of Spain, and wrote letters confounding knowledge; Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope; Columbus, Ojeda, Niño, Guerra, Bastidas, and Pinzon and Solis coasted the Tierra Firme of Central and South America; Ocampo skirted Cuba and found it an island; Cabral accidentally discovered Brazil; Juan Ponce de Leon hunted for the Fountain of Youth in Florida; Vasco Nuñez de

Balboa crossed the Isthmus and floated his ships on the South Sea. Prior to 1517 almost every province of the eastern continental seaboard, from Labrador to Patagonia, had been uncovered, save those of the Mexican Gulf, which casketed wonders greater than them all. This little niche alone remained wrapped in aboriginal obscurity, although less than forty leagues of strait separated the proximate points of Cuba and Yucatan.

Meanwhile, in the government of these Western Indies, Columbus, first admiral of the Ocean Sea, had been succeeded by Bobadilla, Ovando, and the son and heir of the discoverer, Diego Colon, each managing, wherein it was possible, worse than his predecessor; so that it was found necessary to establish at Santo Domingo, the capital city of the Indies, a sovereign tribunal, to which appeals might be made from any viceroy, governor, or other representative of royalty, and which should eventually, as a royal audiencia, exercise for a time executive as well as judicial supremacy. But before clothing this tribunal with full administrative powers, Cardinal Jimenez, then dominant in New World affairs, had determined to try upon the turbulent colonists the effect of ecclesiastical influence in secular matters, and had sent over three friars of the order of St Jerome, Luis de Figueroa, Alonso de Santo Domingo, and Bernardo de Manzanedo, to whose direction governors and all others were made subject. Just before the period in our history at which this volume opens, the Jeronimite Fathers, as the three friars were called, had practically superseded Diego Colon at Española, and were supervising Pedrarias Dávila of Castilla del Oro, Francisco de Garay governor of Jamaica, and Diego Velazquez governor of Cuba. It will be remembered that Diego Colon had sent Juan de Esquivel in 1509 to Jamaica, where he was succeeded by Francisco de Garay; and Diego Velazquez had been sent in 1511 to Cuba to subdue and

govern that isle, subject to the young admiral's dictation; and beside these, a small establishment at Puerto Rico, and Pedrarias on the Isthmus, there was no European ruler in the regions, islands or firm land, between the two main continents of America.

The administration of the *religiosos* showed little improvement on the governments of their predecessors, who, while professing less honesty and piety, practised more worldly wisdom; hence within two short years the friars were recalled by Fonseca, who, on the death of Jimenez, had again come into power in Spain, and the administration of affairs in the Indies remained wholly with the audiencia of Santo Domingo, the heirs of Columbus continuing to agitate their claim throughout the century.

It was as the lieutenant of Diego Colon that Velazquez had been sent to conquer Cuba; but that easy work accomplished, he repudiated his former master, and reported directly to the crown.

Velazquez was an hidalgo, native of Cuéllar, who, after seventeen years of service in the wars of Spain, had come over with the old admiral in his second voyage, in 1493, and was now a man of age, experience, and wealth. With a commanding figure, spacious forehead, fair complexion, large clear eyes, well-chiselled nose and mouth, and a narrow full-bearded chin, the whole lighted by a pleasing intellectual expression, he presented, when elegantly attired as was his custom, as imposing a presence as any man in all the Indies. In history he also formed quite a figure. And yet there was nothing weighty in his character. He was remarkable rather for the absence of positive qualities; he could not lay claim even to conspicuous cruelty. He was not a bad man as times went; assuredly he was not a good man as times go. He could justly lay claim to all the current vices, but none of them were enormous enough to be interesting. In temper he was naturally mild

and affable, yet suspicious and jealous, and withal easily influenced; so that when roused to anger, as was frequently the case, he was beside himself.

Chief assistant in his new pacification was Pánfilo de Narvaez, who brought from Jamaica thirty archers, and engaged in the customary butchering, while the governor, with three hundred men, quietly proceeded to found towns and settlements, such as Trinidad, Puerto del Príncipe, Matanzas, Santi Espíritu, San Salvador, Habana, and Santiago, making the seat of his government at the place last named, and appointing alcaldes in the several settlements. Other notable characters were likewise in attendance on this occasion, namely, the clérigo Las Casas, Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, Juan de Grijalva, and Hernan Cortés.

Discreet in his business, and burdened by no counteracting scruples, Velazquez and those who were with him prospered. Informed of this, above one hundred of the starving colonists at Darien obtained permission from Pedrarias in 1516 to pass over to Cuba, and were affably received by the governor. Most of them were well-born and possessed of means; for though provisions were scarce at Antigua, the South Sea expeditions of Vasco Nuñez, Badajoz, and Espinosa, had made gold plentiful there. Among this company was Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a soldier of fortune, who had come from Spain to Tierra Firme in 1514, and who now engages in the several expeditions to Mexico, and becomes, some years later, one of the chief historians of the conquest.

Ready for any exploit, and having failed to receive certain repartimientos promised them, the band from Tierra Firme cast glances toward the unknown west. The lesser isles had been almost depopulated by the slave-catchers, and from the shores of the adjoining mainland the affrighted natives had fled to the interior. It was still a profitable employment, however, for the colonists must have laborers, and ecclesiastics

raw material for their manufacture. The governor of Cuba, particularly, was fond of the traffic, for it was safe and lucrative. Though a representative of royal authority in America, he was as ready as any irresponsible adventurer to break the royal command. During this same year of 1516, a vessel from Santiago had loaded with natives and provisions at the Guanaja Islands, and had returned to port. While the captain and crew were ashore for a carouse, the captives burst open the hatches, overpowered the nine men who had been left on guard, and sailed away midst the frantic gesticulations of the captain on shore. Reaching their islands in safety, they there encountered a brigantine with twenty-five Spaniards lying in wait for captives. Attacking them boldly, the savages drove them off toward Darien, and then burned the ship in which they themselves had made their enforced voyage to Cuba.

As a matter of course this atrocious conduct on the part of the unbaptized demanded exemplary punishment. To this end two vessels were immediately despatched with soldiers who fell upon the inhabitants of Guanaja, put many to the sword, and carried away five hundred captives, beside securing gold to the value of twenty thousand pesos de oro.

Happy in the thought of a pastime at once so pleasing and so profitable, the chivalrous one hundred cheerfully adventured their Darien gold in a similar voyage, fitting out two vessels for the purpose, and choosing for their commander Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, now a wealthy planter of Santi Espíritu.[1]

[1] In the memorial of Antonio Velazquez, successor of the adelantado, Diego Velazquez, *Memorial del negocio de D. Antonio Velazquez de Bazan*, in *Mendoza, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, x. 80–6, taken from the archives of the Indies, the credit of this expedition is claimed wholly for the governor. Indeed, Velazquez himself repeatedly asserts, as well as others, that the expedition was made at his cost. But knowing the man as we do, and considering the claims of others, it is safe enough to say that the governor did not invest much money in it. The burden doubtless fell on Córdoba, who was aided, as some think, by his associates, Cristóbal Morante and Lope Ochoa de Caicedo, in making up what the men of Darien lacked, *Torquemada*, i. 349, notwithstanding the claims for his fraternity of Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, i. Ogilby, *Hist. Am.*, 76,

hostilities of the natives prevented their obtaining the needful supply of water.

There being no one else to curse except themselves, they cursed the pilot, Alaminos, for his discovery, and for still persisting in calling the country an island. Then they left Mala Pelea Bay and returned along the coast, north-eastwardly, for three days, when they entered an opening in the shore to which they gave the name of Estero de los Lagartos,[11] from the multitude of caimans found there. After burning one of the ships which had become unseaworthy, Córdoba crossed from this point to Florida, and thence proceeded to Cuba, where he died from his wounds, ten days after reaching his home at Santi Espíritu.

Diego Velazquez was much interested in the details of this discovery. He closely questioned the two captives about their country, its gold, its great buildings, and the plants which grew there. When shown the yucca root they assured the governor that they were familiar with it, and that it was called by them *tale*, though in Cuba the ground in which the yucca grew bore that name. From these two words, according to Bernal Diaz, comes the name Yucatan; for while the governor was speaking to the Indians of *yucca* and *tale*, some Spaniards standing by exclaimed, "You see, sir, they call their country Yucatan."[12]

[11] Pinzon and Solis must have found alligators in their northward cruise, otherwise Peter Martyr could not honestly lay down on his map of *India beyond the Ganges*, in 1510, the *baya d' lagartos* north of *guanase*. Mariners must have given the coast a bad name, for directly north of the *R. de la* of Colon, the *R:. de lag̃ r̃tos* of Ribero, the *R:. de lagarts* of Vaz Dourado, and the *R. de Lagartos* of Hood, are placed some reefs by all these chart-makers, and to which they give the name *Alacranes*, Scorpions. The next name west of Lagartos on Map No. x., *Munich Atlas*, is *costanisa*, and on No. xiii. *Ostanca*. Again next west, on both, is *Melanos*. On No. x., next to *costa nisa*, and on No. xiii., west of *Punta de las Arenas*, is the name *Ancones*. Ogilby gives here *B. de Conil*, and in the interior south, a town *Conil;* east of *R. de Lagartos* is also the town *Quyo*, and in large letters the name *Chuaca*.

[12] 'Dezian los Españoles q̃ estavan hablãdo con el Diego Velazquez, y con los Indios: Señor estos Indios dizen, que su tierra se llama Yucatã, y assi se, quedò cõ este nóbre, que en propria lengua no se dize assi.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 5. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 60, states that after naming Catoche, a little farther on the Spaniards met some natives, of whom they asked the name of the town near by. Tecteta, was the reply, which means, 'I do not understand.' The Spaniards,

The people of this coast seemed to have heard of the Spaniards, for at several places they shouted 'Castilians!' and asked the strangers by signs if they did not come from toward the rising sun. Yet, neither the glimpse caught of Yucatan by Pinzon and Solis in 1506 while in search of a strait north of Guanaja Island where Columbus had been, nor the piratical expedition of Córdoba, in 1517, can properly be called the discovery of Mexico.[13] Meanwhile Mexico can well afford to wait, being in no haste for those blessed boons European civilization and Christianity are so desirous of conferring.

accepting this as the answer to their question, called the country Yectetan, and soon Yucatan. Waldeck, *Voy. Pittoresque*, 25, derives the name from the native word *ouyouckutan*, 'listen to what they say.' The native name was Maya. See *Bancroft's Native Races*, v. 614–34. There are various other theories and renderings, among them the following: In answer to Córdoba's inquiry as to the name of their country, the natives exclaimed, '*uy u tan*, esto es: *oyes como habla?*' *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, ii. 228. 'Que preguntundo a estos Indios, si auia en su tierra aquellas rayzes que se llama Yuca.... Respondian Ilatli, por la tierra en que se plantan, y que de Yuca juntado con Ilatli, se dixo Yucatta, y de alli Yucatan.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xviii. Whencesoever the origin, it was clearly a mistake, as there never was an aboriginal designation for the whole country, nor, like the Japanese, have they names for their straits or bays. For some time Yucatan was supposed to be an island. Grijalva called the country *Isla de Santa María de Remedios*, though that term was employed by few. In early documents the two names are united; instance the instructions of Velazquez to Cortés, where the country is called *la Ysla de Yucatan Sta María de Remedios*. On Cortés' chart of the Gulf of Mexico, 1520, it is called *Yucatan*, and represented as an island. Colon, 1527, and Ribero, 1529, who write *Ivcatan;* Ptolemy, in *Munster*, 1530, *Iucatana;* Orontius, on his globe, 1531, *Iucatans; Munich Atlas*, no. iv., 1532–40, *cucatan;* Baptista Agnese, 1540–50, *iucatan;* Mercator, 1569, *Ivcatan;* Michael Lock, 1582, *Incoton;* Hondius, 1595, Laet, Ogilby, etc., *Yucatan*, which now assumes peninsular proportions.

[13] The term Mexico has widely different meanings under different conditions. At first it signified only the capital of the Nahua nation, and it was five hundred years before it overspread the territory now known by that name. Mexico City was founded in 1325, and was called *Mexico Tenochtitlan*. The latter appellation has been connected with *Tenuch*, the Aztec leader at this time, and with the sign of a nopal on a stone, called in Aztec, respectively *nochtli* and *tetl*, the final syllable representing locality, and the first, *te*, divinity or superiority. The word Mexico, however, was then rarely used, Tenochtitlan being the common term employed; and this was retained by the Spaniards for some time after the conquest, even in imperial decrees, and in the official records of the city, though in the corrupt forms of *Temixtitan, Tenustitan*, etc. See *Libro de Cabildo*, 1524–9, MS. Torquemada, i. 293, states distinctly that even in his time the natives never employed any other designation for the ancient city than Tenochtitlan, which was also the name of the chief and fashionable ward. Solis, *Conq. Mex.*, i. 390, is of opinion that Mexico was the name of the ward, Tenochtitlan being applied to the whole city, in which case Mexico Tenochtitlan would signify the ward Mexico of the city Tenochtitlan. Gradually the

Next they came to a great opening in the shore, to which, after Alaminos had examined it in a boat, they gave the name of Bahía de la Ascencion, from the day of discovery. Unable to find a pass in this direction round the supposed island of Yucatan, they turned back, passed Cozumel, and, rounding the peninsula, arrived at Campeche the 25th, rescuing on their way a woman from Jamaica.

Everywhere they beheld the same evidences of high culture seen by Córdoba, the tower-temples and crosses of the Mayas rising from gracefully outlined promontories, and glistening white from behind legended hills, leading them every moment to anticipate the discovery of some magnificent city, such as in our day has been revealed to an admiring posterity; for while the East buries her ancient cities in dust, the West none the less effectually hides hers in foliage. And of the monuments to the greatness of the past, and of the profitless millions here engendered, who shall speak? And why do men call nature considerate or kind? Does she not create only to destroy, and bestow blessings and cursings with the same merciless indifference? Surpassingly lovely, she is at once siren, nurse, and sanguinary beldam. This barren border of the peninsula rested under a canopy of clear or curtained sky, and glared in mingled gloom and brightness beside the fickle gulf; and from the irregular plains of the interior came the heated, perfumed air, telling here of treeless table-lands, of languid vegetation, and there of forests and evergreen groves. "It is like Spain," cried one. And so they called the country Nueva España,[9] which name, at first applied only to the

[9] It was the crosses, which the Spaniards here regarded of miraculous origin, more than any physical feature which after all gave the name to these shores. Cortés established it for all the region under Aztec sway, and under the viceroys it was applied to all the Spanish possessions north of Guatemala, including the undefined territories of California and New Mexico. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 6–7, and others, have even shown an inclination to embrace thereunder Central America, but for this there is not sufficient authority. See *Mé-*

peninsula of Yucatan, finally spread over the whole of the territory afterward known as Mexico.

At Campeche, or more probably at Champoton,[10] occurred a notable affray. The fleet anchored toward sunset, half a league from shore. The natives immediately put on a warlike front, bent on terrible intimidations, which they continued in the form of shouts and drum-beating during the entire night. So great was their necessity for water that the Spaniards did not wait for the morning, but amidst the arrows, stones, and spears of the natives, they landed the artillery and one hundred men before daybreak, another hundred quickly following. But for their cotton armor the invaders would have suffered severely during this operation. Having reached the shore, however, the guns were planted, and the natives

dina, Chron. de San Diego de Mex., 227; *Lopez Vaz*, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1432, and *Gottfriedt, Newe Welt*, 74; also Torquemada, from Herrera, and several standard authors. New Spain was for a long time divided into the three kingdoms of New Spain, New Galicia, and New Leon, each composed of several provinces. Under the administration of Galvez, this division gave way to intendencias, among them Mexico and a few provinces, and New Spain came to be limited in the north by the Provincias Internas, though including for a time at least the Californias. With the independence the name New Spain was replaced by Mexico, less because this term applied to the leading province and to the capital, than because the name was hallowed by association with the traditions of the people, whose blood as well as sympathies contained far more of the aboriginal element than of the imported. On Colon's map the name is given in capital letters, *Nova Spaña*. Under *Nveva España* Ribero writes *dixose asi por queay aquy muchas cosas que ay en españa ay ya mucho trigo q̃an lleuado de aca entanta cantidad q̃ lo pueden ea cargar para otras partes ay aquy mucho oro de nacimiento*. Robert Thorne, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, carries *Hispania Noua* east and west through Central America, while Ramusio, *Viaggi*, iii. 455, places *La Nova Spagna* in large letters across the continent.

[10] It is remarkable, as I have often observed, how two eye-witnesses can sometimes tell such diametrically opposite stories; not only in regard to time and minor incidents, but to place and prominent events. In this instance Diaz the priest is no less positive and minute in placing the affair at Campeche, than is Diaz the soldier, at Champoton. The second-rate authorities, following these two writers who were present, are divided, by far the greater number, Herrera among the rest, accepting the statement of Bernal Diaz. Oviedo, who was a resident of the Indies at the time, describes the battle as occurring at Campeche. Perhaps one reason why the soldier-scribe has more adherents than the priest, is because the existence of the narrative of the latter was not so well known. Las Casas affirms, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 425, that the pilot unintentionally passed Lázaro's port, or Campeche, and landed and fought at Champoton. 'Llegaron, pues, al dicho pueblo (que, como dije, creo que fué Champoton, y no el de Lázaro).'

charged and driven back with the loss of three Spaniards slain and sixty wounded, the commander-in-chief, ever foremost in the fight, being three times struck and losing two teeth. Two hundred were killed and wounded among the natives. The town was found deserted. Presently three ancient Americans appeared, who were kindly entreated, and despatched with presents to the fugitives, but they never returned. Two nights were spent ashore, the tower and sacred edifices adjacent being used as barracks.

Embarking, soon a large opening in the coast was discovered, and entered by Grijalva, the chaplain says, the last day of May. Puerto Deseado[11] the commander called his anchorage, being the desired spot in which might be repaired the leaky ships. The Spaniards thought themselves at first at the mouth of a river, but on further examination, it appeared to them more like a sea. Whereupon the pilot Alaminos, who, notwithstanding evidence to the contrary, notwithstanding three days' explorings, left this salt-sheet still landlocked, never ceased insisting that Yucatan was an island, and he now gravely assured his commander that the great opening opposite Amatique Bay and Golfo Dulce, or if that were too far, then opposite Chetumal or Ascension, confirmed his suppositions, and settled the matter in his mind that this was the termination of the islands; hence the names Boca de Términos, and Laguna de Términos,[12] which followed. The temples

[11] Puerto Escondido. On the maps of Colon and Hood it is placed as one of the eastern entrances of the Laguna de Términos, the former writing *p. deseado*, and the latter *P. desiado;* Gomara places the *Laguna de Términos* between Puerto Deseado and Rio Grijalva. On Ribero's map, north of Escondido, is *la ger*, Vaz Dourado marking in the same locality *p:. seq° amgratriste*, Dampier gives *Boca Eschondido*, and Jefferys, *Boca Escondida*.

[12] Velazquez had instructed his captain to sail round the island of Yucatan. Cortés, in 1519, ordered Escobar to survey this sheet, which was found to be a bay and shallow. Still the pilots and chart-makers wrote it down an island. It is worthy of remark that in the earliest drawings, like Colon's, in 1527, the maker appears undecided, but Ribero, two years later, boldly severs the peninsula from the continent with a strait. See *Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 412–14. The earliest cartographers all write *terminos*, Ribero marking a small stream flowing into the lagoon, *R:. de x p̄ianos*. Here also

streams. Boldly in the front stood the heights at present known as San Gabriel; beyond continued the flat, monotonous foreground of a gorgeous picture, as yet but dimly visible save in the ardent imaginings of the discoverers.

The two smaller vessels only could enter this river of Tabasco, which, though broad, was shallow-mouthed; and this they did very cautiously, advancing a short distance up the stream, and landing at a grove of palm-trees, half a league from the chief pueblo. Upon the six thousand[15] natives who here threatened them, they made ready to fire; but by peaceful overtures the sylvan multitude were brought to hear of Spain's great king, of his mighty pretensions, and of the Spaniards' inordinate love of gold. The green beads the natives thought to be stone made of their chalchiuite, which they prized so highly, and for which they eagerly exchanged food. Having a lord of their own they knew not why these rovers should wish to impose upon them a new master; for the rest they were fully prepared, if necessary, to defend themselves. During this interview, at which the interpreters, Melchior and Julian, assisted, the word Culhua,[16] meaning Mexico, was often mentioned in answer to demands for gold, from

[15] It is Las Casas who testifies to 6,000; Bernal Diaz enumerates 50 canoes; Herrera speaks of three *Xiquipiles* of 8,000 men each, standing ready in that vicinity to oppose the Spaniards, waiting only for the word to be given.

[16] Not 'Culba, Culba, Mexico, Mexico,' as Bernal Diaz has it. The natives pronounced the word Culhua only; but this author, finding that Culhua referred to Mexico, puts the word Mexico into the mouth of Tabasco and his followers. Long before the Aztecs, a Toltec tribe called the Acolhuas, or Culhuas, had settled in the valley of Mexico. The name is more ancient than that of Toltec, and the Mexican civilization might perhaps as appropriately be called Culhua as Nahua. The name is interpreted 'crooked' from *coloa*, bend; also 'grandfather' from *colli*. Colhuacan might therefore signify Land of Our Ancestors. Under Toltec dominion a tripartite confederacy had existed in the valley of Anáhuac, and when the Aztecs became the ruling nation, this alliance was reëstablished. It was composed of the Acolhua, Aztec, and Tepanec kingdoms, the Aztec king assuming the title Culhua Tecuhtli, chief of the Culhuas. It is evident that the Culhuas had become known throughout this region by their conquests, and by their culture, superior as it was to that of neighboring tribes. The upstart Aztecs were only too proud to identify themselves with so renowned a people. The name Culhua was retained among the surrounding tribes, and applied before Grijalva to the Mexican country, where gold was indeed abundant.

which the Spaniards inferred that toward the west they would find their hearts' desire. Then they returned to their ships.

In great state, unarmed, and without sign of fear, Tabasco next day visited Grijalva on board his vessel. He had already sent roasted fish, fowl, maize bread, and fruit, and now he brought gold and feather-work. Out of a chest borne by his attendants was taken a suit of armor, of wood overlaid with gold, which Tabasco placed upon Grijalva, and on his head a golden helmet, giving him likewise masks and breast-plates of gold and mosaic, and targets, collars, bracelets, and beads, all of beaten gold, three thousand pesos in value. With the generous grace and courtesy innate in him, Grijalva took up a crimson velvet coat and cap which he had on when Tabasco entered, also a pair of new red shoes, and in these brilliant habiliments arrayed the chieftain, to his infinite delight.

The Spaniards departed from Tabasco with further assurances of friendship, and two days later sighted the pueblo of Ahualulco, which they named La Rambla, because the natives with tortoise-shell shields were observed hurrying hither and thither upon the shore. Afterward they discovered the river Tonalá, which was subsequently examined and named San Antonio;[17] then the Goazacoalco,[18] which they could not enter owing to unfavorable winds; and presently the great snowy mountains of New Spain, and a nearer range, to which they gave the name San Martin,[19] in justice

[17] 'Das grosse Fest des heiligen Antonius von Padua fällt auf den 13 Juni, und dies giebt uns also eine Gelegenheit eines der Daten der Reise des Grijalva, deren uns die Berichterstatter, wie immer, nur wenige geben, genau festzusetzen.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten*, 105. Cortés, in his chart of the Gulf of Mexico, 1520, calls it *Santo Anton;* Fernando Colon, 1527, *R. de la Balsa*, with the name *G. de s. anton* to the gulf; Ribero, 1529, *r: de Sāton;* Globe of Orontius, 1531, *C. S. ātо;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *rio de S. ana;* Hood, 1592, *R. de S. Antonio*, etc. For *Santa Ana* Dampier in 1699 lays down *St. Anna*, and Jefferys in 1776, *B. St. Ann.*

[18] Cortés calls it *Rio de totuqualquo;* Colon, *R. de gasacalcos;* Ribero, *R. de quasacalco;* Orontius, *R. de qualqº;* Vaz Dourado, *R.º de de guaqaqa;* Hood, *R. de Guaca;* Mercator, *Quacaqualco;* De Laet, Ogilby, *R. de Guazacoalco;* Jefferys, *R. Guazacalo;* Dampier, *R. Guazacoalco* or *Guashigwalp.*

[19] Colon gives it, *Sierras de San mrtí;* Vaz Dourado, *seras de S. martin;*

to the soldier who first saw it. Overcome by his ardor, Pedro de Alvarado pressed forward his faster-sailing ship, and entered before the others a river called by the natives Papaloapan, but named by his soldiers after the discoverer;[20] for which breach of discipline the captain received the censure of his commander. The next stream to which they came was called Rio de Banderas,[21] because the natives appeared in large numbers, carrying white flags on their lances.

With these white flags the natives beckoned the strangers to land; whereupon twenty soldiers were sent ashore under Francisco de Montejo, and a favorable reception being accorded them, the commander approached with his ships and landed. The utmost deference was paid the guests, for, as will hereafter more fully appear, the king of kings, Lord Montezuma, having in his capital intelligence of the strange visitors upon his eastern seaboard, ordered them to be reverentially entertained. In the cool shade was spread on mats an abundance of provisions, while fumes of burning incense consecrated the spot and made redolent the air. The governor of this province was present with two subordinate rulers, and learning what best the Spaniards loved, he sent out and gathered them gold trinkets to the value of fifteen thousand pesos. So valuable an acquisition impelled Grijalva to claim once more for Charles, one of the natives, subsequently christened Francisco, acting as interpreter. After a stay of six days the fleet sailed, passing a small island, white with sand, which

Hood, *Sierras de St. min;* Ogilby, *Sierras de S. Martin;* Dampier, *St. Martin's High Land*, and *St. Martin's Point.* This soldier, San Martin, was a native of Habana.

[20] Herrera makes the Indian name Papaloava; Bernal Diaz, Papalohuna, Cortés, 1520, and Orontius, 1531, give *R. d alvarado;* Colon, 1527, *R: del comendador aluarado;* Ribero, 1529, *R:. de Aluarado;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *Rº. de Alluorado*, etc. 'Die Karte von 1527 hat den *Rio del comendador Alvarado* etwas weiter westlich, jenseits des Rio de banderas, welches keineswegs mit den Berichten des Bernal Diaz übereinstimmt.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten*, 106.

[21] Some of the early maps place this stream incorrectly east of the Papaloapan; where Ribero writes *P. delgada*, first east from *R: de uanderās*, Vaz Dourado writes *p:. de hiɲada.*

temerity to demand three thousand ducats. The proposition was not for a moment to be entertained; the job must be accomplished for less money.

Watchful eyes saw the governor's dilemma, and artful tongues wagged opportunely. Near to him in their daily vocations were two men, both small in stature, but large of head, and broad in experience and sagacity. One was the governor's secretary, Andrés de Duero, and the other the royal contador, Amador de Láres. Both possessed rare attainments; they were skilled in every artifice, and could make their master see white or black; while Láres could not write, he had not failed to profit by a twenty-two years' career in Italy, during which time he rose to the honorable distinction of chief butler to the Gran Capitan, and he seldom found it difficult to move the unstable Velazquez to his purposes, although they were not always the purest and best.[14] Following the example of the governor, these two worthies were not averse to improving their fortunes by securing, at little risk or expense, an interest in the New Spain conquest; and so they gave heed when the alcalde of Santiago softly insinuated that he was the man for the emergency, and that if they would help him to the command they should share the profits.[15]

The alcalde of Santiago bore a fair reputation, considering the time and place; for comparatively few names in the New World were then wholly free from taint. In the prime of manhood, his age being thirty-three, of full medium stature, well-proportioned and muscular, with full breast, broad shoulders, square full forehead, small straight spare compact body and well

[14] Las Casas regarded him as a schemer, and often warned Velazquez against 'Veintidos años de Italia.' *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 447. He calls him likewise 'Burgalés' and 'hombre astutísimo.'

[15] 'Que partirian,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 13, 'entre todos tres la ganancia del oro, y plata, y joyas, de la parte que le cupiesse á Cortés,' and also, growls Las Casas, *ubi supra*—knowledge of the facts as yet being but rumor—what Cortés could steal from the king and the governor was subject to division, beside what he would rob from the natives.

turned limbs, though somewhat bow-legged, he presented a pleasing rather than imposing front. His portraits show fine antique features, bearing a somewhat sad expression, which was increased by the grave tenderness of the dark oval eyes. The full though thin beard, cut short, counteracted to some extent the effect of the small ash-colored face, and served to cover a deep scar on the lower lip, the memento of a duel fought in behalf of a certain frail fair one.

He was an exceedingly popular alcalde; there was nothing staid or sombre in his method of administering justice. The law was less to him than expediency, and his standard of right was easily shifted, according to circumstances. In wit and vivacity he was a Mercutio. Astute of intellect, discreet, of a cheerful, even jovial disposition, with brilliant intuitions and effervescent animal spirits, he knew how to please, how to treat every man as best he liked to be treated. A cavalier of the Ojeda and Balboa type, he was superior to either. He would not, like the former, woo danger for the mere pleasure of it, nor, like the latter, tamely trust his forfeited head to any governor. Life was of value to him; yet adventure was the rhythm of it, and the greater the peril the greater the harmony secured. An hidalgo of respectable antecedents, whatever he might have been, or might be, he now played the part of magistrate to perfection. As a matter of course, he was thoroughly inoculated with the religious views of the day; otherwise, as he well knew, he would prove an unfit executioner of heathen. Indeed, the friars forever praised him as one of their best and sharpest implements; he made it a point that they should. The moral ideal of the Japanese is politeness. Politeness is virtue. They do not say that lying and stealing are wrong, but impolite. While the alcalde if pressed must confess himself an optimist, believing that whatever is, is best, yet in practice that best he would better, and

whatsoever his strength permitted, it was right for him to do. He was a sort of Mephistopheles, decked in manners and guided by knowledge. Besides the world, he knew books, and how to make somewhat of them. Of the nobility school of righteousness, he was never so much a devil as when most serving God. Possessed of vehement aspirations, his ambition was of the aggressive kind; not like that of Velazquez, mercenary and timid. Like Tigellinus Sophonius, it was to his pleasing person and unscrupulous character that the alcalde owed his rise from poverty and obscurity; and now, like Phaethon, if for one day he might drive the governor's sun-chariot across the heavens, it would be his own fault if he were not a made man. This much at this time we may say of Hernan[16] Cortés, for such was the alcalde's name; which is more than he could say for himself, not knowing himself as we know him, and more than his associates could say of him. Hereafter as his character develops we shall become further acquainted with him. It is as difficult to detect the full-grown plant in a seed as in a stone, and yet the seed will become a great tree, while the stone remains a stone.

And so, with the aid of his loving friends Duero and Láres, whose deft advice worked successfully on the plastic mind of Velazquez, and because he possessed some money and many friends, as well as courage and wisdom, the alcalde of Santiago was proclaimed captain-general of the expedition.[17] And

[16] Hernan, Hernando, Fernan, Fernando, Ferdinando. The names are one. With no special preference, I employ the former, used by the best writers. Among the early authorities, Solis, the Spanish translator of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, and many others, write Hernan; Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, Fernan; Bernal Diaz and Oviedo, Hernando; Gomara, Fernando. In accordance with the Spanish usage of adding the mother's surname, he is sometimes, though rarely, called Cortés y Pizarro. For portrait and signature I refer the reader to *Alaman, Disert.*, i. app. i. 15–16; portrait as an old man; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 6–8; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 1; *Id.*, (ed. Mex., 1846, iii. 210–11); *Armin Alte Mex.*, 82, plate from the painting in the Concepcion Hospital at Mexico; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 466.

[17] In making out the commission Duero stretched every point in favor of his friend, naming him captain-general of lands discovered and to be dis-

able sin. So sublime had been his patience and his piety under the drudgery at first put upon him, that he too rose in the estimation of his master, who was led to entrust him with more important matters. For in all things pertaining to flesh and spirit he had been as conscientious as Father Tom's dog or the pope's mule, neither of which would eat until after mass on any Sunday or holiday. To test his wonderful integrity, for he had noticed that Aguilar never raised his eyes to look upon a woman, Taxmar once sent him for fish to a distant station, giving him as sole companion a beautiful girl, who had been instructed to employ all her arts to cause the Christian to break his vow of continency. Care had been taken that there should be but one hammock between them, and at night she bantered him to occupy it with her; but stopping his ears to the voice of the siren, he threw himself upon the cold, chaste sands, and passed the night in peaceful dreams beneath the songs of heaven.[18]

Cortés smiled somewhat sceptically at this and like recitals, wherein the sentiments expressed would have done honor to Scipio Africanus; nevertheless, he was

[18] This is in substance the adventures of Aguilar, as related at length in *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. vii.–viii., followed by *Torquemada*, i. 370–72, and *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yucathan*, 24–9, and prettily, though hastily, elaborated in *Irving's Columbus*, iii. 290–301, and other modern writers. On reaching Catoche and finding Ordaz gone, he proceeded to Cozumel, in the hope of finding some of the Spaniards. 'Era Aguilar estudiante quando passò a las Indias, y hombre discreto, y por esto se puede creer qualquiera cosa del,' concludes Herrera, as if suspecting that the version may be questioned. Prudence is shown in the care with which he gradually accustomed himself to the change of food and habits on again joining the Spaniards. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. vi., relates that Aguilar's mother became insane on hearing that her son had fallen among cannibals—who brought her the news it is hard to guess—and whenever she beheld flesh roasting, loud became the laments for his sad fate. This is repeated in *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 22; *Martinez*, *Hist. Nat. Nueva Esp.*, ii. xxiv. Herrera, who cannot avoid mixing in all the romance possible, makes him search for means to cross the strait. He finds at last a leaky canoe half buried in the sand, and in this frail skiff he and the Indian companion presented by his late master managed to gain the island. Others give him Cortés' messengers for companions. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 18, very reasonably permits him to hire a canoe with six rowers, for he has beads to pay for it, and canoes would not be wanting, since the island was a resort for pilgrims, particularly at this very time. Mendieta, *Hist. Ecles.*, 175–76, fails not to recognize, in the compulsory return of the fleet to Cozumel, and in the finding of Aguilar, the hand of God; and Torquemada, i. 370, eagerly elaborates the miraculous features in the appearance of this Aaron, who is to be the mouth-piece of his Moses.

The stone, however, was recovered, and consecrated on the summit of the great temple, in 1512, with the blood of over twelve thousand captives.[4]

And now Montezuma almost wishes the calamities he fears were already upon him, so full of dread and dire oppression is he. Priests, chiefs of wards, and other officials, says Tezozomoc, are commanded to ascertain and impart all dreams and strange occurrences relating to a coming people or to the throne. Wise and politic as he is, he does not seem to know that this is only placing himself and his malady at the mercy of the masses. Who could not conjure up visions under such a summons? Some old men immediately come forward with a dream, wherein Huitzilopochtli's image is overthrown and his temple burned to the ground, leaving no vestige. Certain

[4] Torquemada assumes that the 12,210 victims comprised also those offered at the consecration of two new temples, Tlamatzinco and Quauhxicalli. See *Native Races*, v. 471. Tezozomoc relates that the laborers, after striving in vain to move the stone from its original site, heard it utter, in a muffled voice, 'Your efforts are in vain; I enter not into Mexico.' The incident finds a parallel in the vain effort of Tarquin to remove certain statues of the gods, to make room for Jupiter's temple, and in the firm adherence of Apollo's head to the ground, shortly before the death of th Roman ruler. But recovering from their alarm, they tried again, and now the stone moved almost of its own accord. Another halt is made, a second oracle delivered, and finally the stone reaches the bridge, where it disappears into the water. Amid the invocation of priests, divers descend in search, only to come back with the report that no vestige of it is to be found; but there is a fathomless pit extending toward Chalco. While diviners are cudgelling their brains for clues, in comes a messenger to announce that the stone, like the Penates of Æneas, had returned to its original site, arrayed in all the sacrificial ornaments. Observing in this occurrence the divine will, Montezuma let the stone remain, and recognizing at the same time a menace to himself, perhaps of speedy death, he ordered his statue to be at once sculptured by the side of his predecessors, on the rocky face of Chapultepec Hill. Tezozomoc describes the statue. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 204–7. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 313–27. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, i. 292–3. Among the troubles which after this fell upon the doomed people are mentioned: An earthquake in 1513. *Codex. Tel. Rem.*, in *Kingsborough's Mèx. Antiq.*, v. 154. A locust plague. 'Vieronse gran cantidad de mariposas, y langostas, que passauan de buelo hàzia el Occidente.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix. A deluge in Tuzapan, and a fall of snow which overwhelmed the army en route for Amatlan. While crossing the mountains, rocks and trees came tumbling down upon them, killing a large number, while others froze to death. Ixtlilxochitl places this in 1514. Others say 1510. During the Soconusco campaign, see *Native Races*, v. 472, the ground opened near Mexico, and threw up water and fish. The Indians interpreted this to signify a victory, but the lord of Culhuacan intimated, with a shake of the head, that one force expelled another, whereat Montezuma's delight somewhat abated. 'Quando prendio Cortes a entrambos, se accordò (Montezuma) muy bien de aquellas palabras.' *Herrera*, ubi sup.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MIGHTY PROJECT IS CONCEIVED.

MAY, 1519.

SERIOUS DILEMMA OF CORTÉS—AUTHORITY WITHOUT LAW—MONTEJO SENT NORTHWARD—RECOMMENDS ANOTHER ANCHORAGE—DISSENSIONS AT VERA CRUZ—PROMPT AND SHREWD ACTION OF CORTÉS—A MUNICIPALITY ORGANIZED—CORTÉS RESIGNS—AND IS CHOSEN LEADER BY THE MUNICIPALITY—VELAZQUEZ' CAPTAINS INTIMATE REBELLION—CORTÉS PROMPTLY ARRESTS SEVERAL OF THEM—THEN HE CONCILIATES THEM ALL—IMPORTANT EMBASSY FROM CEMPOALA—THE VEIL LIFTED—THE MARCH TO CEMPOALA—WHAT WAS DONE THERE—QUIAHUIZTLAN—THE COMING OF THE TRIBUTE GATHERERS—HOW THEY WERE TREATED—GRAND ALLIANCE.

AT this point in his career Hernan Cortés found himself less master of the situation than suited him. The color of his command was not sufficiently pronounced. He had no authority to settle; he had no authority to conquer; he might only discover and trade. He did not care for Velazquez; anything that pertained to Velazquez he was prepared to take. But Velazquez had no legal power to authorize him further. Cortés cared little for the authorities at Española; the king was his chief dependence; the king to whose favor his right arm and mother wit should pave the way. Some signal service, in the eyes of the monarch, might atone for slight irregularities; if he failed, the severest punishments were already come. But where was the service? Had Montezuma granted him an interview, he might make report of that, and find listeners. As it was, he could land and slay a few thousand natives, but his men would waste away and no benefits accrue. Nevertheless, if he could plant

valor and discretion they would adventure their lives. With most men beliefs are but prejudices, and opinions tastes. These Spaniards not only believed in their general, but they held to a most impetuous belief in themselves. They could do not only anything that any one else ever had done or could do, but they could command the supernatural, and fight with or against phantoms and devils. They were a host in themselves; besides which the hosts of Jehovah were on their side. And Cortés measured his men and their capabilities, not as Xerxes measured his army, by filling successively a pen capable of holding just ten thousand; he measured them rather by his ambition, which was as bright and as limitless as the firmament. Already they were heroes, whose story presently should vie in thrilling interest with the most romantic tales of chivalry and knight-errantry, and in whom the strongest human passions were so blended as to lift them for a time out of the hand of fate and make their fortunes their own. The thirst for wealth, the enthusiasm of religion, the love of glory, united with reckless daring and excessive loyalty, formed the most powerful incentives to action. Life to them without the attainment of their object was valueless; they would do or die; for to die in doing was life, whereas to live failing was worse than death. Cortés felt all this, though it scarcely lay on his mind in threads of tangible thought. There was enough however that was tangible in his thinkings, and exceedingly troubling. Unfortunately the mind and heart of all his people were not of the complexion he would have them. And those ships. And the disaffected men lying so near them, looking wistfully at them every morning, and plotting, and plotting all the day long. Like the Palatinate to Turenne, like anything that seduced from the stern purposes of Cortés, it were better they were not.

This thought once flashed into his mind fastened itself there. And it grew. And Cortés grew with it, until the man and the idea filled all that country, and

became the wonder and admiration of the world. Destroy the ships! Cut off all escape, should such be needed in case of failure! Burn the bridge that spans time, and bring to his desperate desire the aid of the eternities! The thought of it alone was daring; more fearfully fascinating it became as Cortés dashed along toward Cempoala, and by the time he had reached his destination the thing was determined, and he might with Cæsar at the Rubicon exclaim, *Jacta est alea!* But what would his soldiers say? They must be made to feel as he feels, to see with his eyes, and to swell with his ambition.

The confession of the conspirators opened the eyes of Cortés to a fact which surely he had seen often enough before, though by reason of his generous nature which forgot an injury immediately it was forgiven, it had not been much in his mind of late, namely, that too many of his companions were lukewarm, if not openly disaffected. They could not forget that Cortés was a common man like themselves, their superior in name only, and placed over them for the accomplishment of this single purpose. They felt they had a right to say whether they would remain and take the desperate chance their leader seemed determined on, and to act on that right with or without his consent. And their position assuredly was sound; whether it was sensible depended greatly on their ability to sustain themselves in it. Cortés was exercising the arbitrary power of a majority to drive the minority as it appeared to their death. They had a perfect right to rebel; they had not entered the service under any such compact. Cortés himself was a rebel; hence the rebellion of the Velazquez men, being a rebelling against a rebel, was in truth an adherence to loyalty. Here as everywhere it was might that made right; and, indeed, with the right of these matters the narrator has little to do.

Success, shame, fear, bright prospects, had all lent their aid to hold the discontented in check, but in

regions, and at the close of the second day is reached the beautiful Jalapa,[3] a halting-place between the border of the sea and the upper plateau.

There they turn with one accord and look back. How charming! how inexpressibly refreshing are these approaching highlands to the Spaniards, so lately from the malarious Isthmus and the jungle-covered isles, and whose ancestors not long since had held all tropics to be uninhabitable; on the border, too, of Montèzuma's kingdom, wrapped in the soft folds of perpetual spring. Before the invaders are the ardent waters of the gulf, instant in their humane pilgrimage to otherwise frozen and uninhabitable lands; before them the low, infectious *tierra caliente* that skirts the lofty interior threateningly, like the poisoned garment of Hercules, with vegetation bloated by the noxious air and by nourishment sucked from the putrid remains of nature's opulence, while over all, filled with the remembrance of streams stained sanguine from sacrificial altars, passes with sullen sighs the low-voiced winds. But a change comes gradually as the steep ascent is made that walls the healthful table-land of Anáhuac. On the *templada* terrace new foliage is observed, though still glistening with sun-painted birds and enlivened by parliaments of monkeys. Insects and flowers bathe in waves of burning light until they display a variety of colors as wonderful as they are brilliant, while from cool cañons rise metallic mists overspreading the warm hills. Blue and purple are the summits in the distance, and dim glowing hazy the imperial heights beyond that daily baffle the departing sun. And on the broad plateau, whose rich earth with copious yield

[3] Meaning 'Spring in the Sand.' *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. app. 7. 'Y la primera jornado fuimos á vn pueblo, que se dize Xalapa.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 41. But the road was too long for one day's march. I may here observe that Bernal Diaz is remarkably faulty in his account of this march and of the campaign into Tlascala, and this is admitted by several writers, who nevertheless follow him pretty closely. The place is known the world over for its fairs and productions, particularly for the drug bearing its name, and is famous in the neighboring districts for its eternal spring and beautiful surroundings.

of gold and grain allures to cultivation, all the realm are out of doors keeping company with the sun. From afar comes the music-laden breeze whispering its secrets to graceful palms, aloft against the sky, and which bend to meet the confidence, while the little shrubs stand motionless with awe. Each cluster of trees repeats the story, and sings in turn its own matin to which the rest are listeners. At night, how glittering bright with stars the heavens, which otherwise were a shroud of impenetrable blackness. In this land of wild Arcadian beauty the beasts are free, and man keeps constant holiday. And how the hearts of these holy marauders burned within them as they thought, nothing doubting; how soon these glories should be Christ's, and Spain's, and theirs.

The boundary of the Totonac territory was crossed, and on the fourth day the army entered a province called by Cortés Sienchimalen, wherein the sway of Montezuma was still maintained. This made no difference to the Spaniards, however, for the late imperial envoys had left orders with the coast governors to treat the strangers with every consideration. Of this they had a pleasing experience at Xicochimalco,[4] a strong fortress situated on the slope of a steep mountain, to which access could be had only by a stairway easily defended. It overlooked a sloping plain strewn with villages and farms, mustering in all nearly six thousand warriors.[5] With replenished stores the expedition began to ascend the cordillera in reality, and to approach the pine forests which mark the border of the *tierra fria*. Marching through a hard pass named Nombre de Dios,[6] they entered another province defended by a fortress,

[4] Identified with Naulinco. *Lorenzana, Viage*, p. ii.

[5] Cortés refers to a friendly chat with the governor, who mentioned the orders he had received to offer the Spaniards all necessities. *Cartas*, 57.

[6] 'Por ser el primero que en estas tierras habíamos pasado. El cual es tan agro y alto, que no lo hay en España otro.' *Cortes, Cartas*, 57. 'Hoy se llama *el Paso del Obispo*.' *Lorenzana*, ubi sup. 'Ay en ella muchas parras con vuas, y arboles cō miel.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 68.

only reply being showers of arrows, darts, and stones, Cortés gave the "Santiago, and at them!" and charged. The enemy retreated with the face to their pursuers, enticing them toward some broken ground intersected by a creek, where they found themselves surrounded by a large force, some bearing the red and white devices of Xicotencatl. Missiles were showered, while double-pointed spears, swords, and clubs pressed closely upon them, wielded by bolder warriors than those whom the Spaniards had hitherto subdued. Many were the hearts that quaked, and many expected that their last moment had come; "for we certainly were in greater peril than ever before," says Bernal Diaz. "None of us will escape!" exclaimed Teuch, the Cempoalan chief, but Marina who stood by replied with fearless confidence: "The mighty God of the Christians, who loves them well, will let no harm befall them."[28] The commander rode back and forth cheering the men, and giving orders to press onward, and to keep well together. Fortunately the pass was not long, and soon the Spaniards emerged into an open field, where the greater part of the enemy awaited them, estimated in all, by different authorities, at from thirty thousand to one hundred thousand.[29]

How long was this to continue, each new armed host being tenfold greater than the last? Yet once again the Spaniards whet their swords, and prepare for instant attack, as determined to fight it out to the death, as Leonidas and his brave Spartans at the pass of Thermopylæ. The cavalry charged with loose reins, and lances fixed on a range with the heads of the enemy, opening a way through the dense columns and spreading a confusion which served the

[28] *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. v. A pious conquistador who was present, says Duran, told me that many wept, wishing they had never been born, and cursing the marquis for having led them into such danger. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 417.

[29] Tapia gives the higher and Herrera the lower figure, while Ixtlilxochitl makes it 80,000.

infantry well. Bernal Diaz relates how a body of natives, determined to obtain possession of a horse, surrounded an excellent rider named Pedro de Moron, who was mounted upon Sedeño's fine racing mare, dragged him from the saddle, and thrust their swords and spears through the animal in all directions. Moron would have been carried off but for the infantry coming to his rescue. In the struggle which ensued ten Spaniards were wounded, while four chiefs bit the dust. Moron was saved only to die on the second day, but the mare was secured by the natives and cut into pieces, which were sent all over the state to afford opportunity for triumphal celebrations. The loss was greatly regretted, since it would divest the horses of their terrifying character. Those previously killed had been secretly buried. The battle continued until late in the afternoon, without enabling the Indians to make any further impression on the Spanish ranks than inflicting a few wounds, while their own were rapidly thinning under the charges of the cavalry and the volleys of artillery and firelocks. The slaughter had been particularly heavy among the chiefs, and this was the main reason for the retreat which the enemy now began, in good order.[30] Their actual loss could not be ascertained, for with humane devotion the wounded and dead were carried off the moment they were stricken; and in this constant self-sacrificing effort the Tlascaltecs lost many lives and advantages. Robertson regards with suspicion the accounts of the great battles fought during the conquest, wherein Indians fell by the score while

[30] During the battle one of the late Cempoalan envoys recognized the captain who had bound him for sacrifice, and with Cortés' permission he sent him a challenge. The duel was held in front of the armies, and after a tough struggle the Cempoalan, with a feint, threw his opponent off guard, and secured his head, which served as a centre-piece during the Cempoalan victory celebration. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. vi. This author also relates that one of the final acts of the battle was the capture by Ordaz, with 60 men, of a pass. 'Les matamos muchos Indios, y entre ellos ocho Capitanes muy principales, hijos de los viejos Caciques.' Five horses were wounded and fifteen soldiers, of whom one died. The other chronicles admit of no dead. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 44.

the Spaniards stood almost unscathed, and Wilson ridicules the whole campaign, reducing the Tlascalan population, for instance, to about ten thousand, with a fighting force of less than one thousand men. Such remarks certainly show a want of familiarity with the subject.[31] We have often seen, in the New World wars, a thousand naked Americans put to flight by ten steel-clad Europeans, and I have clearly given the reasons. When we look at the Indians, with their comparatively poor weapons, their unprotected bodies, their inefficient discipline and tactics, whereby only a small portion of their force could be made available, the other portion serving rather as an obstruction, their custom of carrying off the dead, and other weak points, and when we contrast them with the well

[31] *Robertson, Hist. Am.*, ii. 38–9; *Wilson's Conq. Mex.*, 360–70; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 51. It is seldom that I encounter a book which I am forced to regard as beneath censure. He who prints and pays the printer generally has something to say, and generally believes something of what he says to be true. An idiot may have honest convictions, and a knave may have talents, but where a book carries to the mind of the reader that its author is both fool and knave, that is, that he writes only foolishness and does not himself believe what he says, I have not the time to waste in condemning such a work. And yet here is a volume purporting to be *A New History of the Conquest of Mexico*, written by Robert Anderson Wilson, and bearing date Philadelphia, 1859, which one would think a writer on the same subject should at least mention. The many and magnificent monuments which to the present day attest the great number and high culture of the Nahua race, and the testimony to this effect offered by witnesses on all sides, are ignored by him with a contempt that becomes amusing as the pages reveal his lack of investigation and culture. Indeed, the reader need go no further than the introduction to be convinced on the latter point. Another amusing feature is that the work pretends to vindicate the assertions of Las Casas, who, in truth, extols more than other Spanish author the vast number and advanced culture of the natives. In addition to this mistaken assumption, which takes away his main support, he states that Prescott worked in ignorance of his subject and his authorities, and to prove the assertion he produces wrongly applied or distorted quotations from different authors, or assumes meanings that were never intended, and draws erroneous conclusions. Thus it is he proves to his own satisfaction that Mexico City was but a village occupied by savages of the Iroquois stamp, and that Cortés was the boastful victor over little bands of naked red men. As for the ruins, they were founded by Phœnician colonists in remote ages. Another tissue of superficial observations, shaped by bigotry and credulous ignorance, was issued by the same author under the title of *Mexico and its Religion*, New York, 1855, most enterprisingly reprinted in the disguise of *Mexico: its Peasants and its Priests*, New York, 1856. In common with Mr Morgan, and others of that stamp, Mr Wilson seems to have deemed it incumbent on him to traduce Mr Prescott and his work, apparently with the view of thereby attracting attention to himself. Such men are not worthy to touch the hem of Mr Prescott's garment; they are not worthy of mention in the same category with him.

armored Spaniards, with their superior swords and lances, their well calculated movements, and their concerted action carried out under strict and practised officers, and above all their terror-inspiring and ravaging fire-arms and horses—how can we doubt that the latter must have readily been able to overcome vast numbers of native warriors? It was soon so understood in Europe. For once when Cortés was in Spain he scoffed at certain of his countrymen for having fled before a superior force of Moors, whereupon one remarked: "This fellow regards our opponents like his, of whom ten horsemen can put to flight twenty-five thousand." In the retreat of the Ten Thousand, who under Cyrus had invaded Persia, we have an example of the inadequacy of numbers against discipline. Though for every Greek the Persians could bring a hundred men, yet the effeminate Asiatic absolutely refused to meet the hardy European in open conflict. Æschylus was inspired by personal experience in his play of the Persians when he makes the gods intimate to the wondering Atossa, the queen-mother, that free Athenians, unwhipped to battle, could cope successfully with the myriads of despotic Xerxes. The poor Americans had yet to learn their own weakness, and to pay dearly for the knowledge.

"It well seems that God was he who fought for us to enable us to get free from such a multitude," says Cortés. He attempted no pursuit, but hastened to take possession of Tecohuatzinco, a small town on the hill of Tzompachtepetl,[32] where they fortified themselves upon the temple pyramid, and proceeded to celebrate the victory with songs and dances, a performance wherein the allies took the leading part.

[32] *Lorenzana, Viage*, ix., wherein the appearance of the hill is described as the bishop saw it. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 292; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 146. Other authors differ. '*Teoatzinco*, cioè il luogo dell'acqua divina.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 44. Duran assumes that the battle was for the possession of this place, which he calls Tecoac. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 418, 422; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 256. 'Aldea de pocas casas, que tenia vna torrezilla y tẽplo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 74.

pressing onward against the chilling winds which swept down from its frozen heights, and before long they were tramping through the snow which covered the summit.

Here they were cheered by a sight which made them, for the moment at least, forget their hardships. A turn in the road disclosed the valley of Mexico—the object of their toil and suffering—stretching from the slope of the forest-clad ranges at their feet as far as the eye could reach, and presenting one picturesque intermingling of green prairies, golden fields, and blooming gardens, clustering round a series of lakes. Towns lay thickly sprinkled, revealed by towering edifices and gleaming walls, and conspicuous above all, the queen city herself, placidly reposing upon the mirrored surface of the larger water. Above her rose the cypress-crowned hill of Chapultepec, with its stately palace consecrated to the glories of Aztec domination.[23]

The first transport over, there came a revulsion of feeling. The evidently dense population of the valley and the many fortified towns confirmed the mysterious warnings of the allies against a powerful and warlike people, and again the longing for the snug and secure plantations of Cuba found expression among the faint-hearted, as they shivered in the icy blast and wrapped themselves the closer in the absence of food and shelter. In this frame of mind the glistening farm-houses seemed only so many troops of savage warriors, lurking amidst the copses and arbors for victims to grace the stone of sacrifice and the festive board; and the stately towns appeared impregnable fortresses, which promised only to become their prisons and graves. So loud grew the murmur

huatl, which skirts Mount Telapon. This was the road recommended by Ixtlilxochitl, leading through Calpulalpan, where he promised to join him with his army; but Cortés preferred to trust to his own arms and to his Tlascaltec followers. *Torquemada*, i. 442.

[23] 'Dezian algunos Castellanos, que aquella era la tierra para su buena dicha prometida, y que mientras mas Moros, mas ganancia.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii.

CHAPTER XVI.

MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA.

November, 1519.

Something of the City—The Spaniards Start from Iztapalapan—Reach the Great Causeway—They are Met by many Nobles—And presently by Montezuma—Entry into Mexico—They Are Quartered in the Axayacatl Palace—Interchange of Visits.

From Iztapalapan the imperial city of the great plateau could clearly be seen, rising in unveiled whiteness from the lake. Almost celestial was its beauty in the eyes of the spoilers; a dream some called it, or, if tangible, only Venice was like it, with its imposing edifices sparkling amid the sparkling waters. Many other places had been so called, but there was no other New World Venice like this.

Sweeping round in sheltering embrace were the green swards and wood-clad knolls on the shore, studded with tributary towns and palatial structures, crowned with foliage, or peeping forth from groves, some venturing nearer to the city, and into the very lake. "We gazed with admiration," exclaims Bernal Diaz, as he compares with the enchanted structures described in the Amadis their grand towers, cues, and edifices, rising in the lake, and all of masonry.

Let us glance at the people and their dwellings; for though we have spoken of them at length elsewhere, we cannot in this connection wholly pass them by.

Two centuries back, the Aztecs, then a small and

despised people, surrounded and oppressed by enemies, had taken refuge on some islets in the western part of the saline lake of Mexico, and there by divine command they had founded the city which, under the title of Mexico Tenochtitlan, was to become the capital of Anáhuac. The first building was a temple of rushes, round which the settlement grew up, spreading rapidly over the islets, and on piles and filled ground. The city was enlarged and beautified by successive rulers, and when first beheld by the Spaniards it had attained its greatest extent—one it never again approached—and was reputed to be about twelve miles in circumference. This area embraced a large suburb of several villages and towns with independent names, containing in all sixty thousand houses, equivalent to a population of three hundred thousand.[1]

Four great avenues, paved with hard cement, ran crosswise from the cardinal points, and divided the city into as many quarters, which were again subdivided into wards.[2]

Three of the avenues were connected in a straight line, or nearly so, with the main land by means of smooth causeways, constructed of piles filled up with rubble and débris. The shortest of these was the western, leading to Tlacopan, half a league distant, and bordered all the way with houses. They were wide enough for ten horsemen to ride abreast, and were provided at intervals with bridges for the free flow of water[3] and of traffic. Near their junction with the city were drawbridges, and breastworks for defence. A fourth causeway, from the Chapultepec summer palace, served to support the aqueduct which

[1] The ruins of the old city, clearly traced by Humboldt, showed that it must have been of far greater extent than the capital raised upon its site by the Spaniards. This is also indicated by the size of the markets and temple courts. The reason is to be found partly in the former prevalence of one-story houses with courts inclosed.

[2] For ancient and modern names of quarters see *Native Races*, ii. 563.

[3] Cortés believed that the waters ebbed and flowed, *Cartas*, 102–3, and Peter Martyr enlarged on this phenomenon with credulous wonder. dec. v. cap. iii.

carried water from the mountain spring in that vicinity.

Round the southern part of the city stretched a semicircular levee, three leagues in length and thirty feet in breadth, which had been constructed in the middle of the preceding century to protect the place from the torrents which after heavy rains came rushing from the fresh-water lakes of Xochimilco and Chalco. This levee was the chief resort of the people—during the day for bustling merchants and boat crews, during the evening for promenaders, who came to breathe the fresh air soft-blown from the lake, and to watch the setting sun as it gilded the summits of Popocatepetl and his consort.

Traffic, as may be supposed, was conducted chiefly by canals guarded by custom-houses, lined with quays, and provided in some places with docks. Upon these abutted narrow yet well lighted cross streets, connected by bridges, and leading to a number of open squares, the largest of which were the market-places in Tlatelulco and Mexico proper, wherein as many as one hundred thousand people are said to have found room.

Viewed architecturally and singly, the buildings did not present a very imposing appearance, the greater portion being but one story in height. This monotony, however, was relieved to a great extent by the number of temples sacred to superior and local deities which were to be seen in every ward, raised high above the dwellings of mortals, on mounds of varying elevations, and surmounted by towering chapels. Their fires, burning in perpetual adoration of the gods, presented a most impressive spectacle at night. The grandest and most conspicuous of them all was the temple of Huitzilopochtli, which stood in the centre of the city, at the junction of the four avenues, so as to be ever before the eyes of the faithful. It formed a solid stone-faced pyramid about 375 feet long and 300 feet broad at the base,

325 by 250 feet at the summit, and rose in five superimposed, perpendicular terraces to the height of 86 feet. Each terrace receded six feet from the edge of the one beneath, and the stages were so placed that a circuit had to be made of each ledge to gain the succeeding flight, an arrangement equally suited for showy processions and for defence. Surrounding the pyramid was a battlemented stone wall 4800 feet in circumference, and through this led four gates, surmounted by arsenal buildings, facing the four avenues.[4]

The pyramid was quite modern, and owed its erection to Ahuitzotl, who for two years employed upon it an immense force of men, bringing the material from a distance of three or four leagues. It was completed in 1486, and consecrated with thousands of victims. The rich and devout brought, while it was building, a mass of treasures, which were buried in the mound as an offering to the gods, and served subsequently as a powerful incentive for the removal of every vestige of the structure. The present cathedral occupies a portion of the site.[5]

The appearance of the city was likewise improved by terraces of various heights serving as foundation for the dwellings of rich traders, and of the nobles who were either commanded to reside at the capital or attracted by the presence of the court. Their houses were to be seen along the main thoroughfares, differing from the adobe, mud, or rush huts of the poor, in being constructed of porous tetzontli stone, finely polished and whitewashed. Every house stood by itself, separated by narrow lanes or by gardens, and inclosing one or more courts. Broad steps led up the terrace to two gates, one opening on the

[4] For a description of the interior see *Native Races*, ii. 582–8.

[5] Ramirez and Carbajal Espinosa define the limits pretty closely with respect to the modern outline of the city, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 226–9, and notes in *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. app. 103; but Alaman, in his *Disert.*, ii. 202, 246, etc., enters at greater length into the changes which the site has undergone since the conquest, supporting his conclusions with quotations from the *Libro de Cabildo* and other valuable documents.

soiled. The monarch and his supporters were similarly dressed, in blue *tilmatlis* which, bordered with gold and richly embroidered and bejewelled, hung in loose folds from the neck, where they were secured by a knot. On their heads were mitred crowns of gold with *quetzal* plumes, and sandals with golden soles adorned their feet, fastenings embossed with gold and precious stones.[14]

Montezuma was about forty years of age, of good stature, with a thin though well-proportioned body, somewhat fairer than the average hue of his dusky race. The rather long face, with its fine eyes, bore an expression of majestic gravity, tinged with a certain benignity which at times deepened into tenderness. Round it fell the hair in a straight fringe covering the ears, and met by a slight growth of black beard.[15]

With a step full of dignity he advanced toward Cortés, who had dismounted to meet him. As they saluted,[16] Montezuma tendered a bouquet which he had brought in token of welcome, while the Spaniard took from his own person and placed round the neck of the emperor a showy necklace of glass, in

[14] For dress, see *Native Races*, ii. 178 et seq. Cortés gives sandals only to Montezuma, but it appears that persons of royal blood were allowed to retain them before the emperor, as Ixtlilxochitl also affirms. *Hist. Chich.*, 295; *Oviedo*, iii. 500; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1121.

[15] 'Cenzeño....y el rostro algo largo, è alegre.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 67. 'Motecçuma quiere dezir hõbre sañudo y graue.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 103; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 502–3. It is from this, probably, that so many describe him as serious in expression. A number of portraits have been given of the monarch, differing greatly from one another. The best known is Prescott's, taken from the painting for a long time owned by the Condes de Miravalle, the descendants of Montezuma; but this lacks the Indian type, and partakes too much of the ideal. Clavigero's, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 8, appears more like him, though it is too small and too roughly sketched to convey a clear outline. Far better is the half-size representation prefixed to *Linati, Costumes*, which indeed corresponds very well with the text description. The face in *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 104, indicates a coarse Aztec warrior, and that in *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 244–5, an African prince, while the native picture, as given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 6, is purely conventional. The text description, based chiefly on Bernal Diaz, is not inappropriate to the weak, vacillating character of the monarch. Clavigero makes him nearly 54 years old, and Brasseur de Bourbourg 51; but 40, as Bernal Diaz calls him, appears to be more correct.

[16] 'Ellos y él ficieron asimismo ceremonia de besar la tierra.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 85.

form of pearls, diamonds, and iridescent balls, strung upon gold cords and scented with musk.[17] With these baubles, which were as false as the assurances of friendship accompanying them, the great monarch deigned to be pleased, for if every piece of glass had been a diamond they would have possessed no greater value in his eyes. As a further expression of his good-will, Cortés offered to embrace the monarch, but was restrained by the two princes, who regarded this as too great a familiarity with so sacred a person.[18] The highest representative of western power and grandeur, whose fame had rung in the ears of the Spaniards since they landed at Vera Cruz, thus met the daring adventurer who with his military skill and artful speech had arrogated to himself the position of a demi-god.

After an interchange of friendly assurances the emperor returned to the city, leaving Cuitlahuatzin to escort the general.[19] The procession of nobles now filed by to tender their respects, whereupon the march

[17] 'De margaritas y diamantes de vidrio.' *Id.* 'Que se dizen margagitas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65.

[18] Solis assumes that Cortés was repelled when he sought to place the necklace on Montezuma. The latter chides the jealous princes, and permits him. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 370. 'Pareceme que el Cortès.... le daua la mano derecha, y el Monteçuma no la quiso, è se la diò â Cortès.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65. This phrase, which applies equally to offering the right hand, has been so understood by those who notice it; but as this would be confusing, Vetancurt, for instance, assumes improbably that Marina offers her right hand to Montezuma, which he disregards, giving his instead to Cortés. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 129.

[19] *Cortés, Cartas*, 85. Ixtlilxochitl has it that Cacama was left with him; and Bernal Diaz, that the lord of Coyuhuacan also remained. According to Cortés, Montezuma accompanied him all the way to the quarters in the city, keeping a few steps before. Gomara and Herrera follow this version. But Bernal Diaz states explicitly that he left the Spaniards to follow, allowing the people an opportunity to gaze; and Ixtlilxochitl assumes that he goes in order to be ready to receive him at the quarters. *Hist. Chich.*, 295. It is not probable that Montezuma would expose himself to the inconvenience of walking so far back, since this involved troublesome ceremonies, as we have seen, not only to himself but to the procession, and interfered with the people who had come forth to gaze. The native records state that Montezuma at once surrendered to Cortés the throne and city. 'Y se fueron ambos juntos á la par para las casas reales.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 23–4. Leading Cortés into the Tozi hermitage, at the place of meeting, he made the nobles bring presents and tender allegiance, while he accepted also the faith. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 440–1.

ing their missiles fast and furious, while from the cross-roads issued a swarm, with lance and sword, on Alvarado's flank. Over the water resounded their cries, and canoes came crowding round the causeway to attack the forward ranks. To add to the horrors of the tumult, several men and horses slipped on the wet bridge and fell into the water; others, midst heart-rending cries, were crowded over the edge by those behind. All the rest succeeded in crossing, however, except about one hundred soldiers. These, it is said, bewildered by the battle cries and death shrieks, turned back to the fort, and there held out for three days, till hunger forced them to surrender and meet the fate of sacrificial victims at the coronation feast of Cuitlahuatzin.[21]

The half mile of causeway extending between the first and second breaches was now completely filled with Spaniards and allies, whose flanks were harassed by the forces brought forward in canoes on either side. Dark and foggy as the night was, the outline of the Indian crews could be distinguished by the white and colored *tilmatli* in which many of them were clad, owing to the coldness of the air. Fearlessly they jumped to the banks, and fought the Spaniards with lance and javelin, retreating into the water the moment the charge was over. Some crept up the road sides, and seizing the legs of the fugitives endeavored to drag them into the water. So crowded were the soldiers that they could scarcely defend themselves; aggressive movements were out of the question.

Repeated orders had been transmitted to Magarino to hurry forward the removal of his bridge to the second channel, and, seeing no more soldiers on the opposite bank of the first opening, he prepared to

[21] This native rumor, as recorded in the mannscripts used by Duran, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 476–7, is probably the foundation for Cano's statement, that Cortés abandoned 270 men in the fort. Herrera reduces them to 100. 'Que se boluieron a la torre del templo, adonde se hizieron fuertes tres dias.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

obey, but the structure had been so deeply imbedded in the banks from the heavy traffic that his men labored for some time in vain to lift it, exposed all the while to a fierce onslaught. Finally, after a number of the devoted band had succumbed, the bridge was released, but before it could be drawn over the causeway the enemy had borne it down at the other end so as .effectually to wreck it.[22] The loss of the bridge was a great calamity, and was so regarded by the troops, hemmed in as they were between two deep channels, on a causeway which in width would hold only twenty men in a line. On all sides were enemies thirsting for blood. Presently a rush was made for the second channel, where the soldiers had already begun, in face of the foe, to cross on a single beam, which had been left intact when the bridge was destroyed. As this was an exceedingly slow process, many took to the water, only to receive their death-blow at the hands of the watermen. Some were taken prisoners; some sank beneath their burden of gold; the horses found a ford on one side where the water was not above the saddle

The canoes, however, were as numerous here as elsewhere, and their occupants as determined; and the horsemen had the greatest trouble to keep their seats while resisting them. The general, being at the head, suffered most. At one time some Indians seized him by the legs and tried to drag him off. The footing of the horse being so insecure, the attempt would probably have succeeded but for the prompt aid of Antonio de Quiñones, and Texmaxahuitzin, a Tlascaltec, known afterward as Antonio. Olid, who also came to the rescue, was almost overpowered, but managed to free himself by means of backhanded blows from his muscular arm. One of the cavalry, Juan de Salazar, the page of Cortés, then took the

[22] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 106, assumes that the enemy bore it down before the baggage train had crossed, and that the channel was filled in consequence with artillery, baggage, and dead bodies. Gomara gets the bridge across the second breach. Both must be mistaken, however.

lead to clear the way for the rest, only to fall a victim to his zeal. The next moment his master had gained the bank, and thereupon directed the troops by the ford.[23]

Thus in the darkness the wild roar of battle continued, the commingling shouts and strokes of combatants falling on the distant ear as one continuous moan. The canoes now pressed on the fugitives in greater number at the ford than in the channel. Sandoval, with his party, had swum the channel before the Mexicans assembled there in great numbers, and was now leading the van down the causeway, scattering the assailants right and left. Little regular fighting was attempted, the Spaniards being intent on escaping and the Mexicans quickly yielding before the cavalry, taking refuge in and round the canoes. With greater hardihood and success, however, they harassed those on foot. On reaching the next channel, which was the last, the fugitives found with dismay that it was wider and deeper than the others, and with bitter regret they saw their mistake in not bringing three portable bridges. The enemy was here also gathering in ever increasing force, to watch the death trap. Every effort to clear a passage was stubbornly resisted, and, the soldiers growing more irresolute, a rider was sent to bring Cortés. Before he arrived, however, Sandoval had already plunged in with a number of the cavalry, followed by foot-soldiers, who seized the opportunity to fall into the wake, by either holding on to the trappings of the horses or striking out for themselves. The passage was extremely difficult, and more than one horseman reeled and fell, from the united pressure of friends and foes. Those who followed suffered yet more, being pushed down by comrades, struck by clubs and stones, pierced by spears, or, most

[23] Camargo relates the incidents of the passage in detail, and says that Cortés fell into a hole as the enemy pounced upon him. The two deliverers disputed the honor of having rescued the general. *Hist. Tlax.*, 169.

horrible of all, drawn in by dusky boatmen, who carefully guarded them for the dread stone of sacrifice.

With five horsemen Cortés led a body of one hundred infantry to the mainland. Accompanying this force was a number of carriers with treasures secured by the general and his friends. Leaving the gold in charge of Jaramillo, with orders to hold the entrance of the causeway against assailants from the shore, Cortés returned to the channel where Sandoval had taken a stand to keep clear the bank and protect the passage. Tidings coming that Alvarado was in danger, Cortés proceeded to the rear, beyond the second channel, and found it hotly contested. His opportune arrival infused fresh courage, as with gallant charges he relieved the troops from the terrible pressure. He looked in vain for many comrades who had been placed at this post, and would have gone in search of them had not Alvarado assured him that all the living were there. He was told that the guns reserved for the rear had for a while been directed with sweeping effect against the ever growing masses of warriors around them; but finally a simultaneous attack from the canoe crews on either side, and from the land forces to the rear, impelled by their own volume, had overwhelmed the narrow columns nearest the city, together with their cannon, killing and capturing a large number, and throwing the rest into the panic-stricken condition from which he had just extricated them.

Leaving Alvarado to cover the rear as best he could, Cortés hastened to direct the passage of the middle channel. What a sight was there! Of all the bloody terrors of that dark, sorrowful night, this was the most terrible! A bridge had been wanting, and behold, the bridge was there! With dead and living fugitives the chasm on either side the slippery beam had been filled,[24] and now the soldiers and allies

[24] 'El foso se hinchó hasta arriba;.... y los de la retroguardia pasaron sobre los muertos. Los españoles que aquí quedaron muertos fueron trescientos, y de los tlaxcaltecas y otros indios amigos fueron mas de dos mil.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 122.

were rushing, heedless of the groans beneath them, across this gory support, still narrow and full of gaps, to be filled by the next tripping fugitive. Scattered pell-mell on the bank lay the baggage and artillery, abandoned by the fleeing carriers, which, proving only an obstruction, Cortés ordered it thrown into the channel in order to widen the crossing.

But the end was not yet. Great as had been the woe, it was yet to be increased at the last and wider channel. Here was indeed a yawning abyss, having likewise a single remaining beam, whose narrow slippery surface served rather as a snare than a support.[25] The necessarily slow motion of the train had enabled the Mexicans to come up in swarms, and like sharks surround the chasm. Harassed on every side, and with an avalanche rolling against the rear, the retreating thought only of escaping the new danger, and at once. They threw aside their arms and treasures and plunged in, bearing one another down regardless of any claims of friendship or humanity. And woful to hear were the heart-rending cries from that pit of Acheron. Some begged help of Mary and Santiago; some cursed their fate and him who had brought them to it, while many sank with mute despair into the arms of death; and over all roared the wild cries and insults of the Mexicans. In strong contrast to the panic-stricken men appeared a woman, María de Estrada, who, with shield and sword, faced the enemy like a lioness, standing forth among the men as a leader, and astonishing friend and foe with her prowess.[26]

Cortés did all he could, as became an able commander and valiant soldier, to save his men. He was indefatigable in his efforts, being everywhere present, encouraging, guiding, and protecting. Yet his position was most trying; there were that night so many

[25] *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 4, 53, 68.

[26] 'Casò esta Señora, con Pedro Sanchez Farfan [who seized Narvaez], y dieronle en Encomienda el Pueblo de Tetela.' She married a second time, and died in Puebla. *Torquemada*, i. 504.

brave soldiers given over to despair, so many ears deaf to commands and prudent counsel. Unable to do more at the channels, he hastened to look to those who had crossed and were proceeding in straggling bands to join Jaramillo. Heedless of companies or officers, the soldiers had banded in parties of a score or two, and sword in hand, where this had not been thrown away, they were hurrying down the causeway.[27] The assailants fell off somewhat beyond the last channel, and finding the advance comparatively safe, guided by his soldierly impulses Cortés again returned with a few horsemen[28] and foot-soldiers to cover the remnant of the army. The rear, composed chiefly of the Narvaez party, were approaching the last channel, but under the continued onslaught panic had seized them. They made hardly an effort to defend themselves, and like the Indians during the massacre by Alvarado they huddled one against the other, offering their backs as a target for unsparing attack. Among this number was the loyal and noble Velazquez de Leon, who shared with the Tonatiuh the command of this section. How he fell is not known, but he never crossed the last breach.[29]

Alvarado had been wounded and had lost his horse, in common with most of his party. Finding it impossible to control the men, he gathered a small band round him and sought the channel, leaving the rest to look to themselves.[30] On reaching the spot he saw

[27] Bernal Diaz formed one of a band of 50, who were repeatedly attacked with arms and midst insults. He quotes some of the low expressions used. *Hist. Verdad.*, 106.

[28] One authority states that Cortés was nearing Tlacopan, when Olid and others called out to him that the fugitives were accusing the captains of abandoning them, and urged that they should turn back. 'It is a miracle to have escaped,' was his reply, 'and fewer will be left if we return.' Saying this he headed a dozen horsemen and a few foot-soldiers and galloped back. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 106. But Cortés was not the man to wait in such a case till entreaty came. 'Yo con tres ó cuatro de caballo,' he says, 'y hasta veinte peones, que osaron quedar conmigo, me fuí en la rezaga.' *Cartas*, 135. He takes the palm from all American conquerors, exclaims Oviedo, iii. 326.

[29] Zamacois makes atonement for a lack of research by inventing doughty deeds for this hero. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 417–18.

[30] Among the soldiers contributed in later times by Garay's expedition was one Ocampo, who, fond of scandal and pasquinades, libelled many of the

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In Five Volumes, Octavo, numbering in all 4091 pages, with 10 Maps and 425 Illustrations.

VOL. I. WILD TRIBES; THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.
VOL. II. CIVILIZED NATIONS OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.
VOL. III. MYTHOLOGY AND LANGUAGES OF BOTH SAVAGE AND CIVILIZED NATIONS.
VOL. IV. ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS.
VOL. V. ABORIGINAL HISTORY AND MIGRATIONS; INDEX TO THE ENTIRE WORK.

As the Europeans first came upon the several parts of America they encountered a strange people, different from any they had ever before seen, of many and diverse nations and languages, yet all wonderfully like each other. There were among them no such decided race contrasts as are found between Africans, Asiatics, and Europeans. At first the wise men of the world did not know what to make of it; but they finally concluded to pronounce them human beings, and to accredit them with a soul.

These Americans were not all equally well conditioned or equally intelligent. Many of their customs were similar to those of the Europeans, particularly to those of the aboriginal Europeans; the common necessities of man engender common habits and manners; some of their ways were widely different from those of any other people known ever to have lived on the earth. There were found on the table-lands of Central America, Mexico, and Peru imperial nations, but little behind the Europeans themselves in progress. On either side of them, along the shore of the Mexican Gulf and along the Pacific seaboard, more particularly in California, man was low enough in the scale of humanity. So he was at Patagonia; but at Alaska he was shrewder; indeed, the Eskimos belonged to the Asiatic and European Arctic race, rather than to the American Indian proper.

It has been the purpose in these five volumes to give a full and accurate description of these peoples; that is those of them occupying the Pacific Coast of North America from Alaska to Panamá, including the whole of Central America and Mexico. They are described as they were first seen by Europeans. Indeed, we had but a brief glance at them before they were gone; it is well for us, therefore, it is creditable to our enlightenment and civilization, that we should gather and preserve all that is known of the Native Races of the New World before it is too late, before with the people themselves the knowledge of them sinks into oblivion. And this Mr Bancroft has done; first gathering from every quarter the testimony of twelve hundred eye-witnesses, conquerors, fur-traders, gold-seekers, travellers and authors, as shown by the list of authorities given, and then sifting, classifying, and writing it all down in form for permanent preservation.

The plan of the five volumes is essentially as follows:

Volume I.

THE WILD TRIBES OF THE PACIFIC STATES; THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Of this vast seaboard, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the river Darien, six territorial divisions are made, and the natives of each division, grouped under appropriate names, are separately described. Beginning at the north, there are first the *Hyperboreans*, or northern people; then the *Columbians*, or nations whose lands are drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries; followed by the *Californians*, which term, besides the natives of California, includes the inhabitants of the Great Basin beyond the Sierra Nevada; the *New Mexicans* come next, which group includes the Town-builders or Pueblos, the Comanches, Apaches, and the savage tribes of northern Mexico and the peninsula of California; then we have the *Wild Tribes of Mexico;* and, finally, the *Wild Tribes of Central America.* Following linguistic and physical diversities, these six great divisions are again subdivided into numerous families, nations and tribes, and the whole accurately and minutely described, with constant reference to the sources whence the information is derived.

First, with the name and its origin, the territorial boundaries of each people are given, and the aspects of the country delineated, with special reference to the influence of nature on man; then the physical peculiarities of the people are portrayed, their general appearance, height, form, complexion, features, cranium, the color and texture of the hair, beard, etc., with the usual attempted improvements on nature, such as decoration, painting, tattooing, nose, lip, and ear piercing and ornamenting, head-flattening and other deformations; then their dress, houses, tents, caves, arbors, and all other attempts to better the

primitive unsheltered condition; next the subject of food is taken up, what is eaten, how it is procured and prepared, which includes hunting, fishing, root-digging, agriculture, and the preservation and cooking of food; their personal habits are then examined; also their weapons, and methods of declaring war, of fighting battles, of treating prisoners and making peace; their implements, utensils, dishes, saddles, boats, canoes, rafts, and methods of navigation, in addition to which their manufactures of cloth, mats, and pottery, are given; then their wealth, property, and trade,—that is, what constitutes native wealth, what their conceptions of rights of property, what their customs in trade and what their currencies are; likewise their arts, such as carving and painting, and their intellectual advancement as manifest in counting, reckoning time, and observation of celestial bodies; their government, laws, power and position of chiefs, and punishment of crimes next attract our attention, with the phenomenon of slavery, the slave-trade, and the treatment of slaves; then their family relations are taken up, such as the position of woman, courtship, marriage, polygamy, treatment of wives and children, childbirth, chastity, and prostitution; then their amusements, songs, dances, feasts, smoking, drinking, gambling, horse-racing, and athletic sports: and, finally, their diseases, medicines, treatment of the sick, medicine-men, conjurers or sorcerers, their mourning and burial, concluding their obituary with a summing up of their general character. All this is gone over with every subdivision of every group—care being taken not to describe in full the same custom twice, but only to note differences—and given with a thoroughness, and, notwithstanding its magnitude, with a minuteness never hitherto approached by any writer on aboriginal peoples.

Preceding each of the six groups or great divisions of this volume is a fine copper-plate map of that portion of the Pacific States embraced within the terri-

tory of the group, with families, nations, and tribes, newly and accurately set down according to the most reliable authorities, in letters of a size corresponding to variety and species; so that all these maps put together represent our whole western seaboard, with the people inhabiting it before it was disturbed by Europeans. At the end of each groupal division a summary of Tribal Boundaries is given, with all the authorities, confirmatory and contradictory, placed side by side, thus enabling the reader to draw his own conclusions in the matter.

Volume II.

THE CIVILIZED NATIONS OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA; THEIR INDUSTRIES, ARTS, AND LITERATURE, THEIR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS POLITIES, AND THEIR SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

Here we have an entirely new field. The people described in the first volume display different degrees of savagism, yet they may all safely be called savages. But on the table-lands of Mexico and Central America the first Spaniards found nations well advanced in science, art, and literature; nations that laid out large cities in streets and squares with public market-places; nations that built magnificent palaces and temples of hewn stone and lime, and left as architectural remains huge monuments and stupendous tumuli; nations well skilled in the working of metals, and whose jewellers rivaled the Venetian gold-workers of the period; nations that spun and wove delicate textile fabrics, and produced mosaic feather-work that was the marvel of the civilized world; nations that were governed by august potentates, and whose kings and emperors were surrounded with a pomp and courtly etiquette as great as that of any European prince; nations with a palpably progressive civilization, with civil and religious polities of no mean order, and whose institutions

often resembled those of the old world. In this volume are described the orders of society, nobles, priests, and plebeians; the distribution and tenure of lands; the astronomical ideas and calendar system of the Aztecs, Mayas, Quichés, and others; their literature, hieroglyphic writings, music and painting; their useful arts, their implements, and manufactures; their sculpture, and working in stones, gold, silver, and jewels; their food, and manner of procuring and preserving it; their cultivation of the soil, and their eating of human flesh; the relations of husband and wife, polygamy, childbirth, and baptism; circumcision, instruction of children, salutation, betrothal, and matters relating to private and domestic life; the royal household, the king's state and the position of the nobles; their systems of government, laws, law-courts, judges, and other officials, court regulations, court costume, matters relating to coronation, election, taxes, taking the census, royal succession, with the royal palaces and its gardens and buildings; their ceremonies, feasts, dances, games, smoking, and drinking; their common houses, public buildings, temples, streets, market-places, with the interior of their dwellings; their dress, and ornaments; their commerce, with the laws and regulations of the market-place; merchants, merchants' feasts, and the mercantile order; their weapons, offensive and defensive, the equipment of soldiers, declaration and carrying on of war, army regulations, army officers, pensions, captives, booty, war councils, war tribunals, and triumphal entries; their auguries, diseases, treatment of the sick, medicinal herbs, curative processes, doctors, and burials.

This volume fills a gap in the world's literature. It opens with a masterly essay, Chapter I., on Savagism and Civilization, a subject ill understood even by those who talk much about it. The civilizations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome have been written and rewritten by a multitude of authors in many languages;

the civilizations of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Quichés have never before been adequately written in any language. Least of all that is trustworthily written of them is in English; while the early and extensive but chaotic descriptions by the old Spanish chroniclers, and the later investigations of French and German savans are alike inaccessible to most English readers. If the American civilizations were a little ruder than the European—which Dr Draper declares they were not, so far as the Spaniards were concerned in the comparison—they are surely none the less worthy of being known; indeed, as the tendency of investigation now is, every new phase of civilization brought to light is of far more value to science than would be the production of a counterpart to any of the longer known and better understood civilizations of Europe. Curtailed and necessarily misleading descriptions of these societies have been prefixed to numerous histories of the conquest; but the work of thoroughly collecting all the facts, setting them in order, and clearly presenting them has never before been attempted, and it is hoped that this volume will meet a necessity which has long been felt.

Volume III.

MYTHOLOGY AND LANGUAGES OF BOTH SAVAGE AND CIVILIZED NATIONS.

This volume attempts to trace the intricate windings of Myths and Tongues throughout our territory. Under the former heading are collected all the traditions, beliefs, and strange stories concerning the origin and end of things, the creation of the world, with its men and animals and trees, and all things else therein; it tells how fire was first made, and how the sun and moon and stars were established in the heavens; how, in days when men and beasts talked together, a great flood came upon the earth, and how the Coyote, the

cunningest of animals, prepared an ark to save himself withal; how the Golden Gate was opened, Mount Shasta made, and how a great wave came from the ocean and formed Lake Tahoe; it gives the origin of Clear Lake, recounts the feats of the Giants of the Palouse River, and tells how native religious philologists explain differences in language and the confusion of tongues. It gives the story of Yehl, the creator of the Thlinkeets, and of the Raven and the Dog; it tells how the Coyote stole fire for the Cahrocs, how the Frog lost his tail, how the Hawk and Crow built the Coast Range, and how the mountains of Yosemite were made. From physical myths we proceed to animal, and learn of the ill-omened owl, of tutelary animals and metamorphosed men, of the ogress-squirrel of Vancouver Island, of fallen men and sacred animals; of the serpent, emblem, among other things, of the lightning; of the Danse Macabre and sad death of the Coyote. The next chapters treat of gods, supernatural beings, and worship, of demonology and witchcraft, of sacred fires; then the Mexican religion is taken up, and Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl, and its numerous other deities described, with the prayers of the worshippers and a description of their bloody sacrifices; and, lastly, the future state with its horror of great darkness or its Valhalla glories is laid bare.

The latter part of the volume is devoted to the languages and dialects of this coast, of which there are no less than six hundred. First a tabular classification of aboriginal tongues is given, which beginning at the north proceeds southward, without however being confined to territorial boundaries in cases where the dialect is discovered cropping out elsewhere. Then the characteristic individuality of the American tongues is noticed; the frequent occurrence of long words; duplications, frequentatives, and duals; intertribal languages, gesture-languages, jargons or trade languages; the great language families which

are found principally inland; language in reference to origin, and accidental similarities and coincidences between strange languages. First in order are the Hyperborean languages,—Eskimo, Koniagan, Aleut, and Thlinkeet grammars; the great Tinneh family, with its eastern, western, central, and southern divisions; specimens of and comparisons between these several dialects; comparative vocabulary of the Tinneh family. Taking up the Columbian languages, we have the Haidah grammar; the Nass dialects; Bellacoola and Chimsyan comparisons; the languages of Vancouver Island; specimens, and Aztec analogies; the Sound languages; the tongues of interior British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, with grammars and specimens; the Chinook jargon. Next come the Californians, with their babel of tongues, of which are given many grammars and original vocabularies, as of the Pomos, Shastas, the dialects of Pitt River, of Russian River, of the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Napa, and Sonoma valleys; of the Olhones and others of San Francisco Bay, the Runsenes and Eslenses of Monterey, and the dialects at the several missions; of Santa Cruz and other islands, with trans-Pacific comparisons. Crossing the Sierra Nevada, there are the Shoshone languages and their affiliations; the Aztec-Sonora connections; the Utah, Comanche, Moqui, Kizh, Netela, Kechi, Cahuillo, and Chemehuevi grammars and comparative vocabularies. Still proceeding southward, we have the languages of the Pueblos, and find the Colorado River nations not affiliated with any large families; we examine the Lower Californian tongues with grammatical remarks. Then come the Pima, Ópata, and Seri languages, of which grammars and prayers are given in the different dialects, with remarks on their Aztec-Sonora connection. The languages of northern Mexico are then given with grammars and specimens; after which the Aztec and Otomí languages of central Mexico; a dissertation on the identity of the Nahuatl,

Aztec, Chichimec and Toltec idioms; testimony of the early missionaries and others as to the richness and beauty of the Aztec tongue; following which are the tongues of the Tarascos, the Miztecs, Zapotecs, Mijes, and others of southern Mexico, and the Huaves of the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Descending to Central America we have the old and illustrious Maya-Quiché family with its multitudinous ramifications, and, last of all, the languages of Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, and the isthmus of Panamá.

Volume IV.

MONUMENTAL ARCHÆOLOGY; RUINS AND MATERIAL RELICS OF THE PAST, ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

Ruined cities, palaces, temples, and fortifications; pyramids, mounds, and tombs; weapons, implements, and dishes, of stone, clay, and metal; idols and altars of elaborate sculpture; hieroglyphic inscriptions, rock-paintings, ornaments, and many articles of unknown use—all these the work of native hands before intercourse with Europeans—have been found scattered over the surface of the Pacific States, examined and described by some five hundred travellers. The results are contained in more than as many books, many of which furnish complete and reliable information about the antiquities of particular regions or localities, but no one work ever published makes any attempt at a thorough description of all. This is what is done in this volume, which describes carefully each of the many thousand relics, by means of information drawn from all the travellers who have seen it. The antiquities of each separate region are profusely illustrated by cuts of the most interesting objects, prepared from the most authentic sources. A large map enables the reader to easily locate each important ruin. Two chapters are added on South American antiquities and the works of the mound-builders of the eastern

United States. By such addition this volume includes all the relics of any interest and importance in America. Interesting notes on the successive explorations of different ruins and on the books of the explorers are added. The subject is treated geographically, proceeding from south to north by states, and classifying the monuments of each state in groups according to their nature. Without noticing here the multitude of smaller relics described, some of the prominent features may be named as follows: the implements and ornaments of gold, clay, and stone dug from the huacas or tombs of Chiriquí; the many strangely carved idols and the rude cairns or sepulchral stone-heaps of Nicaragua; the regular pyramidal structures and fortifications of Honduras and Salvador, including the wonderful temple and the colossal idols and altars at Copan; in Guatemala are the ruins of Quirigua and Tikal, with the more modern Quiché ruins scattered on all the plateaux; Uxmal, Chichen-Itza, and innumerable ruined cities dot the plains of Yucatan; in Chiapas is Palenque, in many respects the most remarkable American ruin; across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, in Oajaca, are the temples, pyramids, and fortified mounts of Mitla and vicinity; then the remains of Nahua art and skill in the territory of the ancient Aztec empire; Xochicalco in the south; Misantla, Papantla, and Tusapan in Vera Cruz; the few monuments of Anáhuac and surrounding valleys, including the pre-Aztec pyramids of Cholula and Teotihuacan; the mysterious Quemada of Zacatecas; the Casas Grandes of Chihuahua and on the Gila; and the New Mexican Pueblo ruins of New Mexico. Finally from California northward to Alaska we have only a few trifling relics of savage tribes, but even here the mining-shafts of California have laid bare rude stone implements in connection with the remains of extinct animals, which throw no little light on the much discussed subject of man's age upon the earth. This treatise supplies a

need of the reader with antiquarian tastes who cannot procure the many rare and expensive works that treat of the subject. The greatest possible pains has been taken to make this volume fill satisfactorily the place of all; and if its subject be not of the highest interest to the general reader, it is in some respects the most complete of the whole series.

Volume V.

ANCIENT HISTORY, MIGRATIONS, AND ORIGIN OF THE CIVILIZED NATIONS—CONCLUDING WITH A COPIOUS INDEX TO THE WHOLE FIVE VOLUMES.

The last volume of the series is devoted to what is known or conjectured of the American people and the American civilization in the past, a topic of the deepest interest, and a fruitful ground-work of theory and speculation. Preceding volumes have dealt with known facts concerning the aborigines and their actual institutions as observed by Europeans, and collected from all available sources. All the positive knowledge therein collected is here used to throw light on the darkness of traditional history. Starting with no great theory to support, and making no pretence of reducing the vagueness of tradition to the certainty of historic record, the author tells the aboriginal story as he finds it in the most original and reliable authorities —a fascinating tale, illustrated with all the vagaries and quaint conceits of the native mind. The beginning, progress, and dismemberment of the great Maya empire of Central America, with the more modern Maya-Quiché epoch in Guatemala and Yucatan; the successive Toltec and Chichimec eras of Anáhuac, with the more definite and reliable annals of the great Aztec empire, are narrated as a connected whole so far as consistent with the data, and detached historic traditions are introduced wherever they seem most appropriate and intelligible. No authentic native tra-

dition is omitted; no over-strained attempt is made to reconcile discordant historic elements, neither is a spirit of misplaced scepticism allowed to reject as useless the fables of the aboriginal annals. The chapters on the question of Origin present a clear statement of the many theories that have been brought forward, with the facts on which they rest. No claim is made that the author has solved a problem which is and must, probably, ever remain insoluble; but the opinions—some resting on absurdity, others on a reasonable basis—of the many who have solved it to their own satisfaction, are given fully and impartially, leaving the reader to form his own conclusions. An Index of the whole five volumes will fill some hundreds of pages at the close and is a prominent feature of the work. Constructed according to the most approved principles, it directs the reader at once to all that the work contains on each minute point treated, and thus by way of the notes, to all that has been written on the Native Races. This Index is a fitting end of a most extensive literary work, and multiplies the practical value of all the matter that precedes it. In it is the name of every tribe, every place, every custom and characteristic, every tongue, every myth, every tradition, and every concrete idea embraced in the whole five volumes, with numerous inversions and cross-references; so that as a work of reference it will be invaluable. Nothing is of greater importance in a standard work of this character than a full and complete Index, which refers the searcher at once to whatever is wanted. Many a good book lies almost worthless for lack of this, and the author of the present volumes has suffered too much in the use of poorly indexed books, not to take good care that his work shall be free from that defect.

Thus the indigenous races of this one twelfth part of the earth's surface are portrayed with a comprehensiveness and a completeness hitherto unparalleled in the annals of literature. Not alone are the people,

their physique, their architecture, arts, and industries, their political, social, and domestic life, vividly pictured, but mind with its inmost workings is analyzed, weird belief and wondrous speech are placed side by side, and incomprehensible conceptions of things incomprehensible are spread out, not as postulates for the support of some preconcerted theory, but as living unadulterated facts, from which the intelligent reader may make his own deductions.

As it would be impracticable to enumerate in a Prospectus all the authorities referred to throughout the whole series, a list of the Authorities Quoted in the *Native Races* alone is given as a specimen.

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THE NATIVE RACES

OF THE

PACIFIC STATES.

WILD TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

ETHNOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION.

FACTS AND THEORIES — HYPOTHESES CONCERNING ORIGIN — UNITY OF RACE — DIVERSITY OF RACE — SPONTANEOUS GENERATION — ORIGIN OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS — PRIMORDIAL CENTRES OF POPULATION — DISTRIBUTION OF PLANTS AND ANIMALS — ADAPTABILITY OF SPECIES TO LOCALITY — CLASSIFICATION OF SPECIES — ETHNOLOGICAL TESTS — RACES OF THE PACIFIC — FIRST INTERCOURSE WITH EUROPEANS.

Facts are the raw material of science. They are to philosophy and history, what cotton and iron are to cloth and steam-engines. Like the raw material of the manufacturer, they form the bases of innumerable fabrics, are woven into many theories finely spun or coarsely spun, which wear out with time, become unfashionable, or else prove to be indeed true and fit, and as such remain. This raw material of the scholar, like that of the manufacturer, is always a staple article; its substance never changes, its value never diminishes; whatever may be the condition of society, or howsoever advanced the mind, it is indispensable. Theories may be only for the day, but facts are for all time and for all science. When we remember that the sum of all knowledge is but the sum of ascertained facts, and that every new

fact brought to light, preserved, and thrown into the general fund, is so much added to the world's store of knowledge,—when we consider that, broad and far as our theories may reach, the realm of definite, tangible, ascertained truth is still of so little extent, the importance of every never-so-insignificant acquisition is manifest. Compare any fact with the fancies which have been prevalent concerning it, and consider, I will not say their relative brilliance, but their relative importance. Take electricity, how many explanations have been given of the lightning and the thunder, yet there is but one fact; the atmosphere, how many howling demons have directed the tempest, how many smiling deities moved in the soft breeze. For the one all-sufficient First Cause, how many myriads of gods have been set up; for every phenomenon how many causes have been invented; with every truth how many untruths have contended, with every fact how many fancies. The profound investigations of latter-day philosophers are nothing but simple and laborious inductions from ascertained facts, facts concerning attraction, polarity, chemical affinity and the like, for the explanation of which there are countless hypotheses, each hypothesis involving multitudes of speculations, all of which evaporate as the truth slowly crystallizes. Speculation is valuable to science only as it directs the mind into otherwise-undiscoverable paths; but when the truth is found, there is an end to speculation.

So much for facts in general; let us now look for a moment at the particular class of facts of which this work is a collection.

The tendency of philosophic inquiry is more and more toward the origin of things. In the earlier stages of intellectual impulse, the mind is almost wholly absorbed in ministering to the necessities of the present; next, the mysterious uncertainty of the after life provokes inquiry, and contemplations of an eternity of the future command attention; but not until knowledge is well advanced

does it appear that there is likewise an eternity of the past worthy of careful scrutiny,—without which scrutiny, indeed, the eternity of the future must forever remain a sealed book. Standing as we do between these two eternities, our view limited to a narrow though gradually widening horizon, as nature unveils her mysteries to our inquiries, an infinity spreads out in either direction, an infinity of minuteness no less than an infinity of immensity; for hitherto, attempts to reach the ultimate of molecules, have proved as futile as attempts to reach the ultimate of masses. Now man, the noblest work of creation, the only reasoning creature, standing alone in the midst of this vast sea of undiscovered truth,—ultimate knowledge ever receding from his grasp, primal causes only thrown farther back as proximate problems are solved,—man, in the study of mankind, must follow his researches in both of these directions, backward as well as forward, must indeed derive his whole knowledge of what man is and will be from what he has been. Thus it is that the study of mankind in its minuteness assumes the grandest proportions. Viewed in this light there is not a feature of primitive humanity without significance; there is not a custom or characteristic of savage nations, however mean or revolting to us, from which important lessons may not be drawn. It is only from the study of barbarous and partially cultivated nations that we are able to comprehend man as a progressive being, and to recognize the successive stages through which our savage ancestors have passed on their way to civilization. With the natural philosopher, there is little thought as to the relative importance of the manifold works of creation. The tiny insect is no less an object of his patient scrutiny, than the wonderful and complex machinery of the cosmos. The lower races of men, in the study of humanity, he deems of as essential importance as the higher; our present higher races being but the lower types of generations yet to come.

Hence, if in the following pages, in the array of

CHAPTER II.

HYPERBOREANS.

General Divisions—Hyperborean Nations—Aspects of Nature—Vegetation — Climate — Animals — The Eskimos—Their Country—Physical Characteristics — Dress — Dwellings — Food — Weapons — Boots — Sledges—Snow-Shoes—Government—Domestic Affairs—Amusements —Diseases—Burial—The Koniagas, their Physical and Social Condition—The Aleuts—The Thlinkeets—The Tinneh.

I shall attempt to describe the physical and mental characteristics of the Native Races of the Pacific States under seven distinctive groups; namely, I. Hyperboreans, being those nations whose territory lies north of the fifty-fifth parallel; II. Columbians, who dwell between the fifty-fifth and forty-second parallels, and whose lands to some extent are drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries; III. Californians, and the Inhabitants of the Great Basin; IV. New Mexicans, including the nations of the Colorado River and northern Mexico; V. Wild Tribes of Mexico; VI. Wild Tribes of Central America; VII. Civilized Nations of Mexico and Central America. It is my purpose, without any attempt at ethnological classification, or further comment concerning races and stocks, plainly to portray such customs and characteristics as were peculiar to each people at the time of its first intercourse with European strangers; leaving scientists to make their own deductions, and draw specific lines between linguistic and physiological families, as they may deem proper. I shall endeavor to picture these nations in their aboriginal condition, as seen

by the first invaders, as described by those who beheld them in their savage grandeur, and before they were startled from their lair by the treacherous voice of civilized friendship. Now they are gone,—those dusky denizens of a thousand forests,—melted like hoar-frost before the rising sun of a superior intelligence; and it is only from the earliest records, from the narratives of eye witnesses, many of them rude unlettered men, trappers, sailors, and soldiers, that we are able to know them as they were. Some division of the work into parts, however arbitrary it may be, is indispensable. In dealing with Mythology, and in tracing the tortuous course of Language, boundaries will be dropped and beliefs and tongues will be followed wherever they lead; but in describing Manners and Customs, to avoid confusion, territorial divisions are necessary.

In the groupings which I have adopted, one cluster of nations follows another in geographical succession; the dividing line not being more distinct, perhaps, than that which distinguishes some national divisions, but sufficiently marked, in mental and physical peculiarities, to entitle each group to a separate consideration.

The only distinction of race made by naturalists, upon the continents of both North and South America, until a comparatively recent period, was by segregating the first of the above named groups from all other people of both continents, and calling one Mongolians and the other Americans. A more intimate acquaintance with the nations of the North proves conclusively that one of the boldest types of the American Indian proper, the Tinneh, lies within the territory of this first group, conterminous with the Mongolian Eskimos, and crowding them down to a narrow line along the shore of the Arctic Sea. The nations of the second group, although exhibiting multitudinous variations in minor traits, are essentially one people. Between the California Diggers of the third division and the New Mexican Towns-people of the fourth, there is more diversity; and a still greater

difference between the savage and civilized nations of the Mexican table-land. Any classification or division of the subject which could be made would be open to criticism. I therefore adopt the most simple practical plan, one which will present the subject most clearly to the general reader, and leave it in the best shape for purposes of theorizing and generalization.

In the first or HYPERBOREAN group, to which this chapter is devoted, are five subdivisions, as follows: The *Eskimos*, commonly called Western Eskimos, who skirt the shores of the Arctic Ocean from Mackenzie River to Kotzebue Sound; the *Koniagas* or Southern Eskimos, who, commencing at Kotzebue Sound, cross the Kaviak Peninsula, border on Bering Sea from Norton Sound southward, and stretch over the Alaskan[1] Peninsula and Koniagan

[1] Of late, custom gives to the main land of Russian America, the name *Alaska;* to the peninsula, *Aliaska;* and to a large island of the Aleutian Archipelago, *Unalashka*. The word of which the present name Alaska is a corruption, is first encountered in the narrative of Betsevin, who, in 1761, wintered on the peninsula, supposing it to be an island. The author of *Neue Nachrichten von denen neuentdekten Insuln*, writes, page 53, 'womit man nach der abgelegensten Insul *Alăksu* oder *Alachschak* über gieng.' Again, at page 57, in giving a description of the animals on the supposed island he calls it 'auf der Insul *Alăsku*.' 'This,' says Coxe, *Russian Discoveries*, p. 72, 'is probably the same island which is laid down in Krenitzin's chart under the name of *Alaxa*.' *Unalaschka* is given by the author of *Neue Nachrichten*, p. 74, in his narrative of the voyage of Drusinin, who hunted on that island in 1763. At page 115 he again mentions the 'grosse Insul *Alăksu*.' On page 125, in Glottoff's log-book, 1764, is the entry: 'Den 28sten May der Wind Ostsüdost; man kam an die Insul *Alaska* oder *Alăksu*.' Still following the author of *Neue Nachrichten*, we have on page 166, in an account of the voyages of Otseredin and Popoff, who hunted upon the Aleutian Islands in 1769, mention of a report by the natives 'that beyond Unimak is said to be a large land *Alăschka*, the extent of which the islanders do not know.' On Cook's Atlas, voyage 1778, the peninsula is called *Alaska*, and the island *Oonalaska*. La Perouse, in his atlas, map No. 15, 1786, calls the peninsula *Alaska*, and the island *Ounalaska*. The Spaniards, in the *Atlas para el Viage de las goletas Sutil y Mexicana*, 1792, write *Alasca* for the peninsula, and for the island *Unalaska*. Sauer, in his account of Billings' expedition, 1790, calls the main land *Alaska*, the peninsula *Alyaska*, and the island *Oonalashka*. Wrangell, in *Baer's Statistische und ethnographische Nachrichten*, p. 123, writes for the peninsula *Alaska* and for the island *Unalaschka*. Holmberg, *Ethnographische Skizzen*, p. 78, calls the island *Unalaschka* and the peninsula *Aljaska*. Dall, *Alaska*, p. 529, says that the peninsula or main land was called by the natives *Alayeksa*, and the island *Nagun-alayeksa*, 'or the land near Alayeksa.' Thus we have, from which to choose, the orthography of the earliest voyagers to this coast — Russian, English, French, Spanish, German, and American. The simple word *Alăksu*, after undergoing many contortions, some authors writing it differently on different pages of the same book, has at length become *Alaska*, as applied to the main land; *Aliaska* for the peninsula, and *Una-*

noise of spouting whales and barking seals; and this so lately dismal, cheerless region, blooms with an exhuberance of life equaled only by the shortness of its duration. And in token of a just appreciation of the Creator's goodness, this animated medley—man, and beasts, and birds, and fishes—rises up, divides, falls to, and ends in eating or in being eaten.

The physical characteristics of the Eskimos are: a fair complexion, the skin, when free from dirt and paint, being almost white;[15] a medium stature, well proportioned, thick-set, muscular, robust, active,[16] with small and beautifully shaped hands and feet;[17] a pyramidal

[15] 'Their complexion, if divested of its usual covering of dirt, can hardly be called dark.' *Seemann's Voy. Herald*, vol. ii., p. 51. 'In comparison with other Americans, of a white complexion.' *McCulloh's Aboriginal History of America*, p. 20. 'White Complexion, not Copper coloured.' *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, p. 50. 'Almost as white as Europeans.' *Kalm's Travels*, vol. ii., p. 263. 'Not darker than that of a Portuguese.' *Lyon's Journal*, p. 224. 'Scarcely a shade darker than a deep brunette.' *Parry's 3rd Voyage*, p. 493. 'Their complexion is light.' *Dall's Alaska*, p. 381. 'Eye-witnesses agree in their superior lightness of complexion over the Chinooks.' *Pickering's Races of Man, U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 28. At Coppermine River they are 'of a dirty copper color; some of the women, however, are more fair and ruddy.' *Hearne's Travels*, p. 166. 'Considerably fairer than the Indian tribes.' *Simpson's Nar.*, p. 110. At Cape Bathurst 'The complexion is swarthy, chiefly, I think, from exposure and the accumulation of dirt.' *Armstrong's Nar.*, p. 192. 'Shew little of the copper-colour of the Red Indians.' *Richardson's Pol. Reg.*, p. 303. 'From exposure to weather they become dark after manhood.' *Richardson's Nar.*, vol. i., p. 343.

[16] 'Both sexes are well proportioned, stout, muscular, and active.' *Seemann's Voy. Herald*, vol. ii., p. 50. 'A stout, well-looking people.' *Simpson's Nar.*, pp. 110, 114. 'Below the mean of the Caucasian race.' *Dr. Hayes in Historic. Magazine*, vol. i., p. 6. 'They are thick set, have a decided tendency to obesity, and are seldom more than five feet in height.' *Figuier's Human Race*, p. 211. At Kotzebue Sound, 'tallest man was five feet nine inches; tallest woman, five feet four inches.' *Beechey's Voy.*, vol. i., p. 360. 'Average height was five feet four and a half inches.' At the mouth of the Mackenzie they are of 'middle stature, strong and muscular.' *Armstrong's Nar.*, pp. 149, 192. Low, broad-set, not well made, nor strong. *Hearne's Trav.*, p. 166. 'The men were in general stout.' *Franklin's Nar.*, vol. i., p. 29. 'Of a middle size, robust make, and healthy appearance.' *Kotzebue's Voy.*, vol. i., p. 209. 'Men vary in height from about five feet to five feet ten inches.' *Richardson's Pol. Reg.*, p. 304. 'Women were generally short.' 'Their figure inclines to squat.' *Hooper's Tuski*, p. 224.

[17] 'Tous les individus qui appartiennent à la famille des Eskimaux, se distinguent par la petitesse de leurs pieds et de leurs mains, et la grosseur énorme de leurs têtes.' *De Pauw. Recherches Phil.*, tom. i., p. 262. 'The hands and feet are delicately small and well formed.' *Richardson's Pol. Reg.*, p. 304. 'Small and beautifully made.' *Seemann's Voy. Herald*, vol. ii., p. 50. At Point Barrow, 'their hands, notwithstanding the great amount of manual labour to which they are subject, were beautifully small and well-

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OF THE

PACIFIC STATES.

CIVILIZED NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

SAVAGISM AND CIVILIZATION.

DEFINITION OF THE TERMS—FORCE AND NATURE—THE UNIVERSAL SOUL OF PROGRESS—MAN THE INSTRUMENT AND NOT THE ELEMENT OF PROGRESS—ORIGIN OF PROGRESSIONAL PHENOMENA—THE AGENCY OF EVIL—IS CIVILIZATION CONDUCIVE TO HAPPINESS?—OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE HUMANITY—CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS—CONTINENTAL CONFIGURATIONS—FOOD AND CLIMATE—WEALTH AND LEISURE—ASSOCIATION—WAR, SLAVERY, RELIGION, AND GOVERNMENT—MORALITY AND FASHION—THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRESSIONAL LAW.

The terms Savage and Civilized, as applied to races of men, are relative and not absolute terms. At best these words mark only broad shifting stages in human progress; the one near the point of departure, the other farther on toward the unattainable end. This progress is one and universal, though of varying rapidity and extent; there are degrees in savagism and there are degrees in civilization; indeed, though placed in opposition, the one is but a degree of the other. The Haidah, whom we call savage, is as much superior to the Shoshone, the lowest of Americans, as the Aztec is superior to the Haidah, or the European to the Aztec.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CIVILIZED NATIONS.

THE AMERICAN CIVILIZATION OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—ITS DISAPPEARANCE—THE PAST, A NEW ELEMENT—DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN SAVAGE AND CIVILIZED TRIBES—BOUNDS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION—PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY—MAYA AND NAHUA BRANCHES OF ABORIGINAL CULTURE—THE NAHUA CIVILIZATION—THE AZTECS ITS REPRESENTATIVES—LIMITS OF THE AZTEC EMPIRE—ANCIENT HISTORY OF ANÁHUAC IN OUTLINE—THE TOLTEC ERA—THE CHICHIMEC ERA—THE AZTEC ERA—EXTENT OF THE AZTEC LANGUAGE—CIVILIZED PEOPLES OUTSIDE OF ANÁHUAC—CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS—THE MAYA CULTURE—THE PRIMITIVE MAYA EMPIRE—NAHUA INFLUENCE IN THE SOUTH—YUCATAN AND THE MAYAS—THE NATIONS OF CHIAPAS—THE QUICHÉ EMPIRE IN GUATEMALA—THE NAHUAS IN NICARAGUA AND SALVADOR—ETYMOLOGY OF NAMES.

IN the preceding volume I have had occasion several times to remark that, in the delineation of the Wild Tribes of the Pacific States, no attempt is made to follow them in their rapid decline, no attempt to penetrate their past or prophesy a possible future, no profitless lingerings over those misfortunes that wrought among them such swift destruction. To us the savage nations of America have neither past nor future; only a brief present, from which indeed we may judge somewhat of their past; for the rest, foreign avarice and interference, European piety and greed, saltpetre, steel, small-pox, and syphilis, tell a speedy tale. Swifter still must be the hand that sketches the incipient civilization of the Mexican and

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNMENT OF THE NAHUA NATIONS.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT—THE AZTEC CONFEDERACY—ORDER OF SUCCESSION—ELECTION OF KINGS AMONG THE MEXICANS—ROYAL PREROGATIVES—GOVERNMENT AND LAWS OF SUCCESSION AMONG THE TOLTECS AND IN MICHOACAN, TLASCALA, CHOLULA, HUEXOTZINCO, AND OAJACA—MAGNIFICENCE OF THE NAHUA MONARCHS—CEREMONY OF ANOINTMENT—ASCENT TO THE TEMPLE—THE HOLY UNCTION—ADDRESS OF THE HIGH-PRIEST TO THE KING—PENANCE AND FASTING IN THE HOUSE CALLED TLACATECCO—HOMAGE OF THE NOBLES—GENERAL REJOICING THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM—CEREMONY OF CORONATION—THE PROCURING OF SACRIFICES—DESCRIPTION OF THE CROWN—CORONATIONS, FEASTS, AND ENTERTAINMENTS—HOSPITALITY EXTENDED TO ENEMIES—CORONATION-SPEECH OF NEZAHUALPILLI, KING OF TEZCUCO, TO MONTEZUMA II. OF MEXICO—ORATION OF A NOBLE TO A NEWLY ELECTED KING.

THE prevailing form of government among the civilized nations of Mexico and Central America was monarchical and nearly absolute, although some of the smaller and less powerful states, as for instance, Tlascala, affected an aristocratic republican system. The three great confederated states of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan were each governed by a king, who had supreme authority in his own dominion, and in matters touching it alone. Where, however, the welfare of the whole allied community was involved, no one king could act without the concurrence of the others; nevertheless, the judgment of one who was held to be especially skilful and wise in any question under con-

sideration, was usually deferred to by his colleagues. Thus in matters of war, or foreign relations, the opinion of the king of Mexico had most weight, while in the administration of home government, and in decisions respecting the rights of persons, it was customary during the reigns of the two royal sages of Tezcuco, Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, to respect their counsel above all other.[1] The relative importance of these three kingdoms must, however, have shown greater disparity as fresh conquests were made, since in the division of territory acquired by force of arms, Tlacopan received only one fifth, and of the remainder, judging by the relative power and extent of the states when the Spaniards arrived, it is probable that Mexico took the larger share.[2]

In Tezcuco and Tlacopan the order of succession was lineal and hereditary, in Mexico it was collateral and elective. In the two former kingdoms, however,

[1] *Las Casas, Hist. Apologética, MS.*, cap. ccxi.; *Zurita, Rapport*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii., tom. i., p. 95; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 354.

[2] Ixtlilxochitl, for whose patriotism due allowance must be made, writes: 'Es verdad, que el de Mexico y Tezcuco fueron iguales en dignidad señorío y rentas; y el de Tlacopan solo tenia cierta parte como la quinta, en lo que era rentas y despues en los otros dos.' *Hist. Chichimeca*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. ix., p. 238. Zurita also affirms this: 'Dans certaines, les tributs étaient répartis en portions égales, et dans d'autres on en faisait cinq parts: le souverain de Mexico et celui de Tezcuco en prélevaient chacun deux, celui de Tacuba une seule.' *Rapport*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii., tom. i., p. 12. 'Quedó pues determinado que á los estados de Tlacopan se agregase la quinta parte de las tierras nuevamente conquistadas, y el resto se dividiese igualmente entre el príncipe y el rey de Méjico.' *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Mej.*, tom. iii., p. 164. Brasseur de Bourbourg agrees with and takes his information from Ixtlilxochitl. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 191. Torquemada makes a far different division: 'Concurriendo los tres, se diese la quinta parte al Rei de Tlacupa, y el Tercio de lo que quedase, à Neçalhualcoiotl; y los demas, à Itzcohuatzin, como à Cabeça Maior, y Suprema.' *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 146. As also does Clavigero: 'Si diede quella Corona (Tlacopan) a Totoquihuatzin sotto la condizione di servir con tutte le sue truppe al Re di Messico, ogni volta che il richiedesse, assegnando a lui medesimo per ciò la quinta parte delle spoglie, che si avessero dai nemici. Similmente Nezahualcojotl fu messo in possesso del trono d'Acolhuacan sotto la condizione di dover soccorrere i Messicani nella guerra, e perció gli fu assegnata la terza parte della preda, cavatane prima quella del Re di Tacuba, restando l'altre due terze parti pel Re Messicano.' *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., p. 224. Prescott says it was agreed that 'one fifth should be assigned to Tlacopan, and the remainder be divided, in what proportion is uncertain, between the other powers.' *Mex.*, vol. i., p. 18.

CHAPTER IV.

PALACES AND HOUSEHOLDS OF THE NAHUA KINGS.

EXTENT AND INTERIOR OF THE GREAT PALACE IN MEXICO—THE PALACE OF NEZAHUALCOYOTL, KING OF TEZCUCO—THE ZOÖLOGICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE NAHUA MONARCHS—MONTEZUMA'S ORATORY—ROYAL GARDENS AND PLEASURE-GROUNDS—THE HILL OF CHAPULTEPEC—NEZAHUALCOYOTL'S COUNTRY RESIDENCE AT TEZCOZINCO—TOLTEC PALACES—THE ROYAL GUARD—THE KING'S MEALS—AN AZTEC CUISINE—THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER—AFTER-DINNER AMUSEMENTS—THE ROYAL WARDROBE—THE KING AMONG HIS PEOPLE—MEETING OF MONTEZUMA II. AND CORTÉS—THE KING'S HAREM—REVENUES OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD—POLICY OF AZTEC KINGS.

In the preceding chapter we have seen how the monarchs were chosen, and anointed, and crowned, and feasted, and lectured; now let us follow them to their homes. And here I must confess I am somewhat staggered by the recitals. It is written that as soon as the new king was formally invested with the right of sovereignty, he took possession of the royal palaces and gardens, and that these abodes of royalty were on a scale of magnificence almost unparalleled in the annals of nations. How far we may rely on these accounts it is difficult to say; how we are to determine disputed questions is yet more difficult. In the testimony before us, there are two classes of evidence: one having as its base selfishness, superstition, and patriotism; the other disaffection, jealousy, and hatred. Between these contending evils, fortunately, we may

at least approximate to the truth. To illustrate: there can be no doubt that much concerning the Aztec civilization has been greatly exaggerated by the old Spanish writers, and for obvious reasons. It was manifestly to the advantage of some, both priests and adventurers, to magnify the power and consequence of the people conquered, and the cities demolished by them, knowing full well that tales of mighty realms, with Christless man-eaters and fabulous riches, would soonest rouse the zeal and cupidity of their most Catholic prince, and best secure to them both honors and supplies. Gathered from the lips of illiterate soldiers little prone to diminish the glory of their achievements in the narration, or from the manuscripts of native historians whose patriotic statements regarding rival states no longer in existence could with difficulty be disproved, these accounts passed into the hands of credulous monks of fertile imagination, who drank in with avidity the marvels that were told them, and wrote them down with superhuman discrimination—with a discrimination which made every so-called fact tally with the writings of the Fathers. These writers possessed in an eminent degree the faculty called by latter-day scholars the imaginative in history-writing. Whatever was told them that was contrary to tradition was certainly erroneous, a snare of the devil; if any facts were wanting in the direction pointed out by doctrines or dogmas, it was their righteous duty to fill them in. Thus it was in certain instances. But to the truth of the greater part of these relations, testimony is borne by the unanimity of the authors, though this is partly owing to their copying each from the writings of the others, and, more conclusively, by the architectural remains which survived the attacks of the iconoclastic conquerors, and the golden and bejeweled ornaments of such exquisite workmanship as to equal if not surpass anything of the kind in Europe, which ornaments were sent to Spain as proofs of the richness of the country. At this distance of time it

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MYTHOLOGY, LANGUAGES.

CHAPTER I.

SPEECH AND SPECULATION.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MAN AND BRUTES—MIND LANGUAGE AND SOUL-LANGUAGE—ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE: A GIFT OF THE CREATOR, A HUMAN INVENTION, OR AN EVOLUTION—NATURE AND VALUE OF MYTH—ORIGIN OF MYTH: THE DIVINE IDEA, A FICTION OF SORCERY, THE CREATION OF A DESIGNING PRIESTHOOD—ORIGIN OF WORSHIP, OF PRAYER, OF SACRIFICE—FETICHISM AND THE ORIGIN OF ANIMAL-WORSHIP—RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

HITHERTO we have beheld Man only in his material organism; as a wild though intellectual animal. We have watched the intercourse of uncultured mind with its environment. We have seen how, to clothe himself, the savage robs the beast; how, like animals, primitive man constructs his habitation, provides food, rears a family, exercises authority, holds property, wages war, indulges in amusements, gratifies social instincts; and that in all this, the savage is but one remove from the brute. Ascending the scale, we have examined the first stages of human progress and analyzed an incipient civilization. We will now pass the frontier which separates mankind from animal-kind, and enter the domain of the immaterial and supernatural; phenomena which philosophy purely positive cannot explain.

endeavored to give not only the substance, but also, as far as possible, the peculiar style and phraseology of the original. It is with this primeval picture, whose simple silent sublimity is that of the inscrutable past, that we begin:—

And the heaven was formed, and all the signs thereof set in their angle and alignment, and its boundaries fixed towards the four winds by the Creator and Former, and Mother and Father of life and existence,—he by whom all move and breathe, the Father and Cherisher of the peace of nations and of the civilization of his people,—he whose wisdom has projected the excellence of all that is on the earth, or in the lakes, or in the sea.

Behold the first word and the first discourse. There was as yet no man, nor any animal, nor bird, nor fish, nor crawfish, nor any pit, nor ravine, nor green herb, nor any tree; nothing was but the firmament. The face of the earth had not yet appeared,—only the peaceful sea and all the space of heaven. There was nothing yet joined together, nothing that clung to anything else; nothing that balanced itself, that made the least rustling, that made a sound in the heaven. There was nothing that stood up; nothing but the quiet water, but the sea, calm and alone in its boundaries: nothing existed; nothing but immobility and silence, in the darkness, in the night.[2]

all tribes both white and black; while they were the parents of the Quiché and kindred races only. The course of the legend brings us to tribes of a strange blood, with which these four ancestors and their people were often at war. The narrative is, however, itself so confused and contradictory at points, that it is almost impossible to avoid such things; and, as a whole, the views of Professor Müller on the Popol Vuh seem just and well considered. Baldwin, *Ancient America*, pp. 191–7, gives a mere dilution of Professor Müller's essay, and that without acknowledgment.

[2] The original Quiché runs as follows: 'Are u tzihoxic vae ca ca tzinin-oc, ca ca chamam-oc, ca tzinonic; ca ca zilanic, ca ca lolinic, ca tolona puch u pa cah. Vae cute nabe tzih, nabe uchan.—Ma-habi-oc hun vinak, hun chicop; tziquin, car, tap, che, abah, hul, civan, quim, qichelah: xa-utuquel cah qolic. Mavi calah u vach uleu: xa-utuquel remanic palo, u pah cah ronohel. Ma-habi nakila ca molobic, ca cotzobic: hunta ca zilobic; ca mal ca ban-tah, ca cotz ca ban-tah pa cah. X-ma qo-vi nakila qolic yacalic; xa remanic ha, xa lianic palo, xa-utuquel remanic; x-ma qo-vi nakilalo qolic. Xa ca chamanic, ca tzininic chi gekum, chi agab.'

This passage is rendered by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg thus: 'Voici le récit comme quoi tout était en suspens, tout était calme et silencieux;

and I have nothing more to say, only to prostrate and throw myself at thy feet, seeking pardon for the faults of this my prayer; certainly I would not remain in thy displeasure, and I have no other thing to say.

The following is a prayer to the same deity, under his names Tezcatlipuca and Yoalliehecatl, for succor against poverty: O our Lord, protector most strong and compassionate, invisible, and impalpable, thou art the giver of life; lord of all, and lord of battles, I present myself here before thee to say some few words concerning the need of the poor people, the people of none estate nor intelligence. When they lie down at night they have nothing, nor when they rise up in the morning; the darkness and the light pass alike in great poverty. Know, O Lord, that thy subjects and servants, suffer a sore poverty that cannot be told of more than that it is a sore poverty and desolateness. The men have no garments nor the women to cover themselves with, but only certain rags rent in every part that allow the air and the cold to pass everywhere. With great toil and weariness they scrape together enough for each day, going by mountain and wilderness seeking their food; so faint and enfeebled are they that their bowels cleave to the ribs, and all their body reëchoes with hollowness; and they walk as people affrighted, the face and the body in likeness of death. If they be merchants, they now sell only cakes of salt and broken pepper; the people that have something despise their wares, so that they go out to sell from door to door and from house to house; and when they sell nothing they sit down sadly by some fence, or wall, or in some corner, licking their lips and gnawing the nails of their hands for the hunger that is in them; they look on the one side and on the other at the mouths of those that pass by, hoping peradventure that one may speak some word to them. O compassionate God, the bed on which they lie down is not a thing to rest upon, but to endure torment in; they draw a rag over them at night and so sleep; there they throw down their bodies and the bodies of children that thou hast

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ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER I.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION.

MONUMENTAL ARCHÆOLOGY—SCOPE OF THE VOLUME—TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT—SOURCES OF INFORMATION—TANGIBILITY OF MATERIAL RELICS—VAGUENESS OF TRADITIONAL AND WRITTEN ARCHÆOLOGY—VALUE OF MONUMENTAL RELICS, AS CONVEYING POSITIVE INFORMATION RESPECTING THEIR BUILDERS, AS CORROBORATIVE OR CORRECTIVE WITNESSES, AS INCENTIVES TO RESEARCH—COUNTERFEIT ANTIQUITIES—EGYPTIAN, ASSYRIAN, AND PERSIAN MONUMENTS—RELICS PROVING THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN—EXPLORATION OF AMERICAN RUINS—KEY TO CENTRAL AMERICAN HIEROGLYPHICS—NO MORE UNWRITTEN HISTORY.

The present volume of the NATIVE RACES OF THE PACIFIC STATES treats of monumental archæology, and is intended to present a detailed description of all material relics of the past discovered within the territory under consideration. Two chapters, however, are devoted to a more general view of remains outside the limits of this territory—those of South America and of the eastern United States—as being illustrative of, and of inseparable interest in connection with, my subject proper. Since monumental remains in the western continent without the broad limits thus included are

comparatively few and unimportant, I may without exaggeration, if the execution of the work be in any degree commensurate with its aim, claim for this treatise a place among the most complete ever published on American antiquities as a whole. Indeed, Mr Baldwin's most excellent little book on Ancient America is the only comprehensive work treating of this subject now before the public. As a popular treatise, compressing within a small duodecimo volume the whole subject of archæology, including, besides material relics, tradition, and speculation concerning origin and history as well, this book cannot be too highly praised; I propose, however, by devoting a large octavo volume to one half or less of Mr Baldwin's subject-matter, to add at least encyclopedic value to this division of my work.

There are some departments of the present subject in which I can hardly hope to improve upon or even to equal descriptions already extant. Such are the ruins of Yucatan, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, so ably treated by Messrs Stephens, Catherwood, and Squier. Indeed, not a few relics of great importance are known to the world only through the pen or pencil of one or another of these gentlemen, in which cases I am forced to draw somewhat largely upon the result of their investigations. Yet even within the territory mentioned, concerning Uxmal and Chichen Itza we have most valuable details in the works of M M. Waldeck and Charnay; at Quirigua, Dr Scherzer's labors are no less satisfactory than those of Mr Catherwood; and Mr Squier's careful observations in Nicaragua are supplemented, to the advantage of the antiquarian public, by the scarcely less extensive investigations of Mr Boyle. In the case of Palenque, in some respects the most remarkable American ruin, we have, besides the exhaustive delineations of Waldeck and Stephens, several others scarcely less satisfactory or interesting from the pens of competent observers; and in a large majority of instances each locality, if not each separate

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THE NATIVE RACES

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PRIMITIVE HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICANS.

SPIRIT OF INQUIRY IN THE MIDDLE AGES—UNITY OF ORIGIN—FLOOD MYTHS—ABORIGINAL TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN—CULTURE-HEROES—CHINA—JAPAN—HINDOSTAN—TARTARY—THE EGYPTIAN THEORY—THE PHŒNICIANS—VOTAN'S TRAVELS—THE CARTHAGINIANS—THE HEBREW THEORY—THE MORMON STORY—THE VISITS OF THE SCANDINAVIANS—CELTIC ORIGIN—THE WELSH—SCOTCH—IRISH—THE GREEKS AND ROMANS—THE STORY OF ATLANTIS—THE AUTOCHTHONIC THEORY.

When it first became known to Europe that a new continent had been discovered, the wise men, philosophers, and especially the learned ecclesiastics, were sorely perplexed to account for such a discovery. A problem was placed before them, the solution of which was not to be found in the records of the ancients. On the contrary, it seemed that old-time traditions must give way, the infallibility of revealed knowledge must be called in question, even the holy scriptures must be interpreted anew. Another world, upheaved, as it were, from the depths of the Sea of Darkness, was suddenly placed before them. Strange races,

INDEX.

The Index refers alphabetically to each of the ten or twelve thousand subjects mentioned in the five volumes of the work, with numerous cross-references to and from such headings as are at all confused by reason of variations in orthography or from other causes. In describing aboriginal manners and customs, the tribes are grouped in families, and each family, instead of each tribe, has been described separately; consequently, after each tribal name in the Index is a reference to the pages containing a description of the family to which the tribe belongs; there is also an additional reference to such pages as contain any 'special mention' of the tribe. For example, information is sought about the Ahts. In the Index is found 'Ahts, tribe of Nootkas, i., 175-208; special mention, i., 177, 180-1,' etc. All the matter relating to the Nootka family on pp. 175-208, is supposed to apply to the Ahts as well as to the other tribes of the family, except such differences as may be noted on pp. 177, 180-1, etc. If information is sought respecting the burial rites or any particular custom of the Ahts, a more direct reference to the exact pages will be found under 'Nootkas,' where the matter relating to that family is subdivided. The matter in the last three chapters of vol. v. is referred to in the earlier letters of the Index by chapters instead of pages. No table of abbreviations used is believed to be needed.

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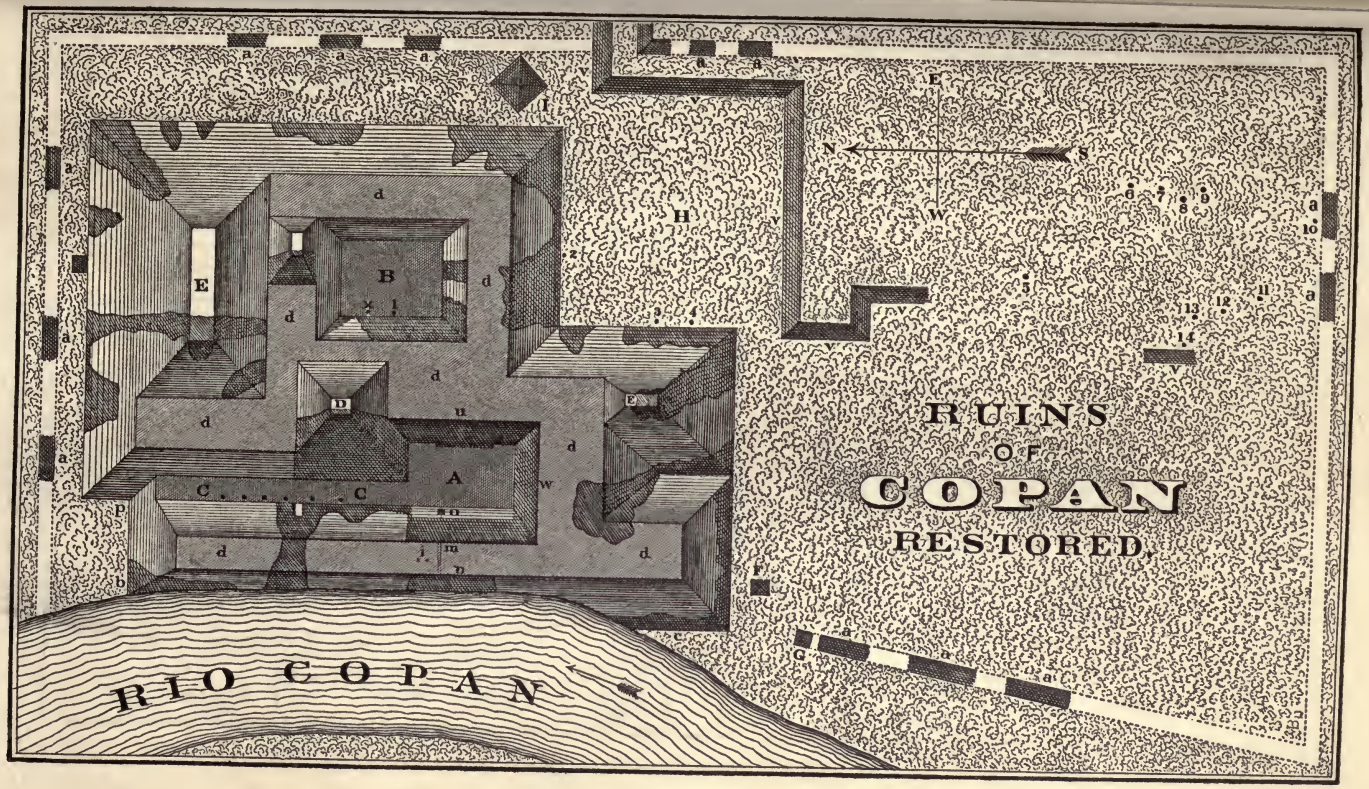
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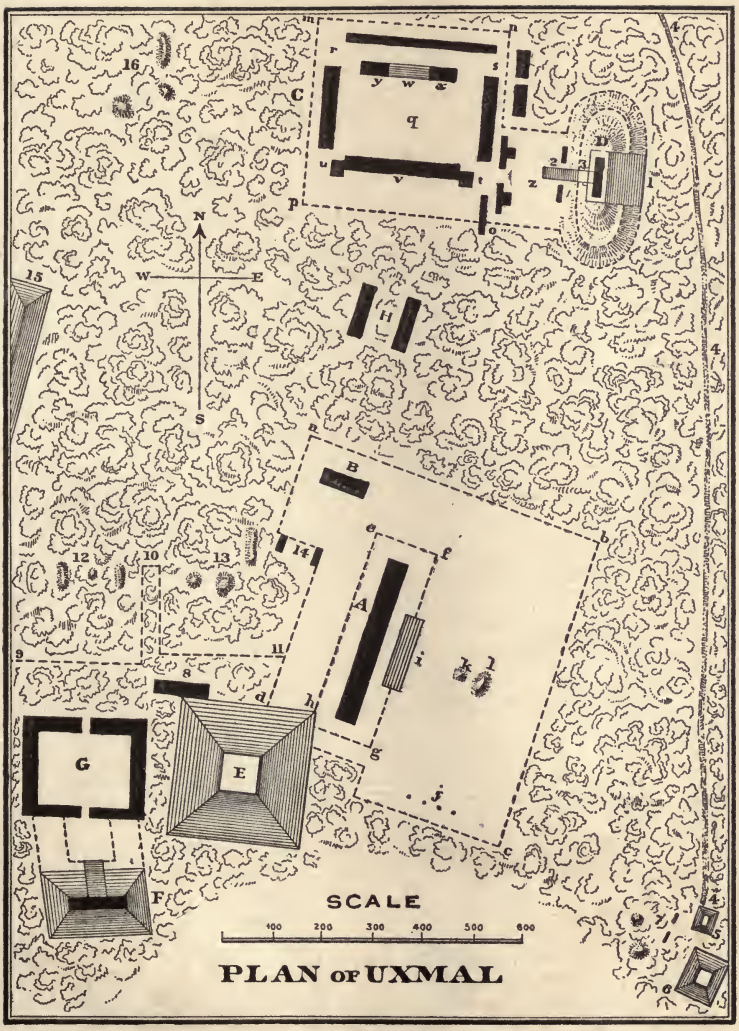


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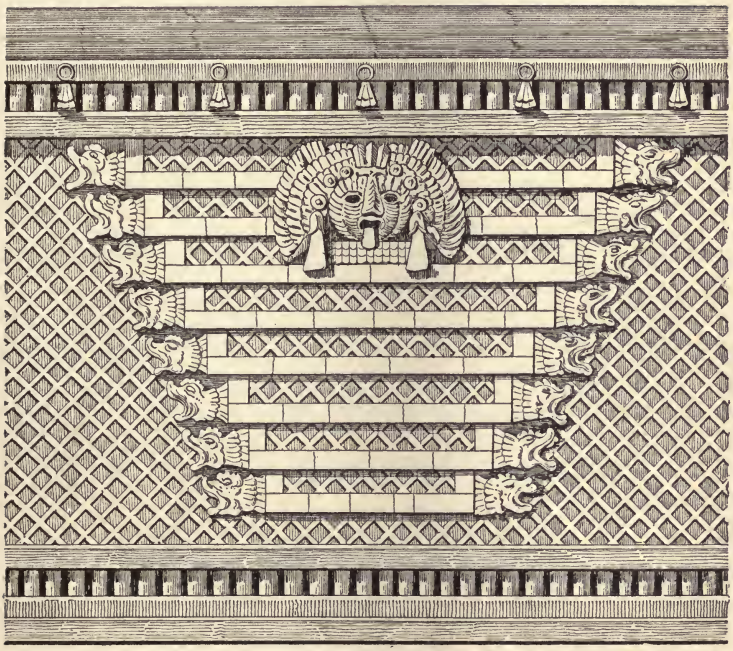

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Movimiento
Tecpatl.
Pedernal.
Quiyahuitl.
Lluvia.
Xochitl.
Flor.
Cipactli.
Serpiente.
Ehecatl.
Ayre.
Calli.
Casa.
Cuetzpalin.
Lagartija.
Coatl.
Culebra.
Miquiztli.
Muerte.
Mazatl.
Venado.
Tochtli.
Conejo.
Atl.
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Ozomatli.
Mono.
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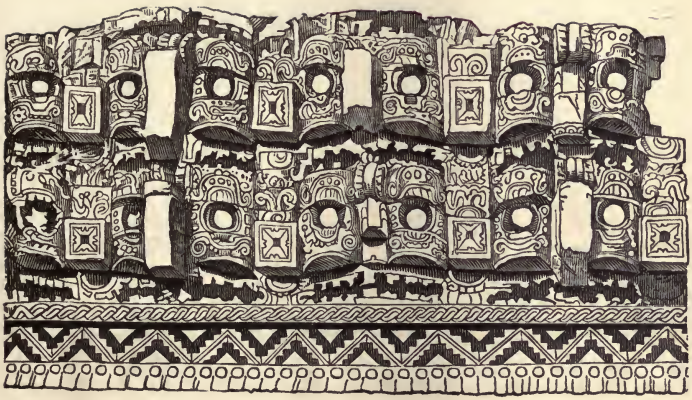
Yerbezuela.
Acatl.
Cana.
Ocelotl.
Tigre.
Quauhtli.
Aguila.
Coscacuauhtli.
Aguilucho




CORDOVA

THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME VI.

HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

VOL. I. 1501–1530.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1882.

CALIFORNIA PASTORAL.

CALIFORNIA

PASTORAL.

BEING

SKETCHES OF LIFE AND SOCIETY UNDER MISSION RÉGIME.

BY

BY HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

Huc ades, O Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis?
hic ver purpureum; varios hic flumina circum
fundit humus flores; hic candida populus antro
imminet, et lentæ texunt umbracula vites.
Huc ades: insani feriant sine litora fluctus.

Virgil.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
188–.

PREFACE.

Having accumulated for that portion of my *History of California* relating to the Missions and Mission life a superabundance of material, for some of which it was impossible to find room within the allotted space, of that remaining I have taken the best, and weaving with it some antique foreign facts and later fancies of my own, I have embodied the result in this book, which I call *California Pastoral* because of the pastoral life then led by the people, and in contradistinction to another book, to follow this, which I entitle *California Inter Pocula*, in which I attempt to set forth some of the wild orgies of the gold-hunting bacchanalia. Seldom have been found in civilized societies qualities more distinctly opposite than those appearing among the people of California before and after the great gold discovery. Neither of these exact phases of society can ever be reproduced in the history of nations, for the engendering conditions will be wanting. Therefore it may be well to examine more carefully these two historical episodes while we have the opportunity, for each has its own significance to him who can fathom it.

CALIFORNIA

INTER POCULA.

CALIFORNIA

INTER POCULA.

A COLLECTION OF CLASSICAL ABNORMITIES.

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME I.

Pape Satan, Pape Satan, aleppe!
Dante.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
188–.

PREFACE.

So full of oddities, and crudities, and strange developments, consequent upon unprecedented combinations of nationalities, characters, and conditions, were the flush times of California, that to condense them into the more solid forms of history without to some extent stifling the life that is in them and marring their originality and beauty is not possible. There are topics and episodes and incidents which cannot be vividly portrayed without a tolerably free use of words—I do not say a free use of the imagination.

Much has been written of the Californian Inferno of 1849 and the years immediately following, much that is neither fact nor fable. Great and gaudy pictures have been painted, but few of them bear much resemblance to nature. Many conceits have been thrown off by fertile brains which have given their authors money and notoriety; but the true artist, who with the hand of a master drawing from life, places before the observer the all-glowing facts, unbesmeared by artificial and deceptive coloring, has yet to appear.

No attempt is made in these pages to outdo my predecessors in morbid intensifications of the certain phases of society and character engendered of the times. They contain simple sketches and plain descriptions, historical rather than fantastical, with no effort toward exaggeration.

POPULAR TRIBUNALS.

POPULAR

TRIBUNALS.

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME I.

Fiat justitia ruat cœlum.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1882.

TO

WILLIAM T. COLEMAN,

CHIEF OF THE GREATEST POPULAR TRIBUNAL THE WORLD HAS EVER WITNESSED,

I DEDICATE THIS WORK.

PREFACE.

During my researches in Pacific States history, and particularly while tracing the development of Anglo-American communities on the western side of the United States, I fancied I saw unfolding into healthier proportions, under the influence of a purer atmosphere, that sometime dissolute principle of political ethics, the right of the governed at all times to instant and arbitrary control of the government. The right thus claimed was not to be exercised except in cases of emergency, in cases where such interference should be deemed necessary, but it was always existent; and as the people themselves were to determine what should constitute emergency and what necessity, these qualifications were impertinent.

Though liable at times to the grossest abuse, I found this sentiment latent among widely spread and intelligent peoples, but in a form so anomalous that few would then admit to themselves its presence among their convictions. It was a doctrine acted rather than spoken, and existing as yet in practice only, never having through formulas of respectability worked itself out in theory. Yet it was palpably present, more often as a regretted necessity, usually denounced in judicial and political circles, though clearly operating under certain conditions to the welfare of society.

Finding on these Pacific shores, in a degree superior to any elsewhere appearing in the annals of the race, this phase of arbitrary power as displayed by the many Popular Tribunals here engendered, I pressed inquiry in that direction, and these volumes are the result. It is all history; and though herein I sometimes indulge in details which might swell unduly exact historical narration, I have felt constrained to omit more facts and illustrations than I have given. These omissions, however, are not made at random, or to the injury of the work, but only after carefully arranging and comparing all the information on the subject I have been able to gather.

And the material was abundant. Beside printed books, manuscripts, and the several journals of the period advocating the opposite sides of the question, I was fortunate enough to secure all the archives of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, and to obtain free access to the voluminous records and documents of the great Committee of 1856. But this was not all. Well knowing that the hidden workings of the several demonstrations could be obtained only from the mouths of their executive officers, I took copious dictations from those who had played the most prominent parts in the tragedies. From one member I learned what occurred on a given occasion at the point where he happened to be; from another, what was taking place at the same time at another point of observation; and so on, gathering from each something the others did not know or remember. By putting all together I was enabled to complete the picture of what were otherwise a conglomeration of figures and events.

At first I found the gentlemen of 1856 exceedingly

backward in divulging secrets so long held sacred; and it was only after I had given them the most convincing assurances of the strength and purity of my purpose that I obtained their united consent to place me in possession of their whole knowledge of the matter. Often had they been applied to for such information, and as often had they declined giving it. And for good reasons. They had offended the law; they had done violence to many who still cherished hatred; they had suffered from annoying and expensive suits at law brought against them by the expatriated; they had disbanded but had not disorganized, and they did not know at what moment they might again be summoned to rise in defence of society, or to band for mutual protection. From the beginning it was held by each a paramount obligation to divulge nothing.

On the other hand the questions arose: Are these secrets to die with you? May not the knowledge of your experience be of value to succeeding societies? Have you the right to bury in oblivion that experience, to withhold from your fellow-citizens and from posterity a knowledge of the ways by which you achieved so grand a success? And so after many meetings, and warm deliberations, it was agreed that the information should be placed at my disposal for the purpose of publication.

However I may have executed my task, the time selected for its performance was most opportune. Ten years earlier the actors in these abnormal events would on no account have divulged their secrets; ten years later many of them will have passed away, and the opportunity be forever lost for obtaining information which they alone could give.

LITERARY INDUSTRIES.

LITERARY INDUSTRIES.

A MEMOIR.

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

Cannot you tell that? Every fool can tell that.
Hamlet.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
188–.

PREFACE.

This book is a record of things nearest me during an active and eventful life; a record of the failures and successes of a life not wholly good, bad, or indifferent. Further, and more important, it is a record of certain literary efforts and accomplishments beside which I myself sink to insignificance.

As to the spirit and manner of it, whatsoever has come to me that have I written in all frankness and honesty, and let me hope without that affectation of modesty which is the greatest egotism.

THE WORKS

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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME VII.

HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

VOL. II. 1550–1800.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1883.

TESTIMONY

OF THE

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AND THE

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San Francisco, January, 1882

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THE WORKS OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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VOLS. I-V.—THE NATIVE RACES OF THE PACIFIC STATES.
VOLS. VI-VIII.—HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA.
VOLS. IX-XIV.—HISTORY OF MEXICO.
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VOLS. XXIX-XXX.—HISTORY OF OREGON.
VOL. XXXI.—HISTORY OF WASHINGTON, IDAHO AND MONTANA.
VOL. XXXII.—HISTORY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.
VOL. XXXIII.—HISTORY OF ALASKA.
VOL. XXXIV.—CALIFORNIA PASTORAL.
VOL. XXXV.—CALIFORNIA INTER POCULA.
VOLS. XXXVI-XXXVII.—POPULAR TRIBUNALS.
VOL. XXXVIII.—ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY.
VOL. XXXIX.—LITERARY INDUSTRIES.

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